

THE SISTER REPUBLICS

Switzerland and the United States from 1776 to the Present

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by

JAMES H. HUTSON

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Library of Congress

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Foreword

From its earliest years the Library of Congress has collected works by Swiss authors. When the Library acquired Thomas Jefferson's library in 1815, it received copies, annotated by Jefferson himself, of the works of two Swiss authors much admired by the ex-president: the natural law theorists Emmerich de Vattel and Jean Jacques Burlamaqui. A noted American scholar has recently argued that some of Jefferson's most arresting phrases in the Declaration of Independence may, in fact, have been inspired by Burlamaqui.

After the acquisition of Jefferson's books the Library continued to collect Swiss books as well as maps and descriptions of Switzerland. Official contacts between the Library and Switzerland began in 1884, when the Librarian of Congress, Ainsworth Rand Spofford, commissioned George H. Boehmer as a special agent to visit European countries to arrange a publications exchange program. Boehmer reached Bern, the Swiss capital, on 20 October 1884, and was buoyed by his conversations with Swiss officials. They not only shared the eagerness of other European governments to exchange official publications; they also proposed to send the Library of Congress additional books. "As regards historical publications," Boehmer reported, "the Government of Switzerland stands pre-eminent in her promise to supply as complete a collection as can be obtained—a library in itself—of the historical works of that republic."

Historical works about Switzerland were especially welcome in the United States during the 1880s because many Americans were becoming interested in new instruments of direct political democracy, the initiative and referendum, which had been developed by the Swiss. Numerous American reformers saw these instruments as panaceas to rid the nation's political system of the corrupting influences of robber barons and political bosses. By 1918, twenty-three American state governments had adopted either the initiative or referendum or both, an example of political borrowing that for sheer magnitude eclipsed even Switzerland's modelling her

first Federal Constitution of 1848 after the United States Constitution of 1787.

★ The reciprocal borrowing between the United States and Switzerland before the First World War as well as mutual awareness of a common heritage of resistance to foreign tyranny prompted citizens of the United States and Switzerland to describe their relationship as one of "sister republics." The development of this relationship is described in this book by James H. Hutson, the distinguished historian who is chief of the Library's Manuscript Division. The book is based on an exhibit called "The Sister Republics," opening at the Library of Congress in May 1991 to celebrate the 700th anniversary of Switzerland. The Library of Congress, which has enjoyed a long and fruitful relationship with the Swiss, is pleased to join in celebrating an important milestone in their history. ★

JAMES H. BILLINGTON
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Preface

Considering the vast number of European immigrants who flocked to the New World, beginning in the fifteenth century, the share contributed by the tiny Swiss Confederation cannot have amounted to much, numerically.

It did carry weight, nonetheless, through those individuals who brought powerful contributions to the structural and institutional foundations of the great American democracy.

From the beginning, Americans, rising up to free themselves from the British Crown, could readily relate to the Swiss example of a handful of men battling to affirm their freedoms.

Beyond the similarities in their initial struggles for freedom, the founding fathers of the American nation, and those in Switzerland who were searching for principles by which to govern their very old democracy in modern times, soon found they shared a common outlook.

In Switzerland, starting already in the seventeenth century, certain enlightened souls had labored in vain to show the cantonal governments—over half of them mired in feudal schemes—the road that could lead to the formation of a modern federal state.

The light eventually did dawn on the Swiss, but not until the nineteenth century! It came from the United States which, after the Declaration of Independence in 1776, had adopted its Constitution in 1787.

Several Swiss writers and jurists had provided inspiration through their writings: Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Jean-Jacques Burlamaqui, and Emer de Vattel.

Seventy years later, casting about for a model, the drafters of the Swiss Constitution came across the American document and deemed it the most appropriate.

A complete way of life: the love of freedom through respect for institutions, a great democratic ideal accompanied by a noble spirit—it was all there in the American texts.

What more could the Helvetians have wished for? Thus the two republics became sisters . . . in a fundamental sense!

JEAN-RENÉ BORY, *Director*
Institut national de recherches
historiques sur les relations
de la Suisse avec l'Etranger
Château de Penthes, Geneva

Translation courtesy of the
Cultural Affairs Office
Embassy of Switzerland, Washington

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Introduction

"Let us be united, as two Sister-Republics."

JOHANN RODOLPH VALLTRAVERS TO
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, 14 APRIL 1778¹

"Unsere grosse Schwesterrepublik jenseits des Oceans."

GOVERNMENT OF AARGAU TO THE AMERICAN
MINISTER, 28 APRIL 1865²

"Votre puissante et admirable republique, que nous sommes
fiers d'appeler notre soeur."

CITIZENS OF FRIBOURG TO THE REPUBLICANS
OF AMERICA, 13 MAY 1865³

In 1776 the government of Switzerland, known to its citizens as the Eidgenossenschaft (community of the oath), had existed for almost five hundred years. The Eidgenossenschaft was a confederacy of thirteen states called cantons, which were republics of various sizes—some democratic, others aristocratic. Republics were rare in 1776. Aside from obscure backwaters like San Marino and from the Netherlands, which many believed had repudiated republicanism, Switzerland had no company in eighteenth century Europe. Many Swiss, therefore, welcomed the Declaration of Independence of the United States, since it ushered a soulmate into the community of nations. Not only was the infant American government a confederate republic, it contained, mirabile dictu, thirteen states. Thus, it seemed natural to Swiss officials like Johann Rodolph Valltravers, councillor of Bienne, to propose in 1778 an alliance between the two countries which would form a "lasting Foundation of Friendship, and of mutual good offices between the two Sisters, the 13 republican states of N. America, and of Switzerland."⁴

Nothing came of Valltravers' proposal, but his convictions about a community of interests between the United States and Switzerland were shared by significant numbers of Swiss in succeeding generations. Thus, it again seemed natural, as the American Civil War ended in 1865, for thousands of Swiss to salute the triumph of their Sister Republic. How, in fact, could the "oldest existing republic in the civilized world," as a Swiss journalist called his country in 1865,⁵ be indifferent to the victory of Union arms. As the exuberant American minister, George Fogg, told the President of the Swiss Confederation on May 6, 1865, "the government and people of the Helvetic Republic have never wavered in their friendship towards a greater sister-republic and in fidelity to their own ancient traditions."⁶

Republicanism was not the only bond between Switzerland and the United States. From 1776 onward political developments in one country often paralleled those in the other and each country, on important occasions, served as a constitutional model for the other. The first American national constitution, the Articles of Confederation, was constructed on the Swiss model of a confederacy over sovereign states. When Americans repudiated confederal government in 1787 as impotent and unworkable and adopted a new federal constitution, the opponents of the new charter, the Antifederalists, argued that a Swiss-style confederal government was still a viable model which offered the best hope for the preservation of American liberty.

The Swiss themselves repudiated confederal government in 1848, using many of the same arguments Americans had marshalled against it in 1787 and adopted a federal constitution modelled after the American constitution of 1787. First, however, the Swiss were obliged to fight a civil war in 1847 against regressive (so, the victors believed) political and religious forces. Fourteen years later the American Union fought its own civil war against forces that it considered equally reactionary. After the Civil War many American state and local governments adopted constitutional reforms borrowed from the Swiss—the initiative and referendum—which continue to this hour to give the politics of California and other influential states their distinctive tone.

Institutional borrowing between the United States and Switzerland ceased after the First World War. Not long afterwards Swiss and Americans ceased referring to each others' countries as sister republics. There is no better time, the Library of Congress believes, to revive that venerable phrase and to illustrate the fruitful relationship which it described than on the occasion of the 700th anniversary of Swiss Independence and Freedom, which the Library

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will celebrate with an exhibit, opening in May 1991. Since 1776 Switzerland and the United States have contributed much to each other, so much that we expect that readers of this publication and viewers of the exhibit will be surprised to find that so little of the story is known in this country.

JAMES H. HUTSON

NOTES

1. William B. Willcox, et al., eds., *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, 26 (New Haven, 1987), 293.
2. George Müller, *Der amerikanische Sezessionskrieg in der schweizerischen öffentlichen Meinung* (Basel, 1944), 196.
3. *Ibid.*, 210.
4. Claude A. Lopez, et al., eds., *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, 27 (New Haven, 1988), 158.
5. Müller, op. cit., 192.
6. *Ibid.*, 25.



Washington.



Tell.

Die Helden der alten Freiheit

Washington and Tell. The Heroes of immortal Freedom

Engraving

Original in Universitätsbibliothek, Karl Marx Universität, Leipzig. Photograph courtesy of the University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

This anonymous engraving, dated by authorities between 1777 and 1793, shows the linkage in the eighteenth century European mind between the national heroes of Switzerland and the United States. The common love of freedom, ascribed to citizens of both countries, as well as certain similarities in government, made the term Sister Republics seem an appropriate description of the two nations.



Swiss and the American Revolution

The Swiss made a significant contribution to the creation of the American Republic. They furnished intellectual weapons to American statesmen and troops and ordnance to Washington's armies. So little is known, however, about their military contribution to the patriot cause that the Swiss can be considered the invisible men of the American Revolution, as anonymous as black Americans were until the scholarship of the past two decades uncovered their substantial participation in the achievement of American independence.

The Swiss were invisible because their language disguised their national identity; most of them spoke German and their American contemporaries assumed that anyone speaking that tongue must, obviously, be a "German." Another reason the Swiss have been overlooked is because they have been undercounted by scholars, who currently assume that no more than 25,000 sons and daughters of Helvetia emigrated to America during the eighteenth century. This figure was proposed in 1916 by a professor of literature, Albert Faust, who derived it by extrapolating from a list of Zurich emigrants to America from 1734 to 1744.¹ No modern demographer would accept Faust's calculations, for they are based on the obvious fallacy that the Zurich experience in that decade was identical to the experiences in all other cantons, i.e., Faust assumes that, if x people left Zurich at a particular time, 2x simultaneously left a place twice as large. The Zurich list, moreover, includes those who left with official permission and paid emigration fees amounting to as much as 18 percent of their property.² How many left surreptitiously, to avoid paying these fees, is unknown to Faust or any other investigator.³ Another problem with Faust's figures is that the "high tide of Swiss emigration to America" occurred in 1749-1754, not in 1734-44, as he assumed.⁴

Faust's most serious error, however, was his failure to account for the Swiss who came to America via other countries.

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Ein schön Lied
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dem Urheber des Liedes.

Es ist ein Lied
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 eines Schweizeren.



Das Lied ist
 gedruckt, und ist
 im Druckhandel.

Paul Wey

"A beautiful song about the chief Swiss Son of Liberty, William Tell"

Woodcut

Courtesy of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania

William Tell's famous feat is shown on the title page of a songbook published in Philadelphia in 1768 by Henry Müller (Johann Henrich Möller), the most influential German-language printer in colonial America. A Swiss who served his apprenticeship in Basel, Müller (1702-1782) intended to commend American resistance to Great Britain to his German-language readers by suggesting that William Tell himself would have been a Son of Liberty, the name of organized American opponents of Great Britain in 1768.

Mobility, as Bernard Bailyn has recently written, was "endemic in southwestern Germany; throughout the Rhine Valley [and] in parts of Switzerland"⁵ during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Many Swiss moved first to the Palatinate or to other parts of Germany and then on to America where their new countrymen considered them as "Palatines." From 1727 to 1734, for example, the official policy of the customs service in Pennsylvania was to call all German speaking arrivals "Palatines," even though boatloads of these Palatines can be shown to have been Swiss.⁶ The point here is not that all "Palatines" or "Germans" who entered America were Swiss; a considerable number were, however, and neither they nor any other Swiss who came to America after a stop along the way were counted by Professor Faust. How many of the 200,000 or more "Germans" who are assumed to have emigrated to the thirteen colonies before independence were actually Swiss?⁷ We do not know, but the numbers were surely higher than current scholarly computations.

That large numbers of Swiss were among the German-speaking population in America was taken for granted by the revolutionary period's most influential German-language newspaper publisher, Henry Miller (Johann Heinrich Möller).⁸ Scholars consider Miller to be the single most influential person in enlisting America's "Germans" in support of the independence of the United States. This "German" tribune of American liberties, Henry Miller, was a Swiss, whose indirect path to America was similar to that of many of his countrymen. Born in 1702 of Swiss parents who had migrated to Rhoden, Germany, Miller moved back to Switzerland in 1715 and served a five-year apprenticeship in the Basel print shop of Johann Ludwig Brandmüller. He traveled around Europe, lived in London, and settled in Philadelphia in 1762. For the next seventeen years Miller published, under various titles, his German-language newspaper which circulated throughout the continent from Halifax, Nova Scotia, to Ebenezer, Georgia.

Unlike the earliest Swiss emigrants, who were primarily Mennonites or members of other pacifist sects, Miller was a Lutheran, then a Moravian, who had no scruples against participation in partisan politics or against bearing arms. He waded into the dispute with the British as soon as it began. His frequent use of heroic men and events from Swiss history to generate support for the American cause indicates that he assumed that a large number of his readers were Swiss. Thus, in 1768, when Sons of Liberty mobilized throughout the colonies to force the repeal of British taxes, Miller illustrated the rectitude of their efforts by printing a "beautiful song" about the "principal Swiss Son of Liberty (Schweizerische Erz-Freiheitsohn)," William Tell, complete with a picture

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Das Bistum kommt alle Wochen samstags heraus, nicht, Sonntags und Feiertage. An Jeder Stelle hat Jener.

U.S. ADVERTISMENTS are inserted in this Paper, at printed Ads by Henry MILLER, Publisher hereof, are by his regulated price.

Das hölzerne Bein.
Ein Gedicht von Salomon Gessner.
Von G. Gessner.

Der Hölzerne Bein, ein Gedicht von Salomon Gessner, ist ein sehr interessantes und sentimentales Werk, das die Geschichte eines alten Mannes erzählt, der nach der Schlacht von Näfels, in der er einen Bein verlor, durch die Alpen wandert, um seinen Retter zu finden. Der Mann, der den Bein verloren hat, ist ein alter Mann, der in der Schlacht von Näfels, in der er einen Bein verlor, durch die Alpen wandert, um seinen Retter zu finden. Der Mann, der den Bein verloren hat, ist ein alter Mann, der in der Schlacht von Näfels, in der er einen Bein verlor, durch die Alpen wandert, um seinen Retter zu finden.

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Pennsylvanischer Staatsbote, 26 July 1776

Newspaper

Serial and Government Publications Division

In an effort to stimulate martial spirit among his Swiss and German readers, Henry Miller published in the 26 July 1776 issue of his newspaper, the *Pennsylvanischer Staatsbote*, a sentimental war story, *Das hölzerne Bein* (The wooden Leg) by the Swiss writer Salomon Gessner (1730-1788). The hero of the story is a survivor of the battle of Näfels, a remarkable Swiss victory over Austrian forces in canton Glarus in 1388, who hobbles through the Alps on a wooden leg, trying to locate the man who saved his life on the battlefield. The disabled veteran finally finds his rescuer's son, herding goats in the mountains, and richly rewards him.

Sholl.

showing Tell shooting the apple from his son's head in the presence of Gessler and his henchmen.

In 1775 Miller formed a partnership in patriotic propaganda with a fellow Swiss, the Reverend John Joachim Zubly, who had come to Philadelphia to represent Georgia at the Continental Congress. Born and educated in St. Gallen, Switzerland, Zubly was ordained at the "German Church" in London in 1744 and took a pulpit in Savannah, Georgia, in 1760, after living for a time in the Swiss colony in Purrysburg, South Carolina. In 1774 Zubly published a pamphlet in London, *Great Britain's Right to Tax . . . By a Swiss* which Miller distributed in America. In this work Zubly adumbrated a thesis which he would develop in subsequent writings—that Britain's treatment of America was identical to Austria's repression of Switzerland in the epic years of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries—and advised his British readers to remember, as they boasted of their ability to subdue their colonies, that "all the power of the house of Austria could not re-conquer a handful of Swiss."⁹

In 1775 Miller published Zubly's *The Law of Liberty. A Sermon on American Affairs . . . with an Appendix, giving a concise Account of the Struggles of Swisserland to recover their Liberty*. Simultaneously, Miller translated the appendix into German and issued it as a pamphlet entitled, *Eine kurzgefasste historische Nachricht von den Kämpfen der Schweizer für die Freiheit*. In describing the *Struggles of Swisserland*, Zubly expanded on the Austrian-British analogy, arguing that George III and Leopold of Austria, some five centuries earlier, were following the same policy: "The design was . . . to excite an insurrection among the inhabitants, and then, under pretence of being rebellious, to make war upon them, and entirely to bring them under the yoke . . . in different times and places, tyranny makes use of the same arts."¹⁰ Zubly described the remarkable Swiss victories of the fourteenth century at Morgarten, Sempach, and Näfels, each achieved by a handful of Helvetians over a host of Austrians, and left his Swiss readers in no doubt that the American cause required them to summon the same measure of indomitable courage on behalf of their new homeland. To emphasize the similarities between the Swiss and American experiences, Zubly reminded his readers that Austrian oppression produced a Swiss confederacy "first only of three men, by degrees of three small countries, which increased gradually to thirteen cantons."¹¹ Thirteen states were, of course, assembled at that moment in Philadelphia to oppose the latter-day Leopold.

For all of his rhetorical fervor, Zubly could not accept independence, because "Republican Government," as he lectured the Continental Congress, "is little better than Government of Devils. I have been acquainted with it from 6 years old."¹² Fearing,

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in other words, that independence would produce the social turmoil that he associated with republicanism in his native Switzerland, Zubly cast his lot with the King in 1776. Miller never wavered in his support of the American cause and achieved the distinction of being the first printer in the United States to publish the news (5 July 1776) of the adoption of the Declaration of Independence. Three weeks later, to raise the martial spirit among his Swiss readers, Miller printed Salomon Gessner's sentimental war story, "The Wooden Leg (Das Hölzene Bein)," which described the efforts of an aging survivor of the "battle of Näfels in Canton Glarus in the year 1388" to find the man who saved his life on that heroic field. High in the Alps the old veteran, hobbling on his wooden leg, finally found his rescuer's son, herding goats. He gave the young man riches and his beautiful daughter's hand in marriage and the young lovers, naturally, lived happily ever after. Whether Miller's publication of Gessner's story had an equally happy effect in procuring recruits for the Continental Army is unknown.

We do not know how many Swiss bore arms for the United States during the Revolutionary War. It has recently been estimated that between 200,000 and 250,000 men served in American units during the war.¹³ George Bancroft assumed that one eighth of the American Army was "German." If this guess—and it is no better than that—is correct, perhaps 30,000 "Germans" fought for American independence. Of these 30,000 "Germans" as many as 10,000 may have been Swiss. The point here is not that Germans and Swiss "won" the War for Independence, only that their role in that conflict can not be overlooked.

In a few cases it is possible to identify Swiss fighting units like Lindenmuth's company, Third Battalion, Berks County, Pennsylvania militia. In a few more cases we know the names of Swiss artisans and merchants who contributed to the war effort. Jean-Daniel Schweighauser of Basel, for example, served during the early years of the war as American consul at Nantes and supervised the shipment of desperately needed French arms and ammunitions to the Continental Army. Some Swiss made rifles for Washington's soldiers in their shops in America. The Pennsylvania or Kentucky rifle, which evolved from the "Swiss-Jaeger" rifle, was apparently "invented" by the Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, gunsmith, Martin Meylin, whose family emigrated from Hedingen, canton of Zurich.¹⁴ Other Swiss gunsmiths in the Lancaster area were expert fabricators of the Pennsylvania rifle and during the Revolutionary War produced these weapons for the Continental Army as well as for state troops.

The war record of at least one Swiss artisan-entrepreneur, John Jacob Faesch, is extremely well documented.¹⁵ Faesch was

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born and educated in Basel, but moved to Neuwied, Germany, before emigrating to New Jersey in 1764. Characteristically, to Faesch's new countrymen he was not a Swiss but a "smart little Dutchman." Having learned the iron-making business in Germany, Faesch settled in Morris County, New Jersey, one of the best sources of iron ore in the colonies, and by 1773 he was producing high quality iron products at Mount Hope. An ardent patriot, Faesch made iron chains to obstruct the Hudson River and produced various kinds of ammunition, shells, casings, and cannon for Washington's army. According to the commander of the Continental Artillery, Henry Knox, Faesch's armaments were far superior to Pennsylvania-made ordnance and Washington interested himself in Faesch's operations, visiting him at Mount Hope on several occasions. The iron master felt confident enough in his friendship with the General to write him in 1795, recommending a friend for a federal job.

The Swiss furnished American Revolutionary leaders with intellectual weapons every bit as potent as the products of Faesch's forges. The best known Swiss thinker of the Revolutionary period, Jean Jacques Rousseau, had little impact on American statesmen. They were acquainted with some of his books, but his favorite topics were not relevant to their concerns. Rousseau's "celebration of primitive simplicity," a recent scholar has stressed, was "uncongenial for societies that throughout their histories had been trying desperately to escape from exactly that condition."¹⁶ Two other Swiss savants, Jean Jacques Burlamaqui and Emmerich de Vattel, known today only to academic specialists, had substantial influence on American statesmen. Burlamaqui (1694-1748) was, like Rousseau, born in Geneva, but never deserted his native city. He was a respected member of the Geneva Council of State and a professor of ethics and natural law at the city's university. Vattel (1714-1767), a native of Neuchâtel, was a pupil of Burlamaqui and a thinker of less originality. Burlamaqui's major work, *Principles of Natural Law*, was published in French at Geneva in 1747 and translated into English the next year. Vattel's *The Law of Nations, or the Principles of Natural Law . . .* was published in French in 1758 and then quickly translated into English.

Americans quoted Burlamaqui and Vattel frequently in the pamphlet warfare with British partisans which began in the 1760s. Their popularity stemmed from their explication of natural law, a subject which many Americans had not mastered but which they perceived could be used as an antidote to the "new" British constitutional doctrine of parliamentary sovereignty under which the King in Parliament laid claim to absolute authority in his dominions. The Swiss writers were read with heightened attention



Jean Jacques Burlamaqui (1694-1748)

Painting (copy)

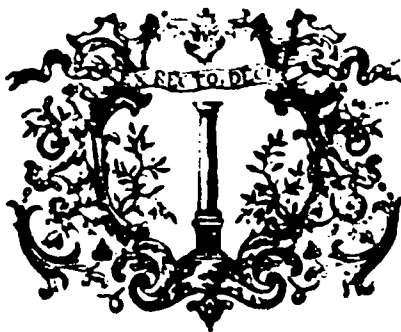
Château de Penthes, Geneva

A public official and professor at Geneva, Burlamaqui produced works on the natural law which were widely admired by the leaders of the American Revolution. Thomas Jefferson was particularly impressed with Burlamaqui. American scholars have argued that Jefferson may have borrowed some of the most familiar phrases in the Declaration of Independence (e.g., "the pursuit of happiness,") from Burlamaqui.

Francis Burlamaqui

PRINCIPES DU DROIT NATUREL.

PAR
J. J. BURLAMAQUI
CONSEILLER D'ETAT, & ci-devant
PROFESSEUR en Droit Naturel &
Citoyen à GENEVE.



A GENEVE,
Chez BARRILLOT & FILS.

M. DCCXLVII

Principes du Droit Naturel (Geneva, 1747)

Book

Rare Book and Special Collections Division.

The most widely read of Burlamaqui's works in America.

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as the constitutional conflict reached its crescendo at the First Continental Congress in 1774. An observer of the Congress wrote James Madison, 17 October 1774, that "by what I was told Vattel, Barlemaqui [sic], Locke, and Montesquieu seem to be the standards to which they refer when settling the rights of the colonies or when a dispute arises on the justice or propriety of a measure."¹⁷

Two years later Burlamaqui was still a beacon for American statesmen. Although scholars have long been aware that Jefferson admired the Swiss writer, no one has appraised the Genevan's influence on the Virginian as generously as Morton White, who has recently argued that Burlamaqui was the primary source of some of Jefferson's most arresting language in the Declaration of Independence. According to White, Jefferson regarded Burlamaqui as having uttered "the last word . . . with regard to natural law as it affected individuals."¹⁸ Specifically, it is to Burlamaqui that White attributes Jefferson's distinctive alteration in the drafting of the Declaration of Blackstone's trinity of absolute rights—life, liberty, and property—to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.¹⁹ If White is right, the most memorable phrase in the American political vocabulary has a Swiss accent.

The commitment of American lawyers and politicians to natural law and natural rights began to wane in the nineteenth century and, as it did, the influence of authorities on those subjects like Burlamaqui and Vattel diminished. Joseph Story cited both writers with respect in his *Commentaries on the Constitution* (1833)²⁰ but after the Civil War few Americans consulted the Swiss writers. Today they are known only to academic specialists. History, nevertheless, has been kinder to them than to the Swiss soldiers of the American Revolution who, since their identities were never known, can not even be said to have been forgotten. With the sword and with the pen, the Swiss, nevertheless, played a role in the events of 1776, a role that was certainly more substantial than heretofore realized.

NOTES

1. Albert B. Faust, "Swiss Emigration to the American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century," *American Historical Review*, 22 (Oct. 1916), 43-44. For the use by modern scholars of Faust's figures, see Leo Schelbert's excellent study, *Swiss Migration to America: The Swiss Mennonites* (New York, 1980), 96.
2. Albert B. Faust, *Guide to the Materials for American History in Swiss and Austrian Archives* (Washington, 1916), 5.

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3. In 1772, for example, the official in Basel responsible for emigration did not know how many people had left the canton. Faust, *Lists of Swiss Emigrants in the Eighteenth Century to the American Colonies*, 2 (Washington, 1925), 84.
4. Faust, "Swiss Emigration," *op. cit.*, 43. William T. Parsons identifies 1749-54 as the "peak" years of immigration from the "German-speaking areas of Europe" to Pennsylvania. Parsons, *The Pennsylvania Dutch: A Persistent Minority* (Boston, 1976), 59.
5. Bernard Bailyn, *The Peopling of British North America* (New York, 1985), 32.
6. Oscar Kuhns, *The German and Swiss Settlements of Colonial Pennsylvania: A Study of the so-called Pennsylvania Dutch* (New York, 1901), 56; Schelbert, *Swiss Migration*, *op. cit.*, 184-6.
7. For the number of German immigrants to the thirteen colonies, see Lester Cappon, ed., *Atlas of Early American History: The Revolutionary Era, 1760-1790* (Princeton, 1976), 24, 98.
8. The following information about Miller was derived from Willi Paul Adams, "The Colonial German-language Press and the American Revolution," in Bernard Bailyn and John Hench, eds., *The Press and the American Revolution* (Boston, 1981), 162-228.
9. Zubly, *Great Britain's Right to Tax . . . By a Swiss* (London, 1774), 53.
10. Zubly, *Law of Liberty*, 34-5.
11. *Ibid.*, 41.
12. John Adams, Notes of Debates in the Continental Congress, Oct. 12, 1775, in Paul H. Smith, et al., eds., *Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774-1789*, 2 (Washington, 1977), 166.
13. Howard H. Peckham, *The Toll of Independence* (Chicago, 1974), 133.
14. Herbert H. Beck, "Martin Meylin: A Progenitor of the Pennsylvania Rifle," *Papers of the Lancaster County Historical Society*, 53 (1949), 33-63.
15. Information on Faesch is derived from the following sources: Bernard Koechlin, "John Jacob Faesch, 1729-1799: Swiss Ironmaster-American Patriot-Entrepreneur. His Story and his Contribution to American Independence," unpublished paper in the author's possession; Ernest Kraus, "John Jacob Faesch," *The North Jersey Highlander*, 15 (1979); Sophie Rolston, "The Ford Faesch House," *Morris County* (Spring, 1987).
16. Jack P. Greene, *The Intellectual Heritage of the Constitutional Era: The Delegates' Library* (Philadelphia, 1986), 43.
17. William Bradford to James Madison, Oct. 17, 1774, in William Hutchinson and William M. E. Rachal, eds., *The Papers of James Madison*, 1 (Chicago, 1962), 126.
18. Morton G. White, *The Philosophy of the American Revolution* (New York, 1978), 161.
19. *Ibid.*, 161-66, 219-20.
20. *ibid.*, 3, 722 n.

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Swiss and the American Constitution

Having declared independence from Great Britain in July 1776, the thirteen American states faced the problem of establishing a general government. According to John Adams, no one proposed "consolidating the vast Continent under one national Government." Rather the preference in the Continental Congress was to "follow the Example of the Greeks, the Dutch, and the Swiss, [and] form a Confederacy of States each of which must have a separate Government"¹ The Swiss system commended itself to Congressmen like John Witherspoon, the president of Princeton. In a debate in Congress, 30 July 1776, Witherspoon, representing New Jersey, extolled Switzerland as a model of a "well planned Confederacy" which Americans would do well to imitate. "The Cantons of Switzerland," Witherspoon claimed, had never "broken among themselves, though there are some of them protestants, and some of them papists, by public establishment." Not only so, but these confederates are seldom engaged in a war with other nations. . . . A confederation of itself keeps war at a distance from the bodies of which it is composed."² Look to Switzerland, Witherspoon urged his colleagues.

Americans who observed the Alpine Republic found models for a variety of policies. Rebutting British charges that the United States' new ally, France, would betray her—a Catholic monarchy, it was claimed, would not keep the faith with a Protestant republic—Benjamin Franklin on 1 July 1778 invoked "the steady Friendship of France to the Thirteen United States of Switzerland which has now continued inviolate Two hundred years."³ Concerning national defense, Richard Henry Lee advised Patrick Henry in 1785 that a proper program would require that "our leaders engrave upon their minds the wisdom of the inscription upon the arsenal of Berne in

Switzerland—'that people happy are, who, during peace, are preparing the necessary stores of war.'"⁴

These references display a considerable knowledge of Switzerland and Swiss history. Americans acquired their information by reading old, reliable books like Abraham Stanyan's *An Account of Switzerland, Written in the Year 1714* and by consulting a number of new books that appeared in the 1770s: Vinzenz Bernhard von Tscharnier and Gottlieb Emmanuel von Haller's *Dictionnaire géographique, historique et politique de la Suisse* (Neuchâtel, 1775), Fortune Barthelemy de Felice's multi-volume *Code de l'Humanité* (Yverdon, 1778), and especially *Sketches of the Natural, Civil, and Political State of Switzerland* (London, 1779) by the English churchman, William Coxe.⁵

Swiss scholars vouch for the accuracy of Coxe's facts,⁶ even though the author, anticipating the romantic movement of the next century, presented them in a purple prose that seems excessive even for a promoter of tourism. Unlike his fellow cleric, John Joachim Zubly, who described the climate of his native land as "nine months of winter and three months of cold,"⁷ Coxe found the Swiss air bracing and continually gushed about the "awful sublimity of this wonderful landscape" and its "singularly wild and romantic vistas."⁸ Coxe tended to overlook the authoritarian governments that existed in some of the cantons at this period and celebrated the Swiss as brave, virtuous free men comparable to the Greeks and Romans during their purest republican periods.

Additional information about the Swiss was supplied to Americans by their minister in London, John Adams. In January 1787 the first volume of Adams's *A Defense of the Constitutions of Government of the United States of America* was published, in which he surveyed the political systems in the Swiss cantons, dividing them into "democratical" and "aristocratical" governments. For information on Switzerland, Adams, like most Americans, relied on Coxe but he also used a volume, *Quarante tables politiques de la Suisse*, by Claude Emanuel Faber, a minister at Bischwiller, which has been described as "one of the most erroneous books ever written about the Swiss."⁹ Adams's *Defence* arrived in the United States in April 1787 and thus was available during the Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia that summer and during the ratification campaign that followed.

By 1787 those advocating a stronger United States concluded that the Articles of Confederation had failed, that they were, in fact, a "burlesque on government and a most severe satire on the wisdom and sagacity of the people."¹⁰ Why had the Articles failed? Was there some intrinsic defect in confederal government or did Americans lack the political skills to make it work? The Father

Helvetic Confederacy

Commenced in 1308 by the temporary, and established in 1315 by the perpetual union, of Uri, Schwyz & Unterwald, for the defence of their liberties against the invasions of the House of Austria. In 1315 the Confederacy included 8 Cantons; and 1513 the number of 13 was completed by the accession of Appenzel, & Glarus de l'Est.

The general Diet representing the United Cantons is composed of two deputies from each. Some of their duties as the able, St. Gall &c. are allowed by long usage to attend by their deputies. Id

All general Diets are held at such time & place as Zurich which is first in rank shall name in a circular summons. But the occasion of annual conferences for the administration of their dependent bailiwicks has fixed the same time, to wit the feast of St. John for the general Diet. And the City of Frauenfeld in Thurgovia is now the place of meeting. Formerly it was the City of Baden. Id

The Diet is opened by a Complimentary Address of the first Deputy of each Canton by turns, called the Helvetic Salutation. It consists in a congratulatory review of circumstances & events favorable to their common interest - and exhortations to Union and patriotism.

Section of James Madison's draft essay, Notes on
Ancient and Modern Confederacies

Holograph

Madison Papers, Manuscript Division

In the months preceding the Federal Constitutional Convention which opened in Philadelphia in May 1787 James Madison made a thorough study of confederal governments, ancient and modern, to ascertain if they could be used as a model for the new American constitution (he concluded that they could not). Among the modern confederacies analyzed by Madison was the government of Switzerland—the Helvetic Confederacy, he called it—about which he made several pages of observations. J

of the Constitution himself, James Madison, set out to answer this question in 1786. After doing extensive research on the behavior of confederal governments throughout history, Madison drafted his famous "Notes on Ancient and Modern Confederacies" shortly before the Federal Constitutional Convention convened. Madison listed the vices of the confederacies he examined, not sparing the Swiss, whose government, which he called the Helvetic Confederacy, did not "make one Commonwealth . . . but are so many independent Commonwealths in strict alliance. There is not so much as any common instrument by which they are all reciprocally bound together." The absence of adequate central authority, Madison noted, compelled Switzerland to ask an outsider, Victor Amadeus of Savoy, to mediate disputes between the cantons, a "striking proof of the want of authority in the whole over its parts."¹¹ Here, in fact, was the "vice" Madison found common to all confederacies, a lack of power at the center which had caused the dissolution and subjugation of all ancient confederacies and promised to do the same to modern ones.

The idea of an intrinsic flaw in confederacies, illustrated by Switzerland and other countries similarly governed, was a Federalist theme throughout the debates on the adoption and ratification of the Constitution. Alexander Hamilton, for example, in his great speech to the Constitutional Convention of 18 June 1787, charged that the Swiss had "scarce any Union at all and have been more than once at war with one another."¹² In the *Federalist*, written by both Hamilton and Madison, the "fallacious principle" of confederacies¹³ was stressed and Switzerland was cited as an example of that principle in action. *Federalist* 19 asserted that "the connection among the Swiss Cantons scarcely amounts to a confederacy" and claimed that "whatever efficacy the Union may have had in ordinary cases, it appears that the moment a cause of difference sprang up, capable of trying its strength, it failed."¹⁴

That the Swiss Confederacy had failed was denied by the opponents of the Constitution, the Antifederalists, and as they debated this point with the Federalists, the dispute over the American Constitution at times turned into an argument about the competence of the government of Switzerland. This argument was not, to be sure, a major quarrel, but it is instructive, nevertheless, to record its contours.

Some Antifederalists like Luther Martin applauded the Swiss Confederacy because each canton, regardless of size or population, had an equal vote, a provision that Martin and other Antifederalists obstinately, but unsuccessfully, tried to incorporate into the American Constitution. "Bern and Zurich," Martin asserted at the Federal Convention on 28 June 1787, "are larger than the

[7] Germanic Empire

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G Swiss Cantons

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To strengthen the Federal government power
too great must be given to a single hand.

Alexander Hamilton, Notes for Speech in Federal Constitutional
Convention, 18 June 1787

Holograph

Alexander Hamilton Papers, Manuscript Division

In his major speech in the Constitutional Convention, 18 June 1787, Hamilton proposed a central government for the United States far stronger than any advocated by his colleagues. He cited Switzerland as an example of what he regarded as an intrinsic flaw in confederal governments: weakness of the central authority, resulting in political instability.

remaining eleven cantons. . . . Bern alone might usurp the whole power of the Helvetic confederacy, but she is contented still with being equal."¹⁵ Other Antifederalists saluted the Swiss because they had managed for centuries without a standing army. But most Antifederalists were drawn to the Swiss because they believed their loose confederacy of more or less sovereign states, contrary to the assertions of the Madisons and Hamiltons of the world, had worked gloriously and proved that Switzerland had been the proper model for the United States in 1776 and continued to be so in 1787.

No Antifederalist boasted more effusively about the success of the Swiss Confederacy than a "Farmer," writing in the *Baltimore Gazette* in March 1788. According to the "Farmer," "these happy Helvetians have in peace and security beheld all the rest of Europe become a common slaughter house;" they "have become in a series of years, passed in uninterrupted but moderate Labor, frugality, peace and happiness, the richest nation under the sun;" they had "remained under the simplest of all forms of government for near five hundred years, in uninterrupted tranquility and happiness."¹⁶ They had, indeed, asserted Patrick Henry in the Virginia Ratifying Convention, for the simple reason that the "Swiss spirit" had remained strong; they had "encountered and overcome immense difficulties with patience and fortitude. In the vicinity of powerful and ambitious monarchs, they have retained their independence, republican simplicity, and valor."¹⁷

Madison and the Federalists, of course, won the argument with the Antifederalists about the "imbecility" of confederal government, just as Swiss reformers won the same argument with their opponents in 1848. But many historians contend that in the end the Antifederalists were winners, too, for they succeeded in compelling the Federalists to add the Bill of Rights to the Constitution, thereby giving the nation a charter that many consider as valuable as the Constitution itself. In a recent article Paul Widmer has presented the provocative thesis that the Swiss helped inspire the Bill of Rights.¹⁸ Widmer does not mean that Americans looked to Switzerland for model codes of civil liberties. Eighteenth century Switzerland was, he is fully aware, a land in which serfdom and torture in judicial proceedings were still legal and, though far from a totalitarian state, Switzerland, like many of her continental neighbors, was just beginning to be receptive to the full range of Anglo-American notions of rights. What Widmer means is that some measure of the Antifederalists' motivation to demand a Bill of Rights was generated by their admiration for the historic, almost mythic, devotion to liberty that seemed to suffuse Swiss history. Through this channel, Widmer claims, the "Swiss spirit (Schweizer Geist)" flowed into the American Bill of Rights.

Although it may be difficult to document Widmer's specific claim about a link between Switzerland and the Bill of Rights, in a larger sense he is correct in discerning a spiritual communion between Americans and Swiss at the end of the eighteenth century. It is clearly evident in the cultural realm. The first musical, written and performed by Americans, opened in New York City on 18 April 1796. It was William Dunlap's *The Archers, or The Mountaineers of Switzerland*, a dramatic depiction of William Tell and his compatriots, Fürst, Melchtal, and Stauffacher. Several other plays on Swiss themes were also performed before appreciative audiences. The performances were popular because Americans felt a spiritual kinship with the Swiss. No American, declared a theater critic in the *New York Evening Post*, 23 February 1819, could be "insensible" to the story of William Tell. "It is an incident in the glorious struggle of the Swiss for independence. The Swiss were like our fathers, a plain and simple but virtuous, free and valiant nation."¹⁹ To citizens of the young American Republic the Swiss were, to use a term from the modern American vernacular, soul brothers and sisters.

NOTES

1. Lyman H. Butterfield, et al., eds., *Diary and Autobiography of John Adams*, 3 (Cambridge, 1961), 352.
2. Paul H. Smith, et al., eds., *Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774-1789*, 4 (Washington, 1979), 587.
3. Claude A. Lopez, et al., eds., *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, 27 (New Haven, 1988), 5.
4. James H. Hutson, *John Adams and the Diplomacy of the American Revolution* (Lexington, Ky., 1980), 32.
5. For a discussion of the sources of information about Switzerland used by eighteenth century Americans, I have relied upon Paul Widmer, "Der Einfluss der Schweiz auf die Amerikanische Verfassung von 1787," an unpublished paper in my possession. A revised version of this excellent essay has been published in *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte*, 38 (1988), 359-389.
6. *Ibid.*, 15.
7. Zubly, *Law of Liberty*, 33.
8. William Coxe, *Travels in Switzerland and in the country of the Grisons . . .* (4th ed., London, 1808-1814), 644, 648.
9. Widmer, *op. cit.*, 15-16.
10. Jack P. Greene, *Peripheries and Center* (Athens, Ga., 1986), 190.
11. Robert A. Rutland, et al., eds., *The Papers of James Madison*, 9 (Chicago, 1975), 8-11.
12. Max Farrand, ed., *The Records of the Federal Convention*, 1 (New Haven, 1987), 285.

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13. *Federalist* 18 in Jacob E. Cooke, ed., *The Federalist* (Middletown, 1961), 113.
14. *Federalist* 19, *ibid.*, 123.
15. Farrand, *op. cit.*, 1, 454.
16. Herbert Storing, ed., *The Complete Anti-Federalist*, 5 (Chicago, 1981), 47.
17. *Ibid.*, 227.
18. Widmer, *op. cit.*, 39-41.
19. Heinz K. Meier, *The United States and Switzerland in the Nineteenth Century* (The Hague, 1963), 14n.

Americans and the Swiss Constitution of 1848

→ If Switzerland furnished models for American revolutionary leaders, the institutional consummation of the American Revolution, the Constitution of 1787, furnished a reciprocal model for Swiss statesmen.

The Swiss followed the course of the American Revolution with attention. Not everyone was as well acquainted with the personalities of the Revolution as the poet Johann Jakob Bodmer who claimed in 1778 that his plays "were completely in Samuel Adams' style of thought,"¹ but most literate Swiss were aware of what was happening across the Atlantic. Their newspapers were "full of America"² and books about the Revolution found a ready audience.

Sympathy for the American cause was far from universal in Switzerland. Though more scholarship is needed to establish the point, it appears that the Swiss divided along class lines in their reaction to the American Revolution. The secretary to the British Embassy in Bern reported to his superiors in 1780 that Swiss elites wanted to see the rebellion crushed,³ apparently because the subversion of authority being achieved by the Americans might prove contagious among restive populations in various Swiss cantons. Their fears were evidently well founded, for scholars have claimed that the American Revolution was the model (Vorbild) for two of the most striking episodes of popular unrest in eighteenth century Swiss history: the peasant revolt led by Nicolas Chenaux against the government of Fribourg in 1781 and the Stäfa affair in the canton of Zurich in 1795-96.

Chenaux's efforts to mobilize the peasants and bourgeoisie of Fribourg to overthrow an entrenched government ended disastrously in May 1781—Chenaux himself was killed and posthumously

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beheaded, drawn, and quartered. According to an observer, Baron Marie-François d'Alt, the Fribourg rebels were "struck with the great courage of the Americans . . . and made plans strongly resembling theirs."⁴ The distinguished historian of Swiss-American relations, William Rappard, contended that the Stäfa Reformers, whose efforts to democratize the government of Zurich were no more successful than Chenaux's ill-fated endeavors, were also inspired by the American Revolution, although other authorities believe they were influenced principally by the French Revolution.⁵

There is no doubt that the turmoil created by the French Revolution focused the attention of many Swiss on the American Constitution of 1787 as a model for their own government. In 1798 French troops invaded Switzerland, rapidly conquered it, and imposed the "One and Indivisible Helvetic Republic." The Helvetic Republic was an example of what the American Antifederalists called a "consolidated" government. The sovereignty and independence of the cantons were abolished and all power was exercised by a five-man directory. The Helvetic Republic did take some "progressive" steps—the abolition of feudal tenures, the establishment of various civil rights—but it was despised by the Swiss as the creation of a conqueror. Few were sorry when it collapsed in 1803.

Many Swiss who opposed the Helvetic Republic did not want to revert to the politics of the old confederation in which cantonal sovereignty had frustrated the achievement of worthy national objectives. What was needed, they believed, was a stronger central government that permitted, as the Helvetic Republic did not, a measure of autonomy in the constituent units. What was needed, in other words, was a federal system such as the framers of the American Constitution had established in 1787. The trauma of the Helvetic Republic made the United States "very fashionable with us," a Swiss commentator noted in 1800.⁶ Politicians, academics, and clergymen began extolling the American Constitution as a model for Switzerland. Imitate the Americans, a Lausanne minister advised in February 1800, because they have found it "useful to entrust some legislative and executive power to one national authority [and] no less useful to maintain separate local administrations and to subject to a uniform and central rule only those matters for which that was absolutely necessary in the interests of general prosperity and the defense of the Confederation."⁷ The Bürgermeister of Basel, Johann Karl Wieland, was no less enthusiastic about following the Americans. "I know very well that the unitary system does not suit our people," he wrote on 11 September 1802, and "I shall certainly miss no opportunity to endeavor to modify our constitution so as to render it as similar as possible to that of



Ignaz Paul Vital Troxler (1780-1866)

Engraving

Courtesy of the Swiss National Library

A medical doctor and professor of philosophy, Troxler in writings published in the 1830s and 1840s campaigned for the adoption by the Swiss of an American-style federal republic. According to one authority, Troxler "more than any other single person" was "responsible for the adoption of the American bicameral system in Switzerland."

Die Verfassung

Vereinigten Staaten Nordamerika's
als Musterbild

Schweizerischen Bundesreform.

Von Dr. Troxler und Mitarbeitern

Dr. Troxler,

Stellvertreter des Bundesrates an der Eidgenössischen Versammlung.

Samt Anhang 1848.

Schaffhausen.

Verlag von Schmidmann'schen Buchhandlung.

Ignaz Paul Vital Troxler, *Die Verfassung der Vereinigten Staaten Nordamerika's als Musterbild der Schweizerischen Bundesreform* (Schaffhausen, 1848).

Pamphlet

Courtesy of the Swiss National Library

Professor Hans R. Guggisberg has recently noted that in January 1848 Troxler presented this pamphlet, whose title means *The Constitution of the United States of North America as a Model for Swiss Federal Reform*, to the committee of the Swiss Diet employed in drafting the new federal constitution and that the committee "accepted Troxler's advice on March 22, 1848."

the United States."⁸ For the next four decades the discussion of the revision of the structure of Swiss government seldom occurred without the advisability of copying the American constitutional model being considered.

After the collapse of the Helvetic Confederacy in 1803 the Swiss political pendulum swung back in the direction of the old confederation. Under the so-called Mediation of 1803 and the Federal Pact of 1815 the sovereignty of the cantons was restored as was the power of the aristocratic oligarchies that had long governed in many of them. Although it is an exaggeration to say that the Swiss were now "intent on scrambling back into the Middle Ages,"⁹ the abolition of many recently granted rights, the imposition of press censorship, and the reintroduction of torture in legal proceedings revealed the cause of liberty to be in retreat.

An abrupt change occurred in 1830. The Revolution in Paris in that year encouraged Swiss liberals to oust the aristocratic leadership in many of the most important cantons and to establish new governments that were based, as was Jacksonian Democracy in the United States, on popular sovereignty. The Swiss liberals were not prepared to open the door of political participation quite as wide as the Jacksonians were—restrictions, for example, were retained on the suffrage and on office holding—but they secured a broad range of rights to their fellow citizens and were committed to the institutionalization of democratic reform.

The liberals and their allies on the left, the radicals, realized that, to secure these reforms in the cantons, the government of the Confederation must be revised and strengthened to counteract conservative efforts from within and without Switzerland to restore the old order.¹⁰ Consequently, in 1832 the liberals persuaded the national Diet to consider changing the national government. The ensuing debates roused advocates of American-style federalism to lobby vigorously for their favorite project. Foremost among the "Americanists" was Ignaz Paul Vital Troxler, a medical doctor, turned philosopher, who "more than any other single person [was] responsible for the adoption of the American bicameral system in Switzerland."¹¹ A prolific writer of pamphlets, Troxler advised his countrymen that after "long and earnest reflections" on Switzerland's problems "a brilliant and happy example of its solution in historical reality loomed up before my eyes. It was the federal system of North America. . . . The constitution of the United States of America is a great work of art which the human mind created according to the eternal laws of its divine nature. . . . It is a model and pattern" for Switzerland and all other republics.¹²

Another pro-American writer, "very widely read all over Switzerland," was the political pastor Thomas Bornhauser of Canton

Thurgau whose pamphlet, *Schweizerbart und Treuherz*, published in 1834, contained the following declaration by the author's protagonist Treuherz: "Even our aldermen here seem to look upon a federal state in which the cantonal and national spheres would be harmonized one with another as a Utopian ideal. Well, the problem has been solved. The United States of North America have founded a federal state in which the freedom of each individual canton stands in perfect harmony with the unity of the nation."¹³

That the American system had captured the imagination of the Swiss public was attested to by James Fenimore Cooper who in his *Excursions in Switzerland* (1836) reported that, although most Swiss were "opposed to consolidation . . . they desire a Union like our own."¹⁴ Further evidence of the popularity of the American system was furnished by a German traveller, Theodor Mundt, who reported that at a political rally of eight thousand Swiss at Langenthal in 1838 he was told by several participants that they had "taken as a model North American constitutional institutions and had especially before their eyes the bicameral system of Congress."¹⁵

Attractive though the American model appears to have been to many sections of the Swiss public, Swiss politicians were in no hurry to adopt it as the foundation of a new constitutional order. Events conspired in the 1840s, however, to make constitutional revision possible and, in the eyes of many, mandatory. In 1841 the radical government of Aargau suppressed the canton's Catholic convents, which it blamed for obstructing reform. The spark produced by the Aargau incident kindled a civil war six years later. The leading Catholic canton, Luzern, in what appeared to many to be a deliberate provocation, voted on 24 October 1844, to give the Jesuits control over the canton's schools. Assaults by marauding radicals followed and on 11 December 1845, the Catholic cantons of Luzern, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug, Fribourg, and Valais concluded a defensive pact called the Sonderbund, with the avowed purpose of protecting themselves and their religion from outside intervention. To the liberals and radicals the Sonderbund appeared in the same light as the Confederate States of America did in 1861 to Lincoln and his supporters: a secessionist movement designed to support a reactionary institution which must be brought to heel lest the nation perish. As a result, the Diet ordered the Sonderbund dissolved, 20 July 1847, and on 4 November 1847 it sent troops into the field to suppress it. By the end of the month the Sonderbund had been defeated militarily at a surprisingly modest loss in men and material.

In the midst of preparations for war the Diet voted, 16 August 1847, to appoint a committee to revise the constitution. The absence of the Sonderbund delegates in 1847 and their support of



Battle of Gislikon, 23 November 1847

Lithograph by Jules Sulzer de Winterthour

Courtesy of the Swiss National Library

The decisive battle of the Swiss Civil War of 1847 (the Sonderbundkrieg) was fought at Gislikon, 23 November 1847. The victory of the confederate forces led to the adoption of the Constitution of 1848, which was patterned in significant ways after the United States Constitution of 1787.

reform when they reappeared in 1848 guaranteed that the process of drafting the constitution would be controlled by liberal and radical deputies. A constitution was prepared in the winter of 1848, speedily ratified, and put into effect, 12 September 1848. Scholars agree that the constitution, which was voluminous by American standards—114 articles and 7 “transitory provisions”—was, nevertheless, drafted “in conscious and deliberate imitation of the American model,”¹⁶ specifically, in regard to bicameralism and federalism. First, bicameralism: a Council of States, comparable to the American Senate, was established in which each canton had two votes; paired with the Council of States was the National Council, comparable to the American House of Representatives, which was elected by the people at large. To colleagues who were not enthusiastic about bicameralism, the Swiss drafting committee pointed out that “as the task of governing that vast [American] federation is much more complicated and difficult than that of governing the Swiss Confederation, the success made of the experiment of two chambers in that part of the world for more than sixty years past allows us *a fortiori* to hope that it will also prove suitable to our country.”¹⁷

As for federalism, the Swiss Constitution of 1848, like the American Constitution of 1787, converted a league of sovereign states into a federal state in which power was divided between different levels of government: the central government was granted supreme power in some areas, the cantonal governments retained it in others, creating a system that Americans called “dual sovereignty” federalism. The Swiss appeared to imitate the separation of powers written into the American Constitution, although upon closer inspection substantial differences emerge between the operations of the systems in the two countries. The Swiss Constitution of 1848 did, to be sure, establish separate legislative, judicial, and executive departments, but by permitting the legislature to appoint both of its coordinate branches, it deprived them of the independence Americans considered essential for their proper functioning.

The Swiss executive was radically different from its American counterpart. Early in the Constitutional Convention of 1787 the American Framers rejected as impractical a proposal for a three-member executive, representing northern, middle, and southern sections of the country. A single executive, they believed, was indispensable for the success of republican government. The Swiss constitution, however, established a seven-member executive, called the Federal Council, which was, in American eyes, a political heresy of the most egregious sort. The Swiss High Court, the Federal Tribunal, also differed from the American Supreme Court in lacking the power to review laws passed by the national legislative (a power, it is true, not explicitly granted in the American Constitution).

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Another difference between the Swiss and American Constitutions was the extent of power given to the central government. Although many of the same powers were granted in both countries—Swiss and American framers, for example, insisted on arming their national governments with control over commerce so that they could promote economic growth—the Swiss were willing to trust their legislature with certain powers—constructing public works, establishing a university—which the American framers specifically withheld in 1787. Finally, the forces which created the American and Swiss Constitutions were strikingly different. Current scholarship in the United States holds that conservative—some would say, aristocratic—elements created the Constitution to thwart democratic movements in the states. In Switzerland, precisely the opposite occurred; democratic forces sought a strong central government to overcome aristocracies in the cantons.

Despite these differences—and it would be possible to mention more—the important fact to remember in assessing the ties between the Sister Republics is that the major institutional features of the Swiss Constitution of 1848—bicameralism and federalism—were copied from the American Constitution of 1787. As a Swiss scholar has recently asserted, one "could almost speak of a plagiarist."¹⁸

NOTES

1. Horst Dippel, *Germany and the American Revolution 1770-1800* (Chapel Hill, 1977), 131.
2. *Ibid.*, 22.
3. *Ibid.*, 221.
4. Georges Andrey, "Recherches sur la Littérature Politique relative aux Troubles de Fribourg durant les Années 1780," in Jean-Daniel Cadaux and Bernard Lescaze, eds., *Cinq Siècles D'Imprimerie Genevoise* (Geneva, 1981), 140.
5. Dippel, op. cit., 338-9.
6. William E. Rappard, "Pennsylvania and Switzerland: The American Origins of the Swiss Constitution," *Studies in Political Science and Sociology* (Philadelphia, 1941), 56.
7. *Ibid.*, 61.
8. *Ibid.*, 64.
9. William Martin, *Switzerland from Roman times to the present* (New York, 1971), 169.
10. Edgar Bonjour, Hilary S. Offler, George Richard Potter, *A Short History of Switzerland* (Westport, 1985), 254.
11. Rappard, "Pennsylvania and Switzerland," 91.
12. *Ibid.*, 93.
13. *Ibid.*, 100.

14. *Ibid.*, 68.
15. *Ibid.*, 107.
16. *Ibid.*, 50.
17. *Ibid.*, 115.
18. Jean-François Aubert, "The United States Constitution and Switzerland," unpublished paper in the author's possession. One similarity between the framers of the Swiss Constitution of 1848 and their American counterparts in 1787 which has escaped the notice of commentators is the "relative youth" of both groups. About the Swiss framers Rappard wrote:

Ce qui surprend le plus, lorsqu'on évoque le riche passé de la plupart des membres de la commission, c'est leur jeunesse relative. Quatre commissaires, y compris son président, Ochsenbein, et son benjamin, Michel d'Obwald, avaient moins de quarante ans. La grande majorité étaient quadragénaires. Six seulement avaient dépassé la cinquantaine et son doyen d'âge, Abys, n'avait que cinquante-huit ans.

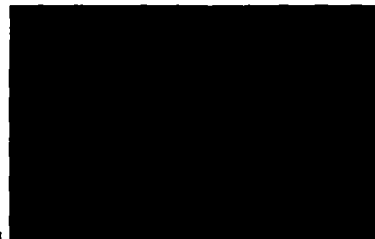
La Constitution Fédérale de la Suisse
(Neuchâtel, 1948), 111.

In a widely-read article, published in 1961, Stanley Elkins and Eric McKittrick argued that the distinctive feature of the American framers and the source of much of their creativity was their youth. See "The Founding Fathers: young men of the Revolution," *Political Science Quarterly*, 76 (1961), 181-216.

BANKS AND FRANCS A HISTORY OF SWITZERLAND AS A FINANCIAL CENTRE IN THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURIES

Jakob Tanner

1. Credit note (*Gutschein*) for one hundred Thaler of five French francs each from the *Deposito-Cassa der Stadt Bern* (issued 1849).



2. Twenty-franc note issued by the "Banque populaire de la Broje" (1879).

3. One-hundred-franc note issued by the "Kantonbank von Bern" (1902).

4. Interim fifty-franc note issued by the Swiss National Bank (1907).

On the strength of its natural circumstances, Switzerland was not predestined to enjoy the material wealth with which it is now identified worldwide. Economic improvement however, depends less on the presence of natural resources than on social resources and cultural traditions, on a growth-oriented mentality prevalent in the population, and on the ability of economic elites to stand their ground successfully on distant capital and commodity markets. The internationally strong position which Switzerland as a financial centre currently occupies is an impressive case in point.

Capital export and industrialization

In former times, the Swiss Confederation had an out-and-out federalist structure. Weak internal integration went hand in hand with strong economic and political links between individual Swiss cantons and foreign powers. Capital export and the banks' mediating role in international capital movements played a prominent part in this context. Swiss capital wealth enabled traditional private banking families and cantonal governments to maintain an important commercial presence in European capitals. Swiss capital was also involved in most colonial investment projects. On the one hand, the substantial domestic creation of wealth was based protoindustrialization in the fields of textiles and watchmaking; in individual regions, such as the Zurich Oberland and the Jura, the cottage industry system was highly developed in comparison with other countries in the 18th century. On the other hand, the reigning families equipped the standing armies of European princes and kings with Swiss mercenary troops and the profit they derived from this export of young men was again largely invested abroad. The wealth which the cantonal élites appropriated in this manner, contrasted visibly with the frugal life and material poverty of large sections of the population. The impression created by the Swiss state was ambivalent: Switzerland was regarded as one of the most affluent countries in Europe, and as having a particularly intimate relationship with money – but at the same time to all intents and purposes appeared to be a poorhouse incapable of feeding its population which resulted many people being forced to emigrate.

It was a consequence of the decline of the feudal system and the onset of agricultural modernization that from the late 18th century onwards, the prevailing internationally oriented private banking system was complemented by a new type of bank with local, regional and cantonal catchment areas. Until well into the 1850s, two completely different credit systems existed side by side. One had firm roots in the "communication community" of a region or a canton and developed within an intricately interconnected socio-cultural structure with strong

internal cohesion. The other concentrated on an international environment and depended on the skills of urban economic élites to acquire the strategic information necessary for a judicious capital export policy in the remotest corners of the earth. This coexistence of banking regionalization and internationalization was evidence that the lack of national integration also extended to the economy.

Only after the foundation of the liberal federation in 1848 were internal customs duties abolished and a standardized Swiss economic territory realized. The subsequent decades witnessed the emergence of those big banks, stock exchanges, insurance companies, finance and holding companies, as well as a number of savings banks, mortgage banks and cantonal banks, which continue to be the hallmarks of Switzerland as a financial centre to this day. The *Crédit mobilier* established in Paris by the brothers Péreire in 1852 was also imitated in Switzerland, as a symbol of successful capitalist expansion.

In the following decade, half a dozen such financing companies were either newly founded or resulted from a merger of smaller institutes. These "steam engines of credit" employed new methods to mobilize and concentrate extensive savings, channelling them primarily into the capital-intensive railway construction. In 1856 the Zurich railway barons founded the Swiss Credit Bank in Zurich. In 1862 the Bank in Winterthur (which since its merger with the Togenburger Bank in 1912 has been known as the Union Bank of Switzerland), in 1869 the Volksbank in Berne, and in 1872 the Basle Bank Corporation, which later turned into the Swiss Bank Corporation, were established.

During the boom years before the First World War, the successful Swiss combination of the "most highly qualified work output and greatest capital intensity" (Julius Landmann) began to gain ground. This was not least thanks to the new "universal banks", which now also raised capital for the development of large-scale industrial operations, and actively promoted the transformation of old, traditional family businesses into modern joint-stock companies. During this phase, which was characterized by a worldwide increase in protectionist tendencies, exports and direct foreign investments were promoted by finance companies (earlier also known as loan or trust banks). They fulfilled the function of a hinge between the big banks and industrial concerns, thus providing the development of an immense though discreet Swiss economic empire with financial security around the globe. At this juncture, the previously urban-cantonal banking centres grew together into a national financial centre.

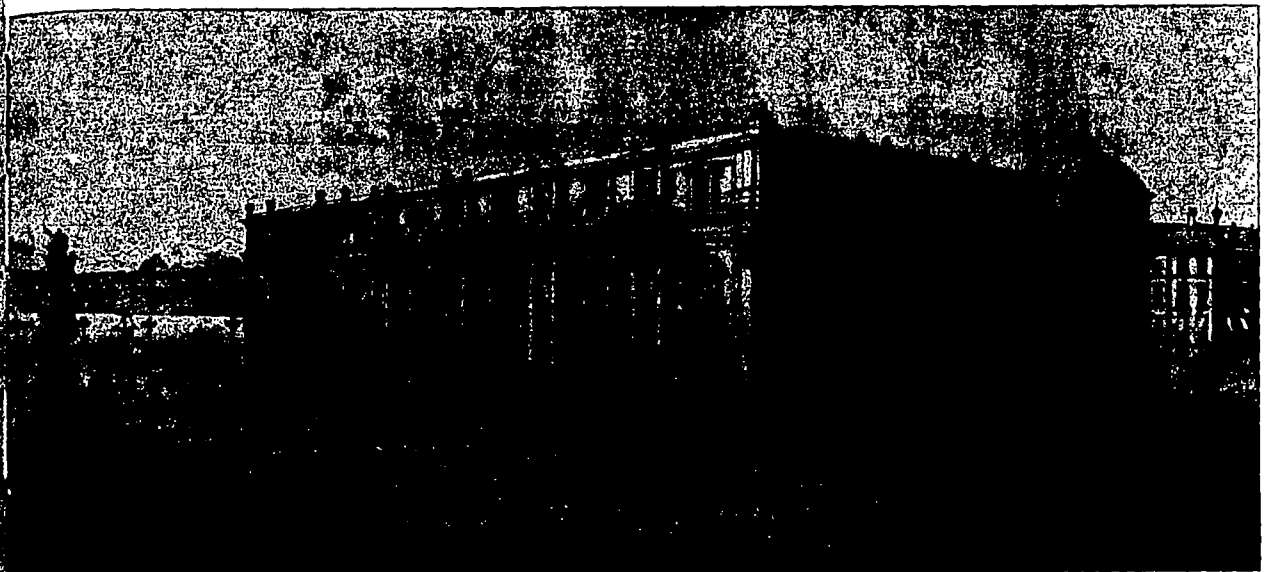
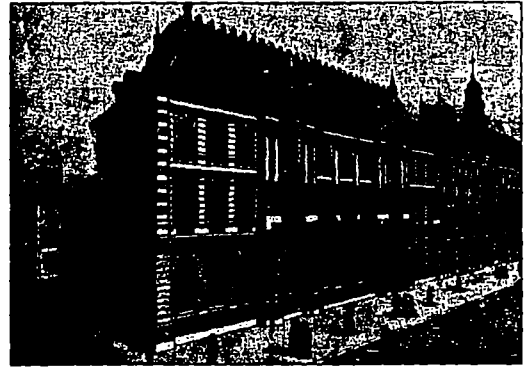
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5. The head office of Swiss Credit Bank, built in Zurich in 1876.
6. The headquarters of the "Zürcher Kantonalbank".
7. The old Zurich stock-exchange building (built around 1880).
8. Inside the old Zurich stock exchange in the Bahnhofstrasse, 1896.
9. The headquarters of the "Schweizerische Volksbank" in Zurich. End of the 19th century.



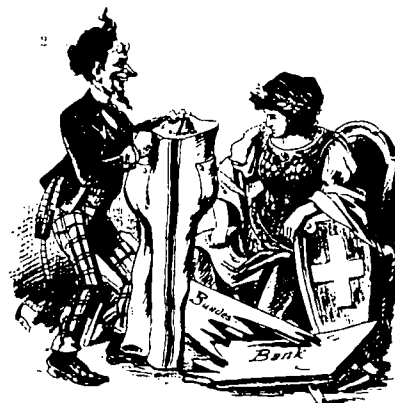
1. Offer of subscription from the "Comptoir d'Escompte de Genève" to an issue of bonds redeemable in 1935. Poster (lithograph) by Edouard Elzingre
2. Cartoon published in the *Nebelspalter* after the creation of the Swiss National Bank in 1907.



The power wielded by banks was an issue which gave rise to explosive political disputes as early as the mid-19th century. In the late 1860s, a "Democratic Movement" launched the slogan "banks for the people against banks for the masters"; one of the aims they pursued was to relieve the big banks of their control of the capital market. In the late 19th century, liberal corporatism took shape in Switzerland. State interventionism was reinforced, and the newly established umbrella organisations of the economy assumed control of federal politics. In the financial sector, too, there were interventions: stock exchanges were nationalized, and statutory regulations imposed on the insurance business. In 1905/1907, a National Bank was founded. It took the form of a joint-stock company; its jurisdiction and its intervention instruments were modest. It did, however, have a high degree of autonomy vis-à-vis the political authorities. Both features gave expression to a specific constellation of power: Swiss monetary policy, which was characterized by a cult of capital export, was dominated by a politically powerful alliance of big banks and a group of high-class industrial companies oriented towards world markets. State-interventionist tendencies caused the banks to respond with corporatist self-control. Efforts to establish organisations were redoubled. Various national associations emerged, such as an issuing combine in 1897, an association of Swiss cantonal banks in 1907, and an association of Swiss local, savings and loan banks in 1920. In 1912, on the initiative of bankers mainly from the Basle area, the banking umbrella organisation which came to be known as the Swiss Bankers' Association was created. Through the conclusion of gentlemen's agreements and the formulation of a code of conduct for the "exercise of due diligence", the banks continually managed to steal a march on statutory impositions. A Swiss banking law was only enacted in 1934, during a serious credit crisis. Invoking criminal law to protect banking secrecy, it not only imposed restrictions but offered state protection of the international banking business.

From the Great Depression to the drive towards internationalization

With a banking and stock-exchange imperialism perfectly impervious to diplomatic entanglement, Swiss capital interests had been able to participate in the great powers' financial overseas adventures as early as the 19th century. This involvement, which was as risky as it was profitable and had the character of hidden colonialism, continued into the 20th century. The world slump of the 1930s dealt the big Swiss banks a serious, if temporary, blow; during the Second World War, however, Switzerland managed to gain ground again as a financial centre.



Substantial transactions in foreign exchange and gold were effected with the nations at war. In the case of Germany, the big banks collaborated with the National Bank to convert 1.7 billion francs' worth of gold – more than one billion of its ascertainably stolen – into internationally accepted purchasing power.

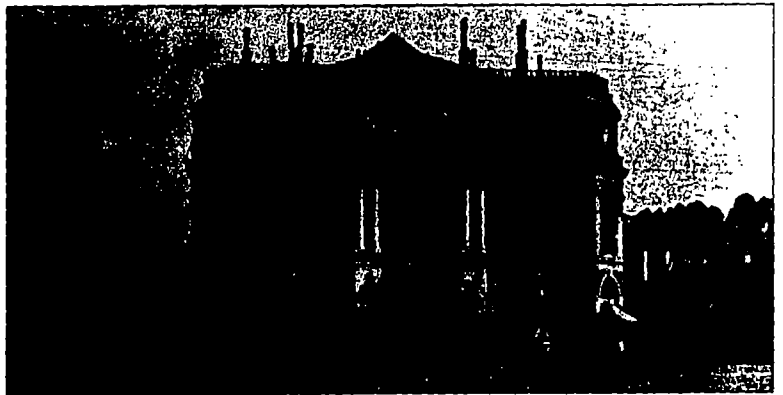
The phenomenal growth of Switzerland as a financial centre after the Second World War was based not only on this technique of "money laundering", but also on the tradition of safe investment and turntable transactions. Between 1950 and 1973, the banks' and financial companies' foreign assets and liabilities grew at twice the rate of the national income. Public accounting, dealing in gold and foreign exchange, as well as asset management, all experienced disproportionate growth. The financial sector increasingly exceeded the dimension of the national economy; however, the sources of income tapped in this manner made a substantial contribution to the Swiss population's exceptionally high standard of living. Conversely, the accumulation of great financial risk in a small number of banks, the involvement of financial institutes in "grey and black markets" (drug trafficking and the arms business), as well as the fact that hardly any dictator has ever been toppled without Swiss bank accounts hitting the news soon after, clearly show that such deals are not without their economic and moral problems, and will doubtless continue to give rise to debate.

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3. The Federal Bank in Bern, in about 1900. It was to close down in 1945.
4. Lobby and counters of the headquarters of the Swiss Credit Bank in the Paradeplatz, Zurich, about 1900.



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ÉLISABETH BAULACRE WEALTHY 17TH CENTURY WOMAN ENTREPRENEUR

Anne-Marie Piuze

Elisabeth Baulacre was a famous 17th century Genevese business woman. Born in Geneva on 15 September 1613 to a family of manufacturer-traders, her mother and father were descendants of refugee families who had come to Geneva to escape religious persecution. In 1637 Elisabeth married Pierre Perdriau, a merchant, whose family, like her own, originated from Tours. Perdriau died in 1641, and Elisabeth raised their son, Pierre, on her own. In 1655, Elisabeth married Jacob Andrion, a town councillor, later to be elected mayor. From her first marriage, Elisabeth Baulacre inherited a modest "gilding" firm. The business developed rapidly under her management and Elisabeth's affairs flourished to such an extent that she became one of Geneva's leading capitalist merchants. When she died "from natural causes" on September 12, 1693, her son inherited one of the Republic's largest fortunes.

Three basic factors were responsible for this prodigious success: the thriving Genevese economy; the developing production sector; and Elisabeth Baulacre's own abilities — her innate sense of organisation, her entrepreneurial spirit and her talent for innovation.

During this period of Genevan prosperity, a considerable number of changes took place in the silk industry and the manufacture and retailing of gilt became one of its most active sectors. Whilst the fashion for gold and silver brocades and trimmings was at its peak, the production of such items was highly complex and the rapid expansion of the gilt sector had repercussions on a wide range of subsidiary trades. The majority of Genevese craftsmen, skilled in handling precious metals, and making trimmings, ribbons and lace, thus began working for gilt merchants. The entire Genevese economy benefited.

In the second half of the 17th century, the Genevan gilt trade, dominated by the principal merchants, possessed all the characteristics of a capitalist pre-industrial sector. Whilst expensive raw materials such as silk and precious metals were imported, their transformation from metal bars into a variety

of semi-finished goods (silver and gold wires and threads) used for making buttons, fringes, trimmings, materials, etc., involved the skills of many trades. Moreover, the initial making and subsequent repair of tools provided additional employment for other craftsmen. The goods were exported to foreign markets which offered greater potential than the home market and were subject to fewer legal restrictions. Selling them abroad, however, required considerable commercial and financial expertise, which only the principal merchants possessed, as well as a wide network of contacts in the markets, at the fairs and with the banks.

Elisabeth Baulacre fulfilled her role as a leading figure in a pre-industrial economy, i.e. that of a manufacturer-trader, with the greatest of success; however, she was not alone. Her brother, Nicolas Baulacre, the Lullin, Marcet and Calendrini families also managed highly successful Genevese businesses during this period (1660-1700). Elisabeth Baulacre, who took her son Pierre into the business, was, however, amongst the leaders.

Working conditions

A collection of legal documents has enabled Elisabeth's closely-knit network of artisans, skilled craftsmen and workers, as well as most aspects of the gilt trade, to be reconstructed.

It was common practice at this time for entrepreneurs to issue employment contracts ("work promises" or "dependency contracts") to the people they employed — most of whom worked from home. The contracts set out the obligations and conditions which bound the employee to his employer, e.g. loans, rental of tools, orders, work control, delivery delays, terms for eventual reimbursement of debts, length of employment, and so on. This system was commonly known as the domestic system (*industrie dispersée* or *Verlagssystem*).

The following examples are good illustrations of Elisabeth Baulacre's role as an entrepreneur. Manuel Caugel and his nephew Jean Carpin, smelters, agreed to work for Mrs Baulacre for six years. Caugel, in return, received 80 crowns a year, 10 cuts of corn, 2 waggons of wine and a new suit every two years; his nephew and other men who worked under Caugel received slightly less (1687). Pierre Huguenin, a skilled gold puller, and his wife, agreed to work faithfully for Mrs. Baulacre for five years; in addition to the 4 crowns paid to the husband and the crown paid to his wife, they also received free lodgings, 12 cuts of wheat, 15 pounds of candles, 24 quadroons of nut oil and 6 measures of cinders a year (1665). Master passementiers were taken on for three or five-year periods at varying wages. In 1649 Gaspard Destra received 110 crowns a year plus free

lodgings, whilst in 1660 Nicolas Butin was paid a wage of only 50 crowns a year but in addition received full board and lodgings as well as all his clothes and footwear. Elisabeth Baulacre entrusted the manufacture of her tools (drawing plates, spinning wheels, mills, etc.) and their subsequent maintenance and repair to skilled carpenters and turners. In 1674, Jacques Lerrisse, a skilled carpenter, and his wife, agreed to take on the maintenance of the Baulacre tools for a period of nine years; in return, they received a joint wage of 10 crowns per month, 6 cuts of corn and half a waggon of wine per year, plus their lodgings.

From time to time Mrs Baulacre placed workers with the master gold pullers, stipulating that, as she paid their wages, they could only work for her. It would appear that this was one way of getting around the laws which prohibited skilled gold pullers from employing more than one worker or apprentice at a time.

By law, master gold pullers were obliged to serve a six-year apprenticeship (five years for sons of master gold pullers) at a cost of 300 florins. Elisabeth's apprentices learned their trades under her own master craftsmen; she paid the required 300 florins and, more often than not, additional sums to cover their upkeep. Let's take a look at a few examples. In 1689, Mme Baulacre took on Nicolas Baudet as an apprentice gold puller, stipulating that he must faithfully serve his master "who was employed by the said Lady". He received free board and lodgings, was "shown all the tools" of the trade but was obliged, once he had completed his apprenticeship, to continue serving the said Lady "under the orders" of his master.

Elisabeth Baulacre paid the cost of David Dunant's apprenticeship, his upkeep and the sum of one crown to register his name as a master gold puller. In return, David was committed to working only for her. She found a place for Jean-Marc Dunant with a skilled gold puller who promised to "put the fear of God into him, teach him good manners" and his trade "without keeping anything from him and as much as he was capable of understanding". Elisabeth assumed all his expenses "such sums she advanced free (of interest) to the apprentice... on condition that, once he became a master gold puller, he undertook to work only for the said Lady, or for Sir Pierre Perdriau, her son, until such time as his services were no longer required" (1683).

Similar conditions appeared in the apprenticeship contracts for turners, gold beaters, passementiers, etc. Parents and children alike pledged their belongings, their word (a compensation clause was always included in case a contract was broken) and their futures to honouring the promises contained in their contracts "in consideration of the kindness and generosity of the said Lady

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1 Silk fabric. Fragment of a christening robe:
 around 1710. Damasked silk cloth in relief
 and brocaded, blue striped background, leafy
 and grotesque patterns, shadows as it were, of
 silvered brocaded grotesquery. Presumably
 Lyons fabric.

2 Coat of a Geneva patrician. About
 1780, silk, silver thread, gold spangles and
 volutes. Gold embroidery on sil-
 ver brocade. In Switzerland, the ceremonial
 attire of the elegant 18th-century man
 complied for the most part with the dictates of
 French fashion. The tailors used mostly
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towards the said apprentice, who, with his mother, expressed their recognition and most humble appreciation".

We should mention here an important aspect of the relationship between the merchant-entrepreneur and the workers. Elisabeth Baulacre kept detailed accounts of all the expenditures she incurred on her employees' behalf: apprenticeship costs, tool rental, professional registration fees, etc., as well as details of all the loans she granted. Artisans and their families were thus doubly indebted to Elisabeth Baulacre through their contractual and financial obligations. It is easy to imagine, therefore, that the majority of artisans spent the better part of their lives trying to pay off their obligations to the capitalist merchants. From the first day of his apprenticeship, a worker knew that he would be obliged to serve Elisabeth Baulacre for many years to come. She had paid the costs of his apprenticeship, advanced the necessary funds to purchase his tools (often expensive, especially those of gold pullers), against recognition of debt from the artisan who, generally incapable of purchasing his own tools or even reimbursing their cost, was totally dependent upon the entrepreneur in this respect. Furthermore, artisans and workers were frequently obliged to request loans from her "to cover household necessities". In view of such obligations, capitalist merchants were thus able to obtain all the services they required from their workers on the most advantageous basis.

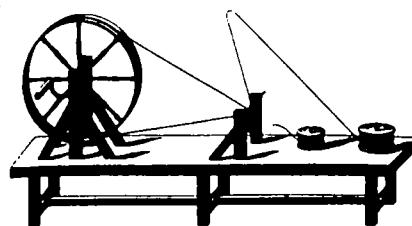
How did the entrepreneur-worker relationship evolve? If a worker, through hard work, patience, saving and constant good fortune, managed to clear his debts, he was freed from his obligations and, as a qualified craftsman equipped with his own tools, could then seek work under better conditions; the relationship between the merchant and the independent craftsman evolved on a new basis. Let's take a look at some examples.

It took Abraham Bonparis, a master gold puller, twenty years to reimburse the 800 florins he owed to Elisabeth Baulacre: "He wanted to be free of his debts, at liberty to leave her, for she had paid all the costs of his upbringing since childhood and had taught him his trade."

Property investments

However, few of these hardy artisans and workers had such good luck – sickness, death and other misfortunes were more often than not their common lot. Take for instance the case of Isaac Baudit. To settle past debts and repay the 4542 florins he owed to Elisabeth Baulacre, he was obliged to relinquish his house and part of his land to her. In 1680, Abel Chenevière, master gold puller, resigned himself to giving up part of his house to Mme Baulacre in order to repay

Winder to reel on the thread ▽



the money he had borrowed in 1658. It was in this way that Elisabeth Baulacre came into possession of a number of houses and considerable land.

In addition to reinvesting a percentage of her profits into the thriving business, Elisabeth was also attracted by property investments. Whilst such investments became increasingly popular during the 17th century and many capitalists risked their fortunes for hazardous returns, Elisabeth Baulacre invested her excess profits in a more conservative manner: building and purchasing town houses, country estates, land and mills in the surrounding countryside...

Several sources suggest that Elisabeth Baulacre used her fortune and her economic power to political ends and that she influenced the votes of her workers. One of her descendants wrote: "Elisabeth Baulacre... was an incredibly headstrong woman who built up an immense fortune, even by the standards of her epoch, entirely through her own talents and work. [She] employed a multitude of workers in her business and possessed such great political influence that at election time, if one did not have the approval of Madame, as she was referred to, one had little chance of being elected".

Whether you came across Elisabeth Baulacre in her bustling workshops, at the lawyers or in her big house in the rue du Rhône, you would always find her actively going about her business, her keen eyes taking in every detail, all her wits about her, irrespective of whether she was surveying her vine-growers in what must have been the most charming countryside, discussing business with merchants and bankers on an equal footing or even plotting the election of the next mayor...

As we slowly turn this gilt-edged page in history, let us listen with an indulgent ear to the ramblings of a loquacious writer who claims that this grand lady "was far less concerned with her own interests than with those of the people she dominated. She took to heart, more sincerely than many a judge, the happiness and glory of her people and her country."

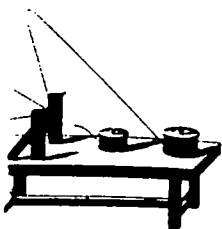


The gold beater. Engraving on wood by Jost Ammann.

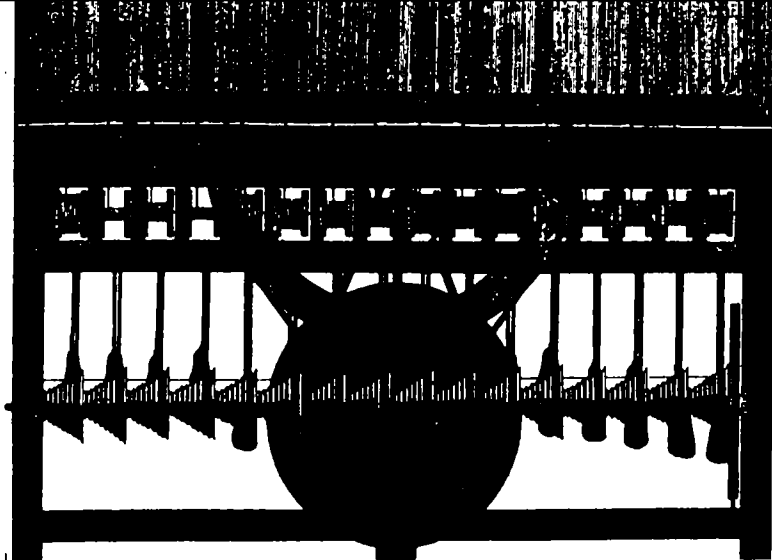
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1. Sixteen-bobbin winder for use by the gold spinner.
2. Frame used for gold drawing.
3. Mills to draw the thread and winder to reel on the thread.



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SWISS HOROLOGY A COMMITMENT TO QUALITY

Francis Besson



Gérard Geiger: What can you tell me about the history and traditions of Swiss horology?

Francis Besson: Horology wasn't born in Switzerland for, at the beginning, our so-called watchmaking cantons had not yet become part of the Swiss Confederation. Two extremely rich creative sources in developing the measurement of time contributed towards shaping Switzerland's specific *savoir-faire*: France and England. Skilled horologists gradually migrated to the Jura over the years, most of them two or three centuries ago, to regions now in the cantons of Neuchâtel, Vaud, Geneva, Berne and Solothurn. These migratory movements were provoked by several factors: while some fled from religious persecution or political instability, many others fled from lands struck by famine.

GG: Switzerland leaned heavily on such migratory movements to forge its own horology traditions. How did it consolidate its positions in the 19th and early 20th centuries?

FB: It occurred in stages. Objects were perfected, thus acquiring an increasingly sophisticated artistic and technological quality. Several crafts started to emerge, ranging from watchmaking to chronometermaking and engraving to enamelling. The considerable growth in watchmaking crafts gave rise to other subsidiary activities, gradually transforming horology workshops into industries. In addition to the relentless quest for quality, the main trend at this time, there was also a pronounced taste for miniaturisation.

GG: When did the idea of a wider commercialisation of watches first emerge?

FB: The history of Girard-Perregaux clearly illustrates that, even at the end of the 18th century, possessing a timepiece still remained a privilege reserved for the élite. During the 19th century, however, as commercial trade developed and social habits changed, knowing the time of day became a necessity. It was also during this same period that machines first made their appearance, transforming craft production into industrial production and thus finally bringing about the mass-production of horology products.

GG: Did this industrialisation destroy the soul of the horology sector?

FB: No. I don't think so. The end of the last century and the beginning of this one saw dramatic changes in watchmaking concepts. While watch manufacturers held their own by founding an internal structure for the production of movements and of watches, a number of large firms specialising exclusively in movements were reorganized.

GG: This naturally brings us to the revolutionary technology of the quartz watch. It seems that Switzerland didn't react until rather late, in the sixties, thus narrowly escaping a catastrophe.

FB: That's true. With the exception of a dozen or so watch manufacturers, there was a high concentration of manufacturers of Swiss movements at that time. They enjoyed what was virtually a monopoly and their main concern was not in the field of innovating, but rather in being able to produce enough watches or movements to meet demand.

The Japanese, who between 1950 and 1965 copied Swiss mechanical movements, were very quick to realise the advantage of electronics in the mass-production of cheap, accurate, reliable watches.

In the sixties, the principal Swiss watchmakers decided to get together and set up an institute, the Electronic Watchmaking Centre (CEH), with the aim of developing quartz watches as rapidly as possible. They realized that investment in itself was not sufficient to obtain results, but that it was also necessary to create university institutes in order to catch up on lost time.

GG: Do you think that this lesson has borne fruit and that the Swiss horology sector now pays adequate attention to both technological evolution and market trends?

FB: Swiss watchmaking went through ten to fifteen years of hardship. During that period, two important groups were conspicuous: SSIH and Ebauches SA. Their merger resulted in a pooling of hitherto badly exploited energy.

Other companies, like Rolex, have witnessed extraordinary growth. The Swiss have successfully reorganized their watchmaking industry and returned to the forefront of the world watchmaking scene.

The Japanese, for their part, have concentrated on high-performance middle-range products. They have thus left two markets open: lower-range watches, a market which South East Asia and Switzerland (with the Swatch) have taken over, and luxury watches, a market which Switzerland has reconquered, without ever actually having abandoned it, and to which it has now restored its true image both in terms of name and quality.

GG: But aren't we witnessing, in fact, a revival of luxury mechanical watches?

FB: One cannot talk of a revival in the upper-range market since this sector has never ceased to produce mechanical watches. As far as the middle and lower ranges are concerned, industrialists have somewhat neglected this type of product for a very simple reason: it is easier to make a good quality quartz movement more cheaply than a mechan-

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ical one. The problem with a mechanical movement is its precision: eight to ten times less than that of a quartz model. Moreover, few Swiss watchmaking companies – maybe only two or three – can afford to sell quartz watches that are as expensive as mechanical ones.

GG: Can one talk about solidarity between the principal Swiss companies?

FB: Yes, I believe a certain number of "gentleman's agreements" exist, even if their terms are not always explicit. Generally speaking, they respect each other's particular abilities.

GG: Is there any collaboration in professional training and staff recruitment?

FB: It's true that all watch manufacturers have the same objective and need: to have qualified staff at their disposal. In reality, the history of watchmaking is very distressing if one thinks back to certain periods when employers, who were not particularly scrupulous, neglected long-term perspectives and seriously damaged the image of watchmaking industrialists. Moreover, the inhabitants of watchmaking regions have very bitter memories of such times. More recently, our horology school suffered drastically during the last crisis in the seventies. During this crisis, the public authorities sought to diversify the economic structure by means of complementary activities such as electronics and microtechnology, which, from the outset, had a very positive effect on our region. However, today's top quality watch manufacturers – perhaps others too – are suffering from a lack of skilled labour. This problem has prompted Girard-Perregaux to promote professions related to horology and to extend the training of some of its staff.

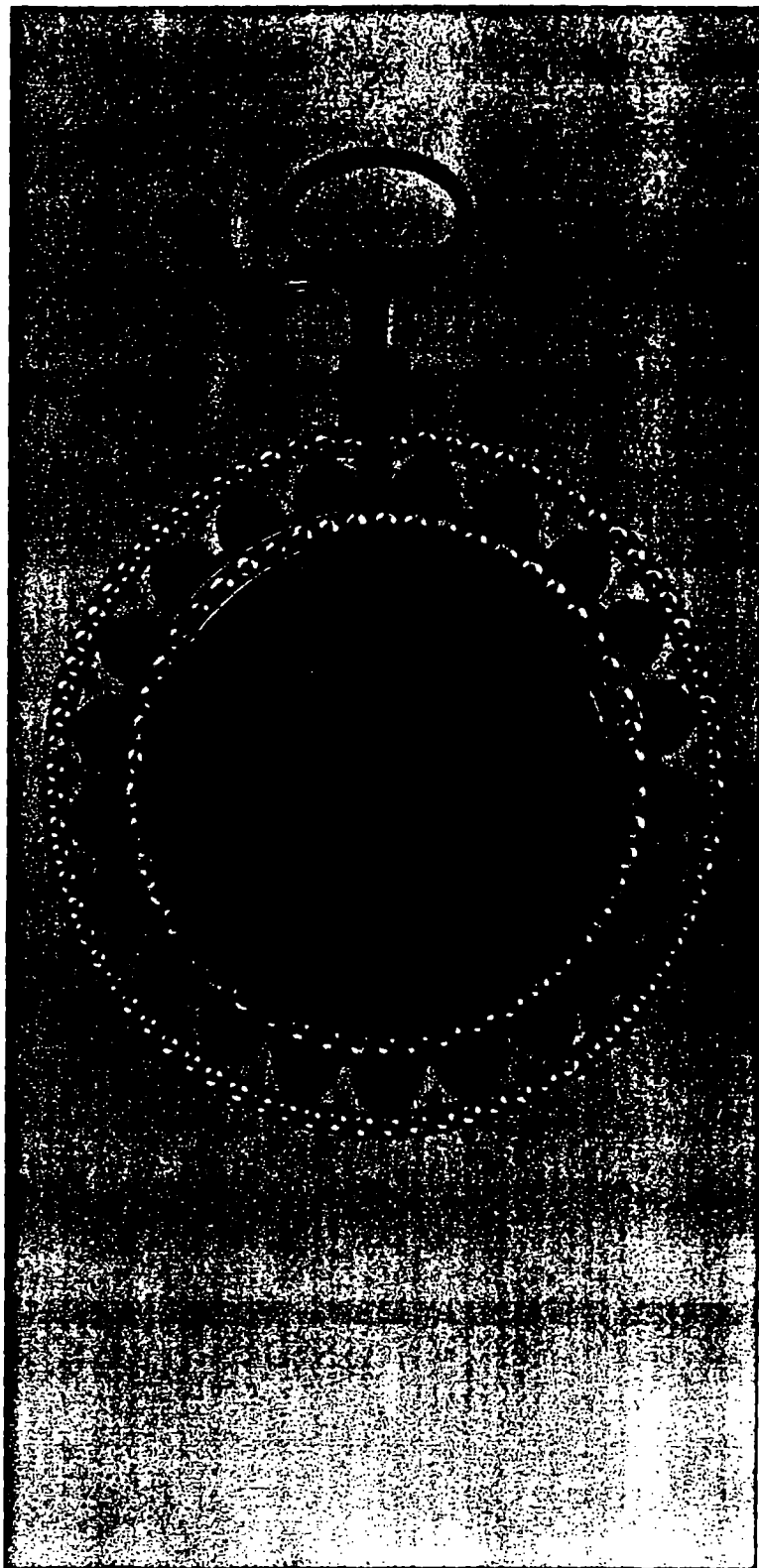
GG: Over and above its real economic importance, Swiss horology exercises widespread influence in terms of image. What are its development prospects?

FB: I have no doubt whatsoever about the continuing existence of today's companies for they are based on such a wealth of knowledge, experience, mastery of quality, and ethics. Furthermore, while it is true that sales of horology products represent only a small percentage of GNP in absolute value, horology also serves as a vehicle for Switzerland's overall high-quality image.

It is obvious to me that certain prestigious names, well known throughout the world, will continue imposing their presence on markets as a standard for exceptional savoir-faire – a fact which in itself constitutes a firm guarantee of future development.

An interview by Gérard Geiger

Round watch made of gold, enamel and pearls. Enamel of the Geneva School (1795).



HENRI NESTLÉ AND THE PIONEERS OF THE SWISS FOOD INDUSTRY

Albert Pfiffner



The inventor of infant formula, Heinrich Nestlé, was born in Frankfurt/Main. After his move to Vevey (VD), he adapted his name to its French equivalent, Henri Nestlé. His name in German means a small nest. Both his name and the family coat of arms – a bird nest – from which the Nestlé trademark has been derived, appear today on the millions of labels identifying the many products of the world's largest food company.

Switzerland in the mid-19th century was predominantly nourished by small business concerns (millers, bakers, butchers, brewers, etc.) which processed local agricultural produce for a regionally limited market. The two main reasons for this situation were restricted transport facilities and the short storage life of foodstuffs. From the middle of the century on, scientific research workers, in particular those in the field of chemistry, played an essential role in building up the food industry. They solved preserving problems, thus making storage possible, and also devised new, extremely precise, compositions of foodstuffs for specific groups of people such as the sick and the very young. Enterprising people were needed, however, who had caught on to the scientific developments of the time and who, through constant research and testing, could translate them into technically realisable products prepared efficiently to meet the changing needs of a developing industrial society characterised by division of labour. Henri Nestlé was just such a pioneering entrepreneur. The discovery of his children's formulas laid one of the foundation stones for the largest foodstuff company in the world today. Born in Frankfurt, he came into contact with the rapidly expanding science of chemistry during his four-year pharmaceutical apprenticeship in his home town. In 1839, at the age of 25, he settled in Vevey on the shores of Lake Geneva where he worked for a pharmacist who had studied under Justus von Liebig, the leading German chemist. The findings of this man of science prompted Henri Nestlé to conduct his own research. The publication of Liebig's work in the "Journalen für Apotheker und Chemiker" kept Nestlé up to date with current research.

The invention of powdered milk

In 1843 he turned his back to the pharmaceutical trade. He bought a property in Vevey equipped with some technical apparatus and henceforth called himself "businessman and chemist". He earned his living by preparing and selling widely different items (mineral water, liqueurs, seeds, lead carbonate, vinegar and paraffin lamps)! At the same time, he was engaged in continuous attempts to develop new articles. Stimulated by Liebig's investigations in the 1840s into the conditions necessary for plant growth, Nestlé attempted fertiliser tests in 1850: first with the traditional bone meal and later with artificial fertiliser he had made himself. The liquid gas which he supplied to the town of Vevey in 1858 was another Nestlé product. The impulse to devise a children's formula also came from Liebig who had analysed mothers' milk and developed a "soup for infants". In 1865 he published the composition as well as precise instructions as to how wet-nurses, mothers

and nurses should cook the soup. Preparation was extremely complicated and took a very long time. Liebig's soup nevertheless created quite a stir and was widely used for several years. Up to then no other suitable substitute for mothers' milk had existed.

Henri Nestlé recognised the significance of these foodstuffs. The mortality rate among children fed on mothers' milk in those days was as high as 15% in the first year of life. The probability of death almost quintupled with artificial feeding. On the other hand a growing number of mothers were working in factories or living on urban housing estates and they either could not, or did not want to, devote themselves to breast-feeding. In addition, wet-nursing became increasingly unpopular and only wealthy women could afford to pay for this service. This was the situation when Henri Nestlé set himself the task of developing a children's formula that corresponded to the basic principles of child nutrition advanced by Liebig but which already contained such ingredients as milk, wheaten flour and sugar. The introduction of the children's formula in autumn 1867 was so successful that Nestlé resolved to put aside all his previous occupations and concentrate his entire efforts on producing his children's formula. He thus abandoned a new procedure for the manufacture of cement and bricks which had taken two years to develop and was now ready for production. Instead of setting up a large factory for the building industry he invested all his energy and resources in the foodstuffs sector. He ordered special machines to be made which allowed him to begin industrial production of his children's formula in 1868. At the same time he manufactured an iron tonic for sick and weak people which he had first tested on his own wife.

Expansion and transformation into a limited company

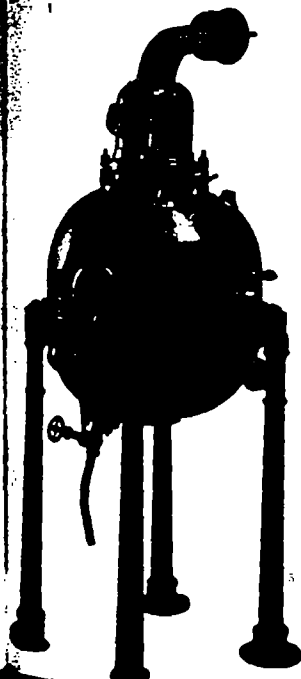
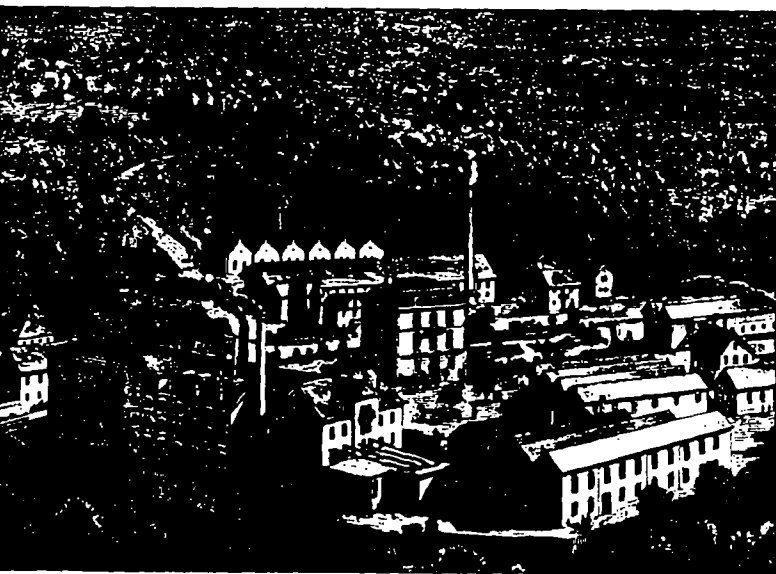
Thanks to his connections with doctors and pharmacists and to the aid from numerous relatives he was soon able to publicise his children's formula in other countries. Henri Nestlé won through in the face of rising competition from firms who for the most part had marketed their children's foodstuffs under Liebig's name. Nestlé's name and the letters of approval from countless scientific authorities vouched for the quality of his products. In 1875, only seven years after commencing production, he sold over 1.1 million tins of his children's formula in 18 different countries. The principal consumer nations were Germany, Switzerland and France. Despite constant expansion, demand soon exceeded the production capacity of his company in Vevey. In the meantime Henri Nestlé, now aged 61 and childless, sold his business together with his name to a financial group in Vevey and retired from public life. The company was

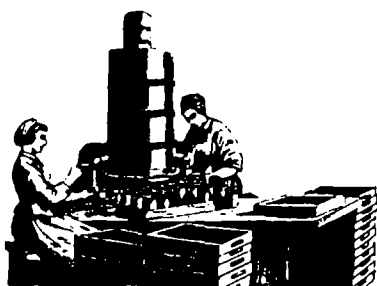
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...tions with doctors and the aid from numerous other countries. Henri Nestlé in the face of rising competition who for the most part produced children's foodstuffs. Nestlé's name and the reputation of countless scientific studies for the quality of his formula. Only seven years after its introduction, he sold over 100,000 children's formula in Switzerland. The principal consumers were Germany, Switzerland and France. Constant expansion led to the production of a new factory in Vevey. In 1870 Nestlé, now aged 61 and in partnership with his son-in-law, moved the group in Vevey and re-named it Nestlé & Co. The company was

1. Nestlé poster by the artist Th. A. Steinlen.
2. The first production plant of the Anglo-Swiss Condensed Milk Co. in Cham, 1866.
3. Milk processing facility at Cham, about 1880.
4. Cham production facility in 1881.
5. The first vacuum vessel used in Cham for producing condensed milk. It is essentially the same model as that used by H. Nestlé in Vevey for the production of infant formula.





placed on a firmer financial footing through its transformation into a joint-stock company under the name of "Farine Lactée, Henri Nestlé SA" and was further expanded by the new management. Soon the firm was hard pressed by the Anglo-Swiss Condensed Milk Co., the second largest milk processing company in Switzerland. Two American brothers, Charles and George Page, had founded the first condensed milk factory in Europe under this name in Cham (canton Zug) in 1866. They employed a milk preservation process which had already been in use in the USA for some time. In 1877 the rapidly expanding Anglo-Swiss, which was also active abroad, marketed a children's formula that had been copied from one of Nestlé's. Nestlé SA replied to this provocation a year later by launching into condensed milk manufacture. A long, hard, competitive battle followed, both on the home market and abroad. Finally, in 1905, the two companies joined forces to form the "Nestlé and Anglo-Swiss Condensed Milk Co.", the largest Swiss foodstuffs company at this time. The partner from Cham contributed two factories in Switzerland and seven abroad to the new company whilst the partner from Vevey brought along four businesses in Switzerland and five abroad. Altogether, between 1888 and 1901, the milk processing industry in Switzerland, not counting butter and cheese manufacture, grew from 13 to 22 companies and the number of employees rose from 821 to 1728 within the same period.

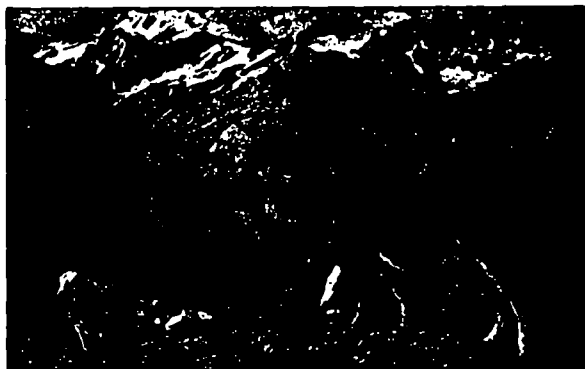
Comparable expansion in the chocolate industry

The Swiss chocolate industry experienced a comparable boom during the last quarter of the 19th century with a similar strong emphasis on exports. In the beginning chocolate was produced by various small companies, often only as a sideline, for regionally restricted markets. Early chocolate manufacturers included F.L. Cailler in Vevey from 1819, M. Suchard in Serrières (NE) from 1826, A. Kohler in Lausanne from 1830, D. Sprüngli in Zürich from 1845,

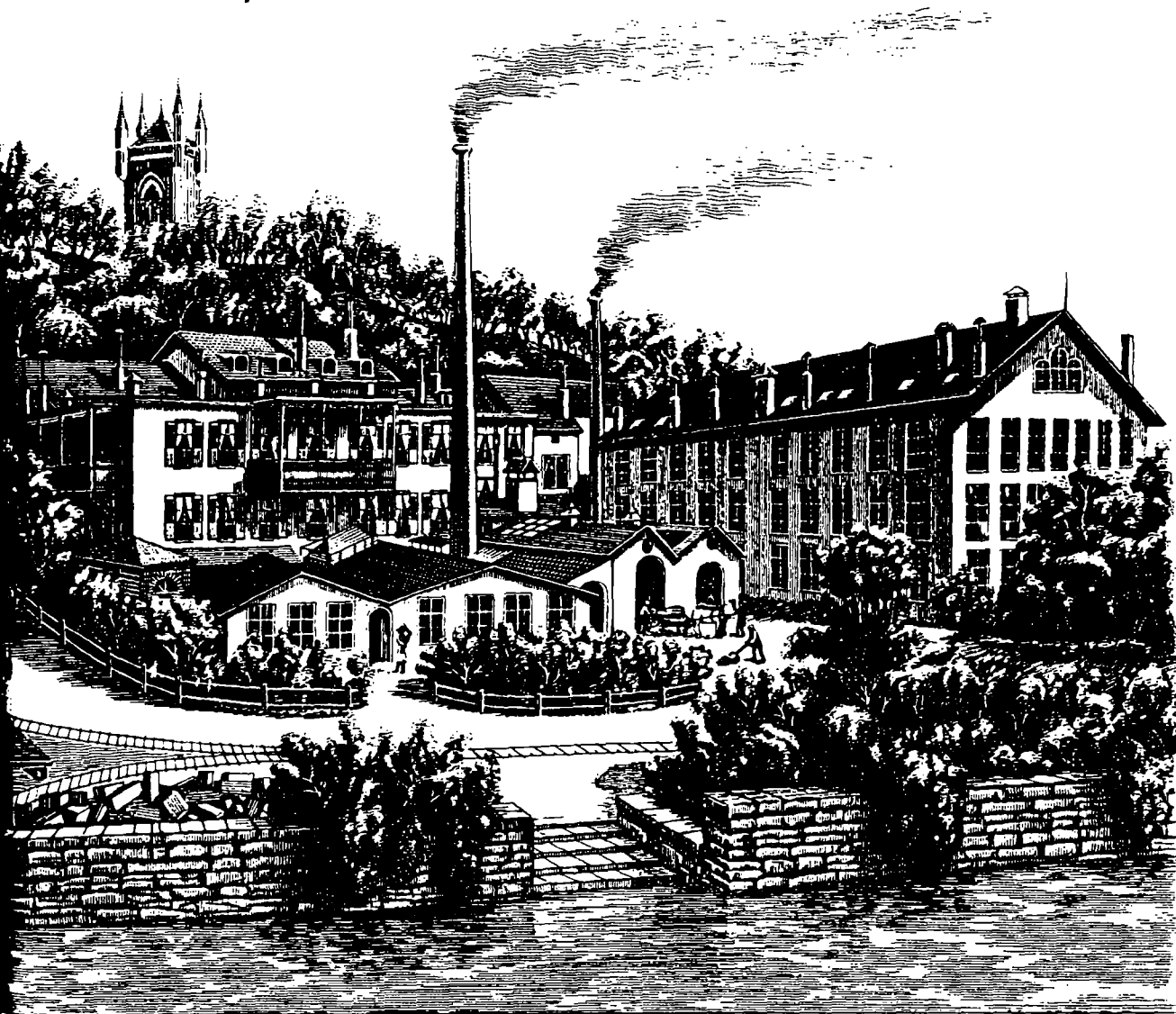
Maestrani in St. Gallen from 1852 and J. Tobler in Bern from 1869, amongst others. The upward swing, however, first began in 1875 after Daniel Peter, a close neighbour of Henri Nestlé in Vevey, and the pharmacist R. Lindt in Bern in 1879 had developed a process for the manufacture of soft, melting, fondant chocolate. Owing to a lack of patent protection, the majority of chocolate manufacturers adopted the same technique. In 1901, 22 factories employed a total of 2445 workers, whereas in 1888 there had been only 13 companies with 528 employees. Exports increased eightfold from 502 tonnes (1887) to 4121 tonnes (1901). At the turn of the century company mergers were as frequent in the chocolate industry as in the condensed milk and milk powder processing sector. Finally mergers also took place between companies from both these fields of production. Daniel Peter in particular was quick to profit from the worldwide sales network of the Nestlé company and subsequently, in 1929, the Cailler-Peter-Kohler chocolate group joined forces with the Nestlé and Anglo-Swiss Condensed Milk Co.

A further pioneer of the Swiss food industry was Julius Maggi. In 1883 this former mill-owner began marketing his flours made from pulses which served as the basis for quickly-prepared, nourishing soups. He perfected his invention in 1886 when he manufactured the first instant soup in Switzerland, in roll form to begin with and then in cubes. Soup flavourings and stock cubes followed. On account of the rising foreign customs duties Maggi, like the makers of chocolate and condensed milk even before the turn of the century, preferred to set up production companies abroad rather than in small Switzerland. The remaining branches of the food industry produced mainly for the home market, in particular cereal farming and food canning, milling and the brewing of beer. Even in these branches, however, mechanisation made its appearance, particularly in the 1870s and 1880s, and there was a partial changeover to industrial production methods.





1. The canning of condensed milk.
2. The first milk chocolate wrapper by Daniel Peter.
3. One of the first boxes for pralines produced in Broc by Cailler, beginning 1898.
4. The Nestlé factory on the Rue des Bosquets in Vevey at the beginning of the century.
5. Poster by the artist A. Mucha. An advertisement for milk powder.
6. Poster for Nestlé's infant formula by the artist Eugène Burnand, 1904.



SWISS MULTILATERAL ECONOMIC DIPLOMACY SINCE 1945

Richard Senti



The river port of Basle. The only direct access to the sea that Switzerland possesses.

Right up to the Second World War economic diplomacy worldwide was conducted at a bilateral level. Direct reciprocal contacts were maintained through embassies and consulates. The situation altered in the second half of the 1940s. In efforts to create conditions for a lasting peace, the American government tabled proposals for a new international currency system, and for the stimulation of international trade and business dealings. At the same time, the Americans wanted the Europeans to create an organisation through which the Marshall Plan aid programme could be implemented.

The result was to make economic diplomacy a multilateral affair, channelled through international organisations. These new economic organisations made it possible for individual member states to have direct contacts at one and the same time with all other members of the organisation.

Looked at from the Swiss point of view, the new multilateral style of post-war economic diplomacy has three important dimensions materially. Immediately after the war, the organisations created had economic co-operation as their goal in the fields of foreign trade, business activities, and the money and capital markets. A second dimension to this multilateral diplomacy appeared at the end of the 1950s with the creation of more international organisations whose objective was economic integration. Their efforts were not limited to promoting mere co-operation or coordination, but rather aimed at the creation of an economic zone extending beyond national boundaries. The third dimension is very recent and subject of current discussions: the surrender of decision-making powers to a supranational authority.

International cooperation

The first challenge for Switzerland was the American proposal for an organisation to run the Marshall Plan, the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). The Swiss government was convinced that the country could only benefit from such a cooperative effort and opted for membership but with no attached political obligations: "It goes without saying that Switzerland can accept no obligations incompatible with its neutrality".

In the 1940s the question facing Switzerland had been membership of the so-called Bretton Woods institutions: the World Bank, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). There were no reservations about membership of the World Bank. But this membership was contingent on membership of the IMF, and the representatives of the Swiss National Bank and of the federal administration felt that the latter was irreconcilable with Swiss independence as a trading nation, in rela-

tion to both foreign trade and monetary policy. IMF statutes in fact favour member nations with weak currencies and balance of trade deficits over the creditor nations with strong currencies, the latter being powerless to defend themselves.

Switzerland also kept the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), likewise founded in the late 1940s at arm's length, although its objectives on the liberalisation of trade seemed to dovetail perfectly with the Swiss position. One reason for Swiss coolness was the question of agriculture, a sector which is strictly regulated in Switzerland and which under the GATT rules applicable at the time would have been unable to continue in the same vein. Furthermore, at that time Switzerland still enforced customs duties dating from 1902, which would have been an inconvenient platform for entry negotiations. And finally, GATT regulations governing monetary stringency were similar to the IMF statutes, so that from a purely monetary policy point of view there had to be serious reservations about joining GATT. However, in later years when Switzerland had reworked its customs levies, and when both the Americans and the European Community had contrived to get around GATT agrarian policy (the Americans with the help of a waiver), Switzerland succeeded in joining, with exemption from the quite restrictive policy on foreign trade in agricultural products. From 1958 Switzerland was a provisional member and from 1966 a full contractual partner of GATT.

In efforts to defend its worldwide economic interests, during the post-war years Switzerland also became a party to various international agreements covering raw materials such as jute, coffee, cocoa, rubber, tropical wood, wheat and tin, and a member of the African, Inter-American and Asian development banks. In addition, Switzerland is a full member of the International Energy Agency and of the International Fund for Agricultural Development, the World Intellectual Property Organization, the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, and so on (see attached list of organisations and institutions in which Switzerland is active in one way or another).

Cooperation with European integration

Switzerland again faced difficult decisions in the second half of the 1950s with the creation of a European integration zone. In its application to join the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) the Swiss federal government explained its reluctance to become involved with the European Economic Community (EEC) in mainly economic terms: fear of higher import duties and the resulting increase in the price of food and semi-finished industrial products, as well as

trade and monetary policy favour member countries and balance the creditor nations, the latter being themselves.

The General Agreement (GATT, likewise) at arm's length, on the liberalisation of trade, fit perfectly with the reason for Swiss protection of agriculture, a sector regulated in Switzerland. The GATT rules applied have been unable to change this. Furthermore, Switzerland still enforced customs in 1902, which would not be a platform for trade and finally, GATT monetary stringency rules, so that from a point of view there are reservations about joining in the years when Switzerland's customs levies, the franc and the Euro, have contrived to get a policy (the American dollar), Switzerland with exemption from duty on foreign trade. From 1958 Switzerland member and from partner of GATT.

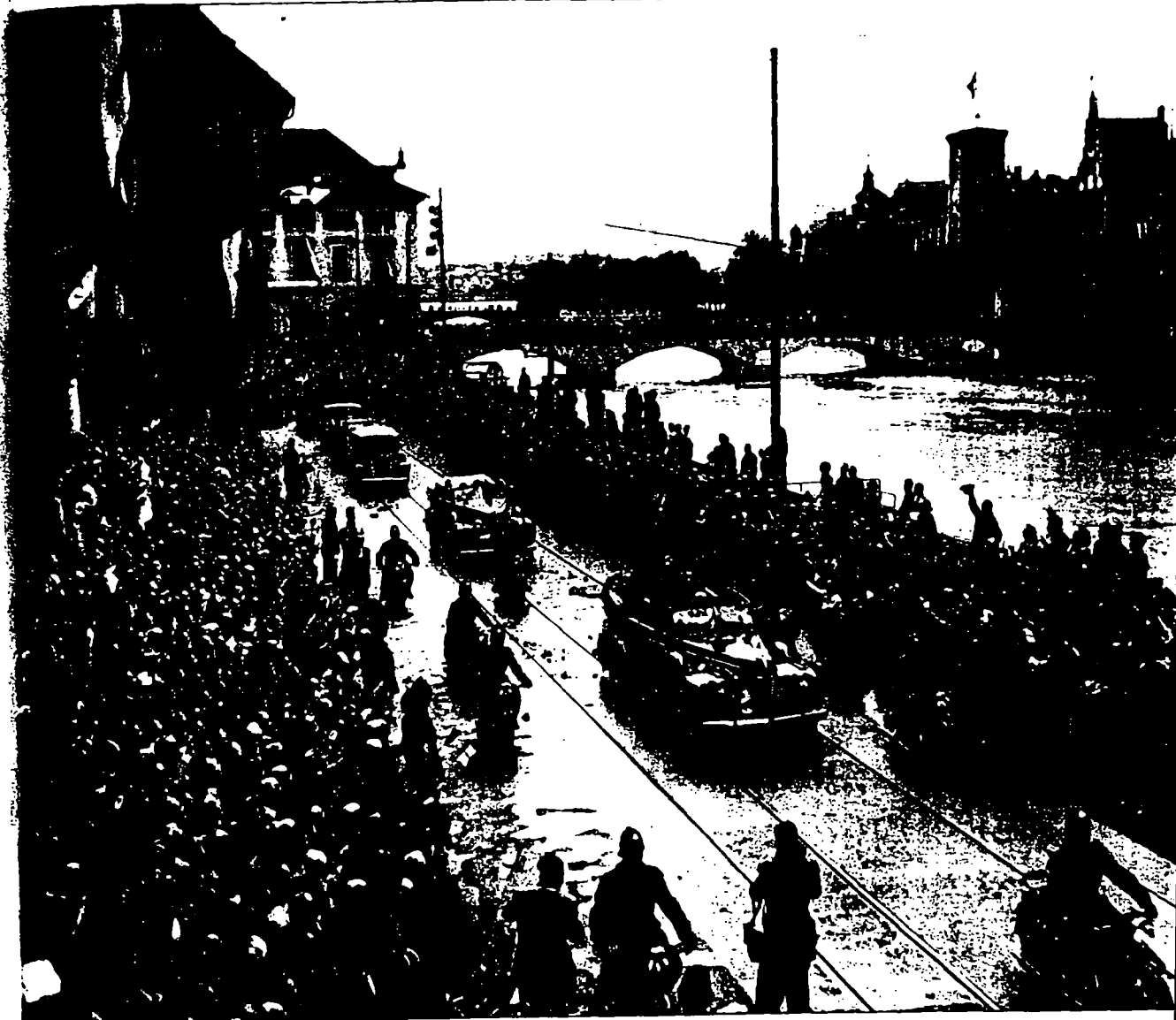
Worldwide economic growth in the post-war years Switzerland has turned to various international agreements for raw materials (oil, coal, rubber, tropical products) and a member of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. Switzerland is a full member of the International Energy Agency, the World Intellectual Property Organisation, the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations, the Conference on Trade and Development and so on (see attached list) and institutions in one way or another active in one way or

European integration has been a difficult decision in the 1950s with the creation of the European Free Trade Area. In its reluctance to be part of the European Economic Community, Switzerland's main economic interests are its export duties and the price of food and agricultural products, as well as



1. Mrs. Thatcher and the President of the Confederation, Arnold Koller, during the British Prime Minister's visit to Switzerland in September 1990.

2. The British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, on a visit to Zurich (1946), where he made a speech addressed to European youth proposing the formation of "a sort of United States of Europe".





The International Settlements Bank in Basle, which is nowadays the centre of world monetary cooperation.

Switzerland's membership of international organisations (selection)	Year of foundation	Switzerland's admission ^{*)}
African Development Bank, Abidjan (ADB)	1963	1980 ^{*)}
African Development Fund, Abidjan (ADF)	1972	1973
General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, Geneva (GATT)	1948	1966 ^{*)}
Asian Development Bank, Manila (ADB)	1966	1967
Bank for International Settlements, Basle (BIS)	1930	1930 ^{*)}
United Nations Development Programme, New York (UNDP)	1965	1965
European Free Trade Association, Geneva (EFTA)	1960	1960 ^{*)}
Inter-American Development Bank, Washington (IDB)	1959	1976
International Labour Organisation, Geneva (ILO)	1919	1920
International Energy Agency, Paris (IEA)	1974	1975 ^{*)}
International Fund for Agricultural Development, Rome (IFAD)	1944	1977
International Coffee Organisation, London (ICO)	1962	1964 ^{*)}
International Cacao Organisation, London (ICCO)	1972	1973 ^{*)}
International Wheat Council, London (IWC)	1949	1949
United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Geneva (UNCTAD)	1964	1964
Food and Agricultural Organisation of the United Nations, Rome (FAO)	1945	1947
United Nations Industrial Development Organisation, Vienna (UNIDO)	1967	1967
Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, Paris (OECD)	1960	1961 ^{*)}
World Intellectual Property Organisation, Geneva (WIPO)	1967	1970
United Nations Economic Committee for Europe, Geneva (ECE)	1972	1972

^{*)} Admission approved by the (Swiss) Federal Assembly, date of federal decree

	Abbreviations
Federal Department of Foreign Trade	FDFT
Federal Department of Foreign Affairs	FDFA
European Free Trade Association	EFTA
European Community	EC
European Coal and Steel Community	ECSC
Federal Ministry for Economic Affairs	FMEA
European Economic Community	EEC
European Economic Area	EEA
General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade	GATT
International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, World Bank	IBRD
International Monetary Fund	IMF
Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development	OECD
Organisation for European Economic Cooperation	OECE

an expected increase in competition from EEC member countries. Switzerland's 1961 decision in favour of EFTA membership was grounded in the belief that this was the best way to defend Swiss autonomy while promoting wider European economic integration. With the 1980s has come a change of emphasis. Today, Swiss arguments against closing ranks with the EC are mainly political in nature: loss of neutrality, weakening of the principles of direct democracy and federalism, etc.

In the pursuit of its objectives as a free trade organisation, EFTA has for a number of years sought *rapprochement* with the EC. Great Britain, Denmark and Norway applied for membership of the Community. The other EFTA countries, including Switzerland, proposed special agreements. After a great deal of hesitation the various EC heads of state and government leaders expressed readiness in 1969 to consider applications for membership and, for those unable or unwilling to join, to study the question of "special relationships". Exploratory talks between the EC and Switzerland resulted in full negotiations by 1972 and the signing of a free trade agreement between Switzerland and the European Economic Community on the one hand, and Switzerland and the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) on the other.

Negotiating the powers of decision

The third dimension to Switzerland's multi-lateral economic diplomacy came into focus in the 1980s. As a result of EC plans for a single European market, Switzerland is again pondering closer cooperation with the EC. But it is no longer the customary *quid pro quo* bargaining of EFTA-EC talks. It is more a question of consensus-building on both sides of the negotiating table – and the issue of surrendering the powers of sovereign states and governments to a supranational authority, either in the framework of a new "European Economic Space" (EES), or in the sense of a special relationship with the EC with extensive acknowledgement of EC law ("acquis communautaire"). What

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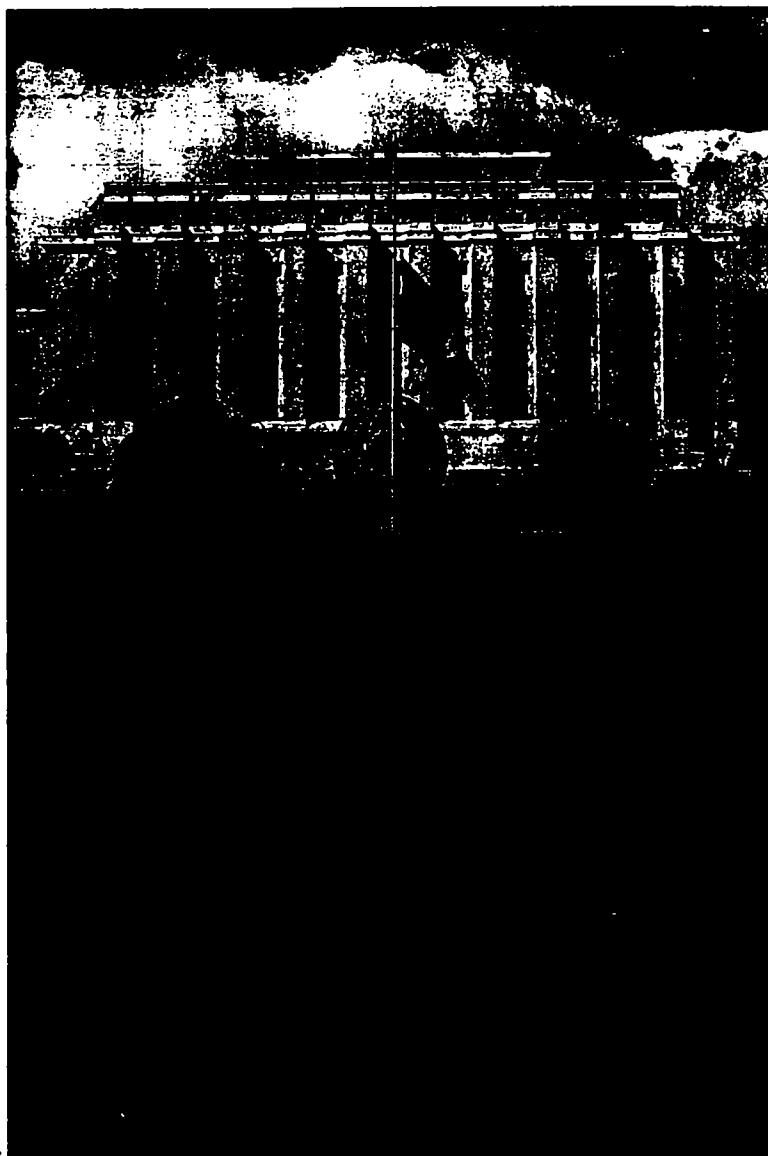
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this means is that the aim of Swiss mul-
tilateral economic diplomacy is increasingly
to resolve the "Kompetenz-Kompetenz"
question: with whom will the final powers of
decision rest?

The ever greater internationalisation of eco-
nomic activity goes hand in hand with an
increasing interdependence, particularly in
foreign trade, and the realisation that most
problems have a global dimension that de-
fies solution at the merely national or even
bilateral level. In the years ahead, this
development will pose a real challenge to
economic diplomacy concerned with safe-
guarding the country's autonomy and in-
dependence in any recognisable form.



1. Conference room in the EFTA building
in Geneva.
2. The Palais des Nations Unies (United Na-
tions Building) in Geneva.



SWITZERLAND A REMARKABLE DIVERSITY OF CULTURE

Alfred Defago



Does Switzerland really have a culture of its own? Does cultural life exist at all in Switzerland? Foreigners ask these questions with amazing frequency but only rarely intend them to be provocative or even derogatory. To many people, Switzerland and culture are two concepts that do not always automatically go hand in hand.

Public relations and tourist trade publicity promoters in Vienna have a decidedly easier job in this respect. According to reliable opinion polls, when one thinks of Austria one thinks primarily of culture, art, music and theatre. The international public also associates Austria with mountains, lakes, skiing or possibly Viennese suburban tavern delights, nevertheless the so-called "culture" remains an important element of the worldwide "Austrian Image". To object that "cultural Austria" finally refers exclusively to Vienna does not help us much either. Tu felix Austria...

Mention Switzerland to foreigners and they think of everything imaginable: mountains, lakes, winter sport facilities, shopping along the Bahnhofstrasse in Zurich, the efficiency of the railway system and other services, comparatively flourishing industry, powerful banks and insurance companies and, above all, punctuality, orderliness and hard-working citizens. Normally, one way or another, hardly anyone ever thinks of culture first in relation to Switzerland.

Limited space, intense cultural activity

An astonishing number of people throughout the world still connect Switzerland with fortunate, almost Elysian conditions (even when the majority of intellectuals both within and outside Switzerland show the utmost scepticism in this respect!). But it is precisely there that our problem begins. As a timeless concept, Paradise, of necessity has no history and thereby lacks a cultural identity of its own. For many people Switzerland is a country that has all along kept itself apart from the history of this continent and has thus become a sort of island.

Nothing could be less true than this however. As paradoxical as this may sound to many, Switzerland is a State that bears an exceptionally strong historical stamp, a country whose story reflects a remarkably large proportion of all the language, cultural and spiritual differences in Europe. Here, the ranges of influence of three main European language cultures intersect. Latin and Germanic standards of living and ways of thinking collide with one another in a confined space. What is striking is that even the different language groups in this small country of 26 republics do not, for their part, form a homogenous unity. On the contrary they show themselves as a varied and sometimes confused web of cultural and intellectual singularities and special forms. The confined space and departmentalisation of this

small country has indisputably often led to narrow-mindedness and shortsightedness. It has, however, also contributed to the development and conservation of an extremely intensive cultural life within a very small space compared to the rest of Europe. That this cultural productivity, perhaps paradoxically in its turn, is itself further promoted by the incontestable narrowness of the circumstances is a repeatedly expressed conjecture. Personally, I share it.

Of course, due to the confined space, no large scale (and sometimes even obtrusive) representative culture could develop as in the capitals and major cities of neighbouring lands. But instead this country has been able to produce an incredibly rich cultural diversity in literature, fine arts, music, architecture and university affairs. Whereas in other countries culture is almost exclusively concentrated in the capital and a few large cities, even Switzerland's small and medium towns offer a remarkably compact network of cultural activities based on theatres, concerts, museums and galleries. The unfortunate division between the capital and the provinces which is common abroad does not exist in Switzerland. It may of course be true that there is no high-powered capital city culture, but on the other hand, there is no provincial desert such as even large towns of 100,000 inhabitants know elsewhere. I herewith prudently renounce mentioning the names of famous Swiss actors and actresses, filmmakers, painters, writers or choreographers, orchestras, museums and theatres. The list would be far too long and albeit, like every list, finally unfair to those left out. But grant me one thing: to cite a report which a well-known German art magazine published a few years ago on the occasion of a special edition on the Swiss cultural scene. Following his painstaking on the spot investigations, the editor-in-chief of a newspaper wrote: "Instead of short-lived headlines journalistic research has rather brought quiet sensations to light. Once on the subject we rapidly fell under the spell: the editorial staff had not imagined that the Swiss cultural scene could be so vital and so multi-sided."

The opinion of an obviously surprised German. At times I am overcome by the suspicion that, once confronted with reality, even the majority of the Swiss would be extremely surprised by the cultural and artistic wealth of their country.

Richard P. Lohse (1902-1989).
"Fifteen Systematic Chromatic Series with
Vertical Concentration".

LET US BE PROUD OF OUR SUCCESS

Jean-Pascal Delamuraz

When questioned about the wealth of their country, the Swiss are rarely at ease. To repudiate it or play it down gives the impression that they wish to hide the obvious, as if they were reluctant to shoulder the ensuing responsibility and consequences.

The kind-hearted foreigner could interpret this embarrassed or discreet reaction as an expression of extreme modesty. If he were critical, he would look further in order to understand more clearly the origins and causes of this wealth, or at least of this renowned state of well-being.

The more critical foreigner, disturbed by this false modesty which he would regard as poorly disguised conceit, especially if he comes from a country considerably less well-off, might have a more sceptical reaction to the Swiss denial. He would be inclined to try to explain this show of wealth himself, attributing it to an obsession with wealth, an excessive preoccupation with profitability or fanatical self-absorption. With reference to Molière, he might well make a comparison with the characters from "L'Avare" and even from "Tartuffe", as epitomising "homo economicus", the origin of all evil. And should his Swiss victim mention the lack of natural resources in his country, he would immediately qualify as a "Malade imaginaire". The problem is that the caricature is as stubborn as the facts, even though the facts prove the caricature to be wrong. And yet, the best arguments are the facts, that is to say, the history of men, the creators of these facts.

This is the reason why this chapter of the history of the Swiss economy seems to be the best reply to those who, healthily curious, unpleasantly scheming or silently envious, would like to solve the puzzle of Swiss well-being. Not that the Swiss should have to justify themselves, as that could be seen as sign of a bad conscience, nor should they give lessons, as that could be seen as a paradox of the Swiss economic development. It is enough simply to illustrate setbacks, success and the scarcity of natural resources. The history of this economy has been fed by great imagination, resistance and the continuous effort of those who, against all odds, devoted themselves to making demanding qualities out of constraints, and virtues out of necessity.

There is no question of brandishing a dazzling record of achievements or glorious statistics. Inspired by the most exacting pragmatism, the economic philosophy of the Swiss, far from laying claim to scientific precision, is in fact reflected in the intense individual and collective effort to meet the challenges imposed by inclement nature, by a hard geographical situation, and by an unaccommodating political structure; and to respond to the needs of the population living with these difficulties.

Survive, maintain, protect, imagine, develop – these were the key-words of our pioneers. They are still valid today, no matter what our foreign colleagues may think. The latter are often more blinded by our success than aware of our setbacks and our vulnerability, and are obviously more interested in the stability of our prosperity than in our initial handicaps. From afar, our country undoubtedly has all the virtues of a coherent economic structure. For those who know and live with it, it is a juxtaposition, at best of an unnatural alliance of lively albeit hardened specificities and of unchangeable but stimulating paradoxes.

Like other national economies, our economic development has certainly experienced three classic stages, from the initial period through consolidation to expansion. There is no doubt that it has also been subjected to all the major upheavals of history, crises included. Going beyond these episodes, Switzerland remains dependent on raw-material imports, on the capacity of its workers to transform the materials into finished goods, and on the skills of its traders and its general know-how. The only variables are the international circumstances and general working conditions, the latter being the only area on which the government can have a positive influence. And the priorities also change, following or anticipating market requirements, as well as available technologies.

This is more than enough to prevent the Swiss from resting on their laurels and to encourage further inventions and innovations, to make a fresh start if necessary, without forgetting the secular virtues without which we would soon be relegated to the museum of relics. The builders of our time do not deserve such a fate. They are entitled to the gratitude of those who have the good fortune to live in prosperity in Switzerland today. The envy which this prosperity itself provokes raises new challenges. These new challenges should be taken up without delay and in all good conscience. For the last seven hundred years, Switzerland has made the Swiss what they are and we are compelled to be that way if we want to survive and live even better.

Delamuraz

THE SWISS IN FOREIGN SERVICE AND THEIR SUCCESSORS

Claude Barbey



When we talk about the "Fifth Switzerland" – meaning the nearly half a million Swiss living abroad – we include, amongst others, the many commercial and industrial Swiss firms established throughout the world as well as the pioneers of the last century who, seeking something that they could no longer find in their country, had no hesitation in leaving it to try their luck elsewhere in the world. Nowadays, this Fifth Switzerland is an economic reality of considerable size, but we sometimes forget that our commercial pioneers of the end of the 19th century had had, some four hundred years earlier, glorious predecessors who deserve to be remembered, as does the beneficial effect that they had on the commercial development of our country from the 15th century onwards.

I mean the Swiss in foreign service, Swiss regiments in the service not only of the kings of France but also of Austria, Holland, England, Portugal, Sweden, Poland, Russia, Prussia, Saxony, Naples, Genoa, Venice and the Holy See. As Jean-René Bory puts it so well, the story is full of contradictions: on the one hand, the aspect of a certain mercenariness, with its excesses and decadence; on the other hand – much more important than the first – the positive side that these treaties had for Switzerland – including from an economic point of view. In order to understand this, it is worth retracing history – to 1444 to be precise – the date of the heroic defeat of Saint-Jacques-sur-la-Birse. Impressed by the courage of the Confederates and aware of the advantages to be gained by joining with such warriors in order to defend his frontiers, King Charles VII signed an initial alliance treaty with the Confederates a few years later. This was followed by something which became known as the "military capitulations", or treaties divided into chapters or "capitula" (hence the confusing name of "capitulations"), under which either the Swiss Confederation in its entirety or certain cantons undertook to provide France, and later on other foreign powers, with regiments recruited in Switzerland, commanded abroad by Swiss officers and benefiting, outside the borders, from a true state of exterritoriality.

The turning point of 1848

What did the Confederates demand from their allies in exchange? The right of free movement for our merchants and their wares, certain residential rights, certain tax exemptions and, above all, salt and cereals, which we were sorely lacking. Gonzague de Reynold put it quite crudely: "Without the capitulations, the Swiss would have starved to death!" It was not until 1848 that the first Federal Constitution was enacted: article 11 stated: "Military capitulations are prohibited." These capitulations thus came to an end in 1859 when the convention signed

with the Kingdom of Naples expired. That year, too, again according to J.-R. Bory, the epic started in 1444 on the battlefield of Saint-Jacques-sur-la-Birse suddenly, thanks to Henry Dunant, found a new form of expression on another battlefield: the Red Cross at Solferino.

It is useful to recall that it was these military alliance treaties which, owing to their free exchange compensation, contributed towards the development of what was to become Switzerland's true vocation of international commerce.

New departures abroad

Indeed, it is perhaps merely a continuation of history to discover that, as from the end of the 19th century, other Swiss also left their country, no longer for foreign service, but for reasons which were perhaps not so different: economic crisis, difficulties in finding work and international conflicts on our borders. They were no longer regimental commanders such as Pflyffer of Altshofen, Erlach, Salis, Watteville and Reynold, but men who were just as ambitious and enthusiastic, determined to make a career in Asia, Africa and America. Volkart, Siber Hegner, Diethelm, Keller, Union Trading and Desco date from this period, quickly followed by Liebermann Waelchli, Uhag Übersee-Handel, Züllig and many others, all pioneers of the Swiss commercial and industrial presence on all five continents; a presence which is known to have taken on a significance which is almost out of proportion to the population and surface area of our country.

We should therefore thank these Swiss regiments in foreign service for having, in their own way, opened the doors to free exchange for us and for having endowed our merchants of the past with the taste for risk and adventure.

L. Corbusier, the chapel of Ronchamp.

Switzerland:

The Swiss Confederation

I. History of Democracy

II. History of Humanitarian Aid (Ex. Red Cross-Switz's Role)

III. Women's Movement (Suffrage) and Women's Issues

I. History of Democracy and relevant facts

- The present Swiss constitution was adopted in 1848 and revised in 1874. An original constitution dated back to 1291.
- Switzerland has three official languages: German, French, and Italian with four official nationalities (including Romansh).
- About half of the Swiss population are Protestants, the other half Roman Catholics.
- Capital: Bern (Berne)
- Area: Approx. 41,284 sq km
- Switzerland's adopted a variant of democratic elitism which holds that democracy in culturally fragmented societies requires "consociational" decision making according to the principle of proportionality among elites leading the cultural fragments.
- Switzerland is an example of a consociational democracy in a pluralist society. A consociational democracy (a federal system) is one that has deep ethnic, linguistic, or religious divisions and that makes special arrangements to accommodate the needs of various groups.
- Switzerland represents an alternative model of democracy to the familiar Anglo-American liberal democratic model, based on representative government and individual rights. Swiss democracy focuses instead on participatory government and communal responsibilities.
- The Swiss political system has been organized around a confederal system in which communes and cantons, rather than individuals, are the primary bearers of rights.
- Swiss citizens, embedded in a strongly decentralized form of governance, participate far more in the legislative process than do citizens in typical representative systems.
- The Swiss concept of citizenship is forged from the idea of the citizen-soldier, associated with the Germanic tribes from which feudal Switzerland's earliest democratic institutions arose. Linked to this concept is an insistence on Switzerland's political independence and armed neutrality in international relations and the view of the citizen as an agent of active lawmaking with responsibility for executing policy, such as a declaration of war.
- Switzerland has a rotating presidency: executive leadership circulates among the seven members of a relatively anonymous federal council.
- Both constitutional and legislative initiatives and referendums play an extremely important role in constitutional change as well as in legislation.
- Swiss federalism has been supported by the existence of groups of cantons of different sizes and religious and linguistic backgrounds.
- Switzerland has evolved a sense of nationality in order to hold together strongly divergent groups.
- Also, geographic necessity has played a part in promoting and maintaining union within federal systems. For example, the Alps in Switzerland.
- Adopted elements of affirmative action.

- Switzerland is a federal system which provides for modification of national legal codes by the constituent governments to meet special local needs.
- Switzerland has a grand coalition cabinet in a parliamentary system:(the Swiss seven-member executive) the seven members are selected in such a way that all major religious and linguistic groups as well as the four largest political parties are given representation.
- The Swiss Confederation is composed of 20 cantons and six half-cantons, with a bicameral Federal Assembly: the Council of States and the National Council.
- As a power-sharing democracy, worked out in 1943, Switzerland utilizes a proportional representation electoral system, for achieving proportionality.
- Constitution alludes to/recognizes freedom of assembly.
- The modern Swiss Confederation has its roots in the Helvetic Confederation (Coniuratio) of 1291, when a few cantons (states) allied to protect their independence from the Hapsburg monarchs.
- Peasants and city dwellers were considered citizens of equal status, and during the 15th and early 16th centuries, cantonal institutions were especially democratic, both in practice and spirit, even with its powerful military.
- In the medieval and early modern periods, democracy was basically local. The confederation was a largely ineffectual body, unable to impose its will on the cantons.
- In the 16th and 17th centuries, disagreements over foreign policy led Switzerland to develop its stance of defensive neutrality toward all foreign powers.
- Switzerland considers itself the world's oldest continuous democracy.
- Among the Western Democracies, Switzerland and The United States have the lowest rates of voting.

II. History of Humanitarian Aid (Ex. Red Cross-Switz's Role)

- Switzerland, Belgium, and Netherlands are usually and correctly considered to be not just unambiguously democratic but among the most decent and **humane** of the world's democracies.

III. Women's Movement (Suffrage) and Women's Issues

- In Switzerland's attempt to introduce **female suffrage** were repeatedly defeated.
- Switzerland's universal male suffrage: 1848
- In many respects Switzerland is a model democracy, but **women** did not gain the **right to vote** in national elections there until 1971.
- **Women and right to vote:** New Zealand (1893), Finland (1906), Many European Countries (1915-1919), France (1944), US (1920), and Switz (1971).
- The enfranchisement of **women** in federal elections was approved at a referendum in February 11971. However, the half-cantons of Appenzell Ausserrhoden and Appenzell Innerrhoden introduced female suffrage only in 1889 and 1990, respectively.
- In December 1983, during the selection of a new member of the Federal Council, the Federal Assembly rejected the official candidate of the Social Democratic Party, a **woman**, in favour of a male replacement.
- In October 1984, however, the Assembly elected Switzerland's first **female** cabinet minister (Dr. Elisabeth Kopp, a leading member of the Radical Democratic Party), who became Head of the Federal Department of Justice and Police. In December 1988 the Assembly elected Dr. Kopp

to be Vice-President of the Swiss Confederation for 1989, concurrently with her other duties in the Federal Council.

- Ruth Dreifuss became the second woman to be elected to a ministerial position in Switzerland, in 1993.

- Gov't Parties: Christian Democratic People's Party, Radical Democratic Party, Social Democratic Party, and Swiss People's Party.

- Other Parties: **Women, Make Policy!**: Zurich-based group seeking to increase the participation of **women** in public life. It won a single lower house seat in 1995.

Leaders: Barbara Huber and Claudia Schatti.

- Population: 7,062,354 (estimated in 1995)

6,873,687 (males: 3,390,446 **females**: 3,483,241): 1990 Census

- Employment: males = 2,256,000 **females** = 1,527,000 (1995 estimates)

Sources

1) Encyclopedia of Democracy

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3) Political Handbook of the World-1997

My Life In the Swiss Camps

By Hans Ephraimson-Abt

A recent report by the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles paints a dark portrait of life in Switzerland during World War II for the more than 22,000 mostly Jewish refugees who managed to cross its border illegally. According to some first-hand accounts, refugees were forced into draconian camps where they were miserably treated and forced to do backbreaking labor.

I cannot speak for other refugees. But as a young refugee who worked for five years in seven of those camps, I can say that my own experience conflicts with this portrayal.

When Germany annexed Austria in 1938, I was attending school in Lausanne, sent there by my parents who remained in Berlin. Though Switzerland initially tried to block the stream of refugees after annexation, thousands managed to cross the border, straining the ability of private organizations to absorb them. The Swiss Government realized that its unexpected guests would be its responsibility for the duration of the war, since no other nation would accept the refugees for permanent resettlement. It was therefore decided to place them in camps and involve the able-bodied men in public work projects.

On Sept. 2, 1939, the second day of World War II, I was asked to appear before the police in Montreux where I was interrogated about my means of subsistence and my family. My status was then changed from student to refugee. In early November 1940, I received a letter to report to a camp near Lugano. Thus began five years of life in seven camps where workers did everything from building roads and draining swamps to tilling fields and producing strawberry preserves.

Three of my camps were housed in sturdy barracks, two of them in ho-

tels, one on an estate above the lake in Lugano. One camp, for Orthodox refugees doing roadwork, was based in the service buildings of a resort hotel. The work camps for men had bunk beds, wool blankets and straw mattresses, which were not uncommon at that time for the Swiss military and farmers. Though food was rationed in landlocked Switzerland, we had three meals a day. Work generally lasted eight to nine hours a day, with half-days on Saturdays and no work in bad weather.

Although there was a curfew, we were allowed free movement and travel passes every six weeks. We received a small amount of pocket money. Those who were sick or incapacitated were generally released to the care of refugee groups.

The camps were unguarded, managed by a small Swiss staff, but essentially run by refugees. At first, relations were strained. With time,

For war refugees, the work was hard but not harsh.

however, and changes in the political situation, things became more relaxed. In the camps where I was housed, there was no corporal punishment or other abuse.

We were expected to strictly observe the camp rules. But the refugees, who were highly educated on average, often outflanked the Swiss administrators intellectually, leading at times to spirited discussions about interpretation of the regulations.

Eventually, we were allowed to elect representatives, and as the war neared an end we were encouraged to prepare to return to our home nations or to emigrate to the United States, Israel or elsewhere. I worked for an energy company doing postwar reconstruction, then emigrated to the United States to be reunited with my family after 11 years of separation. (My parents survived the war in political confinement in southern Italy.)

There cannot be any excuse for the then Swiss Government's efforts to block the flow of refugees, sometimes sending them back to certain deaths. But thousands of us were given a haven by a small country in defiance of its powerful neighbors. That took courage and guts.

Whatever the Swiss Government's transgressions, we owe the Swiss people our gratitude. Our assistance in building roads, draining swamps, tilling fields or filling jars of preserves is the least we could have done.

What counted was that Switzerland survived — and we with it. 11

The New York Times

TUESDAY, JANUARY 20, 1998

Hans Ephraimson-Abt is a retired international business consultant.

Three Senate Reputations

The new Congressional session does not begin for another week. But it is not too early to expose the plotting by the Senate majority leader, Trent Lott, to keep strong campaign finance legislation from emerging. Nor is it too soon to put the spotlight on three moderate New England Republicans — Olympia Snowe of Maine, Jim Jeffords of Vermont and John Chafee of Rhode Island. Each enjoys a reputation as a good-government supporter. But they must stand up to Mr. Lott and the anti-reform majority in their own caucus if they want to keep those reputations.

Mr. Lott no doubt hoped he had disposed of the issue last October, when he joined with Senator Mitch McConnell, the soft-money preservationist, to block the worthy bill sponsored by John McCain, a Republican, and Russell Feingold, a Democrat. But under heavy pressure from a tiny band of reformers within his party and a united Democratic caucus, Mr. Lott agreed to schedule another Senate vote on campaign finance reform legislation by March 6. Senators Snowe, Jeffords and Chafee hold the swing votes that could determine whether McCain-Feingold can survive in the parliamentary maneuvering around that vote. It is a complicated matter that takes a little explaining.

Mr. Lott knows he cannot allow a straight up-or-down vote on the McCain-Feingold bill because it would probably muster majority support. He also knows that reformers at the moment lack the 60 votes needed to break a Republican filibuster. In any event, Mr. Lott would like to avoid identifying himself with a filibuster against cleaner campaigns.

So he is likely to offer a poison-pill amendment that he believes would cause the Democrats to vote against McCain-Feingold. The Lott amendment would restrict the ability of labor unions to raise and spend money on political activities.

This is where the swing senatorial trio of Snowe, Jeffords and Chafee becomes crucial. McCain-Feingold can survive in its unpolluted form if a small number of Republicans defy Mr. Lott and join with all 45 Democrats to defeat his amendment. As of last fall, the Democrats could count on four pro-reform Republicans — Senator McCain of Arizona, Fred Thompson of Tennessee, Susan Collins of Maine and Arlen Specter of Pennsylvania. Assuming that count holds, one more Republican vote is needed to defeat the amendment.

Realistically, that vote has to come from Senators Snowe, Jeffords and Chafee — three Northeasterners who are not locked up in Mr. Lott's Sun Belt stockade for obedient Republicans. They have each supported reform measures in the past, and are known to be uncomfortable with the dominant role of influence-seeking money in politics and government. Yet last fall, when a vote on the amendment seemed near, the three refrained from committing their votes one way or another, focusing instead on trying to work out some compromise.

But a compromise is unrealistic since Mr. Lott's intentions toward McCain-Feingold are fatal. The time for waffling is over. So remember those names: Snowe, Jeffords and Chafee. They must either advance reform or stain their records by helping Mr. Lott and Mr. McConnell strangle it.

Senseless Killing in the Seas

America's fisheries are not in good shape. By some accounts, more than two-thirds of all commercially important fish populations are now classified as "fully fished" or "overexploited," which means they are in decline or heading there.

There are many reasons for this, including bloated fishing fleets, the absence of strong international regulations and the pollution of wetlands, coral reefs and other important breeding grounds. Another destructive force, and perhaps the most pointless, is "bycatch" — fish that are inadvertently caught and thrown back, usually dead, because the fleets do not intend to bring them to market. About 20 million tons of fish, one-quarter of the annual worldwide catch, are wasted in this way.

The task of minimizing bycatch, and otherwise insuring the recovery of overfished species in American waters, now rests with the National Maritime Fisheries Service, which is writing regulations to carry out the 1996 Sustainable Fisheries Act. Approved despite opposition from commercial fishing interests, the act finally tilted the rules in favor of the fish. It required the nation's eight regional

fishing councils to adopt restoration plans, including quotas where necessary, and it told the Fisheries Service to figure out how to reduce bycatch.

For some species, adjustments in fishing methods could do wonders. Requiring shrimp boats in the Gulf of Mexico to modify their nets could cut by half the number of red snapper unintentionally caught and killed. Other changes will be more controversial. Fishing with "long lines," for example, is the main method of catching tuna, swordfish and other species in the open seas. Long lines consist of high-strength fishing lines baited with as many as 3,000 hooks. These hooks kill many juvenile fish that are essential to the recovery of any species, as well as fish that now receive some legal protection, like marlin, giant bluefin tuna and sharks.

In 1991 the United Nations placed a moratorium on huge drift nets. Tough restrictions on long lines would be the next logical step. Even the fishing industry cannot much longer ignore the obvious. As one leading conservation group noted last year, "We are no longer living off the income of our fisheries, but eating deeply into the capital."

No Way to Silence Whistle-Blowers

A unanimous Supreme Court last week defeated a corporate strategy to buy the silence of whistle-blowers in product liability suits. The thoughtful decision by Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg appropriately protects consumers and the ability of trial courts to secure testimony needed to get at the truth without weakening the obligation of states to honor one another's legal judgments, as the Constitution's "full faith and credit" clause commands.

The case arose from a 1992 deal between the automobile giant General Motors and a disaffected former employee, Ronald Elwell, who agreed, for an undisclosed sum, not to testify against G.M. anywhere in the country in suits involving engine fires.

The company then had the bargain incorporated into an official order by a Michigan court. The Supreme Court ruling overturns an unfortunate lower court decision that set aside a large award against G.M. because Mr. Elwell had testified in the case in response to a Missouri court's subpoena.

"Michigan's power does not reach into a Missouri courtroom" to dictate what evidence may be heard, Justice Ginsburg wrote. Essentially, the Court accepted the approach of the plaintiff's lawyer, Prof. Laurence Tribe of the Harvard Law School, who emphasized the affront to states' rights if a court in one state prevents a judge in another from calling someone to testify.

McEldowney, Nancy E.

From: SitRoom
Sent: Tuesday, January 13, 1998 11:35 PM
To: Butler, Lawrence E.; McEldowney, Nancy E.
Subject: SWISS-HOLOCAUST-WIESE

CLASS: INTERNATIONAL
ORIG: Reuters
PREC: RUSH
TOR: 980113232013 R0311862

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^BC-SWISS-HOLOCAUST-WIESENTHAL

^U.S. rabbi calls for apology from Switzerland

By Michael Miller

LOS ANGELES, Jan 13 (Reuters) - A U.S. rabbi has asked Switzerland to publicly apologize to Jews held in labor camps there during World War Two after his institute issued a report saying that Swiss society was virulently anti-Semitic during the period.

In a letter to President Flavio Cotti released on Tuesday, Rabbi Marvin Hier, dean and founder of the Simon Wiesenthal Center, urged him to expedite a historians' study of Switzerland's treatment of Jews fleeing Nazi Germany "with a view to publicly apologizing and even compensating those who suffered needlessly."

The report, entitled "The Unwanted Guests - Swiss Forced Labor Camps 1940 - 1944," was prepared by U.S. historian Alan Schom for the Los Angeles-based center.

In it, Schom said thousands Jews entering Switzerland during the war years were forced into Swiss labor camps where they toiled at gunpoint for little or no compensation.

"Men were handed shovels, pick-axes and saws and sent to work from dawn to dusk, month after month, even through the winter, on road gangs, forestry work or, in some cases farm work.

"There was little or no payment for this hard manual labor, executed well out of sight in the mountainous back regions," Schom said in his report.

The men slept on beds of straw in unheated barns with little running water, unheated toilets and "precious little electricity," the report said. Camp inmates were under constant armed guard, it said.

Those who complained were sent to "punishment camps" or in most cases, "escorted to the nearest border and handed over to the (French) Vichy police, or to the Gestapo. Not surprisingly, there were numerous suicides among these fugitives," Schom wrote.

Women were frequently assigned to institutions or private homes to act as housemaids, he said. Children were taken from their mothers. "Indeed, there are documented cases of Swiss police even physically removing nursing mothers from newborn babies," Schom said.

His report, which is similar to others published in recent months, said that while the cost of housing Christian refugees was paid for by the Swiss government, Switzerland imposed a "Jew-tax" on the Jewish fugitives, forcing the Jewish community to pay for their upkeep.

"Unfortunately, Swiss society was deeply imbued with and often governed by a virulent anti-Semitism," Schom said in his report.

When Britain's Channel Four carried a similar report, the Swiss rejected the criticism and said Jews were not treated differently from other refugees.

REUTERS

SPEECH BUILDING BLOCKS

--The United States and Switzerland share much in common. Our countries are among the world's oldest democracies. When the thirteen American colonies declared independence in 1776, there were also thirteen cantons in the Swiss confederation.

--This coincidence led many in both countries to describe our relationship as one of "sister republics." America's first constitution, the Articles of Confederation, was inspired by the Swiss Confederacy system. This year, Switzerland is celebrating the 150th anniversary of its 1848 Constitution--a constitution that was modeled in many respects on the U.S. Constitution.

--Our shared traditions and values make it all the more important that we maintain a dialogue on the common challenges we face as democratic societies on the verge of a new millenium. One of the greatest of these challenges is the changing role of women and the family.

--The challenges facing today's family in raising children--in both Switzerland and the U.S.--are greater than ever. In the United States, many of these challenges stem from the changing role of women and, in particular, their entry into the workforce in ever greater numbers.

--Although much of this change has been driven by economic necessity and the fact that in many households it is not a luxury but a necessity that both parents work, the increased opportunities for women are a welcome development. At the same time, however, to successfully manage this development we need to address the demands which it has created on society in general and the family in particular.

--Our societies must meet these challenges head-on. It is important that, collectively, we build a society which respects family-centered values and the traditions of the past, while creating new ways of coping with the new realities.

--Families increasingly turn to community resources for support--post-natal counseling, child care, after-school programs, and vacation programs for school children are only a few examples.

--The workplace must also make the necessary adjustments. Employers are challenged to provide new family-friendly work models, using part-time workers and flex-time.

--Switzerland and the United States can gain much by sharing information on our various successes and failures as we cope with families in transition. The U.S., for instance, has recently launched a series of measures on child care. (Expand with recent examples--from White House initiative, Micro Lending, corporate

child care. Swiss examples include post-natal clinics and parenting schools.)

--We may begin from different starting points, but we face the same challenges. While Swiss women only received the vote on the federal level in 1972, they have made great strides since then.

--Switzerland will likely have a woman president long before the United States as a result of the yearly rotation of the presidency among the seven Federal Councilors, which will make it Ruth Dreifuss' turn to be president in 1999.

--Swiss women today occupy 21 percent of the seats in the Swiss National Council (lower house of Parliament) compared to 11 percent in the U.S. House of Representatives.

--While there are fewer Swiss women in the workforce than in the U.S., Switzerland is following the global trend of increasingly more families with two wage-earners.

--The task for both our societies is to address the challenges facing today's families--to create in our time, the villages needed to raise our children.

Study says Swiss 'deliberately hurt' Jews during WWII

Officials deny mistreating
any refugees who fled
to camps in Switzerland

LOS ANGELES TIMES

As the dark clouds of war gathered over Europe, Jews by the tens of thousands fled to neutral Switzerland only to end up in labor camps where conditions were so rigorous that some died, according to a study released yesterday.

Many families were forcibly separated by police — including, in some cases, nursing infants from their mothers, the study says. A "special Jew-tax," it says, was levied on the richest foreign Jews — but not on Christians or refugees of other faiths — to help underwrite their upkeep in Switzerland.

"The Swiss were really sadistic: They wanted to hurt the Jews — to deliberately hurt the Jews," Alan Morris Schom, the American historian who wrote the study, said in a telephone interview from his home in the Loire Valley of France.

The study was released by the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles.

The Swiss government said the monograph was insulting, simplistic and laced with errors.

"Any former refugees who were in Swiss camps today express gratitude toward Switzerland for the fact that they survived the war because they were accepted in Switzerland," said Linda Shepard, a spokeswoman in Bern, the Swiss federal capital.

She rejected his thesis — that

mates were Jews," Schom said. "Some camps had up to 95 percent or 98 percent Jewish membership."

Men as old as 60 were made to haul logs in forests or dig ditches on roads in the Alps, including during the Swiss winter, Schom said. Women often were assigned to institutions and private homes to mop floors, clean toilets or perform other domestic chores.

Living conditions in unheated barns or wooden barracks were Spartan at best. Male inmates might be insulted with anti-Semitic remarks or forced to carry out tasks beyond their strength.

Refugees who complained could be sent to "punishment camps" or expelled from Switzerland altogether.

"These were really slave labor camps," Schom maintained. "On the whole, people were absolute prisoners. If they tried to leave their jobs, they could be handed back to the Gestapo."

The study on Switzerland's "unwanted guests" was commissioned by the Simon Wiesenthal Foundation. Its conclusions, and similar charges aired in a Jan. 5 news report on Britain's Channel Four television, appear certain to intensify pressures on the Swiss for a full and frank accounting of their country's wartime acts.

For more than a year and a half, international Jewish organizations and the Clinton administration have been pushing and prodding the Swiss to divulge the extent of wartime dealings with the Nazis and the whereabouts of what may be billions of dollars in assets stashed by Holocaust victims in Swiss banks.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Jews during WWII

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She rejected his thesis — that the Swiss had treated Jews differently from other refugees during World War II. "In the refugee camps, there were not only Jews," she said. "And the majority of the Jewish refugees were not housed in the refugee camps."

After more than a year of research, including into archival records recently declassified by the British Foreign Office, Schom concluded that there is no doubt that the camps — which held an estimated 22,500 men, women and children by 1944 — were meant specifically for Jewish refugees.

"At least 80 percent of the in-

mates were Jews," Schom said. "Some camps had up to 95 percent or 98 percent Jewish membership."

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"Tragically, I think this is potentially a greater embarrassment for the Swiss than the issue of Nazi gold," Rabbi Marvin Hier, dean and founder of the Simon Wiesenthal Center, said Monday of the latest allegations of wholesale Swiss discrimination against wartime Jewish refugees.

"The Swiss ran the Red Cross. They viewed themselves as humanitarians, were proud of their reputation as humanitarians. Yet in their own back yard, they treated the Jewish refugees as unwanted guests. They couldn't wait to get rid of them."

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PRESERVATION

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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Jews Remember Forced Labor Camps in Wartime Swiss Refuge

By DAVID CAY JOHNSTON

LOS ANGELES, Jan. 14 — Manfred Alexander was 21 in 1941 when, with his fiancée and her mother, he entered Switzerland from France. There, he says, a new nightmare began.

The family were immediately separated by the Swiss Border Patrol. Mr. Alexander was put first in a prison, then in a forced labor camp.

"I was put in prison with murderers," Mr. Alexander said in a telephone interview today from his home in Kew Gardens, Queens. "Then I was sent to camps where they put us in striped uniforms and we worked daybreak to sundown in the fields. A guard beat people. Those who tried to escape, they sent dogs after them and the dogs ate those they caught."

Mr. Alexander said cruelty was expected of the guards and those who displayed kindness in labor camp were dismissed.

Mr. Alexander's experience is part

The harsh underside of a haven from Nazi persecution.

of the little-known story of Swiss labor camps, where thousands of Jews and others who were given refuge in World War II were forced to work, sometimes in factories making canteens and other gear that was sold to the German Army.

The story is outlined in "The Unwanted Guests: Swiss Forced Labor Camps 1940-1944," a report that Alan Morris Schom prepared for the Simon Wiesenthal Center here. It says that many of the more than 22,000 Jewish refugees in Switzerland were kept in unheated barracks and forced to sleep on straw. Men were put to work in fields, forests and

factories while women and girls cleaned homes of Swiss officials.

That the Swiss took in tens of thousands of Jews, and turned away many more, is well known. But the story of how the Swiss put refugees to forced labor has been overshadowed by the Nazi death camps and by Swiss efforts to cultivate a laudable version of their wartime role.

Dr. Schom said that Swiss textbooks make no mention of the forced labor camps. "What the Swiss are teaching is of their heroism in taking in Jewish refugees," Dr. Schom said. "The Swiss are not being honest with themselves about the horrors they visited upon the refugees."

On Tuesday several camp survivors came to the center, where a daylong conference on restitution of Jewish assets seized by the Nazis was under way, and told of the beatings and mistreatment in the camps.

Dr. Schom, a historian, compiled a list of 62 camps, not including Luga-

no, and from archives in Switzerland and France he was able to put together accounts of life in the camps.

The harsh conditions in the camps had a purpose, Dr. Heinrich Rothmond, a Swiss Ministry of Justice and Police official during the war, said at the time.

"Let them huddle on their straw as long as possible so that, of themselves, they will be led to ask permission to leave," he said. "Let them see for themselves that Switzerland is no paradise so that those who want to come in will be discouraged."

Labor Camps Denied

GENEVA, Jan. 14 (AP) — Jewish refugees were forced to work in World War II as all Swiss citizens were, but the country never ran slave-labor camps, the Government said today in response to the Schom report. Officials rejected allegations that conditions were prison-like.

Europe Eases Ban on British Beef Exports

STRASBOURG, France, Jan. 14 (AP) — European Union officials moved today to ease the ban on British beef exports — imposed nearly two years ago because of mad-cow disease — by resuming sales from Northern Ireland.

The 20-member European Commission, the union's executive body, recommended that sales resume from Northern Ireland because it is the only area in the United Kingdom where mad-cow disease is tracked by computerized herd-monitoring. In 1995, sales from Northern Ireland accounted for 28 percent of all British beef exports and were worth \$275 million.

The commission's recommendation is the first crack in a prohibition on British beef sales that turned Britain's relations with its partners frosty, with London boycotting European Union business for three months in 1996.

Ending the ban for Northern Ireland must be endorsed by the union's panel of veterinary experts. The commission is not ready to recommend easing the ban on exports of beef from other parts of Britain until these, too, adopt computerized herd-monitoring to insure cattle have no mad-cow disease.

Scientists believe that mad-cow disease, formally known as Bovine Spongiform Encephalopathy, may be linked to an equally fatal human brain ailment, Creutzfeldt-Jakob Disease, which has killed a dozen people in Britain.

Another 'Bird Flu' Death

HONG KONG, Jan. 14 (AP) — The number of deaths attributed to the "bird flu" has risen to five, government officials said today, but they added that the victim, a woman who died on Jan. 11, contracted the virus before the slaughter of Hong Kong's chickens last month.

Some 1.3 million chickens were killed in an effort to eliminate the main carrier of influenza A (H5N1). The government said the slaughter appeared to have been effective because, to its knowledge, no one has been infected since it was completed two weeks ago.

World News Briefs

Gen. Pinochet Puts Off His Retirement Date

SANTIAGO, Chile, Jan. 14 (AP) — Angered by criticism and threats of a trial by Congress, Gen. Augusto Pinochet has postponed his retirement from the army, the Defense Ministry said today.

General Pinochet, who remained army commander after relinquishing power in 1990, ending a 17-year dictatorship, is permitted by the Con-

stitution to keep his military post until March 11. However, he had made it clear he intended to retire by the end of this month to become a Senator for life, as provided under the Constitution written during his years in power.

General Pinochet's decision to join the Senate set off widespread criticism and a threat of a political trial by Congress to block him.

The Defense Ministry statement released today did not give a new retirement date for General Pino-

chet, who is 82. Interior Minister Carlos Figueroa said the Government was not concerned by General Pinochet's decision. But the president of the Socialist Party, Camilo Escalona, said General Pinochet "is afraid of entering political debate as a civilian," and added that he "takes shelter in the uniform."

Riots Flare in Montenegro Over Disputed Election

PODGORICA, Yugoslavia, Jan. 14 (Reuters) — About 40 people were wounded as riot policemen and thousands of protesters clashed in the Yugoslav republic of Montenegro to-

day after talks between rival political groups broke down.

Around 8,000 supporters of the outgoing President of Montenegro, Momir Bulatovic, marched through the streets of the capital before the protest erupted into violence.

Diplomats said the violence was a last-ditch attempt to derail the inauguration on Thursday of Milo Djukanovic, a young reformer who narrowly beat Mr. Bulatovic in presidential elections in October.

The confrontation threatens to create a new Balkan flashpoint in Montenegro, which along with the republic of Serbia makes up what remains of Yugoslavia.

The federal Yugoslav President, Slobodan Milosevic, who supports

Mr. Bulatovic, was told by Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright that any disruption of the inauguration on Thursday would not be tolerated.

Zambian Army Officers Say They Were Tortured

LUSAKA, Zambia, Jan. 14 (Reuters) — Two Zambian Army officers said in court today that state agents tortured them to make them falsely implicate former President Kenneth D. Kaunda and other politicians in a failed coup in October.

Mr. Kaunda, 73, was Zambia's leader for 27 years, assuming power after independence in 1964, until he

was defeated in elections in 1991 by the current President, Frederick T. J. Chiluba.

Mr. Kaunda was jailed without charge on Dec. 25 and later put under house arrest and banned from politics under emergency laws imposed four days after the coup attempt.

Mr. Kaunda and two other politicians are accused of paying the soldiers \$270 each to overthrow the Government. Mr. Kaunda has denied any involvement in the coup attempt.

Capt. Jackson Chiti said today that he was in such pain during the torture sessions that he implicated Mr. Kaunda and other opposition leaders. Maj. Musonda Kangwa said he too was tortured to make him implicate the politicians.

The New York Times

THURSDAY, JANUARY 15, 1998

'Q' for Quebec Electric Loses Political Glow, Too

By ANTHONY DePALMA

MONTREAL, Jan. 14 — All through the stormy nights of ice and wind that blacked out much of Montreal and the surrounding region for the last week, the stylized Q that is the symbol of Hydro-Quebec blazed like a beacon atop the company's headquarters on René Lévesque Boulevard.

But with power being restored in some parts of the region but not others, the behemoth utility, one of the largest in North America, decided on Tuesday night to turn off the sign. Company officials called it a gesture of solidarity with customers and vowed to keep the sign dark until every residence had electricity again.

Local television had live coverage of the dimming of the Q, underscoring the powerful but politically sensitive nature of the government-owned company's role as symbol of Quebec self-sufficiency, and more recently what some people here see as the province's destiny as a sovereign nation.

But the week of heavy ice that twisted hundreds of pylons to the ground and left millions of people shivering in the cold has cast a shadow over that image. And even though the number of households without power had been reduced from 1.4 million at the peak of the storm to 400,000 today, the company's misfortunes are raising questions about the policies that have left Quebec one of the most electricity-dependent places in the world.

"It's about time we reviewed our dependency," said Kristina Cienska, 72, a retired librarian who has become far less proud of Hydro-Quebec during the six days her Montreal home has been without electricity.

In all of this French-speaking part of North America, there has been no more visible symbol of the Quebecers' jealously guarded dream of being masters of their own house since the company was nationalized more than 30 years ago.

From the dams holding back the waters of the James Bay hydroelectric project in the far northern reaches, to the steel high-voltage towers that march down in regimented lines from the north, the company's larger-than-life operations have been seen as proof that Quebec has the resourcefulness to be a nation, in spirit if not yet in fact.

The recent history of Hydro-Quebec parallels in many ways the rise of Quebec nationalism. Desmond P.

Morton, director of the McGill Institute for the Study of Canada, said that when the Quebec government went into debt to buy many small, privately owned companies and merge them into a huge government monopoly in the 1960's, it did so for political as well as economic reasons.

He added, in a reference to the founder of the Parti Québécois, which advocates Quebec's secession, "René Lévesque, who nationalized the private companies, used the term 'nationalize' in a very deliberate, nationalistic way."

As the movement for Quebec separation grew during what was called the Quiet Revolution, Hydro-Quebec became even more politicized. "It was very much associated with the Quiet Revolution," said Jean Thomas Bernard, a professor of economics at Laval University.

The company's chief executive is considered an unofficial minister of economic development in the province. Most Quebecers, French speakers at least, believe the position should be occupied only by French-speaking supporters of the separatist cause. Premier Lucien Bouchard has his Montreal office in the Hydro-Quebec headquarters, as have previous provincial leaders.

Hydro-Quebec has been used as an engine of economic growth by successive Quebec leaders, and not just separatists. The Liberal Premier Robert Bourassa believed Quebec had a place in Canada; he also believed it was a waste to let the mighty waters of northern Quebec just pour into the ocean.

Mr. Bourassa pushed construction of the James Bay project. Part of the complex, the largest hydroelectric station in the world, is now named for him.

To exploit the cheap northern power, Quebec vigorously promoted the use of electricity. Aluminum smelters were given such favorable rates that competitors in the United States complained. Most homes built in Quebec in the last 30 years are heated by electricity, and the province relies on electricity for 41 percent of its energy consumption, more than double the national average. That reliance left Quebec especially vulnerable to the freak storm.

Whatever their politics or native language, most Quebecers took pride in Hydro-Quebec's achievements — until the Great Whale hydroelectric project was proposed early this decade. The company was attacked by

Hydro-Quebec,
a symbol of
separatism, stirs
old animosities.

environmentalists in Canada and the United States, as well as the Cree people whose land would have been flooded.

"Many Quebecers, separatists or federalists, began to think that Hydro had gotten too big, too monolithic," said Stephen Blank, a specialist in United States-Canada relations at Pace University in New York.

The company shelved the project in 1994, but does not consider it dead.

Right now, many Quebecers are still too focused on coping with the crisis to think about energy policy and politics. But as the company replaces hundreds of high-voltage towers and miles of line, the first strains of criticism are starting to show. Predictably, it is greatest among English speakers.

"It is not too early to condemn the political climate that has allowed Hydro to design its policies with minimal public accountability," a Montreal Gazette columnist, Henry Aubin, wrote today. He called Hydro "the symbol of our engineering know-how and the flagship of Quebec's economy," but he predicted that after the storm debris is cleaned up, "Hydro-Quebec will become an ex-icon."

But Rene Arsenault, spokeswoman for Hydro-Quebec, said it was no surprise that English-speaking federalists might try to use the crisis to attack Hydro-Quebec and the separatist cause, just as the separatists will use it to show the resourcefulness of the Quebec people. In Quebec, she said, "that's normal."

The New York Times

THURSDAY, JANUARY 15, 1998