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"Einsiedeln Elsewhere":

Searching for a Swiss Village in the American City of Louisville, Kentucky

by Susann Bosshard-Kälin

Louisville on the Ohio, a mid-sized city in midwest United States, is known to many because of the Kentucky Derby—the horse race rich in tradition happening since 1901 every year, or perhaps because of Bourbon. What has Louisville to do with a village in the midst of Switzerland?

500 Names in the White Pages

If one checks the *White Pages* of the city of Louisville, one discovers more than 500 names that point to a village in Switzerland's pre-alpine region: Birchler, Bisig, Kaelin, Oechslin, Ochsner, Schoenbaechler, and Zehnder. These family names all point to Einsiedeln. That density of people with Einsiedeln roots in Kentucky is astonishing. These Louisville people coming from Einsiedeln, living there in the third, fourth, and fifth generation, are they still attached to their Swiss roots in Einsiedeln? Do they still maintain ties to the hometown of their ancestors who have immigrated by the hundreds to this region on the Ohio?

Thin Presence of Swiss in Louisville's Written History

The history of German immigrants to Louisville is quite known, and a recent book titled *Germans in Louisville—A History* (Charleston, S.C.: History Press, 2015) and edited by Robert and Vicky Ullrich, richly documents their presence. This does not hold for Swiss and especially not for the large group composed of hundreds of

women and men from Einsiedeln who immigrated to Louisville since the mid-1850s. Although the archive of the Grütli-Society houses numerous documents and Adelrich Steinach did a portrait about the Swiss in Louisville in 1889 (republished in English translation in the November 2015 *SAHS Review*), otherwise little is known about the Swiss and especially the Einsiedler presence.

Tracing People from Einsiedeln

In 2015, a team of four from this monastery village—Susann Bosshard-Kälin, Heinz Nauer, Martina di Lorenzo, and Paolo de Caro—launched the project "Einsiedeln Elsewhere," on the one hand aiming to explore the history of emigration from Einsiedeln to Louisville (as featured in the articles of this journal issue), but on the other hand striving to discover a possible living Einsiedeln presence in the city of Louisville. What do members of families such as the Fuchs, Kaelin, Zehnder, Birchler, Schoenbaechler, Oechslin, and Ochsner know about their forebears who arrived in the region a hundred or more years before? Do they have an image of Einsiedeln; do they see themselves as Americans of Swiss origin; and are there still traces of their Swissness in everyday life? And if so, how are they expressed?

In the spring of 2015, Vicky Ullrich-Birchler, herself a descendant of Einsiedeln immigrants, was able to engage a journalist of the *Courier-Journal*, a leading newspaper of Louisville, to do an article about the issue. She published it in the Sunday edition of 22 March 2015 with the title: "Louisville's ties to a Swiss Town—Author's research discovers connections to Einsiedeln, a village near her. She will be in town in April."

The response to the newspaper article was unexpected. Dozens of men and women of Einsiedeln origin living in Louisville interested in the project made a telephone call, sent an e-mail, or met personally with Vicky Ullrich-Birchler. And they hoped to attend the project's presentation scheduled for 14 April 2015 in Louisville.

Some 73 people—40 women and 33 men—with ties to Einsiedeln filled out a quickly prepared questionnaire. Responses showed that about half living in Louisville had Einsiedeln roots and were of the third or fourth generation. Of those, 33 had relatives

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NEIGHBORHOODS

LOUISVILLE'S TIES TO A SWISS TOWN

Author's research discovers connections to Einsiedeln, a village near her; she will be in town in April

Martha Elson
Our |Entory
@marthaelson_ij

People in Louisville with last names of Fuchs, Kaelin, Zehnder, Bisig, Tanner, Schoenbaechler, Ochsner, Kurzi, Oechslin, Birchler and Lacher most likely have connections to the town of Einsiedeln in Switzerland, a Swiss author has discovered.

Susann Bosshard-Kälin, also a journalist and researcher who lives in a village outside of Einsiedeln, learned of the Louisville connections during a 2006 professional trip to St. Meinrad monastery about 65 miles from Louisville — a daughter monastery of one in Einsiedeln.

She talked to a man of Swiss heritage who told her about descendents of Einsiedeln families living in Louisville. He then got in touch with one of them, Vicky Birchler Ullrich, a distant cousin, and Ullrich assembled descendents at her house to meet with Bosshard-Kälin.

The Swiss researcher now plans to write an article or book about the connections between Louisville and Einsiedeln, drawing on information from family trees the descendents showed her going back to the 19th century.

Interviews

Bosshard-Kälin, who has written books related to Swiss immigration, will be in Louisville April 14-23 to conduct interviews with people about their Swiss ancestry, accompanied by a videographer, photographer and another historian, Heinz Nauer, a Ph.D candidate at the University of Luzern.

They plan to come here after flying to Chicago and visiting the Swiss Center of North American in New Glarus, Wisc.

Their research proposal is titled "Einsiedeln Elsewhere: Ties Between a Swiss Village and the American City Louisville Kentucky." They envision either a special issue of the Swiss American Historical Society Review on the topic or a full-fledged book.

Ullrich and Jeffrey Haeberlin, also a descendent of Einsiedeln immigrants, will coordinate the interviews. Anyone with close ties to Einsiedeln is encouraged to write to einsiedeln.elsewhere@gmail.com or call (502) 650-8714.

History

In 2014, Bosshard-Kälin also perused the 2014 white pages of the phone book, which she said showed an "astonishing number" of Einsiedeln names.

Ullrich, who has Zehnders on the other side of her family, said there were many Swiss immigrants who settled in Louisville, beginning in the mid-19th century, and the majority of them came from Einsiedeln, which was in a German-speaking part of the country.

Today, more than 90 percent of those who claim Swiss ancestry are from Einsiedeln, she said. Ullrich and her husband, Bob, are working on a book, "Germans in Louisville," that looks at Louisville's German connections.

COURTESY OF MIKE BISIG

The late Paul Bisig is shown with his dairy delivery truck, circa 1960.

COURTESY OF BOB AND VICKY ULLRICH

The two older men at right, Dominick Zehnder and Zacharias Birchler, are Vicky Ullrich's great-grandfathers. They are at Zehnder's Gardens in 1891. Zehnder's was at Bardstown Road and Baxter Avenue, where KFC is today.

COURTESY OF BOB AND VICKY ULLRICH

Zacharias and Catharina Birchler and family, from Einsiedeln, Switzerland, circa 1870.

Swiss Park

For those in Louisville without Swiss ties, Swiss Park and Hall in Germantown may be the most recognizable site connected to Swiss history.

Located on Lynn Street between Shelby and Preston streets, the park was created in 1925 by the Gruetli Helvetia Society, a Swiss association formed in 1850, according to the Encyclopedia of Louisville.

Ullrich belongs to the society's Swiss Ladies group.

A hall was erected soon after as a meeting place for the society, and the park became a popular summer gathering place for the Germantown community — for dances, bingo games, church socials, cookouts and celebrations.

But attendance tapered off by the 1960s, and the society stopped providing entertainment in 1971. The park was closed after that except for special events, before being renovated and reopened in the1980s.

In 1993, the society sold the property to the Fraternal Order of Police Deputy Sheriff's Lodge 25, which reopened the park for summer parties.

Another well-known site was Zehnder's Gardens biergarten, Baxter Avenue and Bardstown Road, where KFC is today, stretching to Grinstead Drive.

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March 2015 article in the Courier Journal, *Louisville, Kentucky.*

in Einsiedeln, 24 did not know, and 16 did not mention any. Some were in regular contact by mail or e-mail. Of the respondents, 23 had visited Einsiedeln at least once, 48 had not, and 2 did not answer the question. What image did the Louisville-Einsiedeln people have of their ancestral homeland? The Cloud below shows its main features:

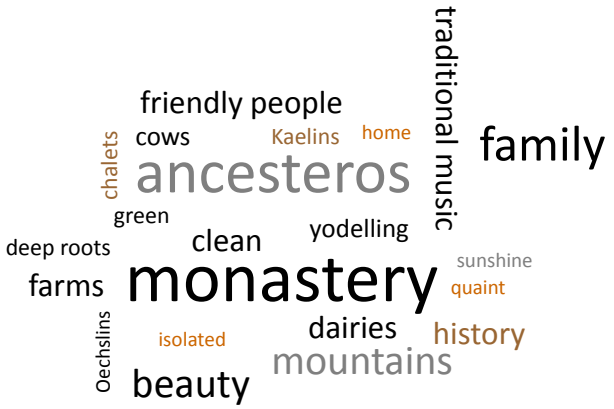


Image of the homeland of the Einsiedeln ancestors.

On the information-evening held in mid-April 2015, some one hundred people showed up in order to learn firsthand about the project "Einsiedeln Elsewhere." During two stays in Louisville, the task was to make full use of the moment: Did anything still point to traces of Einsiedeln that were brought by immigrants to this city? How many or how few were still extant among the descendants? Conversations with about twenty men and women of Einsiedeln background, supplemented by photographs and film clips, were to reveal the remaining traces of their Swiss origins.

On 11 June 2016 the project had arrived in Einsiedeln and the association "Einsiedeln Elsewhere" invited the public to an information-evening at the Museum Fram—some 100 people accepted the call. The team had been at work for a year—and the project proved to be successful. For the presentation of what had been accomplished so far, not only Swiss relatives of Louisville immigrants and numerous people of the monastery village attended, but also Vicky and Bob Ullrich-Birchler of Louisville on a European tour was present.

Franz Pirker, President of the Culture Commission and newly- elected Mayor of the District, greeted the attending guests and thanked the members of the project team. He pointed out that "Einsiedeln Elsewhere" signaled the rebuilding of bridges between 19th century emigrants from Einsiedeln and their descendants in Louisville—bridges that had nearly vanished due to the great distance and the passage of time. Between 1850 and 1950, more than 3,000 women and men had left the Einsiedeln district, most of them for overseas, and many for Louisville, Kentucky.

For Switzerland's Canton Schwyz, "Einsiedeln Elsewhere" is a novel undertaking. The gathering of historical documents and facts about emigration, the reporting of stories of events and portraits of descendants of immigrants, and establishing a special website and Facebook account—all are building a multi-media bridge between Louisville and Einsiedeln. Much work needs still to be done, and new tasks are envisioned.

On the evening of the meeting, Vicky Ullrich-Birchler of Louisville had a special surprise: she presented District Mayor Franz Pirker with a Declaration from the Mayor of Louisville Greg Fischer that read is pictured on the next page.

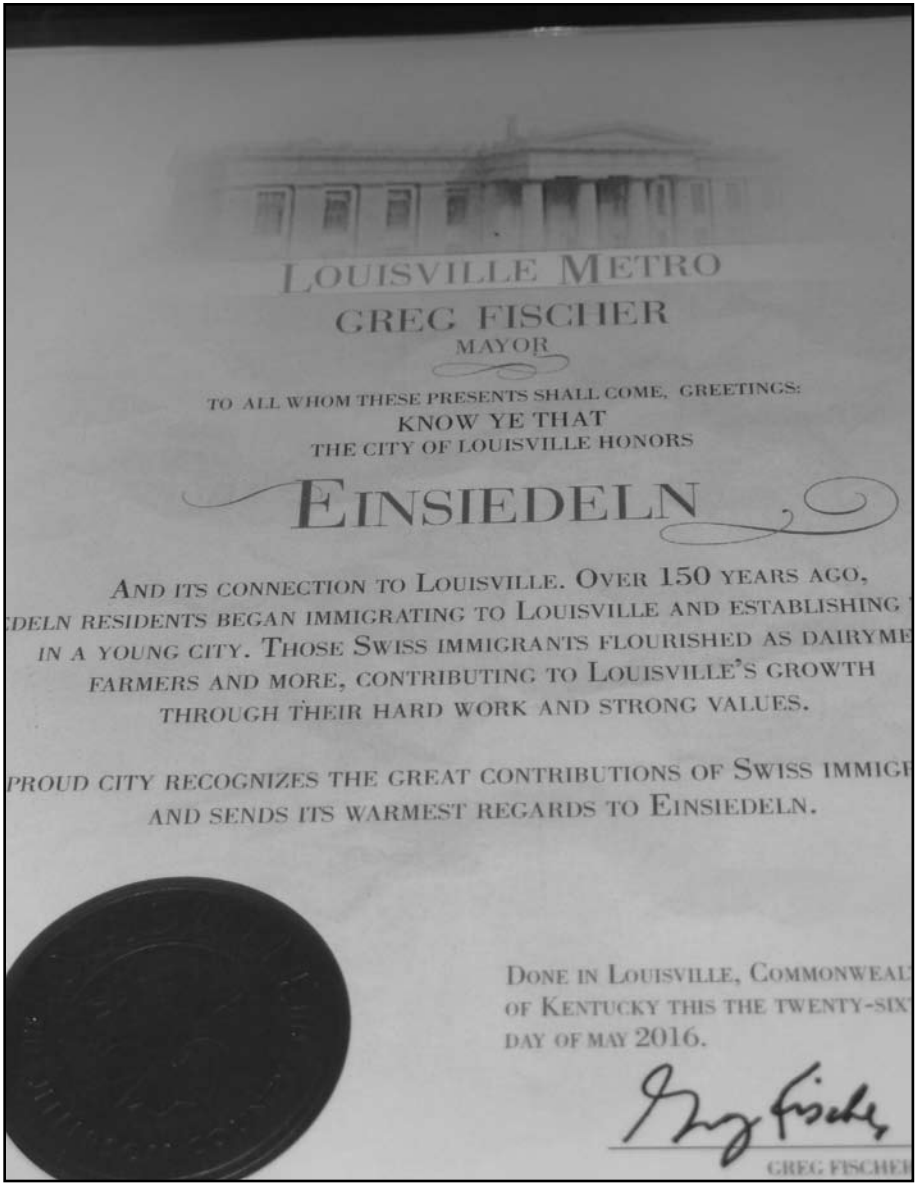
LOUISVILLE METRO

Greg Fischer
Mayor

To all whom these presents shall come. Greetings:
Know Ye That
The City of Louisville Honors

EINSIEDELN

And its connection to Louisville. Over 150 years ago, Einsiedeln residents began immigration to Louisville and establishing themselves in a young city. Those Swiss immigrants flourished as dairymen, farmers and more, contributing to Louisville's growth through their hard work and strong values.



LOUISVILLE METRO

GREG FISCHER

MAYOR

TO ALL WHOM THESE PRESENTS SHALL COME, GREETINGS:

KNOW YE THAT

THE CITY OF LOUISVILLE HONORS

EINSIEDELN

AND ITS CONNECTION TO LOUISVILLE. OVER 150 YEARS AGO,
DELN RESIDENTS BEGAN IMMIGRATING TO LOUISVILLE AND ESTABLISHING
IN A YOUNG CITY. THOSE SWISS IMMIGRANTS FLOURISHED AS DAIRYME
FARMERS AND MORE, CONTRIBUTING TO LOUISVILLE'S GROWTH
THROUGH THEIR HARD WORK AND STRONG VALUES.

PROUD CITY RECOGNIZES THE GREAT CONTRIBUTIONS OF SWISS IMMIGR
AND SENDS ITS WARMEST REGARDS TO EINSIEDELN.

DONE IN LOUISVILLE, COMMONWEAL
OF KENTUCKY THIS THE TWENTY-SIX
DAY OF MAY 2016.

GREG FISCHE

A proud city recognizes the great contributions of Swiss immigrants, and sends its warmest regards to Einsiedeln.

Done in Louisville,
Commenwealth of Kentucky this the
Twenty-Sixth day of May 2026
Greg Fischer, Mayor

The document was accepted with great applause and received an honored place in Einsiedeln's Townhall.

Franz Pirker, Mayor of Einsiedeln, with Vicky and Bob Ullrich-Birchler from Louisville and the "Einsiedeln Elsewhere Team" in front of the Museum Fram in Einsiedeln.

Some typical excerpts from the interview-portraits of the people interviewed in Louisville may highlight the diversity of their relationship with Einsiedeln.

Irma Kaelin Raque. Notice the "cheeseburger sign" in the background.

1. Irma Kaelin Raque

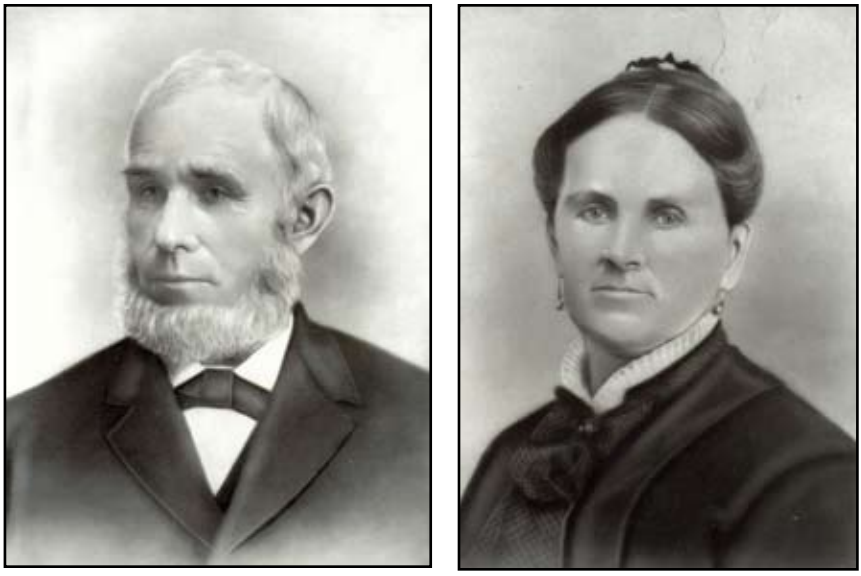
In 2015, *Kaelin's* legendary restaurant at Newburg Road and Speed Avenue in Louisville's Highlands was long gone. After 75 years, its doors had closed for good in 2009, the striking blue-white *Kaelin's* sign was taken down and sold. An "institution" established by immigrants from Einsiedeln, a culinary celebrity in town and widely known as the "birthplace" of the cheeseburger, had disappeared forever.

Louis Kaelin, grandfather of Irma Kaelin Raque.

Irma Kaelin Raque had managed it successfully in the second generation, but the third had no further interest in it! Therefore, we did not meet the 84-year-old Irma Raque for a cheeseburger in her restaurant, but instead enjoyed milk and doughnuts at her home on Lamont Road. Her Aunt Antoinette, her father's sister, had gathered the family documents. And Irma had put them in order for her sons and daughters and said: "We Kaelins are a proud bunch; I too am very proud of having Swiss and Einsiedeln roots." She has visited Einsiedeln, has looked there for ancestors, but has not made contact with relatives.

2. Zehnders

They are numerous and stick together—those kinfolks of the "Einsiedeln Zehnders" in Louisville. They have a keen sense for genealogy and are much interested in it; their annual family reunion with dozens of relatives of different generations is a long tradition. Thus, their family history has been carefully assembled revealing strong roots both in Bennau and in Einsiedeln, Switzerland. Kathy Mary Zehnder Monroe, Tom Zehnder, Joan Zehnder, Carol Fessler Zehnder, Rick Zehnder, and Martin "Buzzy" Storch—are all siblings



Joseph Dominik Zehnder (1824-1894) (left) from Bennau, Switzerland, and Josephine Maria Anna Benedicta Zehnder Schaedler (1833-1885) (right) fromTrachslau, Switzerland.

or cousins. And they are all the progeny of the original immigrant, Joseph Dominik Zehnder, from Bennau near Einsiedeln. They are descendants of his first wife, Josephina Maria Anna Benedicta Schaedler Zehnder, from Einsiedeln or of his second wife, Elisabetha Fuchs Zehnder.

The name of Alfred Zehnder comes up many times. He is the distant cousin in Einsiedeln who has maintained a lively contact with relatives in Louisville, studied and documented the family's history in detail way back to the 15th century. He also has provided his relatives in America with a genealogical chart and with books and plenty of data: "A fabulous historical effort for which we are most glad and grateful. After the death of Alfred (1927–2014), we have even more contact with his daughter, Edith Zehnder Mettler, of Einsiedeln. We regularly exchange e-mails and occasionally visit her. And, of course, she has also visited us here in Louisville. She is the bridge to the hometown of our forebears."

The Zehnders of Louisville are genuine Americans, but it is also apparent that they are proud of their Swiss roots. Tom explains,

"Knowing where we have come from is very important to us, it gives us identity. 'Heritage' however is appreciated less and less here in America. Even though, at present, our young ones hardly find any time to deal with family history—we have it all documented and are able to hand it down."

The Swiss aspect for the Zehenders has moved to the background. None speak German anymore. Tom tries it with some words that he remembers from High School. He has never been to Einsiedeln in contrast to Joan for whom arriving at the Zurich airport is always like a homecoming. "I like Einsiedeln, I have been there many times. Once even for six weeks. Edith, my cousin, is very important to me. It is my dream to organize a large Zehnder festival in Einsiedeln with all the relatives from here and there!"

3. Gilbert Kaelin

Gilbert Kaelin, age 80, is a farmer with heart and soul. His large farm with a small lake at its center borders the land of his 90-year-old brother Lawrence. It is situated in Crestwood some fifteen miles northeast of Louisville. "In 1963, we had to relocate because the town was steadily expanding. We had been living in St. Matthews for decades—together with the Zehnders, Oechslins, and Bisigs on their farms. At the end, we were the last farming family

The Anton and Anna Catharina Kaelin Schoenbaechler family, ca. 1920.

at the 'Kaelin Drive,' but we too had to leave St. Matthews, the farming town, the potato land, as the region was popularly called."

Gilbert Kaelin's mother, Catherina Kamer, came from an immigrant family of Sattel—a village that is a quarter hour distant from Einsiedeln. "She could yodel wonderfully." And the Kaelin clan was widely known. In the Swiss Park and the Swiss Hall, they played Scottish dances and polkas for decades. People flocked to the Swiss Hall, and "the heart of the Swiss in Louisville" would fill it to the brim.

Gilbert Kaelin knows the region of his forebears. On a 1973 European tour he visited Einsiedeln. Joe Birchler, he too from an Einsiedeln immigrant family, was the tour guide. " I didn't find out where exactly my grandparents were living. But I saw women in Willerzell who looked just like my sisters! To communicate proved quite difficult, however. In the 1970s, relatively few people of the

area spoke English and we could not speak German. I remember the magnificent flower boxes at the houses and I can still see the cows, almost all brown Swiss.

"To be a farmer and to make music, that is my life. I feel that I am a full-blooded Swiss and I am proud of it, although I don't speak Swiss German and don't have a Swiss pass. Here in Louisville one always said that the Swiss were good, honest people. One could count on us, that was our image. By the way, my grandfather Anton Jacob Kaelin had his eye on Anna Catherina Schönbächler, a girl from Wilerzell when still at home. A little later after he had left, she traveled alone to her fiancé. They married and together brought up 14 children."

Mike Kaelin.

3. Mike Kaelin

Mike Kaelin, son of Gilbert Kaelin, age 57, speaks German, even fluent Swiss German. He loves "Ländlers," vibrant pieces of Swiss folk music. Although having Swiss roots and much sympathy for the country, he does not have a Swiss pass. "I have always tried to get one. But because my forebears didn't request Swiss citizenship for themselves and their progeny, I can't get it. But I have not given up hope that some day I will get it." His love for Switzerland is obvious:

The herdsman shirt that Mike Kaelin is wearing makes him look like an "Älpler," a man of the Alps. After his engineering studies in the United States, he lived in the late 1980s and early 1990s in Zurich's upcountry, working as an engineer in Wetzikon at KABA, a firm for security systems and locks.

"I wanted to learn about my roots." During those years, he not only learned to know the country and the people, but also Swiss German. "I feel a great need to speak the language of my ancestors." He also improved his playing of the accordion that he had learned already from his father, Gilbert Kaelin, in Louisville. "During my Swiss years I played off and on with Swiss musicians in various "Ländler" teams. And Willi Valotti, whom I got to know at a home performance, became my music teacher." Every four to five years, Mike Kaelin tries to visit Switzerland for one to two weeks. "I need to feel the Swiss spirit."

Then Mike becomes pensive: "Authentic Swiss music that immigrants were playing earlier in America is dying out. That's how it is. What is Swiss is disappearing more and more. Many descendants are of the second, third, even fourth generation and hardly understand Switzerland, they don't speak its language and don't know its culture and music. Only longing remains. . . ."

4. Vicky Ullrich-Birchler

"The interest of people with Einsiedeln background is strong. The heritage appears to be alive and present," Vicky Ullrich-Birchler claims. "But, someone needs to get the ball rolling, to motivate people to search for their roots. On my father's side, the whole line originally came from Einsiedeln—four families were involved: the Birchler, Oechslin, Zehnder, and Schaedler. Unfortunately, my father died when I was but six years old so that we had more contact with the family of my German-Irish mother. But Switzerland and Einsiedeln never vanished from my heart, to the contrary. Although I do not have a Swiss pass and speak neither German nor Swiss German, my Einsiedeln roots are very important to me.

As a member of the Swiss Ladies Society, the sister organization of the Gruetli Helvetia Society, I am very connected with the Swiss here in Louisville. About 40 women with Swiss, many of

Portrait of the Zacharias and Catharina Birchler family in St. Matthews, Louisville, in the 1870s.

Bob and Vicky Ullrich-Birchler on their 2016 visit to Einsiedeln, together with famous Swiss yodeler, Nadja Räss, and the Waldstatt Echo, Einsiedeln.

them also with Einsiedeln roots, are active in the society. I hope that the project might give new life to the somewhat over-aged group and attract younger new members. I like the solidarity, and we meet three to four times annually for events in the hall of Holy Trinity Catholic Church in St. Matthews; we dine, chat, and play the SWISSO, a kind of lotto with catchphrases such as Einsiedeln, skiing, ski slope, and the like. We celebrate a Christmas party together with the members of the Gruetli Helvetia Society.

The ties to the old homeland are vanishing more and more in Louisville. Gradually, Swissness is disappearing. Older people pass away and with them their remembrances and stories. Of course, it is the natural process of assimilation, but I still find it unfortunate. We are now the fifth to the seventh generation of Swiss immigrants and know all too little about our history."

Then Bob Ullrich observes: "The arrival of Einsiedeln people in Louisville is something special. In all my years of rather extensive research, I have never found a place from where as many people from a single area have emigrated to another one abroad as they have from Einsiedeln in Switzerland to Kentucky's Louisville in the United States."

It is High Time

The numerous interviews and conversations reveal that it is high time to preserve the history of Einsiedeln immigrants to Louisville. Just ten years ago, research would have yielded more, since a greater number of second generation people from Einsiedeln would then have been still alive. Some might still have spoken Swiss German and remembered the story of their immigrant parents. And the famed *Kaelin's* restaurant of Irma Raque would still have been open...

Things Swiss and vestiges of Einsiedeln are ever more fading in Louisville. The sale of the Swiss Hall and the Swiss Park in 1995 by the Helvetia Gruetli Society—nearly a hundred year-old center of the cultural and social life of Swiss in the city—highlighted that interest in the Swiss was increasingly vanishing. On the one hand, with the passing of generations, origins recede more and more into the background; on the other hand, wanting to know about the birthplace

of one's ancestors does not seem to diminish. Nearly everywhere the delight in having Swiss roots seems to be apparent.

Thus the task remains to seek out "Einsiedeln Elsewhere" and to chronicle what is still in reach of what one may call Einsiedeln or Swiss elements.

And perhaps the virtual bridge, the homepage "Einsiedeln Elsewhere," may serve as a lively bond between Louisville and Einsiedeln, supplemented perhaps by a mutual exchange of students and by a common observance of cultural events. The future will tell!

~ Translated by Leo Schelbert

Einsiedeln on the Ohio

Overseas Migrations of Einsiedeln People to the United States in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries

*by Heinz Nauer**

Between 1850 and 1950, more than 3,000 men and women from Einsiedeln went overseas, most of them to the United States. It was not unique since many people also migrated from other regions of Switzerland, and the total migrations of Swiss overseas during that time represented only a very small fraction of the global movement of people in three main directions: from Europe to the Western Hemisphere, from India and southern China to Southeast Asia, and from Russia to the Far East.[1] Despite not being out of the ordinary, it seems useful to explore the history of overseas migrations from a single pre-alpine region of Switzerland. In comparison to the country as a whole, Einsiedeln provides a significant example in several respects. On the one hand, its' emigration numbers were quite above the average; from no other district of central Switzerland did more people move overseas in the second half of the 19th century.[2] On the

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This essay originated in the context of the project "Einsiedeln elsewhere." Some of the sections of the essay were also part of a 2014 article titled "Alte und Neue Welt. Der Benziger Verlag und die Einsiedler Amerikaauswanderung im 19. Jahrhundert." —I thank Bob Ullrich of Louisville, Kentucky, for his research in the American census records and Paolo de Caro for creating the maps and graphics.

[1] From 1850 to 1950, over 50 million people migrated from Europe to the Americas, including about half a million Swiss. For a global overview see McKeown, Adam. "Global Migration, 1846-1940," *Journal of World History* 15, 2 (2004): 155-189.

[2] For the regional origin of Swiss emigrants between 1816 and 1920, see Heiner Ritzmann-Blickenstorfer, *Alternative Neue Welt: Die Ursachen der schweizerischen Auswanderung im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert* (Zürich: Chronos, 1997), 176-200, esp. 193-197.

other hand, emigration from Einsiedeln was diverse and not merely an economic crisis phenomenon, but shaped also by entrepreneurs as well as by the special situation of Swiss Catholicism.

Since the 1830s, the Catholic book trade firm and press named "Benziger Brothers" was present in the American Midwest. In 1854, furthermore, monks of the monastery Einsiedeln established the daughter foundation of St. Meinrad in Indiana's southern Spencer County that greatly influenced the region's development. During the same years, the first emigrants from Einsiedeln settled in the prosperous region dominated by the city of Louisville in north central Kentucky. This essay explores aspects of that emigration in its enmeshment with a particular region of the United States. Two perspectives shape its understanding: the first views migration history as a history of *migratory processes*. Already in the 1960s, historians referred to a "saltwater curtain" between Europe and North America that clouded a proper understanding of European emigration history.[3] Scholars criticized the one-dimensional concentration either on emigration or on immigration history and instead stressed migration as a process that generally did not lead from one place to another, but often to several places in sequence as well as in many instances to a return.[4] This essay, therefore, not only explores the historical background of emigration from the region of Einsiedeln, but also follows the emigrants across the ocean to determine where they settled in the United States and within which historical context individual decisions had been made.

A second aspect of this essay refers to the centrality of socio-cultural factors that shape migratory movements. Narrow economically-determined models have been criticized in favor of a social and cultural understanding of migration. From that perspective, transnational networks between members of a family or a village are

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[3] For a detailed description of the debate see Walter D. Kamphoefner, *Westfalen in der Neuen Welt. Eine Sozialgeschichte der Auswanderung im 19. Jahrhundert*. 2nd ed. (Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Osnabrück bei V&R unipress, 2006), 11-21, esp. 15-16.

[4] For the 18th and 19th centuries see Leo Schelbert, *Einführung in die schweizerische Auswanderungsgeschichte der Neuzeit*. Zürich: Stäubli, 1976; for the 20th century see the theoretical reflections of Barbara Lüthi, "Migration and Migration History," Version: 1.0, Docupedia-Zeitgeschichte, 6.5.2010 (online); for the statistical problem concerning return migration see Ritzmann, *Alternative Neue Welt,* 109-116.

viewed to be of central importance, as well as regional migration cultures that tied emigrants to a particular place or occupation.[5] Also in the migrations from Einsiedeln to the United States, social factors seem to have been of central significance. Far better than merely economic considerations, they explain the regionally limited differences in the intensity of overseas migration as well as their remarkably unified direction to specific regions of the United States.

The essay has three parts. The first describes the region of Einsiedeln in the 19th century and its historical contexts. It addresses the numerically significant overseas migration from the area and its contexts, and it identifies as well various actors who were involved in its organizational pattern. The second part offers an overview of the numerical dispersal of Einsiedeln people in the United States, then concentrates on their spread in the Ohio River region between Cincinnati in Ohio and Tell City and St. Meinrad in Indiana, with their adjoining center of Louisville in Kentucky. The third part features the presence of people from Einsiedeln and their descendants in Louisville today, and also the various phases of their search for roots since World War I.

Einsiedeln: Economy, Mobility, Migration Overseas

The region of Einsiedeln is situated in the pre-Alpine area in Canton Schwyz on a high plateau some 900 meters (3,000 ft.) above sea level. Geographically, it is one of the canton's three divisions, the others being the cantonal core part and the so-called *Ausserschwyz* region. Being at the margin of central Switzerland and less than some 14 miles from the Lake of Zurich, it has constant commercial ties to Protestant Zurich, but it is also fully a part of Catholic central Switzerland. The district consists of the core town Einsiedeln and six surrounding villages called quarters, that is, Bennau, Egg, Euthal, Gross, Trachslau, and Willerzell. Since the 18th century, the core area has been relatively urbanized with many commercial establishments

[5] For periods before the 19th century see Jon Mathieu, "Migrationen im mittleren Alpenraum, 15.-19. Jahrhundert. Erträge und Probleme der Forschung," in: Ulrich Pfister, ed. *Regional Development and Commercial Infrastructure in the Alps* (Basel: Schwabe, 2002), 95-110; for the concept "regional cultures of migration" see Ritzmann, *Alternative Neue Welt,* 613, 619-620.

Switzerland is about 41,000 square kilometers compared to Kentucky which is about 105,000 square kilometers. Credit: Paolo De Caro, 2015.

Switzerland and its 26 cantons. Canton Schwyz is in light green with the the Einsiedeln district in dark green. Credit: Paolo De Caro, 2015.

in contrast to the mainly agrarian character of the quarters. In 1799, the district Einsiedeln counted some 5,000 inhabitants[6] and by 1888 had reached 8,506.[7] The village Einsiedeln was the largest "constructional unit" in Canton Schwyz, and in 1850 it belonged to the 15 largest regionally-segmented parts of Switzerland.[8]

In the 18th and 19th centuries, the inhabitants of the four quarters were mainly engaged in animal husbandry, especially in raising milk cattle. Seasonal employment in the textile home industry allowed farmers to supplement their income. Many families processed cotton or silk for textile firms in Zurich, Glarus, or other towns. Until the second third of the 19th century when mechanized textile factories replaced the home industry, the "whirring spindles" belonged also in Einsiedeln to the "obligate house music," as a contemporary observer put it.[9]

The town of Einsiedeln was greatly shaped by the monastery and by pilgrimages to its interior chapel church that houses an iconic shrine of Mary. In the 14th century already, it was a Catholic pilgrimage site of international significance. To this day, the goal of pilgrims is the Black Madonna, a late Gothic sculpture regarded as having miraculous power. Although over the centuries, the number of pilgrims have varied, it has remained astonishingly constant. Since the 1830s, pilgrimages have been on the increase, not in the least because new means of transportation greatly shortened the pilgrims' travel time. In the peak years of the 19th century, up to 200,000 pilgrims were arriving.[10]

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[6] Andreas Meyerhans, "Einsiedeln," *Historical Lexicon of Switzerland*, online: http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch (9.9.2015).

[7] Heiner Ritzmann-Blickenstorfer, ed. *Historische Statistik der Schweiz* (Zürich: Chronos, 1996), 164, Table B.37.

[8] Martin Schuler, "Siedlungs- und Bevölkerungsgeschichte seit dem 18. Jahrhundert," in: *Geschichte des Kantons Schwyz Historischer Verein des Kantons Schwyz* (Hrsg.): *Geschichte des Kantons Schwyz*, 7 Bände. Chronos Verlag, Zürich 2012. Bd. 5: *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, 33-73, table 59; Meyerhans, ibid.

[9] Ambros Eberle, *Referat über Stellung und Beruf der Urkantone zur Industrie* (Einsiedeln: Verlagsbuchhandlung Eberle, Kälin & Co., 1858), 19.

[10] Odilo Ringholz, *Wallfahrtsgeschichte Unserer Lieben Frau von Einsiedeln. Ein Beitrag zur Culturgeschichte*. Freiburg i. Br: Herder'sche Verlagshandlung, 1896, remains basic; for the 19th and early 20th century see Kari Kälin, *Schauplatz katholischer Frömmigkeit. Wallfahrt nach Einsiedeln von 1864 bis 1914*. Fribourg: Academic Press, 2005.

Postcard of a procession of pilgrims on the monastery square in Einsiedeln, first half of the 20th century.

In Einsiedeln, the production and sale of religious items and pilgrimage memorabilia also date back centuries. In the 19th century, the previous types of pilgrimage enterprises evolved into a veritable "pilgrimage industry" that became second only to agriculture. Several businesses emerged that were wholly devoted to the production of religious books, images, rosaries, figures of saints, and devotional objects. Some were connected with the monastery, while others were fully independent. The largest and widely known enterprise was the Benziger family who in the second half of the 19th century employed up to a thousand people and served an international market.[11]

Despite being off the beaten path, at the height of the pilgrimage season in spring and fall, the Catholic center Einsiedeln attracted numerous people, among them not only pilgrims who hailed

[11] The author is completing a doctoral dissertation about the firm Benziger at the University of Lucerne. See his article "Ware für den katholischen Markt. Verlagstätigkeit und Andachtsgraphik des Benziger Verlags, Einsiedeln, im 19. Jahrhundert," in: *Schweizerisches Jahrbuch für Wirtschafts– und Sozialgeschichte* 30 (2015): 37-57; also "Der Benziger Verlag und die Einsiedler Amerikaauswanderung im 19. Jahrhundert," *Geschichtsfreund* 167 (2014), 32-51; for the American branches see also Saul Zalesch, "The Religious Art of Benziger Brothers," *American Art* 13,2 (1999): 58-79.

from Switzerland, France, the Alsace, southern Germany, and the Tyrol, but also peddlers, traders, and all kinds of artisans. In turn, people from Einsiedeln went as peddlers of religious books and articles seasonally abroad to Catholic areas of Switzerland or of near-by countries.[12]

Other Einsiedeln people were engaged in the so-called "Welschlandhandel," that is, the export of milk cows to northern Italy that flourished until the end of the 19th century. Comparatively highly urbanized regions of northern Italy had thriving cheese-making establishments in need of high-performance milk cows that led farmers from Einsiedeln as well as other places of central Switzerland to drive their cattle over the Alps to market.[13] Also, the mercenary military service had been important as it had evolved in various forms since the late Middle Ages and was to last until the mid-nineteenth century. Since military service was a profession, thousands of Swiss served over the centuries in military formations of countries such as England, France, Savoy, and Naples. In Canton Schwyz, mercenary employment had strong roots and was widespread until the 19th century.[14]

Until 1850, there is only sparse numerical data about the various migratory forms in which people from Einsiedeln participated, although it might be valuable to explore the relationship of earlier migratory forms to later migrations overseas. Was emigration to America possibly a form of "peaceful mercenary service"?[15] Perhaps the overseas migrations of people from Einsiedeln after the 1850s may be understood simply as a territorial expansion of a dynamic society's radius of emigration and less as a new mass exodus from a supposedly static society.

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[12] See Josef Karl Benziger, *Geschichte der Familie Benziger von Einsiedeln, Schweiz*. New York: Benziger Brothers, 1923.

[13] Tobias Straumann, "Die Wirtschaft im 19. Jahrhundert," in: *Geschichte des Kantons Schwyz*, Bd. 5: *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, 125-159, esp. 134-136.

[14] Beat Frei, "Gesellschaftlicher Wandel 1750-2010. Stände, Schichten, Wanderungen" in: ibid. Bd. 5, 9-31.

[15] *Bote der Urschweiz,* No. 26 (1912), quoted after Suzanne N. Rupp, "Die Auswanderung aus dem Kanton Schwyz in die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika zwischen den 1870er Jahren und 1914 im *Bote der Urschweiz*," Lizentiatsarbeit, (Basel 2010), 130.

Overview of Overseas Migrations from the Region of Einsiedeln

Two facts need to be kept in mind: first, overseas migration from Einsiedeln since the early 1850s was not a new phenomenon and had occurred since at least the early 19th century.[16] Second, most overseas emigrants from Einsiedeln and generally from Canton Schwyz went to the United States, while other destinations such as Australia, Brazil, or Argentina were only marginally chosen. From the town of Schwyz, almost 90% of overseas emigrants went to the United States, from the district Einsiedeln nearly 100%.[17]

Official statistics for Canton Schwyz only exist since 1868, irregularly between 1882 and 1900, and relate to the district level. In the following table, the official data was, therefore, complemented by registers of the various cooperatives of the Einsiedeln district that partly supported emigrants and also by registers of issued passports that were kept since 1849. Between 1850 and 1900, the sum of overseas Einsiedeln emigrants was accordingly above 2,000 as shown in Table 1 pictured at the top of the next page.

These numbers are less than comprehensive, however. Not included are emigrants who did not move overseas directly from Einsiedeln but from other places in France or Germany where they may have stayed for some time before departure. The numbers in Table 1 also include people who may have returned for a home visit or who repeatedly crossed the ocean in pursuit of business. A not insignificant number of emigrants also returned to their homeland after having spent some time abroad. But one may assume that, on the whole, the resulting gains and losses will balance out, and that the

[16] About that earlier migration little is known. Josef Karl Benziger (1799–1873) observed in a today no more extant text: "After the price increase and hunger year of 1817 covering the whole of Europe—[due to the eruption of the volcano Tambora in Southeast Asia, the ashes of which obscured for months sunlight all over Europe] as well as the increase of taxes and levies, the desire to emigrate increased und grew from year to year. ... All were astonished by the good reports from those who had moved to America and thousands were enticed also to try their luck in the New World where the soil rewarded less effort with greater result. ... The call of those emigrations and their fortunate results even in Einsiedeln awakened the desire to try one's luck over there."

[17] Ritzmann, *Alternative Neue Welt,* 263, table 27.

Table 1: Emigrants from the District Einsiedeln, 1850-1900[18]

Years	*Number of Emigrants*
1850–1855	305
1856-1860	36
1861-1865	187
1866-1870	119
1871-1875	168
1876-1880	189
1881-1885	370
1886-1890	357
1891-1895	219
1896-1900	139
1850-1900	**Total 2,089**

number of some 2,000 emigrants from the Einsiedeln district between 1850 and 1900 might be valid.

This would mean that in the 19th century, the district Einsiedeln had by far the most overseas emigrants compared to the five other cantonal districts, that is, Gersau, Höfe, Küssnacht, March, and the town of Schwyz. Between 1882 and 1900, 43% of emigrants from Canton Schwyz were from Einsiedeln, while in 1880 its population represented only 16%.[19] For the years after 1900, the numbers of emigrants were available only on the cantonal level. Statistical data suggest that a total of some 8,000 people emigrated overseas between 1871 and 1950, as Table 2 shows on the next page.

[18] The numbers are based on the following sources: Until 1868 on the district archive Einsiedeln (BAE) MI.10.3, register of the identity papers issues; 1869-1881 Archive of the Genossame (GAE), 3.6, Jahresrechnungen; 1882–-1900: Die Bewegung der Bevölkerung im Jahr ..., 1885-1900 (with statistical data on emigration overseas and to North America from 1882 to 1900).

[19] Eidgenössische Volkszählungen 1880 and 1900.

Table 2: Emigrants from Canton Schwyz, 1871-1950[20]

Decade	*Number of Emigrants*
1871–1880	851
1881–1890	1,679
1891–1900	1,035
1901–1910	1,662
1911–1920	1,082
1921–1930	1,332
1931–1940	266
1941–1950	233
1871–1950	**Total 8,140**

This table indicates that emigration was a constant phenomenon and, depending on conditions, the numbers at times increased and at others decreased. Between 1850 and 1950, statistics show four phases of increased emigration from Canton Schwyz and the district of Einsiedeln: the years 1850 to 1855, the 1880s and early 1890s, the decade before, and the decade after World War I.

Why these distinct phases? As for migration, in general, the answer is important, but also difficult. It depends whether one considers more individual situational possibilities of historical actors or general economic, social, and political structures and events. Traditional interpretations tend to locate human migrations in mechanistically structured explanatory models. Often migratory movements of people are seen as an interplay between crises at home that "push" people out and attractive conditions in the destination country that "pull" people in. Thus, not only crises in the homeland, but also favorable conditions abroad increase migrations. The push-pull model has some plausibility. Times, especially due to agricultural crises such as the potato pest between 1847 and 1854 or the agrarian crisis between 1878 and 1884, did leave their mark in emigration

[20] Historische Statistik der Schweiz online (HSSO), E. 14: In überseeische Länder ausgewanderte Personen nach Kantonen 1841-1955.

statistics, as did phases of especially liberal or even propagandistic immigration policies of neo-European countries such as Canada, the United States, Argentina, or Australia, all intent of re-peopling the conquered territories with Europeans.[21] England's 18th century colonies and since its founding, in particular the United States, pursued an unsettlement–resettlement empire. European settlers were to "civilize" the land and make conquest irreversible.[22]

The explanatory push-pull model of migration seems to overstress economic factors and to neglect social aspects. Emigration, for instance, is often accompanied by in-migration to an area so that migratory movements become intertwined.[23] This also holds to a certain degree for this case study. In 1880, about 800 citizens of another Swiss canton and 320 people from abroad were residing in Einsiedeln. In the two decades of the most intense emigration to 1900, the number of residents from other cantons rose to over 1,000 and the number of foreign nationals to some 500 persons.[24] It is also significant to note the strongly irregular regional distribution of Swiss emigration movements. Quite often centers of emigration are found immediately besides certain regions with small numbers of emigrants. Why, for instance, did people from Obwalden migrate in great numbers to the United States, but not from neighboring Canton Nidwalden? Why did the inhabitants of the district March remain, while those of the adjoining district Einsiedeln exchanged their old home with one across the Atlantic?

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[21] See the overview of interpretative models of migrations sketched by Leo Schelbert, "Von den Ursachen der schweizerischen Auswanderung. Vier Deutungsmodelle," *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde* 104, 2 (2008), 163-182; zur Einwanderungspropaganda see Philipp Gassert, Mark Häberlein und Michael Wala, *Kleine Geschichte der USA* (Stuttgart: Reclam, Philipp Jr., 2007), 316-318.

[22] Schelbert has repeatedly stressed the twin process of unsettling and destroying resisting indigenous populations and resettling the militarily conquered lands with Europeans in order to make their possession secure and profitable; he views that conquest that destroyed native peoples by the millions as a most crucial, if largely ignored, context of European immigration to the Americas, Australia, and New Zealand between 1600 and the 1920s.

[23] For Italian Switzerland see Raffaello Ceschi, "Migrazioni dalla montagna alla montagna," in: *Gewerbliche Migration im Alpenraum* (Bolzano: Athesia, 1994), 15-46. Wilhelm Bickel, *Bevölkerungsgeschichte und Bevölkerungspolitik der Schweiz seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters* (Zürich: Büchergilde Gutenberg, 1947), 175-178.

[24] See Swiss federal plebiscites 1880 und 1900.

Economic models do not explain by themselves such marked regional differences. In his study of Swiss emigration in the 19th and early 20th century, therefore, Heiner Ritzmann-Blickenstorfer coined the concept "regional migratory culture." Instead of talking of a "Swiss" migratory tradition during that time span, one may rather speak of a patchwork of regional migratory patterns that coexisted side by side especially in the Alpine regions.[25]

One may ask, therefore, whether there had been some kind of Einsiedeln "migratory culture." What marked the emigrants of the district? Who organized the migratory moves? What actors were involved in them? The passports issued by the Einsiedeln district office between 1849 and 1868 give some insight into the society's mobility. Two-thirds of them gave the destination "France," "other Cantons of Switzerland," "the Austrian States," or "the Ticino." At times, others gave the destination "Welschland" or more concretely, places such as Munich, Vienna, Piedmont, or Naples. A good third, that is, 365 of the passports issued between 1849 and 1868, gave as their overseas destination "America." While most passports were issued to individuals, some also were made out to families, and in those twenty years, this involved 538 persons.

Besides giving the name and destination, the district scribes also noted sex, age, and occupation of those leaving. Of them, 64% were male, 87% single, and 53% below 25 years of age. Thus the typical emigrant from Einsiedeln was in his early twenties, male, and unmarried, just like most emigrants from other parts of Switzerland. But there was also much social variety. Of the emigrants, 12% of the males were identified as over age 40, 20% as women, and 16% as children.[26] The occupational diversity of the overseas emigrants was especially pronounced as Table 3 indicates on the next page.

[25] Ritzmann, *Alternative Neue Welt*, 613, 619-620.

[26] For social data concerning overseas Swiss emigrants ibid., 389-447, for the above, 443.

Table 3: Occupations of Einsiedeln Overseas Emigrants, 1849-1868[27]

Occupation	*Number*	*Percent*
Agricultural occupations[28]	161	48
Manual labor[29]	73	22
Book trade related occupations[30]	38	11
Domestics, maids, kitchen personnel[31]	22	7
Day laborers	13	4
Others[32]	28	8
Total	**335**	**100**

In regards to occupations, emigrants to America from Einsiedeln show remarkable variety. The number of those active in agriculture representing 48% is markedly lower than those from other regions of Switzerland. Although the designation "Landarbeiter" (agricultural worker), is used most often, identifications like carpenter and woodworker, or artisan, that is men belonging to guilds such as bakers, butchers, or tailors, are often mentioned. Given Einsiedeln's old tradition of printing and publishing, the large number of emigrants specialized in printing-related occupations as shown in Table 3 is not surprising.[33]

[27] BAE, MI.10.3, register of the identity papers issues, 1849-1904.

[28] Besides "Landarbeiter" (farm laborer) and "Knecht" (farmhand) also "Bauer," "Landwirt," "Landbauer" (farmer), "Sager" (woodcutter), and "Senn" (dairyman).

[29] Designations such as barber, baker, brewer, goldsmith, potter, miller, locksmith, smith, shoemaker, carpenter, butcher, wainwright, and bricklayer.

[30] Besides the mostly mentioned designation bookbinder also printer, lithographer, copper engraver, typesetter, draftsman.

[31] Mostly designations for women besides "Glätterin," a woman who irons, or Näherin, seamstress

[32] In this category occupations of the educated upper classes are often mentioned such as physician, traveling merchant, "private person," and secretary.

[33] See Ritzmann, *Alternative neue Welt*, 448-486, as to the occupational aspects of Swiss emigration.

Agents of Overseas Migration from Einsiedeln

Several factors shaped emigration from Einsiedeln: emigration agencies; public district offices, the Canton, and the Swiss Confederation; also cooperatives, among them the monastery and the Benziger publishing firm. With the increase of emigrants, several emigration agencies were formed. For a fee, their business included organizing the journey of the emigrants, usually from Basel-City to New York City. Many of the larger agencies were domiciled in Basel and had built a large network of local representatives all over Switzerland. In 1881, Canton Schwyz had five emigration agency offices in the town of Schwyz, Einsiedeln, and Lachen that represented the three emigration agencies Zwilchenbart, Schneebeli, and Romme, all domiciled in Basel. In the 1860s, Einsiedeln had at times three representatives of Basel agencies.[34] Emigration agents actively solicited those contemplating emigration by advertising in local newspapers and were in direct and, at times, intense competition.

Extant accounts about the emigrant journey show a broad range of experiences. Some stress the sense of community that was evident on a given ship which included happy hours with song and dance, while others described the crossing as traumatic. Stories of seasickness, terrible sanitary conditions, and insufficient food dominate such accounts.[35]

Emigrants also frequently told of agreements that had been made, but were not kept by emigration agencies. In the second half of the 19th century, Swiss politics saw the necessity to control emigration in various ways. In 1880, a federal law was passed that transferred the control of emigration agencies to the federal government.[36] Before,

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[34] See Rupp, "Die Auswanderung aus dem Kanton Schwyz," 134-139; also numerous advertisements in the *Einsiedler Anzeiger.*

[35] See for instance the 19th century reports included in *America Experienced. Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Accounts of Swiss Immigrants to the United States*. Leo Schelbert and Hedwig Rappolt, eds. (Rockport, Maine: Picton Press, 1996, pb. 2004), 131-177.

[36] About Swiss emigration policy see Brigitte Studer, "Einleitung," in: *Die Schweiz anderswo. AuslandschweizerInnen—SchweizerInnen im Ausland. Brigitte Studer et al., eds. Schweizerisches Jahrbuch für Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte*, Vol. 29 (Zürich: Chronos, 2015), 7-15. About different national policies concerning emigration see Nancy L. Green and François Weil, *Citizenship and Those Who Leave. The Politics of Emigration and Expatriation*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007.

cantons like Canton Schwyz had attempted to regulate emigration and passed a first control measure concerning emigration agencies already in 1854. It stressed that "it was a duty of humanity" to governmentally regulate emigration, and also, that only those people should be able to obtain the necessary documents who had the means needed for the journey as well as for initial settlement. Each political commune, however, could decide whether it financially desired to support potential emigrants without means as far as its resources permitted.[37] Such a provision also led to several other Swiss communes getting rid of paupers or delinquents. Cases are also known in Canton Schwyz that showed how upper class officials tried to get rid of single persons or families by forcing them to move permanently to the United States.[38] In the district of Einsiedeln, however, it was less the municipality than the "Genossengemeinde," the locally formed economic associations that significantly supported emigration of its members.[39]

In 1860, the journey from Basel to New York without baggage for an adult person amounted to about 200 Swiss francs. An unmarried man might receive from the association up to 150 francs as well as a good part of other fixed costs. Emigrants, however, had to relinquish their share in association benefits. The number of persons supported financially was quite significant. From 1867 to 1900, for instance, the Einsiedler association "Binzen" financially supported some 540 members, while during the same time span some 65 people had returned.[40]

Another agency that shaped emigration from the district Einsiedeln was the monastery that in 1854 established a daughter foundation named St. Meinrad in Spencer County, Indiana. The idea of a foundation dated back to 1847 when the Swiss missionary and

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[37] Ordinance of 27 November 1854.

[38] For an example see Schelbert, "Von den Ursachen," 164-165. For Canton Schwyz Christina Schnoz, "Überseeische Auswanderung aus dem Kanton Schwyz in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. und in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts," Matura Arbeit Kollegium Schwyz (2005), 20-25.

[39] For Canton Solothurn see Schelbert, *Einführung in die Schweizerische Auswanderungsgeschichte*, 52-54. In 1849 the district of Einsiedeln's seven independent "Genossengemeinden," that is, the main town and the six villages, all supported emigrants.

[40] GAE, Amerikaner-Rechnung.

later archbishop of Milwaukee Martin Henni (1805-1881), who had moved to the United States in 1828, suggested a monastic foundation, but the matter was not pursued.[41] By the mid-19th century, the number of German-speaking Catholics had greatly increased, and between 1850 and 1860, some 250,000 German-speaking Catholics immigrated to the United States.[42] The American Church that strove to develop the needed clergy, was however dependent on Europe's traditional religious orders such as the Benedictines who were dedicated to the task.

Only a few years later, Josef Kundek (1810-1857), the Croatian Vicar General of the diocese Vincennes and today the archdiocese of Indianapolis, was to be successful in engaging a European religious community. On a personal visit of the Einsiedeln monastery in 1852, Rev. Kundek convinced Einsiedeln's abbot Heinrich Schmid (1801-1874) to send two monks to the United States in order to explore the possibility of a monastic foundation in Indiana. The abbot was motivated by several circumstances. In the early 1850s, Switzerland was politically split after the brief Civil War of 1847 that had been fought between the Protestant and Catholic cantons. Protestants viewed monasteries as promoting conservatism and social unrest. The monastery saw itself imperiled and feared repressive measures or even its abolition. A daughter foundation in the United States was therefore viewed as a potential refuge, should Switzerland's political situation worsen. The increasing numbers of Catholic immigrants to the United States might have been a further reason to accept Rev. Kundek's invitation. Catholic immigrants were in need of pastoral care and spiritual support, and the education of a native clergy was much needed and demanded serious commitment.

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[41] Peter Yock, *The Role of St. Meinrad Abbey in the Formation of Catholic Identity in the Diocese of Vincennes, 1853-1895*. Evansville: Peter Yock, 2001.

[42] Yock, ibid.; for a numerical analysis of Catholic immigration see Jay P. Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience. A History from Colonial Times to the Present* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday 1985), 128-135. An overview of ethnic or national groups of Indiana is Robert M. Taylor and Connie A. McBirney, eds. *Peopling Indiana: The Ethnic Experience*. Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1996; on Swiss, Schelbert, ibid. 592-613; for some documentary detail about St. Meinrad's founding see Schelbert, *America Experienced*, 315-328.

The pioneers Fr. Ulrich Christen and the Irishman Fr. Beda O'Connor arrived in Indiana in 1853. Soon Fr. Christen purchased extensive lands, but without Abbot Schmid's permission. He was recalled, but the monks Fr. Martin Marty (184301896) and Fr. Fintan Mundwiler (1835-1898) were sent out either to liquidate or to build up the foundation. The emissaries decided to pursue the latter and acknowledged the wisdom of Fr. Christen's land purchase. The monastery began to flourish and became a pastoral and educational center in southern Indiana. It opened a seminary, was active in pastoral care and agricultural pursuits, and in 1870 it was elevated to abbey status.

The new monastic foundation in the United States was significantly enmeshed with the general emigration from the district of Einsiedeln. Abbot Heinrich Schmid wrote in April 1854 to Fr. Jerome Bachmann in St. Meinrad: "For three weeks rumor has spread all around the area, that our monastery in America has purchased an immense piece of land, and now workers, male & female, are being sent there at our expense. . . . We found ourselves forced to make public explanations."[43]

Indeed, day laborers, artisans, and other service people seem to have accompanied monks who went from Einsiedeln to St. Meinrad.[44] Yet the monastery did not recruit emigrants specifically for the environs of its Indiana foundation, nor did Einsiedeln monks encourage emigration but rather advised against it. Fr. Jerome Bachmann, for instance, wrote to Einsiedeln on 16 January 1854 that, "he did not advise anyone to emigrate because everything in America was different from Europe. Many a person had been happy there [at home], but was unhappy here, and vice versa. Who had been there an artist was here a bungler, who had been a smith there was here a "Mauser," a molt, who had been there a mason here might become a carpenter."[45]

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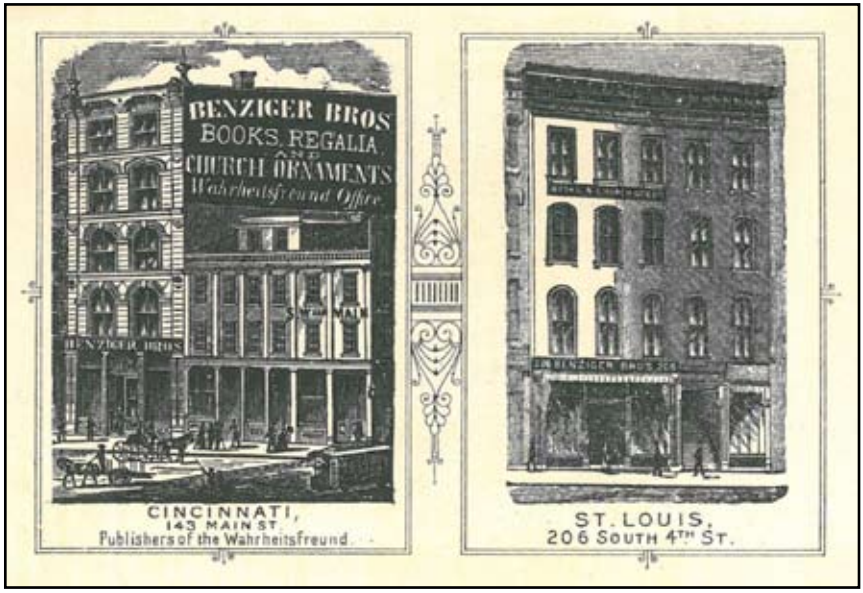
[43] Monastery Archive of St. Meinrad, letter of 5 April 1854. Citation according to translation in the transcript of the original letters in German.

[44] In 1853, for instance, Fr. Jerome Bachmann was accompanied by "Sales Kälin, Joseph Thomas Kälin, Marie Schätti, and Getrude Kälin;" Albert Kleber, *History of St. Meinrad Abbey, 1854-1954*. (St. Meinrad, Indiana: A Grail Publication, 1954), 56.

[45] Archive of St. Meinrad.

The founding of the monastery certainly did not lead to mass emigration from Einsiedeln, although some individual emigrants may have settled as farmers in St. Meinrad's vicinity. But the ties between the mother and the daughter monastery may have constituted a firm institutional bridge over the Atlantic and a stable flow of information between the two continents that also influenced emigration from Einsiedeln. From the start its people were well informed about the founding and development of the St. Meinrad monastery. Articles that were devoted to it in American German-language calendars, newspapers, and magazines were republished in Europe and made accessible also in Einsiedeln. Stories, furthermore, would be brought back by monks returning to Einsiedeln and also by letters of Einsiedeln immigrants sent home from Indiana.

Earlier than the monastery, the Einsiedeln publishing firm "Benziger Brothers" had been present in the American Midwest where it distributed prayer books and other popular Catholic items. The firm tried its first attempts to take root in the United States in the 1830s. In this regard the Benziger family history mentions especially a Franz Joseph Schönbächler who emigrated in 1830 and settled in



Business Premises of the Benziger firm in Cincinnati and St. Louis, woodcuts from an 1880 advertisement.

Louisville, Kentucky. With his wife he had opened a small store that sold items from the Benziger publishing house. Already earlier, however, the firm had connections with Swiss settled in Philadelphia and Cincinnati who imported items from Einsiedeln.[46]

The firm Benziger established actual branches in New York in 1853, in Cincinnati in 1860, in St. Louis in 1875, in Chicago in 1887, and in San Francisco in 1929. Initially, it imported primarily German-language religious literature and specialized in publishing popular calendars and journals. Soon, similar books and articles in English followed, as well as the importation of church ornaments, altar pictures, church windows, and chasubles.

For decades, the firm also left its imprint on emigration from Einsiedeln. It would often recruit employees from there, a practice also followed by other businesses. The common origins provided a certain sense of cohesion and facilitated the recruitment as well as guidance of workers. Especially promising younger employees were sent to work for some years in the United States where they would learn English and become familiar with American conditions that would be useful when they returned to the parent business in Einsiedeln. Occasionally, regular recruitment drives were instituted in which boys between thirteen and seventeen would be tested in writing, reading, and arithmetic. Those found suitable received contracts and were sent to the United States as the 27 July 1864 letter of Nikolaus Benziger (1830-1908) to the Benziger Brothers in New York highlights:

> *The writer of this was mostly absent from Einsiedeln, . . . so that unfortunately the most important task of identifying boys for America has been postponed for far too long. Finally 12 have been selected & they will depart from here next Saturday & on 4 August from Le Havre by the steamer Bella.*
>
> *All had to take the writing and arithmetic exams& and we send you the results of one of the boys for your own inspection; to those who know somewhat how to draw, we recommended that they take some samples of their drawings to you. Because there are*

[46] Benziger, *Geschichte der Familie Benziger,* 85-91.

here in Einsiedeln not enough workers and as I was afraid that too many would want to go in case one would take this or that one from the Wildmann [name of a building of the firm], we took most of them from the villages Euthal & from Trachslau & only those from [the town of] Einsiedeln who either wanted to move away or to learn a craft. Those from Euthal are generally quite well schooled, always had good teachers & are quite smart & undoubtedly will become quite attached. We include here the copy of a contract as we have concluded it with 11 (eleven) boys & the father, brother, or sister. . . .

Benedict Kürzi of Euthal, son of Mathias Kürzi, turning 13 in August, has gone through six years of schooling; he deserves in our view (school inspectors Adelrich, Martin & Louis) in writing a 1, reading a 1, arithmetic a 1; he is well mannered, obedient & well behaved. His father is a day laborer. For the last 3 months Benedict has folded & stitched for us. We find him suited for the store in Cincinnati because he is well schooled & has a very nice handwriting and seems talented . . .

*Meinrad Benedikt Kälin, from Einsiedeln; 16 years of age; two years high school [*Realschule*]; knows a little drawing; talented and lively, but a bit careless; scatterbrained as one says; with no bad intention; probably best for the store in New York; should not be sent to Cincinnati since his godfather is there already, and that would not be good for the boy (according to his father).*[47]

The recruitment process applied by the Benziger firm is a telling example of the social hierarchy that dominated the emigration system. The way the publisher talks about the boys and young men is the language of a paternalistic society. On the other hand, the possibility of leaving for America was for many also quite attractive. "Instead of 12, some 60 wanted to go and being denied led at times to

[47] Archiv Stiftung Kulturerbe Einsiedeln (ASKE), Hnd. 4.1, letter dated 27 July 1864.

tears," as Niklaus Benziger, then a publishing manager, wrote in the summer of 1864 to his American counterpart.

The Benziger firm not only brought Catholic devotional goods and workers from Einsiedeln to the United States, but also American items to Einsiedeln where the personnel had access to the German language *New Yorker Staatszeitung* as well as to the *New York Times*. Members of the Benziger family and leading employees of the firm moved easily between Einsiedeln and branches in the United States. At least one extended stay there belonged to the experience of family members and was also needed by those in leading positions at the firm. Members of the Benziger family managed the American branches and regularly visited their hometown Einsiedeln. Thus the Benziger firm was for some an ideal springboard for emigration from the district Einsiedeln to the United States. It provided funds for the journeys back and forth, prepared bills of exchange, and made contact with relatives and friends as well as possible employers.

This is not to claim that institutions such as emigration agencies, local economic associations, the monastery, or the Benziger firm initiated emigration, but only that they helped shaping it. The monastery and the Benzigers had established a stable network over the Atlantic that provided orientation and organizational assistance to Einsiedeln emigrants. Various studies document that letters, guide books, and stories of visitors, returners, and repeaters have significantly influenced emigration, although circulating reports were at times less than reliable, not in the least because conditions at the destination were changing fast.[48]

The flow of information, be it positive or negative, influenced the decision to emigrate and at times reduced the psychological cost that the decision to leave entailed. At times, emigration was also made easier by material assistance that relatives provided.[49] In

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[48] For a documentary relating to 19th century Swiss reports see Schelbert, *America Experienced*, 129-406; also Kamphoefner, *Westfalen in der Neuen Welt*, 17.

[49] See Dirk Hoerder, Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen, "Terminologien und Konzepte in der Migrationsforschung," in: Klaus J. Bade et al., eds. *Enzyklopädie Migration in Europa. vom 17. Jahrhundert bis in die Gegenwart*. 3. Auflage (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2007), 28-52. On the role of returners and those repeatedly emigrating see Drew Keeling, "Repeat Migration between Europe and the United States, 1870-1914," in Laura Cruz and Joel Mokyr, *The Birth of Modern Europe. Culture and Economy, 1400-1800* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 157-186, esp. 173-175.

regards to emigration, the flow of information, a social fact, often overcame the problem of distance, a geographic fact, since relatives or acquaintances sent reliable reports back to the home country already in the 18th century.

Such stable contacts influenced not only the intensity, but above all the direction of emigration, and they might help explain why of the 1,004 persons who left Einsiedeln for overseas between1882 and 1900, all but three went to North America; although it had been significant also for other regions, it had not been to such a degree.[50] It seems that the intensity and the destination of migrations are interrelated: regions with a more uniform migratory destination show greater emigration intensity than those whose people choose more diverse goals.[51] Thus, chains of migration might form and "regional emigration cultures" emerge that are not connected to any phenomenon of crises.

Socio-cultural factors, however, do not explain all aspects of the migratory process. Sometimes emigration patterns seem to end quite abruptly. In the early 1930s, for instance, due to the economic depression and approaching war, emigration from Canton Schwyz drastically declined and after World War II never reached earlier levels. The lands taken into possession by the United States had been secured by settlement, the "frontier"—a soothing euphemism for conquest—had been closing, and consequently immigration quotas, agitated since the 1890s but delayed by World War I, were finally established in the 1920s. Switzerland itself became a country in which immigration outpaced emigration.[52]

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[50] Ritzmann, *Alternative Neue Welt,* 262-264, Table 27.

[51] See Heiner Ritzmann, "Homo migrans und die Macht der Tradition. Schweizerische Überseemigration im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert—Knacknuss für Wanderungstheoretiker," in: Andreas Ernst et al. eds. *Kontinuität und Krise. Wandel als Lernprozess* (Zürich: Chronos, 1994), 61-81, esp.71.

[52] For statistical overview see Josef Durrer, "Die Schweizer in der Fremde," *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Statistik* 21 (1885), 85-96; George Lobsiger, "L'émigration Suisse pour outre-mer de 1887 à 1938," *Le Globe,* 85 (1946): 31-61. Bickel, *Bevölkerungsgeschichte*, "Die Aussenwanderungen," (1947), 207-216; Schelbert, *Einführung in die schweizerische Auswanderungsgeschichte* (1976), 182-198; Ritzmann, *Alternative Neue Welt* (1997), 276-314.

Topographical Considerations

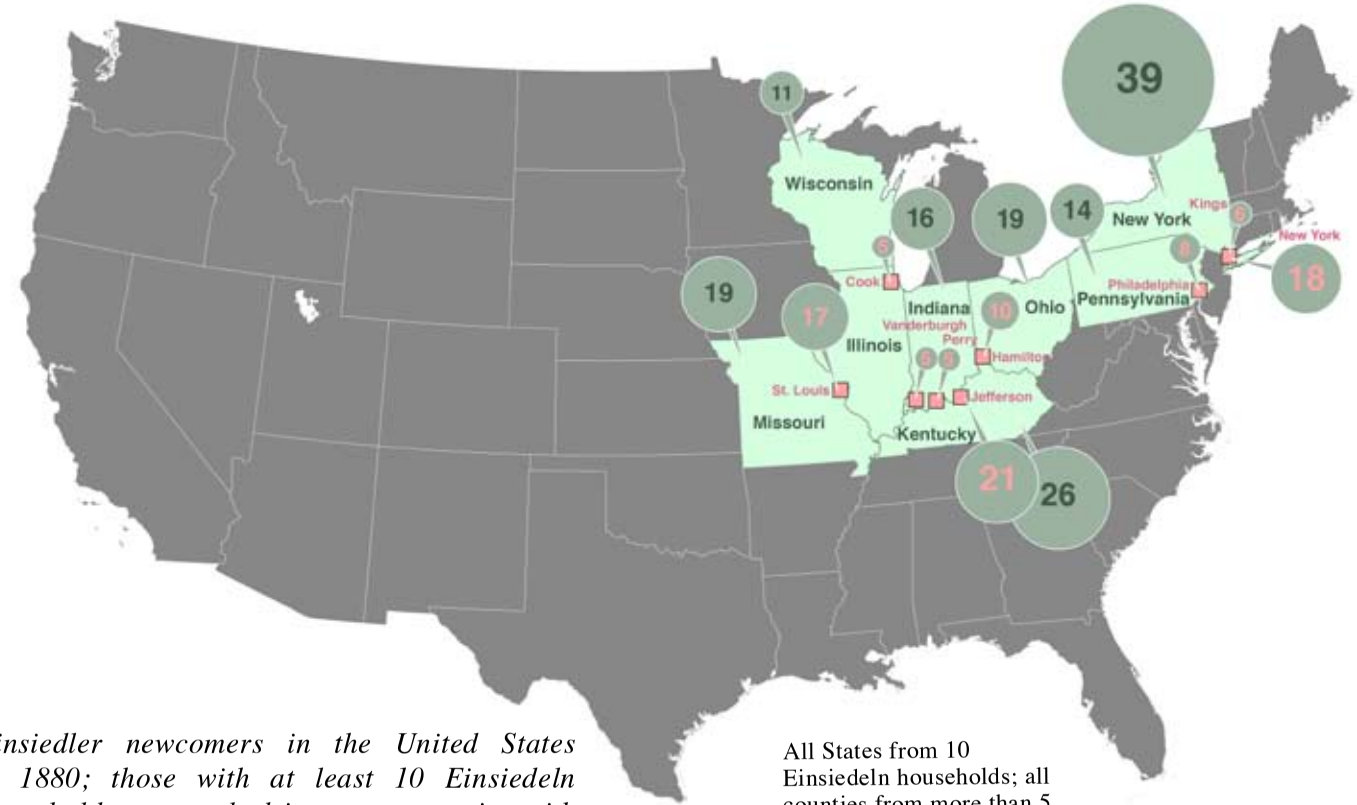
In 1776, when a landholding Anglo-American elite decided to establish an independent polity from England, it was intent on moving the new nation's frontiers westward from the start, first to the Mississippi and beyond, then all the way to the Pacific, eventually also including Alaska and Hawaii. Settlers became a necessity for pushing the racial conquest westward against the millions of indigenous peoples and for establishing neo-European communities. In the second half of the 19th century, the conquest was completed so that by 1890, the so-called Frontier was declared closed; delayed by World War I, immigration became regulated in steps by ever more tight numerical quotas during the 1920s.

The Swiss fully participated in the moves of Europeans to the Western Hemisphere, especially to the territories incorporated into the newly-formed polity of the United States. They were attracted to agricultural lands, as well as to occupational opportunities in emerging towns and cities and were represented in the whole range of human endeavor. Although present in every new state of the American commonwealth, Swiss preferred the northern Atlantic states, the upper Midwest, and California. Einsiedeln people followed the same pattern, and like other groups of specific Swiss regions tended to cluster in specific places in regions overseas, for which Louisville in Kentucky serves as example.

The significance for an understanding of the destinations of emigrants is hinted at in the following two quotations from the *Bote der Urschweiz* that was published in Schwyz. In 1880, a note states: "On Tuesday morning again a number of inhabitants of Einsiedeln departed. At the station there were many good-by tears. Soon there won't be many families there who do not have relatives in America."

And two years later: "It is truly an advantage for our people that they have a great many acquaintances over there in that great land of hope who will give them a helpful hand in establishing a new home."[53] As to Swiss immigration, Kentucky could numerically

[53] *Bote der Urschweiz* (1880), No. 63, and (1882), No. 20; cited after Rupp, "Auswanderung aus dem Kanton Schwyz," 78.



Einsiedler newcomers in the United States in 1880; those with at least 10 Einsiedeln households are marked in green, counties with at least 5 in red. Infographic by Paolo De Caro, 2015.

All States from 10 Einsiedeln households; all counties from more than 5 households in the year 1880.

not compete with Ohio, Illinois, New York, or California, but two centers—Louisville in the State's northcentral region and Bernstadt and East Bernstadt in the southwestern part—had significant Swiss communities. According to the census, Swiss in Kentucky numbered 1,147 in 1870, 1,892 in 1890, and 1,315 in 1920.

In order to highlight the distribution of immigrants from Einsiedeln in the United States, a search was made in the 1880 and 1930 census for the most common ten Einsiedeln names, that is, of Benziger, Birchler, Bisig, Fuchs, Kaelin, Kuriger, Ochsner, Oechsli(n), Schönbächler, and Zehnder. Via the Familysearch.com platform, all American households were considered in which there was at least one Swiss-born person with one of these last names. Of course, also other names could have been searched such as Graetzer, Steinauer, or Marty, and the given data may contain errors. Thus, only an approximation is attempted.

For 1880, a data set of 187 households was established that mentioned at least one Swiss-born person with one of the names listed above. The households were distributed over 23 states, five of which presented the following numbers: 39 in New York, 26 in Kentucky, 19 each in Ohio and Missouri, and 18 in Indiana. Except for Kentucky this distribution paralleled that of Swiss in the United States.[54]

But the actual concentration of Einsiedeln immigrants becomes visible only if one considers the distribution in counties or even townships. In Kentucky, for instance, 21 of the 26 households of Einsiedeln origin were in Jefferson County in the townships of Louisville, Edwards Pond, and Gilmans; in New York, in the counties of New York, Kings, and Brooklyn, that is, 24 out of 39. In St. Louis, there were 17 of Missouri's Einsiedeln households; in Cincinnati of Hamilton County, Ohio, 10; and also 10 households in each of Indiana's Perry County with Tell City, and Vanderburgh County, with Evansville.

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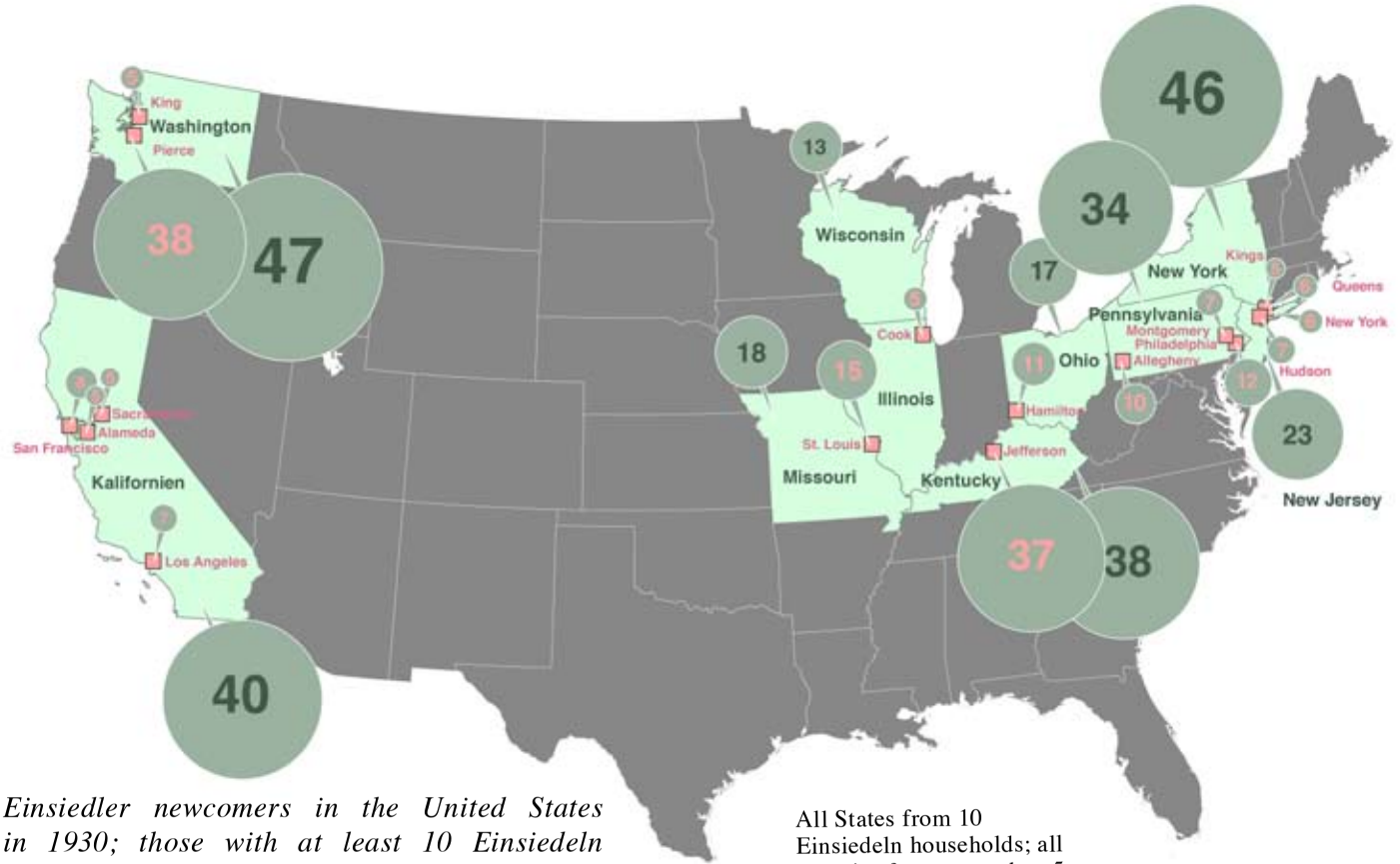
[54] For the distribution of Swiss in the United States see Ritzmann, *Alternative Neue Welt,* 276-314. Also *The Swiss in the United States*. John Paul von Grueningen, ed. (Madison, Wisconsin: Swiss American Historical Society, 1940), 15-70, a survey giving an overview for the United States, then according to US States, and within them according to main counties.



Einsiedler newcomers in the United States in 1930; those with at least 10 Einsiedeln households are marked in green, counties with at least 5 in red. Infographic by Paolo De Caro, 2015.

All States from 10 Einsiedeln households; all counties from more than 5 Einsiedeln households in 1930.

Using the same criteria, a data set of 322 households could be established for 1930: New York had 46; Kentucky 38; Missouri 18; and Ohio 17. Concentrations were also given in the state of Washington with 46; California 39; Pennsylvania 34; and New Jersey with 23 Einsiedeln households. On the county level, Pierce County with Tacoma had 38; and Jefferson County in Kentucky had 37. Also adjoining counties numbered quite a few families: in New York State, Hudson County had 7; Queens, New York, Kings Counties as well as Bergen County in New Jersey, 6 each; while in Pennsylvania, Philadelphia County numbered 12; and Montgomery County had 10 Einsiedeln households.

To sum up, there was no singular center in the United States where people from Einsiedeln settled, there were only certain clusters in the Greater New York region along the Ohio River in the midwest, and later in urban conglomerations such as Philadelphia in Pennsylvania, San Francisco and Sacramento in California, and Tacoma in the state of Washington. As to numbers, immigrants from Einsiedeln reflect the distribution of Swiss in the United States, Tacoma in Washington, and Louisville in Kentucky perhaps were the exceptions.

Swiss and Einsiedeln Immigrants between Cincinnati and Tell City

Three regionally interconnected places in southern and southeastern Indiana shall be mentioned that point to Swiss origins: St. Meinrad in Spencer County; Vevay in Switzerland County; and Tell City in Perry County. The St. Meinrad Monastery greatly influenced white settlements in southern Indiana. Joseph Kundek, Vicar General of the Vincennes Diocese, as well as other clerics were eager to catholicize the whole region from Jasper, Ferdinand, Fulda, Troy, Tell City, and Cannelton. The monastery was to serve as the areas' dynamic center.[55] Soon after its founding, it was indeed engaged in encouraging people in the midwest and the east who spoke German and were of Catholic persuasion to settle in the region.

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[55] Yock, *Role of St. Meinrad Abbey*, 68-69.

The following letter from St. Meinrad of 1 January 1861, published in the Catholic periodical *Der Wahrheitsfreund,* may highlight such efforts:

> *"Most readers of the highly appreciated and in matters Catholic most meritorious journal are aware that in 1854 several members of the venerable monastery Einsiedeln in Switzerland have settled at St. Meinrad in Spencer County, Indiana. ...*
>
> *We were most anxious in every way to contribute our part to the realization of the thought that will impose itself on every Catholic and especially German missionary and may prove decisive for a quick and solid progress of the life of the Church. As everyone knows, the United States is an immense stomping ground where also Catholics may move freely if others do not set up obstacles, where also our Holy Church is free, but in many places free like an outlaw. It is necessary therefore to establish a home for Catholic life and to build at various places as many homes as possible so that it can evolve without obstacle and truly blossom. ...*
>
> *For eight years we have attempted to make the region that we inhabit a rallying point for German-speaking Catholics, a home for Catholic life. With God's help and that of other dedicated German priests, we have been successful in that endeavor so that the area is inhabited almost exclusively by Catholic and German families that lies in southern Indiana between Cannelton and Jasper in the counties Perry, Spencer, and Dubois. There they may practice their religion freely and without restraint, bring up their children in Godliness, may advantageously work in their craft or cultivate their land, and take care of their affairs as well. ...*
>
> *We consider it to be our duty to inform wide circles about these circumstances, and more than one Catholic family may welcome the news that here it was possible to find a place near a Catholic institution as well as amidst co-religionists and compatriots, where their most precious heritage is safe, and where the region guarantees a peaceful and solid well-being."*

Another institution mentioned earlier was the Einsiedeln firm Benziger Brothers that had established many branches in the United States and maintained close ties with the monastery. Because of it, hundreds of thousands of German-speaking Catholics may have become familiar with the name Einsiedeln. The firm specifically pursued low prices and high print-runs so that less affluent immigrants could afford its prayer books, calendars, periodicals, and devotional pictures. The *Einsiedler Kalender* that started in 1841 became the most successful German-language popular calendar of its time. In the 1850s, the publishing house adapted its contents to a version that was specifically created for the American market. At times, the American edition alone reached 50,000 copies.[56]

The oldest Swiss settlement of the region is Vevay, began by Jean Jacques (John James) Dufour, first on the Ohio River's Indiana side as a vineyard that, however, fell prey to phylloxera, the vine pest. The vineyard was moved to the Indiana side once a phylloxera resistant vine was developed. Dufour encouraged members of his family, as well as acquaintances in Switzerland to establish a settlement in the area that came to be called Vevay after Dufour's town of origin, Vevey in Canton Vaud. In 1814, the region was named Switzerland County, but by 1850, only a few Swiss resided in the area, the vineyards were given up, and the place did not influence emigration from Einsiedeln.[57]

Tell City is also situated on the Ohio River, a good hundred miles southwest of Vevay. The town was founded in 1857 by a Swiss Ansiedlungsverein, a Settlement-Association that was established in 1856 by a group of German-speaking Swiss in Cincinnati. The association aimed to support German-speaking immigrants and to promote homogenous communities as to language and culture. The town grew quickly, and by 1860 counted already more than a thousand inhabitants mostly of German and Swiss origin, among them also some immigrants from Einsiedeln. The founders predicted a bright future for Tell City and thought of a town of some 90,000 residents, but it was not ever to reach more than 3,500 inhabitants.[58]

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[56] ASKE, Hnd 4.2, letter of 16 March 1864.

[57] For an overview concerning Swiss in Indiana, Schelbert, in: *The Peopling of Indiana*, 592-613; on Vevay 595-599.

[58] Ibid. about Tell City, 600-602. See also Will Maurer, "A Historical Sketch of Tell City, Indiana," *Indiana Magazine of History* 14,2 (1918): 108-133.

The most significant Swiss "colonies" of the region had actually emerged into the cities of Cincinnati and Louisville. Until about 1890, Swiss settled mainly in Cincinnati that in the 1870 and 1880 census numbered over 1,000 persons. In the 1880s, however, numbers decreased, and Louisville, Kentucky, attracted the most Swiss to the region. Table 4 presents the number of Swiss, and among them those from Einsiedeln, who were part of the population of Cincinnati and of Louisville between 1850 and 1900:

Table 4. Number of Swiss and Einsiedeln People[59] in Cincinnati and Louisville 1850–1900

	Cincinnati			*Louisville*		
Year	*Total Pop.*	*Swiss*	*Einsiedler*	*Total Pop.*	*Swiss*	*Einsiedler*
1850	115,435	183	5	43,194	173	5
1860	161,044	996	33	68,033	500	31
1870	216,239	1,212	26	100,753	662	52
1880	255,139	1,010	31	123,758	554	63
1900	325,902	878	30	204,731	980	118

If one simply speaks of German or Swiss immigration, one easily overlooks that these large categories conceal the numerous small-scale geographic realities of emigration from towns, cities, regions, and valleys. Although the numbers from Einsiedeln are small, they show initially numerical growth in both Cincinnati and Louisville, but in Louisville the growth between 1850 and 1900 is

[59] The numbers are based on the online platform of Ancestry.com. Nineteen typical names for Canton Schwyz with special consideration of Einsiedeln were included: Benziger, Birchler, Bisig, Curiger/Kuriger, Eberle, Ehrler, Fuchs, Graetzer, Kaelin, Kamer, Kuerzi, Lacher, Lienert, Ochsner, Oechsli/Oechslin, Schaedler, Schoenbaechler, Steinauer, and Zehnder. The numbers for the population of the two sites are available online.

constant, while it stagnates in Cincinnati. This leads to the question on why this difference—an issue that disappears if one only considers the larger categories concerning the why of emigration. Personal, local, regional, national, and global developments as well as climatic, economic, social, political, and cultural realities enmesh a fact that a micro-analysis of "emigration clusters" may reliably highlight. The invention of the steamboat, the building of canals such as the Erie Canal and others greatly intensified commerce, plus the state of Ohio also had a dense railroad system. In the first half of the 19th century, Louisville emerged as a capitalist commercial center that proved attractive immigrants.[60]

Presence and Assimilation of Einsiedeln People in Louisville

A newspaper article of 1898 claims that in 1833, a Stephan and Franz Kälin—the latter called the "Schweizer Franz"—had settled in Louisville where they were managing a small brewery.[61] It is uncertain whether they were the town's first immigrants from Einsiedeln. The Swiss were part of a large German-speaking community that in 1850 numbered 7,502 among Louisville's 43,194 people. In 1900, one-sixth of the town's 204,731 people had at least one parent who was born in Germany.[62] Like Austrians, Alsatians, and German-speaking East-Europeans, in Louisville the Swiss were viewed as Germans as is generally the case in pluralist America. The 1,000-page *Encyclopedia of Louisville* for instance does not feature Swiss in a special entry but in one about Germans. The numbers of Swiss given in Table 4 show that they indeed represented numerically, but a marginal group and included mainly people from Canton Bern.[63] Also, newcomers from Canton Schwyz were strongly represented, and in 1900 some 120 of

[60] See George H. Yater, "Louisville, a Historical Overview," in: *Encyclopedia of Louisville*. John E. Kleber, ed. (Louisville: The University Press of Kentucky, 2001), xvi-xxxi.

[61] See "Swiss Pioneers," *Louisville Anzeiger,* Jubilee Edition 1 March 1998.

[62] C. Robert Ullrich and Victoria A. Ullrich, ed. *Germans in Louisville. A History* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2015).

[63] See "Swiss Pioneers," *Louisville Anzeiger,* Jubilee Edition 1 March 1998.—*The Encyclopedia of Louisville*. John Kleber, ed. Lexington, Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 2000.

The plural German-American community: Coats of Arms for Lithuania, Zurich, Bukarest, Bern, Ireland, and Einsiedeln, at the entrance of the German American Club in Louisville, Kentucky, Credit: Paolo de Caro, 2015.

them were from Einsiedeln. Their numbers would be much higher if one were to count also the American-born children and members of the third generation.

Although relatively small in numbers, the Swiss were fully involved in building the initially small European settlement into a prosperous city. Adelrich Steinach, for instance, offers in his 1889 work *Geschichte und Leben der Schweizer Kolonien,* the following list of "several Swiss who have occupied honorable offices": Peter Portmann in the city's tax office; N. Finzer from Bern, who had established a tobacco factory and was a school trustee; L. Finzer was director of the Cook Benevolent Institution; Wilhelm Geißel and Edward Kaiser served as city auditors; F. Neihardt as president of the German Insurance Bank; Rev. Brodmann as pastor at Christ Church;

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[121] From: Paris, To Glavin and Ryan, 6 May 1945, Caserta from 110 and 476, Paris #871 (4). Record Group 226, Entry 110, Box 2, Folder 14 - telegrams.

[122] Major General William J. Donovan, Office of Strategic Services, Washington, D.C., 15 May 1945. Record Group 226, Entry 139, Box 60, Folder 553 - Sunrise.

[123] Incoming Message, From: Berne, D.T. Origin 05213, 6 June 1945, Action: TSR. formation: EG Files, #901 (Washington #1068), Glavin from 110 For Lemnitzer. Record Group 226, Entry 110, Box 2, Folder 15 - Telegrams.

[124] From: Washington, 19 June 1945 22132, Action: TSR, Eg Files #3731(4), Further Reference your 5248(4). Record Group 226, Entry 110, Box 2, Folder 15 - Telegramas.

and Dr. L. Kälin, a noted physician, also serving as Swiss consul. There were others, like the Hurter family importing Swiss cheese and other items, artisans from Glarus and eastern Switzerland, and a professor and artist from Zurich.

Among the newcomers from Einsiedeln were Josef Kaelin who managed the "Schweizer Heimath" inn; Martin Kaelin, the "City Brewery;" Dominic Zehnder, a popular beer garden; Meinrad Schoenbaechler, a mill; and Carl Kaelin, a restaurant, who in 1934 is supposed to have invented the cheeseburger.[64] Besides these men, other people may have also left their imprint on Louisville. Unfortunately, sources are silent about independent activities of women, to be expected given the male-dominated societies of the period.

Immigrants from Canton Schwyz, including Einsiedeln, were especially noted in three domains: in the milk industry, in Swiss organizations, and in Catholic parishes and lay associations. "The distribution of milk to Louisville's city people," Steinach claims, "is almost totally in the hands of immigrants from Canton Schwyz." Thus in the late 19th century, the Einsiedler Dominic and Andreas Zehnder as well as Zacharias Birchler managed large milk farms, and immigrants from Canton Schwyz such as Ehrler, Kaelin, Kamer, Ochsner, and others also engaged in the milk business.[65] Since this was a feature of the Canton's economy, it was already well-known to them at home, and its' growth needed comparatively little capital.

Immigrants from Canton Schwyz were also quite active in establishing associations. In 1878, Josef Kaelin and Fr. Theiler formed the first men's choir; Alfons Schoenbaechler co-founded a sharpshooting club; and the physician Louis Kaelin served as first Vice-President of the Swiss Benevolent Society founded in 1885. Member lists of the Grütli-Verein, furthermore, indicate that immigrants from Canton Schwyz were more strongly represented than their general number suggests. In 1920, almost two-thirds, that

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[64] The list is based on Adelrich Steinach's work; it has been re-issued as *Swiss Colonists in 19th Century America*. Camden, Maine: Picton Press, 1995, with several invaluable place name and personal name indexes compiled by Urspeter Schelbert (pp. 393-525). The passage on Louisville (pp. 162-164) has been published in English translation in the *SAHS Review* 51,3 (2015), 72-76.

[65] Ibid. 154.

Swiss-Americans in front of an alpine scenery: the delegation at the Swiss anniversary celebration in Louisville on August 1, 1891. Courtesy: Filson Historical Society.

is, 79 of 123 members were from Canton Schwyz and most of them from Einsiedeln.[66]

Parish life was similarly important as membership in secular associations, although the involvement of Swiss immigrants was somewhat less pronounced. Beyond religious services, parishes were socially central and an important means of integration by their associated schools, social services, and lay associations. The first Catholic parish named St. Louis was founded in Louisville in 1811, and then in 1837, followed by the first German-language St. Boniface parish. German-language based parishes like St. Martin of Tours, established in 1853, and Holy Trinity in 1882 in St. Matthews played an important role. Many newcomers from Canton Schwyz were members of rural St. Matthews incorporated into Louisville in 1950, and were actively involved in its development as a parish.[67]

The importance of 19th century lay organizations that included the "Ladies Altar Society," the "Men's St. Joseph Society," "St. Aloysius Boys," "St. Mary's Girls," and as an offshoot the "St. Joseph's Orphan Society," have been less documented.[68] The participation of immigrants from Einsiedeln cannot be reconstructed, but it seems that they adapted quickly to the new environment. Not a few advanced economically as well as socially. It is noteworthy that several families of Einsiedeln origin have resided without interruption for up to eight generations in St. Matthews, Jeffersontown, and elsewhere in Jefferson County.

Walter Kamphoefner, an American historian of German ancestry, has dealt with the stability of rural migrant communities in several studies. In *Westfalen in der Neuen Welt*, he differentiates

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[66] See Statutes of the Grütli Verein of 1921. See also *The Swiss Grütli-Bund in America 1865-1915*. Rockland, Maine: Picton Press, 2011. On Louisville as "Vorort" [administrative center] pp. 19-21; on its sectional history p. 70; on the history of the organization called the Grütli-Bund see Leo Schelbert and Urspeter Schelbert, pp. ix-xxvi; a new "Every Name Index" by Picton Press, pp. 219-252.

[67] The anniversary publication of Holy Trinity parish of 1982 states: "A significant number of current Holy Trinity families have a long history in the parish. The names Bauer, Butler, Kaelin, Kamer, Kempf, Kirchner, Monohan, Ochsner, Oechsli and Zehnder were prominent in the development of the parish" (10).

[68] Ibid. 12. See on Louisville parish histories Kleber, *Encyclopedia of Louisville,* 768-770; generally on Catholic parishes Jay P. Dolan, *The American Catholic Parish. A History from 1850 to the Present*. New York: Paulist Press, 1987.

The Family of Karl (Charles) Kaelin and Joseph Meinrada Schoenbaechler, a typical Einsiedeln Family of Louisville, 1900.

between "uprooted single immigrants" and "chain migrants," that is, those who follow relatives or acquaintances to a specific area. In his study of immigrants from Westphalia in selected Missouri counties, he finds that German "single" as well as "chain" migrants rather quickly adapted to American economic conditions. In regard to culture, however, chain migrants would integrate into an established social net formed by family ties or by acquaintances that were further strengthened by benevolent support societies and leisure clubs. Therefore, they would assimilate culturally to American patterns much more slowly and only over generations. Such communities of "chain immigrants" would form especially homogeneous and stable communities, however, also with fewer unusually successful or failed lives.[69]

The "chain migration" model is also applicable to Einsiedeln immigrants who settled in Louisville. Most settled in Jefferson County where they could rely on a social network established in St. Matthews and Jeffersontown. This is highlighted by the "endogamic" marriage pattern. Of thirteen men born in Einsiedeln and noted in the 1880 census, six had married Swiss and four had German women as their spouse, while only two had marriage partners who came from more than two generations in the United States. In 1930, a similar pattern is evident. Of eighteen men from Einsiedeln, eleven were married to eleven Swiss, four to daughters of German immigrants, and only three to American women. Some of the spouses even had come from the same Swiss region of origin. Of the ten Kaelin-Schoenbaechler children featured on the preceding page, eight children married members of the German-speaking community, four of them spouses of Einsiedeln origin.

Besides familial ties, religious and secular associations also represented a kind of social security that in case of need would provide support. Reliable generalizations about the social status of Einsiedeln immigrants to Louisville are not possible, especially since historical tradition tends to make the records of failures and those without means invisible. There were also those who moved on or returned to Switzerland, and therefore are not remembered like the well-to-do, many of whom are remembered in the records of so-called oral history.

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[69] *Westfalen in der Neuen Welt,* 150, 227.

The Culture of Memory and the Search for Roots

In the "Einsiedeln Elsewhere" project, several dozen interviews have been conducted with descendants of Louisville immigrants from Einsiedeln.[70] One of the key questions addressed, related to the importance of European origins in everyday life, another to the significance of the stories of the original immigrant ancestors within a family's tradition. Both would illustrate the degree of assimilation into American society.

As was to be expected, a wide spectrum emerged as to the memory of origins. In a few cases there are long continuities, and the bonds to the region of origin in Europe were never fully severed. In other cases, contacts quickly vanished. Much seemed to depend on inter-familial events such as the early death of an immigrant ancestor when her or his children were still small so that origins did not come into full play. Grandparents might have died without knowing their nieces and nephews so their family tales vanished with them. On the other hand, the marriage of a recent newcomer from Einsiedeln into an immigrant family of the second or third generation, conscious of its origins may revitalize the interest in roots.

Every family history is unique and every remembrance subjective. But gradually remarkable similarities emerged in the stories of the people being interviewed. Those similarities allow a cautious attempt of periodization that relates to how descendants deal with their European roots. Since the 20th century, three phases may be indicated.

A first turning point for the German-speaking community of Jefferson County was certainly World War I.[71] When the United States entered the war in 1917, an anti-German attitude surfaced in the American public sphere. German culture came to be viewed as un-American and unpatriotic, and German Americans were encouraged to fully assimilate into Anglo-American culture.

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[70] Further data as well as portraits of interviewees are available online under "einsiedeln-elsewhere.ch".

[71] See Gassert et al. *Kleine Geschichte der USA*, 381-387; for Louisville John E. Kleber, "Anti-German Sentiment," in: Ullrich and Ullrich, eds. *Germans in Louisville,* 188-195.

Newspapers, as the Louisville newspaper *Courier-Journal,* engaged in anti-German agitation, and the use of German and its teaching in public and even private schools was forbidden. German books were publicly burned. German writing was banished from the public sphere, and German-sounding designations of streets changed to English-sounding names.

German families anglicized their names; for example, Müller to Miller or Schneider to Taylor. After the war, the United States had fewer German features, but anti-German attitudes lingered on. Those who had experienced the increased pressure to Americanize and to adopt the emerging American culture traits had little interest in their German roots.[72] To become American became of greater importance than to remain German or Swiss.

A second, if less pronounced phase, emerged in the 1970s when many Americans became interested in their foreign roots, not in the least inspired by the book of Alex Haley, *Roots: The Saga of an American Family,* that tells the story of Kunta Kinte, an 18th-century African who was captured as an adolescent and sold into slavery. Also schools and colleges introduced courses relating to racial and ethnic origins. The awakening of such interest often took concrete forms. Several interviewees between 60 and 80 years of age remarked that they had taken courses in German because of their German or Swiss-German origins. Several had also visited Einsiedeln, the native place of their ancestors, at least once, mostly as part of a general European tour.

A third phase of special interest in one's family origins began some twenty years ago and was furthered by the digitization of genealogical materials that opened possibilities of family research. Research portals such as "Family Search," online since 1999, or "Ancestry.com," online since 2010 but with an extended previous history, enabled millions to search for their roots. The communication revolution, furthermore, symbolized by e-mail and social media such as "facebook," have made it much easier to get in contact with relatives in other countries and on other continents.

Of course, not all immigrants from Einsiedeln are interested in their genealogical roots or in their European heritage. Within a

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[72] See Gassert, ibid. 394-403.

family, at times, only one or a few persons, often in retirement, are actively engaged in establishing genealogical trees or in preserving old photo albums. The varied engagement with one's own family history, furthermore, is not so much a re-familiarizing process, it seems, but rather, a gathering of new knowledge about one's roots. Nor is the genealogical interest of descendants of people from Einsiedeln in Louisville a Swiss trait, but rather part of establishing an American identity.

~ Translated by Leo Schelbert

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Of Mothers, Daughters, and Growing Up

The Changing Ties between the Monastery Einsiedeln and St. Meinrad Since 1850

by Fr. Thomas Fässler, OSB

A number of factors in the mid-nineteenth century led the Benedictine monks of Einsiedeln, situated in the Swiss pre-alpine region south of Lake Zurich, to establish a daughter house faraway in the United States. The repeated urging from Catholic bishops plus the eagerness to evangelize new areas, the great need for priests to serve German-speaking Catholic immigrants, and perhaps also a certain search for adventure, all were additional reasons.

A decisive factor, however, was the hostile political attitude of many Swiss cantons towards monasteries. The liberal turn of 1831 awakened fears about the continued existence of the Einsiedeln Monastery.[1] The measure created much anxiety when in May 1852, but a few years after the defeat of the Catholic Cantons in the Civil War of 1847, the radical government of Canton Ticino not only abolished the Canton's monasteries but also the Gymnasium, a preparatory school for university studies that was under the direction of the Benedictines of Einsiedeln. Yet at the same time, the measure also freed members for a possible foundation overseas that might serve as a place of exile in case of an expulsion from the homeland. Already by the end of July 1852, a letter from Abbot Heinrich Schmid expressed his readiness to

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[1] See Hanna Böck, *Einsiedeln. Das Kloster und seine Geschichte* (Zürich: Artemis Verlag, 1989), 177-178. Georg Holzherr, *Einsiedeln. Kloster und Kirche Unserer Lieben Frau. Von der Karolingerzeit bis zur Gegenwart*. 2. Auflage. Vol. 141 Grosser Kunstführer (Regensburg: Schnell und Steiner, 2006), 110.

The St. Meinrad Monastery within the Agricultural Landscape Drawing 1862, signed "Fr. Benedict."
Credit: Monastery Archive Einsiedeln, glasplate 02090.

start such a project, and on 19 November his confreres unanimously approved the plan.[2]

It was only a month later on 21 December that the first confreres, Fr. Ulrich Christen and Fr. Beda O'Connor, natives of Ireland, were sent as scouts to North America. Their crossing took more than a month, arriving in New York on 31 January 1853. It clearly highlighted one aspect: the distance between the eventual new foundation and the mother monastery was to be a real challenge that, given today's technical means, cannot easily be imagined. All too soon, the difficulty of communicating made the two monks act independently that the abbot at home did not appreciate since it was he who needed to decide matters. He admonished patient circumspection and was disturbed when Fr. Ulrich Christen wrote at the end of April 1853 that he had already bought 64 hectares of land from a farmer in southern Indiana. Although the abbot could be convinced that the favorable opportunity had demanded quick action, future conflicts were consequently foreshadowed.[3]

The log cabin on the property served as the first monastery and was solemnly dedicated on 21 March 1854. Abbot Henry had ordered that the planned priory was to be named St. Meinrad, the name of the first 9th-century dweller of what came to be known as Einsiedeln. The project flourished. New buildings went up, more land was purchased, and a small monastery school opened in 1857. Although the abbot sent more monks over the Atlantic Ocean, his enthusiasm for a new foundation seemed to have gradually weakened. Besides other difficulties, disagreements, an all too pronounced unwelcome independence, and financial problems facing St. Meinrad seemed to be on the rise. One easily understands that the abbot's waning commitment created harsh feelings among those who had invested heart and soul and great energy in the enterprise. In late summer of 1860, the 26-years old Fr. Martin Marty was sent to America to assess

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[2] Lukas Gruve, "Gründungs- und Entwicklungsgeschichte der St. Meinradsabtei in Nordamerika," SMGB 36 (1915): 272-; Rudolf Henggeler, "Erzabtei St. Meinrad, Indiana USA," *Benediktinische Monatsschrift* 30 (1954), 346-; Rudolf Henggeler, "Zur Gründungsgeschichte der Abtei St. Meinrad, SMGB (Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige) 65 (1954): 8-9; 15-16.

[3] Henggeler, "Erzabtei," 347; also "Gründungsgeschichte," 23-31; Robert Karolevitz, *Bishop Martin Marty* (Yankton, South Dakota: Privately printed, 1980), 35-37.

the situation, and to stay there for a year at most. He was to assess the situation on site and report his observations about the future of the foundation, that is, most likely to initiate its dissolution or at least its transfer to somebody else. Fr. Marty, however, was fascinated by the dynamism he encountered, and instead of dissolving the undertaking, he successfully promoted its build-up, stayed in the United States, convinced abbot Henry of its promising future, and after 1865 admitted as Prior many more new entrants to the community. Already in 1861, a theological seminary had been established to educate future priests.[4]

The young Fr. Martin Marty (1834-1896). Credit: Monastery Archive at Einsiedeln, 1.0601.1746.0006.

The knowledge that the abbot had actually planned to liquidate the foundation, a self-assured prior, and the long delay in communication—letters could take months to arrive—which led to increasing alienation between the priory and the mother monastery. St. Meinrad insisted on pursuing its own course, and like teenagers distancing themselves from parents, demanded autonomy. It was also outwardly. Following the 1863 established South German monastery Beuron that embraced an idealized understanding of Benedictine monasticism, which was welcome to many other communities, St. Meinrad followed suit and adopted Beuron's monastic habit that demonstratively differed from that of Einsiedeln. Its' monks were not at all happy about it, since they strongly opposed Beuron's trend as a modern-day fad. Prior Martin,

[4] Gruve, "Gründungs- und Entwicklungsgeschichte," 274-277; Henggeler, "Erzabtei," 347-348; also "Gründungsgeschichte," 40-50; Karolevitz, *Marty*, 39-47; Joel Rippinger, "Martin Marty: Founder, First Abbot and Missionary Bishop," in: Cyprian Davis, ed. *To Prefer Nothing to Christ. St. Meinrad Abbey 1854-2004* (St. Meinrad: Abbey Press, 2004), 59-61.

however, was determined to advance the process toward independent status. Since the priory now numbered ten members, it could become an abbey. In the fall of 1869, therefore, Fr. Marty went to Einsiedeln and Rome, and his efforts were successful. After he had received the consent of abbot Henry and the monks of Einsiedeln, St. Meinrad became an abbey only 16 years after its founding. On 30 September 1870, a papal edict elevated it to an independent monastery with Fr. Martin Marty as its first abbot.[5]

From then on, St. Meinrad went its own way while Einsiedeln acquiesced since Switzerland's political situation had calmed down. The fear was gone of being abolished, expropriated, and forced into exile to somewhere else. New members of St. Meinrad, furthermore, had not joined the monastery via Einsiedeln and thus felt no allegiance to the mother monastery.[6]

A first phase of rapprochement began in 1888 when the papal Athenaeum Sant' Anselmo was established in Rome as a university-level educational institution for Benedictine monks from all over the world. In its first years, St. Meinrad sent Fr. Thomas Weikert, a professor of Oriental Sciences, to Sant' Anselmo. Since the 1920s, young monks of St. Meinrad regularly went there to study.[7] In the summer, these students often stayed at the mother monastery of Einsiedeln because the return trip to Indiana was too costly; others were even ordained or made their profession there to St. Meinrad.

Among the visitors was the later archabbot Gabriel Verkamp who began his studies in Rome in 1924, and stayed in Einsiedeln during summer vacations from 1925 to 1931 where he copied the correspondence between St. Meinrad and Einsiedeln that a disastrous fire had destroyed on 2 September 1887.[8] His effort points to St. Meinrad's new interest in the mother monastery, and during the following years such personal contacts further strengthened the bonds between the two foundations. In the United States, many people had become interested in "roots," an interest that also furthered the tie between the two institutions.[9]

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[5] Gruve, "Gründungs-und Entwicklungsgeschichte," 281-182; Henggeler, "Erzabtei," 348; Karolevitz, *Marty*, 208-209.

[6] Gruve, ibid. 278-279.

[7] Kleber, *St. Meinrad*, 407.

[8] http://www.benediktinerlexikon.de/wiki/Verkamp,_Gabriel (last viewed 12.31.2015).

[9] Gruve, ibid., 287.

Abbot Benno Gut (1897-1970) from Einsiedeln visiting St. Meinrad in 1954. Credit: Monastery Archive at St. Meinrad.

Once the transatlantic journey became easier, contacts intensified. In 1934, abbot Ignatius Esser was among those of St. Meinrad visiting Einsiedeln. He participated in the thousand-year celebration of the mother abbey and was given a relic of St. Meinrad as a symbol of appreciation. Yet relations remained one-sided since only American confreres went to Einsiedeln to establish friendships. Two more decades were to pass until a monk from Switzerland paid a visit to the daughter foundation in the United States. It was not until 1954 when the monastery St. Meinrad celebrated its centenary that Einsiedeln's abbot Benno Gut travelled to Indiana to participate in the festivities that included the elevation of the monastery by Pope Pius XII to an archabbey.[10]

Fr. Gut was therefore the first abbot of Einsiedeln who personally saw the daughter foundation. The following entry of the in-house information bulletin *Konventglöckli* highlights the importance of the journey for him as well as the Einsiedeln monastic community: "Before the departure of the abbot to the USA a toast. The Dean [his deputy] accompanied him to Kloten and testifies that he left exactly at 4 o'clock from Kloten with the Swiss Air plane "Canton Vaud." ... The next day Swiss Air telephoned that the airplane had landed in New York at 13.47, and the Most Reverend [Abbot] sent a telegram (9.33 local time) with the news of a happy arrival and friendly reception."[11]

Abbot Benno Gut stressed the amicable, even enthusiastic response to his visit in a journal entry that reached the homeland on 18 October 1934. It seems that one had been waiting for such a visit for a long time, and as a sign of a final reconciliation between mother and child, this was an embrace after an eventful common past, and a loving recognition of the mother for the daughter's achievement.

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[10] Henggeler, "Erzabtei," 350; Cyprian Davis "Abbot Ignatius Esser, OSB: Builder and Visionary, 1930-1955" in: Davis (ed.), *To Prefer Nothing but Christ,* 416.

[11] *Einsiedler Konventglöckli*, 5 October 1954, 2: "Vor der Abreise Rev.mi [= des Abtes] nach USA Ehrentrunk. P. Dekan [Stellvertreter des Abtes] begleitete ihn […] nach Kloten und zeugt dafür, dass er genau 16 Uhr mit dem Suisse Air-Flugzeug 'Ct. Vaud' abgereist ist. […] Anderntags telefonierte die Suisse Air, dass das Flugzeug um 13.47 in New York gelandet sei, und Rev.mus schickt von dort ein Telegramm (9.33 Ortszeit) mit der Nachricht von der glücklichen Ankunft und freundlichem Empfang."

In reading the travel account, one receives the impression that a leader of the mother institution was realizing for the first time that many things were very different in America, and therefore called for their own answers and solutions, having been sought by the pioneers of St. Meinrad a hundred years earlier. Abbot Benno thus wrote home with admiration as well as delight: "Over here everything is so different from home. The world city New York made an overwhelming impression on me, a look from a skyscraper over the sea of houses is unforgettable. . . . Imagine that before the monastery place [of the archabbey St. Vincent] are ten cars ready for the fathers going to visit parishes etc."[12]

Abbot Benno had taken with him a faithful copy of the famous Black Madonna, Einsiedeln's miraculous statue. On the main day of the jubilee festivities held from 12 to 14 October 1934, six monks carried it in solemn procession into the abbey church where it remains to this day;[13] the procession, Abbot Benno wrote with the pride of a mother for her successful child, had been accompanied by the Apostolic delegate, no less than four archbishops, seven bishops, 28 abbots, and seven priors.[14]

The pleasure of the American abbots concerning the visit of the abbot of Einsiedeln was such that they spontaneously persuaded him to prolong his stay. Abbot Paul Nahlen of Subiaco, a 1878 foundation of St. Meinrad in the State of Arkansas, wrote to him: "We are still proud of our ancestors and pioneers who had come from Switzerland, and we consider it a great honor that a gracious lord from Switzerland, above all from Einsiedeln, honors us with his visit."

Abbot Benno thus postponed his departure by 12 days in order to visit other monastic communities in the United States, among them all of the Swiss abbeys.[15] On his return to Einsiedeln, he was solemnly

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[12] Ibid., 18 October 1954, 1: "Hier drüben ist alles so ganz anders als daheim. Die Weltstadt New York hat mir einen überwältigenden Eindruck gemacht, ein Blick vom Dach eines Wolkenkratzers über dieses Häusermeer ist unvergesslich. […] Stellen sie sich vor, auf dem Klosterplatz [der Erzabtei St. Vincent] stehen 10 Autos zur Verfügung der Patres für Aushilfen &c."

[13] It was not the first copy of the statue; one had been put up already in 1859; Gruve, "Gründungs- und Entwicklungsgeschichte," 276.

[14] *Konventglöckli*, 18 October 1954, 1.

[15] Ibid.

welcomed after having been away nearly a month and a half, as again the *Konventglöckli* reports: "After a delay, the returner went directly to the monastery where students gave him a great reception with a brass concert in the princely hall. In the dining room, one was allowed to talk during meals and Most Reverend promised us all a free day. Students took it the next day, the monks the following Tuesday."[16]

In 1961, the official return invitation was extended so that on his second visit to Einsiedeln archabbot Bonaventure Knaebel officiated at the pontifical Mass that commemorated the 1100 anniversary of the death of St. Meinrad.[17] In 1971, Abbot Georg Holzherr from Einsiedeln visited the archabbey St. Meinrad two years after his election, and for a gift brought along a further relic of St. Meinrad. He also made a decision that was much more to affect the relationship between the two foundations: he decided that from then on the young Einsiedeln monks were to spend the fourth year of their theological studies at St. Meinrad's theological department. Fr. Ernst Schuler was the first of the procession of confreres who to this day attend the school in the United States.[18] This arrangement significantly changed the relationship of Einsiedeln with its daughter foundation. Suddenly many confreres experienced the latter first hand, established mutual friendships, and returned home with personal impressions. Modern technological inventions such as e-mail, facebook, and skype made it possible to maintain ongoing relationships. They replaced complicated faxes and expensive telephone calls and allowed personal contacts as if one were sitting in the same room.

Today, therefore, the ties between St. Meinrad and Einsiedeln are stronger than ever before. While monks from Einsiedeln go overseas to study, monks of St. Meinrad spend their sabbatical or a part of it in Einsiedeln, or summers in Europe during their studies. Also St. Meinrad's novices might spend some weeks during the

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[16] Ibid. 18 November 1954, 1: "Mit Verspätung ging dann die Fahrt direkt ins Kloster, wo die Studenten dem Heimgekehrten einen grossen Empfang mit Feldmusik-Konzert im Fürstensaal bereiteten. Im Konvent [= Speisesaal] dispensiert [= man durfte während der Mahlzeit sprechen] usw. Rev.mus versprach allen einen freien Tag. Die Studenten hielten ihn grad tags darauf, der Konvent am folgenden Dienstag."

[17] Archabbot Bonaventure Knaebel, 7 Juli 2015.

[18] Idem.

summer in Einsiedeln in order to gain a broader understanding of monastic life, and to strengthen the bonds with the motherhouse.

The two communities look back on a checkered history: once monks of Einsiedeln were sent as pioneers to North America, they met many unaccustomed conditions overseas which they had to master with independence because it proved impossible to await directives from Einsiedeln. That autonomous behavior, however, annoyed Einsiedeln's abbot who saw himself shunted aside as the confreres' superior. In turn, monks in America viewed themselves as overly mothered and strove to cut ties, in several instances even displaying stubborn attitudes.

After years of cool relations the delight in renewed contact was great: mother and daughter joyfully embraced each other. While external circumstances had necessitated distancing, a globalized world and communication dominated by new technologies have allowed the two monasteries to establish closer bonds.

~ Translated by Leo Schelbert

German-Speaking Social and Benevolent Societies in Louisville

by C. Robert Ullrich,
Victoria A. Ullrich, and Jeffrey A. Wright

German and Swiss Immigration to Louisville

The first German-born immigrant to settle in Louisville was Augustus David Ehrich, a mastershoemaker from Königsberg, Prussia, who arrived in 1817. German immigration to Louisville progressed slowly in the 1820s, and by 1832 only 25 German-born heads of households were living in Louisville.

About 125,000 German immigrants arrived on America's shores in the 1830s, and the availability of steamboat travel made it possible for them to settle in river cities such as Evansville (Indiana), Louisville, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and the Quad Cities of Illinois and Iowa. In Louisville, that decade was one of enormous growth in the German population, and by 1840, entire German neighborhoods existed both east and west of the city center.[1]

In 1850, the German-born population of Louisville was 7,502, but together with their families, they numbered about 12,500, or about one-third of the population of Louisville. In that same year, the Swiss-born population, who were mostly German-speaking, numbered 208, or about three percent of the German-speaking population. In addition, 3,105 Irish immigrants, who had fled the potato famine of the 1840s, were living in Louisville by 1850. In all, immigrants and their families represented about one-half of the population of the city, and two-thirds of them were Catholic.

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[1] Ullrich, C. Robert, and Victoria A. Ullrich, editors. *Germans in Louisville: A History*. Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2015.

In the mid-1850s, the anti-immigrant, anti-Catholic American Party (the "Know-Nothings") gained control of city government in Louisville. On election day, Monday, August 6, 1855, American Party committees, supported by the police, took control of the polls and attempted to allow only card-carrying American Party members to vote, which denied voting privileges to the immigrants. Fights broke out in the German neighborhoods east of the city center, and violence escalated as Know-Nothing mobs ransacked and burned German businesses and homes. Only the intervention of Mayor John Barbee prevented the destruction of St. Martin of Tours Church and the newly-constructed Cathedral of the Assumption.

After leaving the German neighborhoods, rioters proceeded to the Irish neighborhoods west of the city center, where Quinn's Row was burned and owner Francis Quinn was killed. On August 7, the *Louisville Daily Journal* reported that 22 had died in the riots, but other estimates suggest that many more were killed. Following Bloody Monday, many German-born immigrants moved to other cities and wrote discouraging letters home. Many of the Swiss-born immigrants fled to the areas around St. Meinrad, Indiana. However, following the Civil War German immigration to Louisville resumed in earnest, and many of the Swiss who had left to the St. Meinrad area returned to Louisville, including the family of Einsiedeln immigrant Zacharias Birchler.

German Singing Societies

Since most of the Swiss in Louisville were German-speaking, they were seen as part of the larger German community. They not only lived in the same neighborhoods as the Germans, but they attended the same churches, socialized with each other, and frequently intermarried. As a result, German social organizations tended to include many of the Swiss.

Most German social organizations had a central theme based around music or athletics. These included singing societies and gymnastics societies. The best known singing society in Louisville was the Liederkranz Society. In the United States, Liederkranz societies had their earliest organizations in Baltimore and New Orleans. The Liederkranz Society in Louisville began with a meeting in February

Liederkranz Society, 1865. Credit: Filson Historical Society.

1848, although there had been interest in starting such a group as early as the 1830s. The group was modeled closely after a similar organization in Newark, New Jersey. Their first regular meeting place was the Mozart Hall at Fourth and Jefferson Streets.

From its founding, the Liederkranz became an important part of the fabric of the city of Louisville. In 1849, all known singing societies were invited to gather in Cincinnati, Ohio, for a Sängerfest under the leadership of Fritz Volkmar, the founder of the Louisville Liederkranz. Five choruses accepted the invitation: three from Cincinnati, including the Liedertafel, the Gesang und Bildungsverein, and the Schweizerverein; one from Madison, Indiana; and the Liederkranz from Louisville. The 118 singers performed in the first Sängerfest and created the Nord-Amerikanischer Sängerbund (NASB). Following the formation of the NASB, the Louisville Liederkranz hosted the 1850 Sängerfest.

The Liederkranz Society experienced its most successful years from the end of the Civil War to the beginning of World War I. In that period, Louisville and the Liederkranz were hosts to NASB Sängerfeste in 1866, 1877, and 1914. The Thirty-fourth NASB Sängerfest in Louisville from June 24-27, 1914, was especially memorable for the participation of 115 choruses and 3,007 singers.

In 1873, the Liederkranz built their first hall on Market Street between First and Second Streets. That structure was destroyed in a fire, so in 1896 a new hall was built at Sixth and Walnut Streets. The meeting hall and adjacent theater remained extant until it was demolished in 1976. During World War I, because of Anti-German sentiment, the Liederkranz suspended its activities until 1921. Exacerbated by two world wars, interest in the group began to wane by the early 1950s. The Louisville Liederkranz disbanded after the death of its last director, Fred O. Nuetzel, in 1959.

In addition to the Liederkranz, the best-known and longest-lived singing societies were the Orpheus and Frohsinn Choral Societies, the Concordia Singing Society, the Alpenrösli Society, and Sozialer Männerchor. (The Alpenrösli Society, a Swiss singing society, is included in a later section of this paper on *Swiss Benevolent and Social Societies*.)

The Orpheus Choral Society was founded in 1849 with Carl Bergstein and Professor Glagan as directors. The performances of the Orpheus Society were popular in its brief existence, which lasted only until the 1870s. The Frohsinn Society was organized about the same time as the Liederkranz but had disbanded by the late 1880s. Both the Orpheus and the Frohsinn societies participated in NASB Sängerfeste in 1869 and 1870.

The Concordia Singing Society was founded in 1855 and held rehearsals at St. Boniface School Hall with Professor George W. Nahstoll as director. Members participated in six NASB Sängerfeste from 1870 to 1927. They disbanded in the 1930s.

The German-American Club Gesangverein was first known as the Sozialer Männerchor. The group was founded on November 10, 1878, at Beck's Hall on Jefferson Street by Louis Vormbrock. Its first director was Otto Schuler. Members gave their first concert in Beck's Hall in June 1879. The organization located to a permanent home at 318 South Jackson Street in 1942 and renamed itself the Social Male Chorus. In 1965, because of urban renewal, it moved to its present location at 1840 Lincoln Avenue. Still in existence, the society has participated in numerous NASB Sängerfeste, beginning in 1880 and continuing through the present. It hosted the 1989 NASB Sängerfest, attended by 1,725 singers from fourteen states. The Social Male Chorus changed its name to the "German-American Club Gesangverein" in 1993.

The Louisville Turnverein

The founder of the Turner movement was Friedrich Ludwig Jahn (1778–1852), a German gymnastics educator and nationalist who believed that the development of physical and moral powers occurred through the practice of gymnastics. He organized the Turners in Germany in the early nineteenth century, when the country was occupied by Napoleon. After the failed revolution of 1848, the Turner movement was suppressed in Germany, and many Turners immigrated to the United States.

The oldest Turners society in the United States is the Cincinnati Turngemeinde, which began on November 21, 1848, the same year that an organization was founded in New York. Before long, the Turners were in most cities along the eastern seaboard and into the Midwest. At a convention held in Philadelphia on October 4-5, 1850, a national Turner organization was formed. To further advance the cause of the Turner movement nationally, periodic Turnfeste were organized in which selected athletes of participating organizations were chosen to display various aspects of physical training.

The Louisville society of the Turners was organized on September 2, 1850. William Vogt, a prominent local citizen, along with

Louisville Turnverein, 1903. Credit: Special Collections and Archives, IUPUI University Library.

Charles Franke and William Staengel, was instrumental in organizing the society. In 1851, the Turners moved into their first hall, ostensibly the first gymnasium built in the city of Louisville. By 1854, a permanent home for the society was built on Floyd Street between Market and Main Streets. Two years later, a fire destroyed the Floyd Street hall. In 1858, a former Catholic church building was purchased on Jefferson Street near Preston. The church was remodeled into a hall suitable for the activities of the Turners. During the Civil War years, some 35 members of the Turners enlisted into the war effort. From 1861 to 1864, the Turner Hall was used as a hospital to treat hundreds of wounded soldiers.

By 1911, the Turners were able to purchase the site of Turner Park along the Ohio River near Zorn Avenue. When the Turners outgrew the downtown hall, they purchased the boyhood home of Supreme Court justice Louis D. Brandeis at 310 East Broadway. They added a gymnasium to the rear of the building and occupied it in 1917. In 1926, the Louisville Turners were hosts to the 33rd National Turnfest. In 1984, the Broadway site was sold, and the Turners built a new building and gymnasium on the site of Turner Park, where they now reside.

Today, there are 53 Turners societies in twelve districts. They have annual national competitions in gymnastics, golf, bowling, softball, volleyball and cultural activities. While the Turners retain elements of their German heritage, they have adopted American ways while striving to respect their founding principles. The official name of the Turners in the United States is now the "American Turners," and their corporate headquarters are located in Louisville.

Swiss Social and Benevolent Societies

In the spring of 1850, a group of 26 Swiss residents of Louisville met for the purpose of forming an organization through which they could be of mutual assistance to each other in time of need. The result of this meeting was the founding of the Gruetli Society on May 16, 1850, so named after the Alpine meadow on Lake Lucerne where the oath of the Rütlischwur is said to have been sworn in 1291. In later years, the name of the Society was changed to the Gruetli Benevolent Society.[2]

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[2] *The Gruetli Helvetia Society of Louisville, Kentucky*. Souvenir booklet, 150th Anniversary Celebration, 2000.

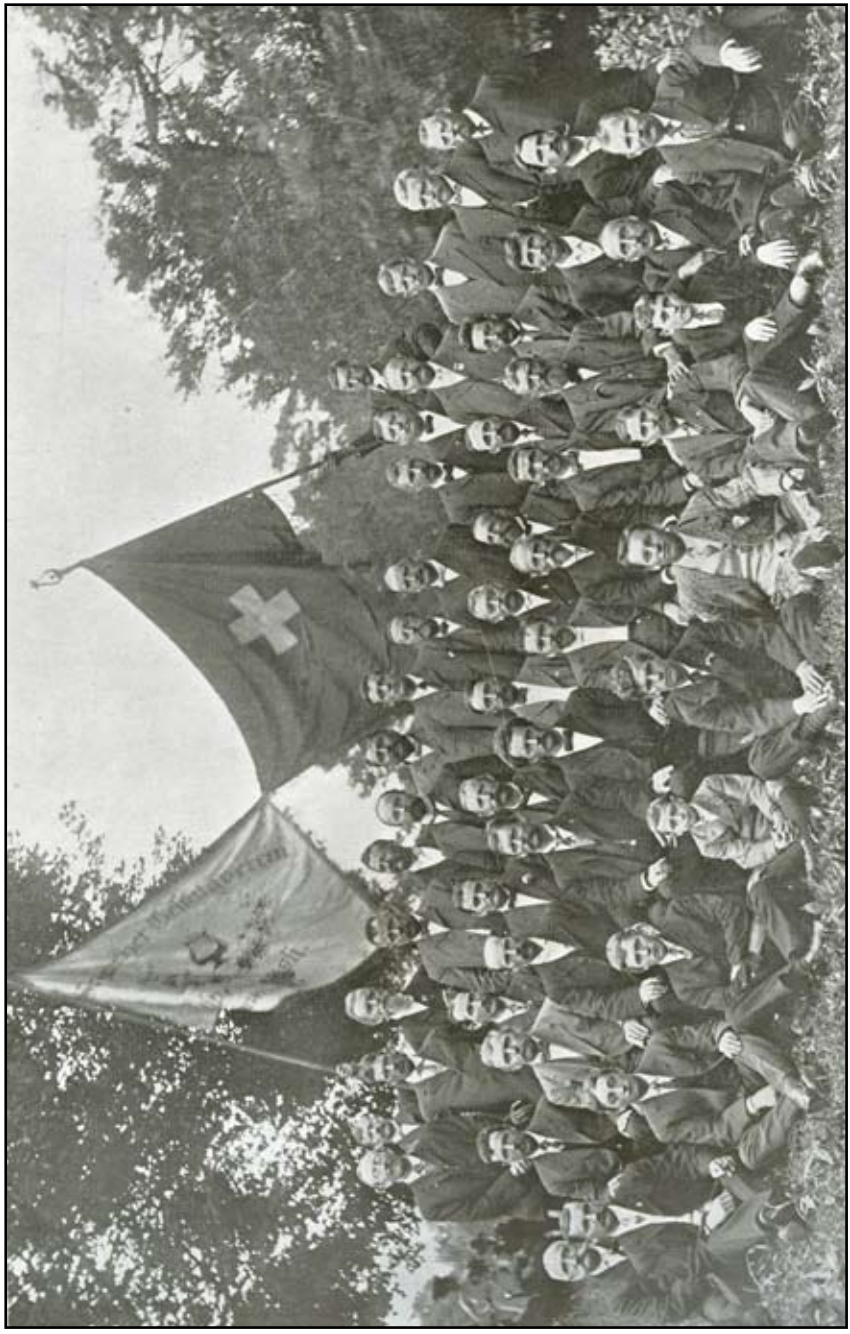
The purpose of the Society, as set forth in its constitution, was to "strengthen the bond of friendship and harmony among the Swiss people residing in Louisville and vicinity; to lovingly remember the land of our forefathers' birth; to honorably represent our nationality; to arrange social meetings and festivities; and to help our fellow members in need."

At first, sick benefits and death benefits were paid to assist members in times of distress. It was also the practice of the Society to furnish music at the funeral of a member. Through time, as membership increased, the sick benefits were increased, but in the mid-1980s they were discontinued due to the expense and lack of need. In 1871, the custom of furnishing music at a member's funeral was abandoned and, instead, the Society began furnishing a funeral carriage, with the officers attending the funeral. This practice continues to this day with members serving as pall bearers, if it is the wish of the family.

From 1866 until 1881 the Society was a member of the North American Association of Gruetli Societies, and in 1867 it was the oldest society in that organization. In 1879, the North American Association of Gruetli Societies held its national convention in Louisville, with headquarters in this city for a year before moving to Buffalo, New York. The Swiss Consul had offices in Louisville about the same time, and the post was held for many years by J. C. Baumberger, an early member and secretary of the Society.

Aside from the main purpose of the Society, the founders also had in mind the social welfare of its members, which is evidenced by the numerous social functions held through the years. Some of these events included the annual picnics, which were held as early as 1868 at Woodland Garden at Johnson and Market Streets. This also was the site of the Twentieth Anniversary Celebration held on May 16, 1870. The Thirty-fifth, Forty-second, and Fiftieth Anniversary celebrations were held at Phoenix Hill Park, another popular beer garden on Baxter Avenue at Hull Street. At the turn of the twentieth century, the Gruetli held annual summer picnics at the farm of Edward Zehnder, which then was at Pipe Line Lane and Brownsboro Road, and also at the Ochsner Brothers' farm on Cannons Lane.

Another Swiss society in Louisville was the Helvetia Society, an organization with a similar purpose to the Gruetli Society. The Helvetia Society was founded on September 24, 1870, but differed from the Gruetli Society in matters both religious and political.



Alpenrösli Singing Society, 1909. Credit: Filson Historical Society.

The Schweizer Männerchor, a Swiss men's singing society, was founded on January 8, 1878. The founders of the society were three Swiss immigrants who came to Louisville by way of Bernstadt, Kentucky. The group became a mixed chorus in 1882 and renamed itself the Alpenrösli Singing Society. When first formed, the society rehearsed at Beck's Hall under the direction of Professor Justus M. Roemele. The Alpenrösli participated in three NASB Sängerfeste in the 1890s. Membership in the organization dwindled in the 1920s, and finally it disbanded in 1937.

The Edelweiss Society, a Swiss women's singing society, began as the ladies chorus of the Alpenrösli. They were known independently as the Edelweiss Society as early as 1897. As they developed a degree of independence from the Alpenrösli, the Edelweiss took on a social aspect in addition to their role as a singing society. By the 1920s, the social aspect of the Edelweiss tended to dominate its function as a society. With the demise of the Alpenrösli, the Edelweiss also went out of existence in the 1930s.

The Swiss societies of Louisville, including the Alpenrösli and the Edelweiss, hosted the Third Sängerfest of the Swiss-American Central Sängerbund in 1909. The *Louisville Courier-Journal* reported on July 29, 1939, "The Louisvillians were victorious in the contest of 1909 when thousands gathered in the city in Swiss costumes, paraded through the streets to Phoenix Hill, and joined in the songs that they sang at home to the accompaniment of the alpenhorn. To the victors was given the wreath of laurel that had grown high in the Alps of Switzerland."[3]

The Schweizer Schützenverein was founded in 1887. The group participated in the parade for the 1909 Swiss Sängerfest, as well as in local and regional sharp shooting competitions for more than twenty-five years. Ultimately, they were forced to disband because of anti-German sentiment during World War I.

On January 9, 1873, the Gruetli Society received a letter from the Helvetia Society that a movement be launched to organize a charity society. This probably was the inspiration for the Swiss Charity Society of Louisville. The original concept of the organization was to be a low interest lending institution from which poor Swiss immigrants could

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[3] *Louisville Courier-Journal*. "Louisville Swiss Always Have Good Times," July 29, 1939.


SWISS AMERICAN HOME ASSN.

Swiss Picnic, 1933. Credit: Gruetli Helvetia Society.

borrow money to travel to the United States, buy land and a home, and become established in the Louisville vicinity.

Although the Swiss Charity Society was founded in 1885, its Articles of Confederation were not signed until September 16, 1893. The stated purpose of the Swiss Charity Society was for the "assistance of needy and worthy Swiss people by giving money or provisions." As the financial aid need for Swiss immigrants diminished, the group began to help its brother and sister Swiss organizations by co-sponsoring their events.

As early as 1910, a movement was begun to unite the various Swiss societies toward the goal of building a Swiss Hall. Early efforts toward this end failed to produce the desired result, but did bring about the first picnic for all of the Swiss societies at Phoenix Hill Park. In 1919, at the United Swiss Societies Annual Picnic, another concerted effort was made to unite the disparate groups to work together for the common cause. The dream of a Swiss Hall was finally realized with the incorporation of the Swiss American Home Association on October 23, 1924, and the completion of Swiss Hall at 719 Lynn Street in 1926. After seventy-five years of holding meetings at scattered locations throughout the city, the Gruetli, the Helvetia, and other stockholding societies could meet at their own "Swiss Home."

With the founding of Swiss Hall, the Swiss societies became more active in sponsoring social events in the 1920s. A bowling team in the Swiss American Bowling League was sponsored in 1927. The Moser Brothers and Swiss Yodelers were booked for appearances at Swiss events. The Swiss Picnic was inaugurated, to be held the first Sunday in August of each year, sponsored by all of the societies.

According to existing documents, the "Ladies Auxiliary of the Swiss American Home Association, Inc." was founded in January 1930. Their purpose was to "strengthen ties of friendship among the Swiss and their friends residing in Louisville, Kentucky; and to provide social enjoyment and help the Swiss American Home Association in improving the Association property at 719 Lynn Street, Louisville, Kentucky." This ladies auxiliary organization was one that served all of the Swiss societies in Louisville. Its founding essentially replaced the Edelweiss Society, which had functioned as a singing society, as well as the ladies auxiliary of the Alpenrösli.

In 1974, Articles of Incorporation were signed to establish The Swiss Ladies Society of Louisville, Kentucky, Inc. as a non-stock,

nonprofit corporation which replaced the Ladies Auxiliary of The Swiss American Home Association, Inc. Today, The Swiss Ladies Society of Louisville has approximately forty members and has four meetings annually, along with an annual anniversary banquet meeting.

Modern Times

As early as 1887, there was a movement to consolidate all of the Swiss societies into one; however, at that time, it was voted down. In 1890, another effort was made to combine the Gruetli and Helvetia Societies, but the Helvetia thought that Louisville was large enough to support two societies and that religious and political differences were too great. Finally, the two societies met in December 1967 to accept the new bylaws for a merged society, and on January 3, 1968, the first meeting of the Gruetli Helvetia Society was held. Today, the Gruetli Helvetia Society has about 120 members. It sponsors an annual Christmas party for the members of the various societies, as well as several pinochle tournaments and a Swiss National Day cookout.

Over the years, all of the Swiss societies worked diligently to maintain Swiss Hall and the grounds around it in "Swiss Park." However, due to the aging and dwindling memberships of the constituent societies of the Swiss American Home Association, they were forced to sell Swiss Hall to a Fraternal Order of Police Lodge in October 1993. The Swiss American Home Association was dissolved in 1998.

Chronology of the Multimedia Project "Einsiedeln Elsewhere"

Presence of a Swiss Town in the American City of Louisville, Kentucky

2006

June

Susann Bosshard-Kälin visits St. Meinrad, Indiana, in 2006 on a journalistic assignment for the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* and encounters eight descendants of Einsiedeln immigrants to Louisville, Kentucky.

Susann Bosshard-Kälin plans to explore the experience of living Swiss immigrants and publishes the books westward. *Encounters with Swiss American Women* (Swiss American Historical Society, 2010), an English translation by Marianne Burkhard and Leo Schelbert of *westwärts. Begegnungen mit Amerika-Schweizerinnen* (Bern/Wettingen: efef Verlag 2009, 2nd edition 2010).

In 2013 appeared *Emigrant Paths. Encounters with 20th Century Swiss Americans* (Swiss American Historical Society) with nine interview portraits of S. Bosshard-Kälin and seven autobiographical portraits suggested and published by L. Schelbert over the years in the *SAHS Review*. A German edition followed, titled *Nach Amerika. Lebensberichte von Schweizer Auswanderern*. Zürich: Limmat Verlag, 2014.

2014

October

Return to the idea of 2006 and start of the project with the working title "Einsiedeln anderswo. Präsenz eines Schweizerdorfes in der amerikanischen Stadt Louisville, Kentucky. – Einsiedeln elsewhere.

Presence of a Swiss Town in the American City Louisville, Kentucky", in collaboration with Leo Schelbert and Donald Tritt.

The *White Pages* of Louisville furnish more tan 500 Einsiedeln names such as Bisig, Kaelin, Oechslin, Schoenbaechler, and Zehnder).

2015

February

First project paper about "Einsiedeln elsewhere" by Susann Bosshard-Kälin.

Founding of the organization "Einsiedeln elsewhere" in Einsiedeln; establishment of a team with Susann Bosshard-Kälin, chair; Ph.D. candidate Heinz Nauer, historian; Paolo de Caro, photographer; Martina di Lorenzo, camerawoman.

Seed money granted by the SAHS; financial project support from Victorinox, Switzerland, and Guetli Helvetia Society, Louisville.

March

An article about the project appears in the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, initiated by Vicky Ullrich -Birchler. It generates a great deal of interest—Vicky Ullrich-Birchler is swamped by inquiries.

April

First trip of the team "Einsiedeln elsewhere"; first contacts, research encounters with descendants and historical research. Donald Tritt, knowledgeable about American archives, assists Heinz Nauer in research and also supports the team's other efforts.

An informational evening gathering attracts some one hundred people.

Numerous interviews were held with descendants of Einsiedeln immigrants, with added photo reportage and film clips.

May

Beginning of the establishment of the website "Einsiedeln anderswo – Einsiedeln elsewhere" with Paolo de Caro and Webmaster Ruedi Steck of Zurich. It is to serve as a virtual bridge between America and Switzerland, done in German and English (translations by Leo Schelbert). The task of creating the website turns out to be costly and work intensive as to form and content.

The website offers mainly portraits of descendants of Einsiedeln immigrants, their historical background, and some general information.

July

Website is going live in German and in English.

Second research trip to Louisville by the team at the members' own expense concerning trip, over night stay, and work.

"Swiss Picnic" is held with guests of the Gruetli Helvetia Society and meeting with Einsiedeln descendants in the German American Club; project presentation by Susann Bosshard-Kälin.

Further interviews conducted by Susann Bosshard-Kälin and picture-taking of members of the Einsiedeln community of Louisville by Paolo de Caro.

August

After return to Switzerland the face book-site "Einsiedeln elsewhere" is switched-on for inquiries and exchanges about the topic.

November

Article about the project by Susann Bosshard-Kälin appears in the 2015 November issue of the *SAHS Review.*

2016

February

Claudia Steiner, filmmaker, joins the project; Martina di Lorenzo leaves the team for professional reasons.

June

An informational meeting is held in Einsiedeln. The project is well received and some 100 people gather at Einsiedeln's museum Fram.

The proclamation of Louisville City President Greg Fischer is officially presented by Vicky Ullrich-Birchler to Franz Pirker, District Mayor of Einsiedeln.

Franz Pirker observes about the well received project: "It is valuable to rebuild and extend the bridge to the Einsiedeln emigrants of Louisville."

July

Third interview trip of Susann Bosshard-Kälin and her husband Jürg Bosshard, taking photographs, to Louisville on their own expense; team members do not join due to financial expense.

Swiss Picnic in Louisville with some 150 descendants of emigrants form Einsiedeln in the German American Club.

Additional interviews

August

The November issue of the *SAHS Review* is dedicated to the Louisville project with essays of Susann Bosshard-Kälin, Heinz Nauer, Thomas Fässler, and joint authors C. Robert Ullrich, Victoria A. Ullrich, and Jeffrey A. Wright

Heinz Nauer publishes an article on "Einsiedeln am Ohio River" in the *Geschichtsfreund*, the professional historical journal of central Switzerland.

A concept for a cultural exchange between Einsiedeln and Louisville is envisaged, possibly for the Einsiedeln music festival 2018.

Filmmaker Claudia Steiner is considering a documentary about it depending on available funds.

Further portraits are being added to the website by Susann Bosshard-Kälin in German and in English.

~ Susann Bosshard-Kälin

Book Reviews

Robert A. Elmer. *Glarners in America: Stories of Immigrants and their Descendants from Canton Glarus, Switzerland. [Glarner in Amerika: Geschichten Glarnerischer Einwanderer und ihrer Nachkommen]*. Näfels, Switzerland: Küng Druck AG, 2015. 262 pp.

The prospect of emigrating whether of necessity or as an option brings into focus such vexing questions as—am I strong enough, can I handle the unknown, do I have sufficient funds, will the help of those who went before me be sufficient, what will become of me? In this book, Elmer presents 139 biographical sketches of individuals who were "immigrants and their descendants from just one small part of the globe"—the mountainous region of Glarus, Switzerland. After updating changes in surnames each sketch identifies the immigrant as to place of origin and time in history followed by documented events and stories about each immigrant's accomplishments and relationship to contemporary American life. Interestingly, each sketch is given a side-by-side presentation in English and German—providing a useful tool for language learning. To the joy of genealogists, Elmer attaches bracketed numbers to relatives and ancestors corresponding to the Kubly-Müller genealogy,[1] a work cited in his massive *New Glarus Family Tree* covering over 5500 individuals extending over 500 years.

Elmer's presentation of illustrated sketches is organized under the following categories: Early American History, Western Pioneers, Localities, Military, Art/Architecture and Homes, Books/Media and Music, Science and Medicine, Business and Philanthropy, Food, Education and Sports, Government and Religion, Tales/Mysteries and Crime Scenes. A list of references follows each section and a list of places cited is located at the end of the book.

Elmer's biographical accounts yield a wide range of interesting immigrant connections and stories. Here are but a few. How the Liberty

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[1] Johann Jakob Kubly-Müller (1850-1933) Genealogy. 36 volumes containing records dating to 1500s.Permission to search required from Landesarchiv des Kantons Glarus, Switzerland. [For information contact Robert Elmer, swissconsin4u@gmail.com .

Bell was hidden from the British following the Battle of Brandywine; about the Glarner who established his saloon in the wrong place as soon afterwards Carrie Nation came to town and started her campaign against "John Barleycorn"; an 18th century Minister to the slave community of South Carolina; an entrepreneur who bought barren cactus & mesquite land at 25 cents an acre, improved it by creative water developments, eventually owning 45,000 acres, an area slightly more than one quarter the size of Canton Glarus; a Union soldier involved in the 1865 capture of Confederate President Jefferson Davis; three brothers who spent their first winter living in a cave-like hole in the ground; an immigrant to the then independent Republic of Texas who became the leading benefactor of Galveston; a Wisconsin brewer who was kidnapped by gangsters; a U. S. Superintendent of Indian Schools appointed by Pres. Cleveland who adhered to the later much discredited assimilationist position for Native Americans; an active member of the KKK; the major compiler of Swiss genealogical records from original sources in Switzerland; a member of a white supremacist cult later charged with murder; an early 20th century immigrant who helped found a Chemistry fraternity whose members now boast 20 Nobel Laureates; an 1836 author of two volumes which defended same-sex relationships; a female stunt pilot before the time of Amelia Earhart. Elmer's sketches are necessarily brief but give an interesting and diverse sample of what indeed did happen to Glarners who took on the challenge of establishing a new life in America.

Bob Elmer is a native of New Glarus, Wisconsin, and a descendant of 19th century settlers from Canton Glarus. He has written a New Glarus-oriented local history and publishes a quarterly family history newsletter which has contained some 430 articles referencing over 6,000 individuals. He has published two articles in the *SAHS Review*, one in 2005 ("Searching for a New Home: The Emergence of New Glarus in the summer of 1845") and one co-authored in 2008 ("The Planting of Bilten").

~ Donald G. Tritt
Denison University

Duane Freitag. *Sauerkraut, Suspenders and the Swiss: A Political History of Green County's Swiss Colony, 1845-1945*. Bloomington: Univers, 2012.

The title of this engaging book is a bit deceptive. Far from being a recap of one hundred years of Swiss participation in Midwestern politics, *Sauerkraut, Suspenders and the Swiss* is a very interesting look at the life and development of Wisconsin from 1845 to 1945, and a little beyond.

Freitag uses his examination of this tiny microcosm of America to pose and answer a question as old as the United States itself; can a unique ethnic group resist assimilation and still be American? This question resonates today with the debate regarding immigrants from Latin America and the Middle East. The book is divided, initially, into yearly chapters recapping the events of that year. As Wisconsin and Green County develop and sync into the national system the chapters begin to reflect the two-year election cycle.

Duane Freitag details how from the very beginning of the Swiss who deliberately, as a group, colonized Green County (and adjoining counties), Wisconsin, the Swiss immigrants wanted the blessings of citizenship, especially political activity, at first locally and then state and nationally. At the same time they sought to create a tightly knit linguistic and cultural community on what was then the frontier of the United States. These hardworking people created an enclave of "Swissness" in the western United States.

The first wave arrived from Canton Glarus just in time to make their first significant contribution as the Wisconsin Territory became Wisconsin, the state of the United States. The state constitution allowed that anyone that had resided within the territory for six months, and declared his intention to become a citizen, could vote for statehood. From the very beginning the Swiss were building America.

From the very first page, the author provides a very comprehensive account of political activity in a very small, ethnically homogenous group of American immigrants. Freitag narrates how politics, on the local level, was and is not an activity separate from life, but part of the overall fabric of what makes a community, be it a town or a nation. He provides much insight into the political mindset of these new arrivals from Switzerland. Freitag points to the

commonly held beliefs that these groups shared and how over time this people changed their political views while clinging tenaciously to their religion, language, and culture.

Although the initial group of Swiss settles in Green County in 1845, the author begins the actual story three years later, in 1848. He periodically updates the progress of this group and the arrival of new groups as they progress on the Great Plains. We are guided through the experiences and the events that shape this small unique group as they face war, famine, political upheaval, prohibition, recession and depression, the Red Scare and war again; each event leaving its mark and causing the Swiss to make accommodations. Throughout all of these varied events, the Swiss remain Swiss. They are proudly American, but at their core they retain their culture, their language, their beliefs, their "Swissness." It is not until after World War II, after one hundred years of being in the United States, which we see this community finally being assimilated into the greater culture of Wisconsin and the United States, and yet even now, the Swiss still cling tenaciously to that which makes them Swiss.

Mr. Freitag takes a detailed look at New Glarus and adjoining townships within Green County over a one hundred year period. He successfully ties together the various American political movements with the economic conditions that often spawned these movements, observing the conditions of both the economy and politics from the viewpoint of the citizen-farmer, the book's most prominent character. Economic conditions that prompted farmers to shift from wheat farming to dairy farming likewise lead to a shift from the Democratic Party to the Republican Party and then to the Progressive Party and so on.

Since this is the story of the life of a unique ethnic group, the author includes the many details that breath life into what would otherwise be dry statistics. Freitag provides many interesting insights into such iconic people as Solomon Levitan, Robert LaFollette, Carl Schurz, and many others. Even people forgotten by history become full-blown personalities as the author details their part in events that today are a part of Wisconsin and therefore American history; Cheese Day, the Limburger War of 1935, and Women's suffrage. Freitag describes how Swiss immigrants coming from a poor country play a major part in the American economy pioneering the United States

cheese industry, the condensed milk industry, as well as many other innovations.

As part of the Swiss story Freitag includes short, but no less interesting tidbits of the Swiss participation in America's wars. From the Civil War through World War II, the Swiss community provided soldiers to defend their new nation and paid the price for freedom with a small, but important contribution in lost or ruined lives.

I liked this book for its insight into how a community can be American and yet maintain its unique identity. It is a very informed read on what Americanism really is.

~ Kevin Cronin
Georgia Military College, Valdosta

Antony McCammon. *The Honourable Consul: A Story of Diplomacy*. New York: The Radcliffe Press, 2013.

Antony McCammon's book offers an entertaining look at the challenges and peculiarities of a British national traveling and working abroad nearly all of his life. McCammon's adventures begin at a very young age and extend into his retirement years. As his story unfolds, the reader is treated to a series of short vignettes describing a wide variety of experiences from hastily planned youthful exploits to a mature British consul serving in Switzerland.

McCammon's autobiographical sketch begins with a brief look back at his immediate family. His father and mother married in India during his father's enlistment with the military. After returning to Jersey in Great Britain, McCammon's father continued his military career until he received a medical discharge. Gwynneth, McCammon's mother, decided to move to Australia after her husband's death but returned to the British Isles a few months later. Nonetheless, this brief sojourn resulted in sparking the wanderlust in McCammon's soul.

Other than the initial chapter explaining the minor role his parents played in instilling a love of travel, McCammon's tales mostly flow in chronological order. The storyteller strategy of an occasional flashback interrupts the smooth current of his accounts but only helps provide appropriate historical context for the story. McCammon's writing gives insight into a different time when young men traveled widely to expand their horizons. McCammon managed to complete his college education while enjoying various adventures journeying around the globe. In one story, McCammon reveals his willingness to attempt any line of work in order to earn tuition money. He accepted a chance offer on an unknown job while attending McGill University in Canada. He quickly discovered his task was digging holes for telegraph poles near the icy waters of the St. Lawrence River. On one occasion during this particular time, McCammon found himself in the company of a tanker truck driver who slid off a flooded roadway but successfully regained traction by rocking the truck until the momentum of the tanker contents helped force the vehicle back onto the road. This experience taught McCammon the value of making the most of an opportunity and introduced him to some creative problem-solving techniques.

Additional tales of high adventure and the interesting challenges posed by foreign language dialects make up the bulk of McCammon's work. Writing with characteristically dry British wit, the text often pokes fun at the author's expense when travel plans go amiss. These spots in the book offer insight into McCammon's strength of character as well as his quick thinking and adaptability to unusual situations. At one point, McCammon posits that perhaps missed opportunities might actually be lucky breaks and begins a series of "what if?" questions. This particular passage in the book gives the reader pause to indulge in some philosophical pondering of their own chance encounters.

After pursuing a long career in international banking that took McCammon from Brazil to Portugal to Canada and many points in between, he accepted an offer to become an honorary consul in Switzerland. Much like his employment in Canada as a linesman, the job appeared unexpectedly. McCammon details a letter sent to him as a sample of the position description which was quickly followed by a second missive asking for his formal acceptance. McCammon notes that he speedily replied to the request and provides a list his expected employment requirements. However, as his stories reveal, those duties took an amazing turn away from the commonplace when dealing with the public. Additionally, at this point in the book, a small segment describing the history of the diplomatic corps occurs and includes such points as the original purpose of the *attaches*. These gentlemen generally took the Continental tour to acquire polish in social situations. Most, according to McCammon, did not intend to establish a formal consular career and thus, had few duties. Anyone considering a career in the diplomatic corps is well advised to read McCammon's memoir for a taste of the many different personalities and problems that come from residing abroad and serving in an official capacity.

In the midst of McCammon's reminiscences, he frequently demonstrates his fondness for Japanese haiku poetry especially those pieces composed by the famous poet, Basho. He uses these words to illustrate a particularly poignant or meaningful period in his travels. Evidence of McCammon's proclivity as a diarist abounds throughout the work as he often perfunctorily quotes journal entries made during his travels. McCammon also relies heavily on correspondence carefully

preserved by his mother for information about his parents' lives in early chapters of the book. Rather than providing a scholarly work, McCammon's personal papers allow for a general contextualization of his life and times. Nonetheless, the work is enjoyable and offers an entertaining glimpse into another time and place.

~ Marjorie J. Hunter, PhD
Academies of West Memphis

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