Which best typified the Western Reserve in 1850, tranquil rural communities such as Mesopotamia, steeped in New England tradition, or the bustling city of Cleveland, in the midst of a commercial boom and on the edge of its period of industrial might? The answer, I believe, is both, for continuity and change characterized the region in the nineteenth century. As Harlan Hatcher observed, the Reserve "is a region of arresting contrasts... Descendants of the Puritan Mathers share the Reserve with the Slovenian Lausches, only one generation removed from the mountains of Yugoslavia." Perhaps a more appropriate symbol of the Reserve and its history is the traffic circle in Tallmadge, a pristine Congregational church designed by Lemuel Porter in the center, its grand serenity jarred by the roar of automobiles whose drivers might appreciate federal architecture but who, luckily for us, do not practice New Englanders' eccentric driving habits.

It is the theme of change and its consequences in the Western Reserve, exemplified by nineteenth-century Cleveland, which I wish to explore, emphasizing in particular the divisions based on nationality and religion which the simultaneous occurrence of European immigration, economic growth and urbanization helped to create. I leave to others the continuities in Cleveland's history as well as an explanation for the fact that despite its deep ethnic, religious, class and racial divisions, nineteenth-century Cleveland did not experience the frequent mob violence which marred the history of such other growing cities as Cincinnati and Philadelphia.

Cleveland's Public Square, designed as an open space to serve as the focal point of town life, testifies to the first settlers' wish to reproduce in the wilderness of the Western Reserve a New England village such as those they had left behind in the East. But it took thirty years for Cleveland to replace the hardships of pioneer life with the amenities, limited though they might be, and the appearance of a settled New England village because growth proceeded at a snail's pace. In 1820 Cleveland's population of 606 was smaller than Youngstown's 1025, Ashtabula's 929 and Tallmadge's 742. Even Hudson had 491 residents.

That Cleveland was a civilized village with a rapidly growing population by the early 1830s was the result of geography and luck. Its selection as the northern terminus of the Ohio and Erie Canal quickly stimulated the town's economy as newcomers arrived to construct the canal itself, to make harbor improvements, and to build roads, docks and warehouses. With the opening of the canal in 1832, Cleveland's commercial economy boomed. So too did its population. By 1837, the city's inhabitants numbered more than 5000. There were more than 17,000 in 1850, at the start of the city's railroad building boom. And by 1890 Cleveland was an industrial colossus of more than 260,000 inhabitants, the city that led the nation in general manufacturing, whose smoke-belching factories, in an age when smoke meant prosperity rather than pollution, poured out millions of dollars worth of such mundane but critical items as wire nails, nuts and bolts, carriage and wagon hardware, steel car wheels and street railway equipment.

But dramatic economic growth also meant dramatic social change. Cleveland, the tranquil, homogenous New England village of 1830 soon became a vibrant, complex, even chaotic city marked by deep ethnic, religious and class divisions, a city whose New England founders and their descendants soon became a distinct minority. Many of the newcomers who flocked to
Cleveland were not New Englanders or even Americans—they were immigrants from Europe. And many were not Protestants—they were Catholics and Jews. They lived amongst themselves, established hundreds of clubs and societies to serve their distinct needs, and worshipped in their own churches and synagogues which reflected the language and culture of their European homelands. Cleveland soon became a series of ethnic villages.

In 1860, almost 20,000 of the city’s 43,417 inhabitants, or 45%, were foreign born. The number of adult German-American males in fact outnumbered native-born adult white males, even if only slightly.\textsuperscript{5} Numbering more than 9000 at the outbreak of the Civil War, the Germans constituted the city’s largest immigrant group. Many of them skilled workers (jewelers, tailors, cabinetmakers, mechanics and brewers), they quickly developed a rich communal life of churches, schools, social clubs and cultural organizations, including the long-lived newspaper the \textit{Waechter am Erie} which began publication in 1852.\textsuperscript{6} The second largest ethnic group in Cleveland in 1860 were the Irish, numbering more than 5000. Initially attracted by the construction jobs associated with the Ohio and Erie Canal, they quickly became the backbone of the city’s unskilled labor force, and, unfortunately for them, they also became associated by public opinion with the city’s growing problems of brawling and drunkenness, especially on notorious Whiskey Island.\textsuperscript{7} The Irish in particular, but also some of the Germans, accounted for the dramatic growth of Catholicism in Cleveland. In 1860 the city’s Catholics constituted about 30% of the population and were served not only by several parishes but also by a growing number of other institutions, including orphanages for boys and girls, St. John’s College, a female academy, St. Mary’s Seminary and the beginnings of St. Vincent’s Charity Hospital.\textsuperscript{8}

That immigrants lived in their own ethnic villages served by their own institutions was a product not only of a desire to live, socialize and worship among those with whom they shared a common language and culture. It was also a consequence of the prejudice they often encountered at the hands of native-born Clevelanders. An elite of Protestant families of New England and New York origin continued to dominate the city’s economic, political and institutional life, but it was an elite which by the 1840s and 1850s clearly felt threatened by their city’s increasingly heterogenous population and the diverse cultures and values which it represented. It was these Protestant "leading men" and "true women" who led the city’s benevolent organizations before the Civil War in their effort to restore the supremacy of and respect for their values throughout the city.\textsuperscript{9} Suggestive of their apprehension was the formation in 1853 of the New England Society of Cleveland and the Western Reserve whose purpose was "to cherish the traditions and customs of the pioneer settlers of New England and to foster and promote a kindred spirit among their sons and daughters."\textsuperscript{10}

Some critics of antebellum philanthropy sensed its anti-Catholic thrust, and, indeed, anti-Catholicism was widespread in Cleveland in the 1850s. Although it never achieved the violence of the infamous anti-Catholic riots which occurred in Cincinnati in December, 1853, scurrilous speeches by self-proclaimed former nuns and priests always drew large audiences, and in 1854 an effigy of St. Patrick was burned at the corner of Cedar and Clinton Streets.\textsuperscript{11} Especially significant were the political realignments which took place in Cleveland politics between the late 1840s and 1860 as the Whig party disappeared and the Republicans emerged, dominating city politics by 1860. As scholars have recently noted, although sectionalism and slavery and even anti-immigrant sentiment played a role, anti-Catholic bias was the crucial force in reshaping Cleveland’s political landscape. While the Democratic party appealed to the city’s poor, immigrants and Catholics, their opponents increasingly relied on anti-Catholic rhetoric for electoral success, even when some of these anti-Catholic supporters were themselves Protestant or freethinking Germans, a circumstance that dismayed some of the more extreme Republicans. As one scholar has noted, "the 1860 presidential canvass in Cleveland . . . suggests that much of
the Republican success may have resulted from anti-Catholic hatred rather than a crusade against the extension of slavery. Religious antagonisms between Protestants and Catholics, not 'Bleeding Kansas,' the Sumner-Brooks affair, and other major national issues concerned with slavery, apparently governed the politics of the period from 1854 to 1860." 12

 Ethnic and religious divisions continued to characterize Cleveland after the Civil War as immigrants, increasingly from southern and eastern Europe, continued to flood the city. By 1890, there were 97,095 foreign-born, constituting more than 37% of the population. There were almost 40,000 Germans in 1890 and more than 13,000 Irish. Although immigration from southern and eastern Europe was just beginning, there were more than 5000 Bohemians in Cleveland in 1880 in addition to significant numbers of Hungarians, Italians and Poles.13 Like their predecessors, these newcomers also settled in their own ethnic villages anchored by numerous secular and, especially, religious institutions. St. Wenceslas parish was founded for the Bobemians as early as 1867, St. Stanislaus for the growing Warszawa community of Poles on the east side in 1873, St. Ladislas for the Slovaks in 1885, St. Elizabeth's for the Hungarians in 1892, and, for the Italians, St. Anthony's in 1886 and Holy Rosary in 1892.14

 Also like their predecessors, these immigrants confronted hostility. In the midst of a sometimes-violent strike against the Cleveland Rolling Mill Company in 1885, an incident at which we will shortly look in a different context, the Bohemians and Poles who used violence to protect their jobs were called by some Cleveland newspaper editors "foreign devils, ignorant and degraded whelps, the canaille of Europe, vipers and Communist scoundrels who have hoisted the red flag of Agrarianism, Nihilism and Socialism and who revel in robberies, bloodshed and arson. . ."15 Anti-Catholicism reared its ugly head as well, although it did not exercise the power it had exhibited before the Civil War. A Mrs. Slattery, the wife of a self-proclaimed former priest from Boston, enticed her audience, restricted to females, to Case Hall on the afternoon of February 5th, 1893 at a cost of 25 cents (reserved seats at 35 cents) to hear a lecture suggestively entitled "Secrets of Convent Life, and the Confessional Exposed." The same evening and for the same price, her husband addressed an audience restricted to men on the subject "Why Priests Don't Wed." On another occasion, one Margaret L. Shepherd spoke to an audience of men at Army and Navy Hall on "The Priest and Woman in the Confessional" and, in the evening to a mixed audience, on the necessity of state inspection of nurseries. Both lectures were offered at the bargain rate of 15 cents, with apparently no reserved seating.16 Alarmed at the rapid pace of social and cultural change in their city at the end of the 19th century, some Clevelanders in 1894 revived the New England Society of Cleveland and the Western Reserve, which had apparently collapsed into somnolence in 1869.17

 If Cleveland lost its homogeneity in the course of the 19th century as ethnic and religious divisions separated citizens from one another, less obvious to the city's residents themselves, as well as to historians, is that ethnic and religious groups which to outsiders appeared monolithic were in fact fractured from within. The Cleveland Catholic community, deeply divided by ethnic differences, is a salient example. Catholic immigrant groups throughout the United States always demanded separate national parishes and parochial schools staffed by priests and nuns who could speak the language and carry on the cultural traditions of the mother country. But their wishes could not always be accommodated, in part because national rather than territorial parishes often meant what some regarded as an expensive and unnecessary duplication of facilities, especially when the number of Catholics was relatively low.

 Such was the case in Cleveland where all Catholics, including Germans and Irish, were to worship together at the Church of Our Lady of the Lake (popularly known as St. Mary's on the
Flats), which opened in 1839. Conflict between the two nationalities over such issues as control of church property and the language to be used in services was exacerbated by Father Peter McLaughlin who served as its pastor between 1840 and his forced departure from the church in February 1846, caused in part by his scandalous behavior with a young lady of the parish choir. But he was also relieved of his duties because of his ill treatment of his German parishioners. Of Irish birth and often arrogant and intemperate in his remarks, McLaughlin made clear that he thoroughly disliked all Germans who, he asserted, were "talkative, suspicious, and apt to be refractory." Should a German priest be sent to assist him, he informed Archbishop John Baptist Purcell "in the house with a German I shall not live . . . . I never sleep in a German house without terror, and a thousand other feelings, that I cannot describe."18 Despite his German parishioners, McLaughlin made clear that he believed St. Mary's belonged to the Irish (whom he often called "English") who "have embellished it, and purchased all its ornaments, and vestments. Let the English have the church, in all justice." In a none-too-subtle reference to the Germans, he wrote, "The rule of the bees is to go out and hive elsewhere, as soon as the hive is too small."19 The Archbishop must not "ask the English to allow any people to enter their seats who, you know, would defile them." Three months later he made his meaning crystal clear to Purcell—"Tobacco makes the German very offensive in pews . . . ."20 A year later he placed as many roadblocks as he could in the path of the Sanguinist fathers who were to come to Cleveland periodically to care for German Catholics whom they found, not surprisingly, not particularly zealous and enthusiastic in the practice of their faith.21

Catholic conflict over the nationality issue became especially serious during the administration of Cleveland's first bishop, Louis Amadeus Rappe (1847-1870) who was forced out of office by a distressed Rome in 1870 primarily because of his inability to calm, let alone control the nationality tensions in the diocese.22 Rappe himself, in fact, contributed mightily to the problem. A dedicated missionary who as bishop successfully laid the institutional foundations of his rapidly growing diocese, he nonetheless proved to be a poor administrator who was unable to navigate the dangerous shoals of ethnicity. A determined Americanizer, despite his own French birth, he at first refused to establish ethnic parishes or to permit parochial schools where a foreign tongue was the language of instruction because of his belief that nationality parishes and schools would create destructive internal divisions in the Catholic Church, lend credence to nativists' charges that Catholics were disloyal to the United States, and necessitate the expensive duplication of facilities. Bishop Rappe's combative, authoritarian personality deepened these tensions because it was frequently dissatisfied ethnic groups which challenged his authority when he refused their demands.

Rappe's first troubles were with Cleveland's German Catholics, of whom he was deeply suspicious. He could not speak their language, believed them to be culturally inferior to the French, and asserted that they were often rebellious and atheistical. At first firmly refusing separate German facilities in Cleveland, Rappe was finally forced to alter course. In 1851 he brought Father Nicholas Roup to the city especially to care for the Germans, and, when the new Cathedral of St. John was completed in 1852, St. Mary's was turned over to the Germans for their exclusive use. In 1853 he granted permission for the creation of the separate German parish of St. Peter's in the city, and, by the time he left the diocese in 1870, he had permitted the creation of three more exclusively German parishes.23

By the middle 1860s Rappe's relationship with the Germans had improved, or at least such appeared to be the case because by then he was at war with the Irish who, he believed, were impoverished, improvident, ignorant and dangerously prone to nationalistic prejudice. Their drinking habits "produced quarrels, public battles, the breakup of families, divorce [and] profanation of the Sabbath."24 Rappe so antagonized the Irish that, as the Germans had done
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St. Mary’s Seminary, Kolaszewski was immediately sent to St. Stanislaus parish, located in the rapidly growing Warszawa Polish community on the city’s east side near the Cleveland Rolling Mill Company which employed many Polish laborers. Kolaszewski was more than a priest; he was the leader of his people, helping them find jobs, borrow money, write letters home, and seek legal and medical advice. But his arrogance and his desire for fame and power soon destroyed what had been a promising priestly career.

Trouble first broke out at St. Stanislaus in July, 1887 when, according to Kolaszewski, a group of Polish nationalists, threatening "to beat me, to give me so much that I shall be confined for months to bed . . .," attempted to drive him out of the parish in favor of a priest more to their liking.30 But Kolaszewski soon had even more trouble with his authoritarian bishop, Richard Gilmour. In the spring of 1888, Kolaszewski had refused to appear for the regular examinations required of junior clergy, prompting Gilmour by mid-December to demand his appearance on threat of suspension. Kolaszewski replied angrily that he had been ill and would not appear until both his health and the weather improved. "Have you never been sick, Rt. Rev. Bishop?" he wrote. "Did your Bishop suspend you, because you have been sick? There a good many complains [sic] all around in the diosece [sic] because you treat sick priests to [sic] roughly [sic] . . . I do not idle time away . . . I am not lazy. But so it is in this corrupt world,---the more one does, the more will be required from him to do, the world pays with ingratitude."31 The same scenario recurred in 1890 when Kolaszewski explained his failure to appear for his examinations in a letter to Bishop Gilmour extraordinary for its length and depth of feeling. In eighteen handwritten paragraphs, he told Gilmour that he was too busy caring for his Warszaw parishioners to waste his time studying theology. As he wrote sarcastically, "What else do you want from me? Do I not work enough; should I go to my room and study a few definitions by heart? Last year I was sick and the doctor told me I must not work so hard or I will die from a stroke. Do you intend to give me the stroke that will put me down for the last time?" 32

Matters soon went from bad to worse as personalities, priestly careerism, competition between groups of small businessmen in the parish and such issues as Polish nationalism fanned the flames of factionalism at St. Stanislaus. Especially divisive was Kolaszewski’s decision to spend an estimated $250,000 on the construction of the magnificent Gothic church building which was dedicated in late 1891 and which still stands at the corner of Forman Avenue and East 65th Street. He kept the true construction costs and the size of the church debt a secret from his parishioners, and also from diocesan authorities who charged him with having borrowed large sums of money without proper authorization. Church authorities were also horrified, to say the least, when in late 1891 and early 1892 accusations of immorality were brought against Kolaszewski, including a nun’s charge that he had assaulted her.33 The priest also battled with his assistant, Father Motulewski, whom he accused of frequent drunkenness. Motulewski, in turn, accused Kolaszewski of driving him out of the schoolhouse and striking him several times. His claim that Kolaszewski had an "insatiable desire of money," epitomized by his supposedly requiring payment from everyone coming for confession, struck a tender nerve because many parishioners believed that Kolaszewski was deeply involved in real estate speculation in the community, a suspicion proven accurate by city real estate records. An exasperated Motulewski asked for a transfer to another post--"I am so tired with this place that I do not think, there is any worse in the whole world. Here is the best place for rascals and criminals." 34

Urged on by the powerful Fathers Seraphim Bauer and George F. Houck who, like many German priests, heartily disliked Kolaszewski, Bishop Ignatius Horstmann decided to dismiss Kolaszewski from the diocese. But it was a task which required delicacy if violence were to be avoided. Unfortunately, it was not. Following lengthy negotiations over Kolaszewski’s claims
that his parish and the diocese owed him considerable sums of money, Horstmann paid the priest $1000 in cash and gave him a promissory note for more. Kolaszewski left the diocese for Syracuse, New York in early June, 1892, charging that he had been done "the greatest injustice" and that he had been victimized by a cabal of jealous priests. Despite his pledge to leave St. Stanislaus quietly, his attempts to remove furniture from the rectory enraged some of his parishioners. On the other hand, Kolaszewski’s numerous supporters did not receive his successor, Father Benedict Rosinski, kindly. On Saturday morning, June 11, several broom-wielding women attempted to prevent Rosinski from entering the church, and in the evening a pitched battle between the two factions occurred, in which Rosinski’s brother was knocked senseless with a fence post. The police were called and guarded the church and rectory until a few days later Bishop Horstmann restored order by threatening to withdraw the sacraments from those who continued to defy Father Rosinski.

But Horstmann and St. Stanislaus were not yet through with Kolaszewski. The parish continued to be disrupted by factionalism, which was kept alive in part by Father Rosinski himself who tried to label every parishioner as friend or foe, and by Kolaszewski who in early 1894 urged his supporters to demand his return to St. Stanislaus. His days in Syracuse certainly appeared numbered because his positive contribution to helping found the Church of the Sacred Heart for the city’s Poles in June of 1892 was soon overshadowed by charges of improprieties with women. There was even suspicion that he practiced medicine, without a license. Anxious to reduce Kolaszewski’s continued popularity with Cleveland Poles, Bishop Horstmann asked Bishop P. A. Ludden of Syracuse, "Cannot some responsible physician send me an account of the charges against him of practicing on females? I fear he left suddenly to avoid a criminal charge concerning a female who died under his care ...." An opponent of Polish nationalists at St. Stanislaus in the 1880s, Kolaszewski himself was increasingly drawn into the Polish nationalist fold, undoubtedly in part because of his troubles with Cleveland bishops. Resentful of authority, dazzled by power and popular acclaim, Kolaszewski saw in his rebellious Polish supporters and their nationalist brand of Catholicism a vehicle by which he could secure the respect, even if grudging or frightened, of Cleveland’s Catholic hierarchy as well as what he saw as his own rightful place of leadership in the city’s Polish community. For obvious reasons denied reappointment to St. Stanislaus, Kolaszewski, along with many of the parish dissidents, formed the schismatical Immaculate Heart of Mary parish, not far from St. Stanislaus, on May 3, 1894. It was based on, among other principles, lay ownership of church property and selection of priests and the establishment of parish schools equal in quality to the public schools. After all efforts at compromise failed, Bishop Horstmann excommunicated Kolaszewski in late June, 1894. Needless to say, these events caused enormous turmoil in the Warszawa community, much of which was extensively reported by Cleveland’s newspapers.

Significantly, Kolaszewski broke with his more extreme Polish nationalist allies in late 1894 and, although he was in close contact with other dissident Polish Catholics throughout the country, he and his congregation never joined the Polish National Catholic Church, founded in Scranton in 1904. At times defiant and at others solicitous, he periodically sought a compromise, albeit usually on his own terms, by which he could return to the Roman Catholic Church, leaving the unmistakable impression that he had been carried away by his own rhetoric when he returned to
Cleveland in 1894. Finally, following Bishop Horstmann’s death in 1908 and the rapid decline of German power in the diocese, Kolaszewski and his parishioners at Immaculate Heart of Mary parish were reconciled to the Church. Kolaszewski himself died on December 2, 1910, once again a Roman Catholic.40

That nineteenth century Clevelanders were often divided from one another is also evidenced by the often unsuccessful efforts on the part of workers to cooperate to protect their common economic interests. The stark fact is that ethnic and religious divisions were often more powerful than the workers’ shared grievances against their employers. A case in point are the strikes at the Cleveland Rolling Mill Company in 1882 and 1885.41 The largest employer in the city, the Cleveland Rolling Mill Company increasingly turned its attention to the manufacture of steel rather than iron in the 1870s and 1880s, a decision which severely reduced its need for skilled workers, most of whom were British Protestant immigrants, and correspondingly increased the demand for low paid, unskilled laborers, primarily southern and eastern European Catholics. Fearing for their jobs, many of the skilled workers joined the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers and in the spring of 1882 demanded that the company’s president, William Chisholm, accept their demands, including a closed shop. Chisholm’s refusal prompted a strike on May 10th. He in turn closed all of the company’s facilities until further notice, but in early June his ultimate goal became clear—he would reopen with nonunion, unskilled Bohemian and Polish workers. By the end of July, Chisholm had for all intents and purposes won the war; many skilled British workers had been replaced by unskilled Bohemians and Poles.

The reasons for the company’s victory were several, including an outburst of violence on June 13, in which women were especially prominent among those who threw slag and stones at both the scabs and the police, violence which sharply turned public opinion and the city authorities against the strikers. But crucial in explaining the strikers’ failure was their inability to gain the support of the Bohemians and Poles who threatened their jobs, a failure which was a product to a considerable degree of the skilled workers’ racial and religious prejudices. Recognizing that the support of the unskilled workers was crucial to their success, the skilled strike leaders attempted to secure their cooperation, but their efforts were half-hearted at best because they basically believed that unskilled workers were unorganizable and, especially important, they viewed southern and eastern European Catholics as members of inferior races. As John Jarrett, the Amalgamated’s national president said, southern and eastern European immigrants were ignorant men who did not know "the difference between light work and heavy work, or between good wages and bad wages . . . .[T]hese people can live where I think decent men would die; they can live on almost any kind of food, food that other men would not touch, and in houses that other men could not live in at all."42

Ethnic and religious antagonisms again divided workers during a strike at the Rolling Mill Company during the summer of 1885. This strike was led by the unskilled Bohemians and Poles who, angered at a reduction of their wages during a recession, walked off their jobs and succeeded in closing the mills. They even convinced most of the skilled workers to join in the walkout. Following a violent confrontation with the police in mid-July, the skilled and unskilled workers were able to forge an alliance. But the strikers’ association which was formed on July 22nd was under the control of English speaking, skilled workers, and ethnic and religious antagonisms which had been dormant for a time soon resurfaced. The Bohemians and Poles charged that the relief committee, composed primarily of skilled workers, neglected their needs. As a Pole vividly expressed it, "The committee gets the whiskey, and the Polack gets nothing." The English-speaking leaders, on the other hand, believed that the unskilled Poles and Bohemians were taking advantage of the relief committee. As one put it, they "take everything they can
get . . . Some of them have saved up a little money and are able to take care of themselves, but they plead the most abject poverty and work the charity racket for all it is worth." 43 By late September, divisions among the workers had again exacted a price and the strike ended in failure. When production resumed, many of the Bohemians and Poles were not rehired. Some environmentalists who lived near the mills were also dismayed by the end of the strike, although for different reasons. As "Anti-Monopoly, Equal Rights, Golden Rule, and others" complained to the editor of the Cleveland Leader, "we must submit again to the annoying smoke and acid [from the mill] . . . . While the strike lasted the half dead trees and other vegetation improved, but our trees and gardens were destined to thrive no longer than the duration of the strike." 44

By the end of the nineteenth century, Cleveland had thus changed dramatically from the vision of its founders. The New England town had become the polyglot metropolis, many of whose citizens of different national origins and faiths lived in ethnic villages served by a multitude of institutions which fulfilled their practical and emotional needs. Whether that change was for the better or for the worse is a matter of individual judgment, but it certainly defines one of the major themes in Cleveland's nineteenth century development.

ENDNOTES


3William Ganson Rose, Cleveland: the Making of a City (Cleveland and New York, 1950), 91.

4Ibid., 158, note 37.


6David D. Van Tassel and John J. Grabowski (editors), The Encyclopedia of Cleveland History (Bloomington, Indiana, 1987), 447-449; Rose, Cleveland, 139, 203, 221, 262.

7Van Tassel and Grabowski, Encyclopedia, 556-557; Rose, Cleveland, 83, 89, 102, 113. For an interesting study of Cleveland's Irish, see Nelson J. Callahan and William F. Hickey, Irish Americans and Their Communities in Cleveland (Cleveland, 1978).


10 Rose, *Cleveland*, 264.


13 Van Tassel and Grabowski, *Encyclopedia*, 540-545.

14 Work Projects Administration, Ohio Historical Records Survey Projects, *Parishes of the Catholic Church, Diocese of Cleveland, History and Records* (Cleveland, 1942), 441-443.


16 These brochures are in the Archives of the Diocese of Cleveland (hereafter ADC), Chancery Building, Cleveland, Ohio.

17 Rose, *Cleveland*, 265.

18 Rev. Peter McLaughlin to Archbishop John Baptist Purcell, February 1, 1843 and December 23, 1843, nos. 1 and 2, Purcell Mss., University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana.

19 McLaughlin to Purcell, July, 1844, ibid.

20 McLaughlin to Purcell, August 15, 1844 and November 6, 1844, ibid.


23 Ibid., 392-398.

24 Quoted in ibid., 398.

25 Ibid., 398-402.

26 Ibid., 405-406.


28 Ibid., 405-406.

29 Van Tassel and Grabowski, *Encyclopedia*, 598-863.
30 Anton F. Kolaszewski to Bishop Richard Gilmour, July 6, 1887, Gilmour Mss., box vii, Kolaszewski file, ADC. Since I conducted my research in the ADC, the manuscript collections have been reorganized; the box and file numbers reflect the old arrangement of the collections.

31 Kolaszewski to Gilmour, December 14, 1888, ibid.

32 Kolaszewski to Gilmour, 1890 quoted in John J. Grabowski, Judith Zielinski-Zak, Alice Boberg and Ralph Wroblewski, Polish Americans and Their Communities in Cleveland (Cleveland, 1976), 205.

33 Van Tassel and Grabowski, Encyclopedia, 598; Rev. George F. Houck to Rev. Seraphim Bauer, March 18, 1892, Acta J. 609, ADC; Bishop Ignatius Horstmann, handwritten and undated note but perhaps March 26, 1892 and Bauer to Horstmann, April 7, 1892, St. Stanislaus file, ADC; Horstmann to Rev. Papi, May 15, 1894, #440 and May 11, 1894, #416, Archivio Segreto Vaticano (Secret Vatican Archives), Vatican City, Italy.

34 Rev. Motulewski to Horstmann, April 16, 1892, and Kolaszewski and the Congregation of St. Stanislaus to Horstmann, April 22, 1892, St. Stanislaus file, ADC; Horstmann to Kolaszewski, April 26, 1892, Acta J, 718, ADC.

35 Kolaszewski to Horstmann, June 7, 1892, St. Stanislaus file, ADC.

36 Cleveland Leader, June 12, 1892 and June 15, 1892.

37 Horstmann to Bishop P. A. Ludden, May 2, 1894, Acta M. 414, ADC.

38 See, for example, Lawrence D. Orton, Polish Detroit and the Kolasinski Affair (Detroit, 1981) and Joseph J. Parot, Polish Catholics in Chicago, 1850-1920: A Religious History (DeKalb, Ill., 1981).

39 Cleveland Leader, June 4, 1894; "Constitution and Regulations of the Polish Catholic Congregation Known as "The Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Cleveland, Ohio"" (n.p., 1894), Immaculate Heart of Mary file, ADC; Horstmann to Cardinal Mieczyslaw Ledochowski, August 4, 1894, #8997, Kolaszewski file, Archivio Storico de Propaganda Fide (Archives of the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith), Rome, Italy.

40 Van Tassel and Grabowski, Encyclopedia, 598.

41 For an analysis of the Rolling Mill strikes, see Leonard, "Ethnic Cleavage and Industrial Conflict in Late 19th Century America."

42 Quoted in ibid., 530.

43 Quoted in ibid., 541.

44 Quoted in ibid., 543.