

# SWISS HISTORY THROUGH ANGLO-SAXON EYES<sup>1</sup>

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Any study of Anglo-Saxon views of Swiss history has to start from the unfortunate fact that the eyes are more often closed, or directed elsewhere, than focussed on Switzerland. Too often in my career I have had to respond to the question ‘what do the English think of Switzerland?’ by saying that, basically, they do not think of Switzerland at all. For the most part the British have no real image of the country, whether favourable or critical<sup>2</sup>. This is probably because they, the English in particular, have yet to rid themselves of the feeling that they are a great power for whom only other great powers really matter. Small countries are either ignored or laughed at. Hence the joking question: name three famous Belgians. This general tendency, which is also visible in studies of the politics and economics of Switzerland, rubs off especially on Swiss history. And in the end, this leads to Switzerland being ignored in general Anglo-Saxon studies of European history.

This is despite British contacts with Switzerland having been many, various and frequent. And they have given rise to a number of studies of Anglo-Swiss relations<sup>3</sup>. America and the Dominions have produced slightly fewer such studies, and many of these understandably focus on Swiss emigration.<sup>4</sup> In any case such English contacts have produced a good deal of writing on alpine sports, diplomacy, economics, literary associations, religion and tourism, but not so much on politics and, especially, history. Nonetheless, there has been enough to enable us to make some estimate of what Anglo-Saxon - taking this loosely as works either written by English, American and Commonwealth writers or published in Britain and/or the USA – visions of Swiss history have been and are.

Not surprisingly there have been great changes in the extent and nature of Anglo-Saxon study of Switzerland, taking this loosely as works either written by English, American and Commonwealth writers or published in Britain and/or the USA. What has determined interest in Switzerland in Britain and the USA, whose productions are often hard to disentangle given joint publication, is partly a desire to cater for the tourist market and, more importantly, historical developments themselves usually inside Switzerland. In

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<sup>1</sup>A shorter version of this is in press as a contribution to a Festschrift for Georges Andrey.

<sup>2</sup> This showed up very clearly in 1988 when Nestle was buying Rowntree and critics had no stereotypes with which to attack the Swiss.

<sup>3</sup> The basic source is J. Wraight Switzerland and the British (Wilton, Russell, 1987) though he pays little attention to historical activity, and misses (285-91) the emergence of new some interests such as in the Swiss army. Another major account is that by the combative Alpinist Arnold Lunn, who was, unfortunately, to dominate much English writing on Switzerland throughout the first half of the last century: Switzerland and the English (London, Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1944). Other accounts can be found in G. De Beer, Speaking of Switzerland (London, Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1952); F Da Pozzo, Der Schweiz in der Sicht des Auslandes (Bern, Franke, 1977); S.Howald, Insular Denken (Zurich, NZZ Verlag 2004) Church, “Switzerland in Anglo-Saxon Eyes: True Portraits or reflections in a Mirror?” in J.L.Steinacher & S.Klein (eds) La Svizra e ses vishcins NHG 1996/7(Aarau, Sauerlander, 1997) 96-110 and ‘History’ on the website of the University of Kent Centre for Swiss Politics, available at <http://www.kent.ac.uk/politics/cfs/csp/history.html>. Cf also A.Lunn (ed) Switzerland in English Prose and Poetry (London, Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1947)

<sup>4</sup> Cf L Schelbert’s helpful reference work on this subject available at <http://www.everyculture.com/multi/Sr-Z/Swiss-Americans.html>

other words, Anglo-Saxon interest in Swiss history has, until the last few years, been exogenous rather than being endogenous and deeply rooted in British and American academia. Indeed, much of what goes into Anglo-Saxon minds comes from what is written in English, often directly by Swiss historians and others or translated from French, German and Italian.<sup>5</sup> Partly as a result there is no deep Anglo-Saxon familiarity with the evolution of Swiss historiography. Few understand the way in which history is, and perhaps always has been, so closely involved in Swiss politics and national identity.

Yet, paradoxically, one other striking thing about Anglo-Saxon visions of Switzerland is that they tend to be much more national and unitary than the Swiss might like. Clearly, English observers are aware that Switzerland is a federal country with 26 cantons and half cantons, but few if any try to depict Switzerland in this way. They treat it as one nation, which means a concentration on political history and the state. And, sometimes they tend to come at it, for linguistic reasons, more from the French side than the German, despite the fact that the country is some 70% German speaking. In any case, all too often they overlook the richness of cantonal historical writing and what it says about the diversity of Swiss developments. However, for reasons of space cantonal histories are not to be considered here, and much of the voluminous writing on the Reformation in Switzerland is also largely left aside, as are writings on pre-history. Equally, the focus is on books more than articles.<sup>6</sup>

Textbooks have also been largely excluded even though they clearly have much to tell us about Anglo-Saxon attitudes, as have doctoral theses.<sup>7</sup> However, whether bringing them in would fundamentally change the overall picture of Anglo-Saxon thinking about Swiss history is far from certain. All too often, as already noted, such books can ignore or misconceive Switzerland and its history. Textbooks like Doyle on the Old Order or Judt on Postwar can give very little attention to Switzerland. They can also be open to errors, myths and the images of yesteryear. Thus Judt is very scornful of contemporary Switzerland apparently because of his reliance on populist writers rather than scholarly studies.<sup>8</sup> So, despite a long series of publications, often directed at trying to explain Switzerland and make it better understood, Swiss history is both little known and little considered. Professionalization has yet, in other words, to provide a critical mass of studies of Swiss history in English. And the works of leading Swiss historians have yet to be absorbed into Anglo-Saxon thinking. In other words, little use has been made of the slowly appreciating mass of available material on Swiss history in English.

This points to the fact that, since English language writing on Switzerland started, essentially in the late eighteenth century, the evidence - derived from Historical Abstracts

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<sup>5</sup> Translated works are mentioned here because they clearly played a role in shaping Anglo-Saxon views but they have not been analysed since they do not provide direct evidence for Anglo-Saxon thinking. However, the way that writings originating in Switzerland penetrated into mainstream English language journals means that more notice has to be taken of them from the 1990s onward.

<sup>6</sup> Reviews have also been excluded even though they clearly have much to tell us about Anglo-Saxon views. And only works specifically or largely devoted to Switzerland have been included even though general textbooks etc can discuss the country, although much less than one would wish. Equally, textbooks, although they could say much about Anglo-Saxon views have had to be excluded because of their number and the limits on space here. For an appreciation of their treatment of Swiss politics see Church 'The Past Study Of Swiss Politics in the United Kingdom' on the website of the Centre for Swiss Politics of the University of Kent, at <http://www.kent.ac.uk/politics/cfs/csp/index.html>

<sup>7</sup> In fact, as the Institute of Historical Research Bulletins of Theses show, there is very little doctoral research on Switzerland in the United Kingdom. And what there is, is dominated by Reformation studies, cultural history and Geneva. This also seems to be the case in North America, to judge by recent ProQuest abstracts.

<sup>8</sup> T.Judt PostWar: A History of Europe Since 1945 (London, Pimlico, 2007) especially 83-4 and 745

for the most recent periods - suggests that there have been four main waves of interest, often punctuated by periods of relative neglect. Thus the impact of the French invasion of 1798 and subsequent conflicts produced a first burst of interest in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, stressing Switzerland as a beacon of liberty. Then, at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, there was a widespread burst of writing, reflecting fascination with the newly consolidated Federal Republic and seeing Switzerland as something of a model.

After something of a lull in the 1930s, the post 1945 era then saw a third wave of more defensive publishing, partly as a response to the country's role during the war. Thereafter, with the beginnings of professionalization of academic history and the developing *Sonderfall*<sup>9</sup> came an increasing number of studies in a variety of fields, notably social and economic history. By this time writings on Swiss history no longer stand out like good deeds in a naughty world, something which had at least the virtue of them easy enough to assess and comment on in some detail. In the last third of the last century there were so many publications emerging that only general trends can really be discerned and described. Even so an overall impression of Swiss history failed to emerge.

Finally, as the new century approached, the rate of publications increased yet further. Many such writings were often fuelled by new controversies surrounding Switzerland's part in the Second World War and its handling of frozen assets thereafter. Because of this the image of Switzerland seems to have deteriorated at this time, despite the rising number of publications. Equally, the expansion owed much to the opening up of Swiss history to the international market. So a higher percentage of works in English were actually written by Swiss, which had not previously been the case.

There are of course problems with this strategy because it takes publication as proof of influence. But we do not know what penetration the works discussed here actually had. Nor do we know what readers made of them and what images they drew from them. Equally, it assumes that views of Swiss history are wholly shaped by historical writing. In reality, the impact of other things, such as the vast Alpine and religious literatures, not to mention *Heidi* may well play a part, not mention unhistorical polemics on 'Nazi gold'.<sup>10</sup> So the changing picture which emerges here may well not be wholly accurate, let alone comprehensive. In any case, the scope of writings is too large and the space and time available too limited to be able to discern detailed visions of Switzerland. However, what can be deduced is the rationale of attempts to study Swiss history. Hence, it does give some impression both of the very diverse views of Switzerland which have emerged over the years and of the problems inherent in trying to assess Anglo-Saxon views.

## The 18<sup>th</sup> and Early 19<sup>th</sup> Centuries: Liberty Under Threat

Not until the second half of the eighteenth century did anybody in England try to write a history of Switzerland. Hence when in the 1650s Oliver Cromwell asked to be briefed on Swiss history he was given Tschudi and Simmler to read.<sup>11</sup> In fact the first English publications on Switzerland, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, were over overwhelmingly about Geneva and the Calvinist Church.<sup>12</sup> This was part of the growing

<sup>9</sup> By *Sonderfall* the Swiss mean their providential good fortune in surviving the war unscathed and then building an extremely prosperous and harmonious society, thanks to their own efforts and institutions.

<sup>10</sup> The role of such sources comes out clearly in M. Suter's amusing illustrated work on *The Invention of Paradise* (Glattbrugg, Beobachter AG, 1983)

<sup>11</sup> Wraight *op.cit* 136-7

<sup>12</sup> 1761 George Keate published *A short history of the Ancient History ...and Laws of the Republic of Geneva* in 1761 (London, Dodsley) but this is basically current affairs. Keate said that he was motivated to write by curiosity but instructing young Englishmen on the Grand Tour was also a motive. Why the

cultural contacts between the two countries.<sup>13</sup> A little later Archdeacon Coxe published a Historical Sketch and Notes on the late Revolution.<sup>14</sup> This wondered why a moderate and respected government should have collapsed as rapidly as it did in 1798. He put this down to lack of unity, resentment of restrictions imposed by the oligarchical cantons and the spread of irreligious innovation, not to mention the Directory.

However, the first attempt at writing a full history of Switzerland as such was by Edward Gibbon in the 1760s. During his first stay in Lausanne he was casting around for an intellectual project and, encouraged by a meeting with the Bernese Avoyer and the Swiss valour in standing up to France and Burgundy, thought about Switzerland. He was impressed by the way the poor, warlike Republic stood up for liberty in a way which Florence did not.<sup>15</sup> The peasantry and the militia system both appealed to him as well. But although he then produced his Letter on the Government of Berne, he did not pursue the idea, partly because he had no German. Instead he went on to the Essai sur la Littérature and Italian ideas. In 1765, however, he took up the idea again since Deyverdun was able to translate for him. Gibbon was very keen on being both up to date and using the sources, drawing especially on Schilling, Simmler, Tschudi, Lauffer and Leu.

Out of this came, two years later, two chapters of what was called 'Introduction à l'histoire...' though often referred to as the 'History of Swiss Liberty'. These saw the emergence of a Swiss polity as a reaction to the misconcieved policies of Albert I aiming at reversing three mountaineers' existing independence. Gibbon sees the oath – not Tell – as the natural response to this new attempt at Austrian tyranny. Unfortunately the story only covered the period up till 'aristocratic' Berne joined the Confederacy, thus stopping well short of the Burgundian period.

Aware of how sensitive the subject could be – especially as he believed both Tell and the Scandinavian derivation to be myths - he kept it secret until it was read aloud in London in the winter of 1767-8. It was not well received and he decided to stop, even though Hume, to whom he had sent a copy, praised it and urged him to continue. One reason was his own doubts about his French style. By then, of course, he had had the idea of Decline and Fall, which came to him in the Zoccolanti Church in Rome on 17 October 1764 but which had frightened him by its vastness. So, released from what he then called 'the fruitless task' of a Swiss history, in 1768 he returned to this, producing the first volume 8 years later. Although Gibbon never did burn his Swiss manuscript as he claimed he would do, it was not published until 1814-15 when the second editions of Lord Sheffield's collection of his Miscellaneous Works came out.<sup>16</sup> So his work never really made an impact.<sup>17</sup>

The fact that Gibbon's work does not figure in the original 1796 edition of his works points to the fact that, until 1798, the country was something of a backwater. However, the French invasion of 1798 put it on the map. Hence in 1799 Joseph Planta,

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Calvinist conention did not promote real historical writing is hard to explain.

<sup>13</sup> Cf DB Horn 'Great Britain and Switzerland' in his Great Britain and Europe (Oxford, OUP, 1967) 324-5

<sup>14</sup> Additions to "Travels in Switzerland": containing an Historical Sketch and Notes on the late Revolution (London, Hansard, 1802). Prior to these there had also been some historical reflection in the travel and political writings of Bishop Burnet in 1687, Abraham Stanyan and Coxe himself in his Sketches of 1779, but none was a straight forward history.

<sup>15</sup> On this see B Norman, The Influence of Switzerland on the Life and Writings of Edward Gibbon (Oxford, Voltaire Foundation, 2002) and HS Offler 'Gibbon: the Making of a Swiss History' Durham University Journal X (1949) np. Professor Randolph Head has helpfully pointed out that this comparison says something about Gibbon's knowledge of Machiavelli.

<sup>16</sup> Lord Sheffield (ed) The Miscellaneous Works of Edward Gibbon Esq. (London, Murray, 1814) Vol 4

<sup>17</sup> Although his interest did help to stimulate an American Civil War General, Meredith Read to produce two volumes of Historic Studies in Vaud, Berne and Savoy published posthumously by Chatto & Windus in 1897.

from the Graubünden and an early Director of the British Library, produced his History of the Helvetic Confederacy in 3 volumes.<sup>18</sup> He had been stimulated to write this not just by his own origins but by the way the French ended the country's admired constitutional and libertarian development. He felt English readers should know about this and realised there were precious few books to help them appreciate Switzerland as a citadel of freedom and not just a topographical setting. And for the next 50 years revolutionary events in Switzerland were to stimulate English language writing and publishing on Swiss history.

Planta's history, which went through four editions between 1800 and 1825, covering the period up till the late eighteenth century was a very detailed political and military narrative, written with both colourful language and scholarly care, including an initial awareness of the economic elements in Swiss history. He tended to see the old Confederacy as an organized, and expansionist, polity. And he leant heavily towards the Protestant side in his treatment of the Reformation although he is admiring of the way the Swiss held together despite religious divisions. However, he is resolutely hostile to the French and the way they dissolved the Confederacy although his coverage of events since the mid 17<sup>th</sup> century is somewhat scrappy. Perhaps not surprisingly he gives a good deal of attention to events in the Grichun as well as its language.

He also published an up date which traced the country's travails under French rule and its re-emergence as a free and guaranteed state after 1815. This he wrote because he thought it important that English readers also knew of the events which led to the Restoration and the new constitution. His hope was that 1815 would lead to 'lasting happiness' though his stress on self interest and the illogical – for a free people – oppression of subject territories and others made it clear that this was unlikely. This was shortly afterwards followed by John Wilson's history in Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopaedia, a work jointly published in England and America. Wilson - who was possibly a journalist - felt a new history was necessary because Planta – on whom, with Müller, he drew - although using fewer notes than Planta - was out of date given recent developments. However, while he started with the Romans and nominally went up to 1830, there was actually little on the revolutions. Wilson gave more space to Tell than his predecessor but his main emphasis was on the divisions and violence in Swiss history and the way this strengthened national courage and confidence. In fact he was often much more critical than Planta, emphasizing the oligarchic stasis of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, something from which the country was jolted by the French. He was also greatly admiring of Bonaparte. At the same time Zschokke's work was translated, although von Müller does not seem to have been so favoured.<sup>19</sup>

This was then reinforced by a work by an Englishman of Huguenot descent, André Vieusseux.<sup>20</sup> His political history was motivated by the feeling that Switzerland was more than scenery and was critical to the modern world, so that English readers needed to be aware of it. He also paid more attention to individual cantons than the norm. His treatment of Switzerland's development was not triumphalist and he went on to stress the

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<sup>18</sup> J Planta The History of the Helvetic Confederacy (London, Stockdale, 1802) and A View of the Restoration of the Helvetic Confederacy (London, Longman, 1821)

<sup>19</sup> H Zschokke, The History of Switzerland (Effingham, Wilson, 1834). The failure to translate Von Müller's Romantic Geschichten der Schweiz of 1780 is a little surprising since this was allegedly published in Boston, Mass, to avoid censorship and had been discussed with Francis Kinloch of South Carolina when Muller was living in the Suisse Romande. Both Zschokke and Wilson have recently been made available in new editions and on lines. Zschokke's earlier book on the fall of the old Confederacy was also translated from the French as The history of the invasion of Switzerland by the French, and the destruction of the democratical republics of Schwitz, Uri, and Unterwalden by John Aikin (London : Longman and Rees, 1803).

<sup>20</sup> A.Vieusseux The History of Switzerland (London, Bohn, 1840)

importance of religious division, taking a mildly pro Protestant line while seeing Catholic faults as coming from personalities not systems. However, he was very critical of the French revolutionaries, and especially the Directory. He also stressed the oligarchic nature of Swiss society before 1798 and after 1815 before ending his story in 1837.

What came next was conveyed to English readers by the Rev Michael Mayers in two booklets published in both Switzerland and England.<sup>21</sup> He wrote for the growing number of English travellers to Switzerland trying to explain the perplexing and intricate events of the times. This involved him in a sketch of events since 1815, stressing the division between conservatives and progressives. On the outbreak of the actual conflict his view was that there were faults on both sides, as with the free corps but he could not support the pro Jesuit camp. He was also critical of the way radicals like Druey were treating the Protestant churches, something which he saw as symptomatic of the oppression and extremism of the new Radical regime.

### At the Turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries: The New Model Republic

Following this there was something of a lull in studies of Switzerland save where Alpinism and tourist literature were concerned.<sup>22</sup> This perhaps surprising, given the intensity of English investment in Switzerland. However, writing to explain the country to the many thousands who were visiting it annually, became a not unimportant dynamic. Hence, once the new state was consolidated, there was a new and large scale burst of interest in all things Swiss, notably the political system of the post 1874 republic with its growing use of direct democracy, its militia army and its advanced social life. Switzerland, in other words, was seen as an interesting model in a number of fields, and its history was therefore worth exploring.

Switzerland thus made its first appearances in the English Historical Review at this time, thanks to the Chairman of the Alpine Club, the Rev WAB Coolidge, already the author of a guide to guidebooks on Switzerland.<sup>23</sup> One of the leading figures in this new wave of interest was John Martin Vincent, a Professor at Johns Hopkins University and a pioneer of the 'scientific history' taught there, drawing on the German model. Although he never produced an overall history he produced a series of scholarly monographs preceded by an insightful sketch of Swiss history and institutions, stressing the importance of countervailing forces of decentralization.<sup>24</sup> His main books, which draw heavily on original sources, and adopt an analytical rather than a narrative approach, focus on the Swiss cities in the late mediaeval and early modern periods, paying much attention to morals which he thought had been brutalised by mercenary service and strictly policed by Reformation Courts and sumptuary laws. He also wrote on Swiss government, inspired by what he described as the 'sentimental affection' Americans had for a sister republic.

However, there were three major full histories of Switzerland in the 1890s. The first and the longest lived was the volume in the 'Story of the Nations' series by a Swiss,

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<sup>21</sup> M. J. Mayers, The Jesuit & Sonderbund Contest (London, Parker, 1847) and Notebook of the Late Civil War (London, Parker & Zurich, Hanke, 1848). Cf also, for an analysis of the nature of Swiss politics, G. Grote Seven Letters on the recent politics of Switzerland (London, Newby, 1847)

<sup>22</sup> One exception was the translation of O.Heer's The Primaeval World of Switzerland (London, 1876)

<sup>23</sup> WAB Coolidge 'Two Bishops of Sion' EHR 1/4 (1887) np

<sup>24</sup> Cf J M Vincent 'Studies in Swiss History' Papers of the American Historical Association III (1887) 146-64; Switzerland at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins, 1904); 'Municipal Problems in Mediaeval Switzerland' JH Univ Studies XXII 1906; and finally Costume and Conduct in the Laws of Basel, Bern, and Zurich, 1370-1800 (Baltimore, Greenwood, 1935).

Lina Hug, and an Englishman, Richard Stead.<sup>25</sup> This was initially published in 1891, reprinted three times up to 1914, and then given a second edition in 1921. They seem to have been well versed in the post Rankean state centric form of history which had developed in Switzerland and elsewhere during the middle of the century and which increasingly focussed on 1291 rather than on more romantic visions of the foundation of Switzerland.<sup>26</sup>

Their view was that Swiss history was the story of liberty – thanks to the Landsgemeinde - and served as a model for other countries. They therefore concentrated on an admiring narrative of military events and passed over periods like the eighteenth century when little happened. The first edition ended in the 1870s while the second revised chapters and added two more on the Great War and contemporary Switzerland of which it remained very admiring. The desire to provide information, not just on Switzerland, but on all aspects of Swiss life was to be a lasting tendency.

Many of Hug & Stead's attitudes were shared by a somewhat superior American text which came out just after theirs and which was also reprinted ten years later.<sup>27</sup> McCracken's book was a good deal more scholarly than some of the others which came out at this time. Based on original sources, notably Oeschli's Quellenbuch, and written with a careful and critical eye, his book concentrates on the early years, with half the book being devoted to the pre 1450 period. This is covered in considerable detail while that from the 18<sup>th</sup> century onwards is somewhat sketchily treated, despite a close examination of the nature of post 1874 Switzerland which is one of his many analyses of Swiss governance. This may have been because he saw, and deplored, the growth of both aristocratic rule and decay from the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. His explanation of the Reformation is based largely on responses to mercenary service. He is also more sympathetic to the revolutionary and radical era than earlier writers. So he had his favourites.

However, he situates his work in the context of both contemporary writings and the wider environment of the times. His book is not too narrowly focussed on Switzerland. He is also at pains to point out that, contrary to current opinion, Switzerland was not a democratic republic from the beginning. Only in 1815 did it really become a free state, and one fit to be compared with the US. Much of this he put down to the fact that, like England, the country had held on to its original Teutonic institutions. Thus, as a Progressive, he looked to the Landsgemeinde as an ideal echoed in New England town meetings. The Sonderbund war was also seen as parallel to the American Civil War.<sup>28</sup>

The third major study to come out at this time was by F. Grenfell Baker, the English editor of Burton's works.<sup>29</sup> This is less prone to quote from sources of contemporary writings, though it clearly relies on Planta. And it eschews a bibliography. It is also less analytical and less interested in governance than McCracken. However, it gives more room to recent history, going up to 1874. This partly reflects an acceptance of the revolution which he attributes in large part to festering social imbalances inside Switzerland, although it says little about aristocratic dominance, concentrating more on

<sup>25</sup> L.Hug & R.Stead Switzerland (London, Fisher Unwin & N.York, Puttnams, 1891 & 1920)

<sup>26</sup> M.Bentley Modern Historiography (London, Routledge, 1999) 53. Cf also O.Zimmer 'Competing Memories of the Nation: Liberal Historians and the Reconstruction of the Swiss past, 1870-1900' Past and Present 168 (2000) 194-226

<sup>27</sup> W.MacCracken The Rise of the Swiss Republic (NYork, Holt, 1892: Second, revised and enlarged edition 1901)

<sup>28</sup> U. Hammer, William Denison McCracken: A Progressive's view of Swiss History and Politics' Yearbook of German-American Studies 25 ( 1990) 77-92 . Cf) Cf also D. Peyston Secession in Switzerland and the US (Catskill, NY, 1863).

<sup>29</sup> F Grenfell Baker The Model Republic (London, Nichols, 1895)

the Counter Reformation. So, while it is cautious about myths such as William Tell, overall it is less critical and innovative than McCracken.

The interest thus showed in Switzerland was reinforced about 1900 first by the publication of another, translated, history, and then by a series of chapters in the Cambridge Histories. Thus Dändliker's book for Swiss schools was simultaneously published in Britain and America with the hope of interesting the many tourists to Switzerland in knowing more about a diverse yet centralizing people.<sup>30</sup> Similarly, the chapters on Switzerland in the Cambridge Modern History were largely written by Swiss and concentrated on the religious history of Switzerland.<sup>31</sup> In the main these were solid, factual studies, which together covered Swiss history from the early 16<sup>th</sup> to the late 19<sup>th</sup> centuries with an accent on religious conflict, leaning towards the liberal side.

This interest continued in the run up to the First World War as an Oxford don, C.F.Cameron, produced a further general history designed for travellers to Switzerland, something highlighted by the photographs and the lists of relevant monuments at the end of each chapter.<sup>32</sup> Cameron's view was that the country was all too well known for its scenery and trade but not for its political construction. He sees the Confederacy as becoming a real polity earlier than previous writers, and is also more admiring of Swiss military prowess. However, like them he does see the post 17<sup>th</sup> period onward as a decadent age, so that the revolution was a necessary preparation for the creation of a modern state. He also plays down the religious element of Swiss politics. And, after quite detailed coverage of the later 19th century and a statistical analysis of contemporary Switzerland, he prophetically queries the 'balance between the races'.

While such writings were firmly based in Swiss sources, many of the Anglo-Saxon studies drew on Coolidge's articles on Switzerland in the 9<sup>th</sup>, or scholars' and 11<sup>th</sup> editions of the Encyclopaedia Britannica. Some of these were then published in a stand alone volume along with other national histories.<sup>33</sup> In a very clipped, essentially political, narrative Coolidge emphasized three points: that the Swiss were linked to the Empire (becoming allies in 1499 and independent in 1648), that the core of Switzerland was Germanic and that Swiss history was a study in federalism. After 1648, however, he saw Switzerland becoming a French dependency, something which – along with its aristocratic turn - exposed it to the revolution. He took the story on into the 1880s, though saying relatively little about 1847-48. However, the extracts end with a review of government, economy and geography, together with an appendix on events between 1909 and 1912.

The war added a new element to all this.<sup>34</sup> Thus Lunn, under an assumed name, defended the Swiss against the charge of being 'pro-German, by looking at aspects of Swiss history and stressing the autonomy of Swiss thinking. There were also studies of neutrality, the army and diplomatic policy. However, the underlying interest also lasted into the post war period with the publication of the translation of Oeschli's history, which had been written in the autumn of 1914, and translated by 1916, but only published six years later when times were less stretched.<sup>35</sup> The same year the last Swiss chapter in the Cambridge

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<sup>30</sup> K. Dändliker, A Short History of Switzerland (London, Swan – Sonnenschein & N.York, Macmillan, 1899).

<sup>31</sup> J.P.Witney, 'The Helvetic Reformation' III (1903) 305-41; H.F.Brown 'The Valtelline: IV (1906) 611-25; J.J. Schollenberger, 'Switzerland from the Treaty of Aarau to the revolution' VI (1906) 611-25; A.Guilland, 'Switzerland and France' IX (1906) 422-7; and W.Oeschli, 'The Achievement of Swiss Federal Unity' XI (1909) 234-61.

<sup>32</sup> C.F. Cameron Switzerland (London, Jack/The Nations' Histories, 1914, new ed 1919)

<sup>33</sup> 'Switzerland' in G. Edmundson et al, Belgium, Italy and Switzerland (London, Encyclopaedia Britannica co, 1914) 23-73. Publication in this form may well have owed something to the outbreak of the war that August.

<sup>34</sup> [S Croft] Was Switzerland pro German ? (London, Hazell, Watson, Viney, 1920)

<sup>35</sup> W Oeschli History of Switzerland 1494-1914 (Cambridge, CUP 1922)

Modern History also appeared, showing – along with new studies of Swiss government and democracy, and a second edition of Cameron - that the turn of the century enthusiasm for Switzerland and its history had not been killed off by the War.<sup>36</sup>

### After the Second World War: Explaining Switzerland in a new context

Nonetheless, as the 1920s drew on, however, interest in Swiss history waned even if Swiss politics remained of interest thanks in large measure to William Rappard. There were occasional publications on Switzerland in the War and on cantons like Basel, along with Vincent's final publication.<sup>37</sup> More importantly the Swiss historian PE Martin provided a chapter for the Cambridge Mediaeval History. However, there was only one general history and that was translated from the French.<sup>38</sup>

The Second World War produced a new surge of interest, including new general histories. To some extent this was motivated by desires to defend Switzerland's role in the war and explain it to tourists. And for a while these returned, notably to the mountains, as a host of new travel writings showed. Hence much of the writing was by Swiss, beginning with William Rappard and Edgar Bonjour.<sup>39</sup> The former was encouraged by Lionel Curtis and the Swiss authorities to make an English version of his original French text available so as to explain how cantonal collective security had, over the years, been secured by alliances for mutual defence. This stimulated an American scholar to produce another thematic history showing that neutrality was an internal as well as an external matter thanks to conciliation, mediation and the neutrality enforced on cantons by the principle of *still-sitzen*.<sup>40</sup>

Bonjour was also involved in the first Anglo-Saxon based history to be published for nearly 40 years, the Oxford Short History.<sup>41</sup> This owed its origins to a Pro Helvetia suggestion immediately at the end of the war and was regarded by Christopher Hughes as an unusable piece of special pleading where Bonjour's contribution was concerned. The book argues that the problem of Swiss history is how to explain how so diverse a set of peoples and territories achieved unity. It also notes that much is unknown about this although Swiss historians have done much to elucidate the process. It proceeds to play its part in a much more analytical and considered way than previous books, giving far more attention to political than military matters, although being very cautious as to the extent of cohesive governance in the Middle Ages.

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<sup>36</sup> G. Bonnard 'The Invasion of Switzerland [1798] and English Public Opinion' English Studies 22/1 (1940) 1-26

<sup>37</sup> P. Stovall, Switzerland and the World War (Savannah, GA, 1939); G. Lory, Switzerland a Hundred Years Ago (London, Batsford) and M. Hollinger The Story of Basle (London, Dent, 1933). Cf also .PE Martin 'The Swiss Confederation in the Middle Ages' Cambridge Mediaeval History VII (1933)183-215

<sup>38</sup> W. Martin, A History of Switzerland: An Essay on the Formation of a Confederation of States (London, Grant Richards, 1931). Cf also C. C. Dobson Torchbearers and Alpine Snows: A Story of a heroic stand (London, S. Martin, 1929) and A Schmidheiny A Concise History of Switzerland (Lausanne, Frankfurter, 1929). But see also J. Tyler, The Alpine Passes (Oxford, Blackwell, 1930) which has a good deal on mediaeval Swiss history.

<sup>39</sup> E Bonjour Swiss Neutrality Its History and Meaning (London, Allen & Unwin, 1946); W. Rappard, Collective Security in Swiss Experience, 1291-1948 (London: Allen & Unwin, 1948).

<sup>40</sup> W.B.Lloyd, Waging Peace: The Swiss Experience (Washington DC, Public Affairs Press, 1958). J.C. Herold, The Swiss without halos (Oxford, OUP, 1948) talked of Switzerland having a haphazard history of war and division, inside and outside. But the way it overcome these gave hope to the world.

<sup>41</sup> E Bonjour, G Potter & HS Offler Short History of Switzerland (Oxford, OUP 1952). There was a second print but this made no real changes to the original text, even though Hughes thought otherwise.

Equally, the early modern chapters, as well as paying much attention to the ideas, institutions and strife of Reformation and Counter Reformation, note both the emergence of a proto-industrial economy and the economic and financial dependence of the Confederacy on France.<sup>42</sup> And, although the eighteenth century was an age of oligarchy, it was also an age of peace and enlightenment, so that the old Switzerland was to mark the post 1798 model. The treatment of the Revolutionary era and after is more judgemental and less detached than earlier chapters, with a marked tendency to defend Swiss unity and achievements, including its historiography and constitution making. Conversely Socialism is regarded somewhat critically. Neutrality is also very much to the fore, since there is more stress on foreign policy than in earlier histories. This is especially true of the inter-war period. Although the Second World War is rapidly passed over, the book ending by asserting the Swiss cannot give up neutrality.

In the following years it seems as though tourism remained the driving force behind publishing on Swiss history. Thus about 1950 a new edition of the English Blue Guide to Switzerland was published with a 'Sketch of Swiss History' by William Martin more or less updated to 1945.<sup>43</sup> Then, in 1952 Lunn published a series of short historical essays on the emergence of the Ur Schweiz Confederacy, often leaning to the Catholic side and defending Switzerland against charges that it profited from the war.<sup>44</sup> Bozeman also published a book covering Swiss strategic relations in the Suisse Romande from the early 18<sup>th</sup> to the mid-19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Within three years a further set of more orthodox histories came out, two of them originating in Switzerland.<sup>45</sup> Kohn's book is essentially an intellectual history tracing the way the Swiss developed a nationalism based on liberty, resisting the temptations of authoritarian, often Germanic, nationalism. He saw the late eighteenth century as the time such ideas evolved, notably through Pestalozzi. They were then put into political practice after 1830 and then consolidated by the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1848 and subsequent harmonization which enabled Switzerland to resist competing claims in 1914 and, especially, 1939.

Despite this the trend to write for visitors continued into the 1960s with Betty Bradfield publishing two little booklets in Zurich for tourists, telling the history of Switzerland and stressing its ability to hold together despite the diversity of its parts.<sup>46</sup> Soon after Pro Helvetia entered the field, producing regular versions of a very short pamphlet for English readers. The defensive element in all this was relatively muted. More importantly, two major Swiss volumes were published in 1970, suggesting that the decline in British tourists, noted by British diplomats at the time, was not such as to deter

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<sup>42</sup> In 1958 the first edition of the New Cambridge Modern History volume on the Reformation, edited by G.R.Elton, was published with a chapter by E. G. Rupp and E A Page on 'The Swiss Reformers and the Anabaptists' 96-133. The former, whose work survived largely unchanged into the second edition, stressed that the Reformation in the cities of Switzerland and the Rhineland had very distinct characteristics.

<sup>43</sup> There were two printings of this, in 1948 and 1952, just as there had originally been two versions of the first edition, in 1923 and 1930

<sup>44</sup> A. Lunn, The Cradle of Switzerland (London, Hollis & Carter, 1952; A B Bozemann Regional Conflicts round Geneva (Stanford, Cal, SUP/OUP, 1949)

<sup>45</sup> A Schmidheiny A Concise History of Switzerland (Lausanne, LaTramontane 1954) and C Gilliard A History of Switzerland (London, Allen & Unwin, 1955) were the two Swiss books, the former a revised and slightly enlarged version of an earlier booklet [See note 35] and the latter a translation of Gilliard's Que Sais Je ? volume. The third was American based Hans Kohn's Nationalism and Liberty. The Swiss Example (London, Allen & Unwin, 1956)

<sup>46</sup> B Bradfield A Pocket History of Switzerland (Zurich, Schweizer Spiegel Verlag, 1960 and The Making of Switzerland (again Schweizer Spiegel, 1964). Cf also K. Gautschi An Outline History of Switzerland (Zurich, Pro Helvetia, 1970)

publishers.<sup>47</sup> They included a new edition of William Martin's history with an oddly ordered appendix by Pierre Béguin taking the story from 1928 to 1970. However, nothing was really published on the *Sonderfall*, despite the fact that Swiss prosperity was making the country prohibitively expensive for visitors.

However, there was some publication on economic history.<sup>48</sup> Thus while the Cambridge Economic History of Europe had no chapters at all on Switzerland, despite the country's economic importance, the Fontana Economic History provided two significant chapters by Swiss historians. This made possible coverage of Switzerland in wider economic history though this was not always followed up. So, overall, what did come out was nothing like as extensive and commanding as the turn of the century productions.

### From the Mid 1970s to the Mid 1990s: The Consolidation of Professionalization

With one or two exceptions, writing for the general reader and visitor tailed away somewhat after this. However, the expansion of Universities meant that there was something of a revival in academic writing on Swiss history both in terms of books and articles. Hence the professionalization launched at Johns Hopkins, and encouraged by the introduction of the Ph D to the UK in the 1920s became increasingly significant in writings on Swiss history. Some of the new work pointed in interesting new directions.<sup>49</sup> There was also a good deal of writing on religious, military and socio-economic history. While this was valuable it tended to mean that sub-fields went their own way. And yet no new overall history appeared before the mid 1980s.<sup>50</sup>

In the 1960s and early 1970s there were studies of Switzerland in the Second World War,<sup>51</sup> of the Reformation<sup>52</sup> of culture<sup>53</sup> and on diplomacy.<sup>54</sup> The last included something not seen before, a version of a doctoral thesis; to wit one from the LSE on neutrality. Imlah in fact points out that English language writings pay little attention to Switzerland and sets out to try and correct this by focussing on a 'classic but not static period for neutrality, stretching from the Sonderbund through the Neuchâtel affairs, the Crimea, the refugee question and the Savoy crisis. Her view is that while neutrality was largely dictated by international politics, it was only successful because the Swiss wanted it, because it was an

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<sup>47</sup> G. Thurer Free and Swiss (London, Wolf, 1971) and W. Martin Switzerland from Roman Times (London, Elek, 1970)

<sup>48</sup> J. Rosen 'Prices and Politics in Basel, 1360-1535' Economic History Review 25 (1972). Cf also KB Mayer The Population of Switzerland (NY, Columbia UP 1952) which is a solid historical survey. In the Fontana history, edited by Carlo Cipolla, Basilio Biucchi discussed industrialization in Switzerland in Vol IV/2 (1973) 627-55 and HJ Siegenthaler 'Switzerland 1920-1970' in VI/2 (1976) 530-76. Bergier and Bairoch also made some reference to Switzerland in their general chapters on the working class and agriculture respectively in Vol II 397-51 and 452-506.

<sup>49</sup> Political scientists also showed some interest in Swiss history as with H. Daalder 'On building consociational nations: the cases of the Netherlands and Switzerland', International Social Science Journal xxiii/3 (1971) 355-70.

<sup>50</sup> There was a useful guide to the literature in H.K. and R.A. Meier's, Switzerland in the World Bibliographical Series (N.York, ABC-Clio, 1990)

<sup>51</sup> F Hartmann Swiss Press and Foreign Affairs in WW2 (Gainesville, University of Florida Press, 1960; J Kimche Spying for Peace (London, Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1961)

<sup>52</sup> E Monter Calvin's Geneva (London, Wiley 1967) and RM Kingdom Geneva and the Consolidation of the Protestant Movement (Geneva, Droz, 1967)

<sup>53</sup> PG Bretenholz Basle and France in the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Geneva, Droz, 1971) and B Milstein Eighteenth Century Reading Societies (Bern, Lang, 1972) which suggests that Von Mueller was a member.

<sup>54</sup> R Bullen, "Guizot and the 'Sonderbund' crisis, 1846-1848", English Historical Review LXXXVI(1971) 497-526; D.B. Horn 'Great Britain and Switzerland' op.cit. 310-26 and A Imlah Britain and Switzerland, 1845-60. A study of Anglo-Swiss relations during some critical years for Swiss neutrality (London: Longman, 1966).

element in national identity, hence from being 'neutralised' in 1815 the country moved freely to adopt neutrality as its strategy.

More significant than these, however, were two ground breaking studies of Alpine democracy which deserve consideration even if they essentially treat only a single canton.<sup>55</sup> Barber's book is an innovative work of what he calls historical sociology. After a narrative of Graubünden history he analyses first how the impact of feudalism, rather than geography produced many autonomous, face to face communes and then how these were hit by modernity and depopulation, a process he sees inherent in all of Switzerland in the last century.<sup>56</sup> Billigmeier looks at this process from the point of view of the Romansch language, outlining the linguistic background of the canton, arguing that it was the Romansch speaking villages which gave the Graubünden its character, and then tracing the emergence of the language movement. His main point was that Swiss pluralism can only do so much to help the language. Other policies are also needed. All this may well have been influenced by the emergence of the Jura question in Swiss politics.

At roughly the same time there were a good many publications on ecclesiastical history, some of them of considerable importance.<sup>57</sup> Thus Ozment uses Swiss examples to illustrate his thesis that people turned to Protestantism because of its liberating effects in the cities. In Turning Swiss Brady looks at the failure of South German cities to follow the Swiss example and either establish autonomy or even join the Confederacy. In fact they took the Habsburg side in 1499, fearing to be associated with radical rural states like those of UrSchweiz. This was followed by a revised chapter on the Anabaptists in the second edition of the New Cambridge Modern History volume on the Reformation, which gave more room to Swiss developments than its predecessor.<sup>58</sup> And, more generally, writings on the Swiss Protestantism showed a new interest in the social aspects of the Reformation, in line with some of the new trends in western historiography.<sup>59</sup>

Historians also began to give their minds to Swiss politics at this time. The Middle Ages gets some treatment by Everdell and, more significantly, by Head's works focussing on the Graubunden in the early modern period.<sup>60</sup> Head shows that, on the evidence of the

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<sup>55</sup> B. Barber The Death of Communal Liberty (Princeton UP 1974) and R. B. Billigmeier A Crisis in Swiss Pluralism: The Romansh and their relations with the German- and Italian-Swiss etc (Hague, Mouton, 1979)

<sup>56</sup> K. Deutsch & H. Weilemann in 'The Valais' Orbis (1967) 1269-97 had already done something similar, explaining the emergence of autonomous communes in the Upper Valais and the way they were ultimately brought under cantonal control.

<sup>57</sup> S. Ozment The Reformation in the Cities (Yale UP, 1980) and T. Brady Turning Swiss (Cambridge UP 1985) Cf also. *inter alia*, T. Stunt, 'Geneva and British Evangelicals in the Early Nineteenth Century', Journal of Ecclesiastical History 1981 32(1): 35-46; E. McKee, 'Alexander Vinet On Religious Liberty and the Separation of Church and State' Journal of Church & State 1986 28(1): 95-106; E. W. Monter Ritual, Myth and Magic (Harvester 1983) and J. W. Baker, 'Church, State, and Dissent: The Crisis of the Swiss Reformation, 1531-1536', Church History, 57/2 (1988) 135-152

<sup>58</sup> J. M. Stayer 'The Anabaptists and the Sects' 118-44 in G. R. Elton (ed) The Reformation (Cambridge, CUP, 1990)

<sup>59</sup> J. R. Watt 'The Reception of the Reformation in Valangin' Sixteenth Century Journal 20 (1989) 89-104; 'Divorce in early modern Neuchâtel' Journal of Family History 14 (1989) 137-55; and The Making of Modern Marriage: Matrimonial Control and the rise of Sentiment in Neuchâtel, 1550-1800 (NY, Cornell UP, 1992), amongst a large number of other writings. Cf also L. P. Wandel Always Among Us: Images of the Poor in Zwingli's Zurich. (Cambridge University Press, 1990) and Voracious Idols and Violent Hands: Iconoclasm in Reformation Zurich, Strasbourg, and Basel. (Cambridge University Press, 1994)

<sup>60</sup> W. R. Everdell. The End of Kings : a history of republics and republicans (NY: Free Press, 1983); R. C. Head, Early Modern Democracy in the Grisons: Social Order and Political Language in a Swiss Mountain Canton, 1470-1620 (Cambridge UP, 1995). This was translated into German in 2001. Cf also his 'William Tell and his comrades: association and fraternity in the propaganda of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Switzerland' Journal of Modern History 1995 67(3): 527-557

pamphlets of the time, the people of the Rhaetian Freestate had a strongly democratic political culture which led to the strengthening of communal authority and responsibility. This was shaped by the Grison's own setting and by the way it developed. Unfortunately the culture was not always strong enough to withstand the buffeting it received in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

There was some consideration of the origins of Swiss national consciousness.<sup>61</sup> The Regeneration was also briefly covered while the civil war of 1847 received a major treatment.<sup>62</sup> Remak, in a well illustrated volume, thus argued that paradoxically the conflict it actually contributed to cohesion and stability not division. Nineteenth century liberalism also received a major treatment with the translation from the German of Gordon Craig's study of Zurich.<sup>63</sup> Craig took Swiss liberalism as a model because of the way it used the national question to build on the gains of the 1830s, its resilience and its ability to reconcile material development with a febrile intellectual and cultural life. Other aspects of 19<sup>th</sup> century Swiss politics also received some coverage at this time.<sup>64</sup> Where the 20<sup>th</sup> century was concerned the threat from the left came under the microscope.<sup>65</sup> Thus there was a consideration of Lenin's time in Zurich while Senn covered a controversial political murder in Lausanne in the 1920s. The Second World War also began to get some attention.<sup>66</sup> An introductory account of post 1945 history was provided by Church.<sup>67</sup> And, while generally diplomatic history was neglected, military matters did appear from time to time.<sup>68</sup>

What was more unusual was the appearance, alongside a number of historiographical works<sup>69</sup> of a good number of social and economic studies. These appeared mainly in the 1990s and increasingly came from Swiss authors.<sup>70</sup> This symbolized

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<sup>61</sup> D. Frei, 'The Politics of the Artificial Past etc' in J.C.Eades (ed) Romantic Nationalism in Europe (Canberra, Humanities Research Centre, ANU, 1983) 116-133 and C.C.Orr 'The Swiss Romantic Movement' in R.Porter & M. Teich (eds) Romantic Nationalism in Historic Context (Cambridge, CUP, 1988) 134-69

<sup>62</sup> C.H.Church Europe in 1830 (Allen & Unwin, 1983); J Remak A Very Civil War : the Swiss Sonderbund War of 1847 Boulder, Col., Westview Press, 1993.

<sup>63</sup> G. A. Craig. The Triumph of Liberalism : Zurich in the golden age, 1830-1869 (N York, Scribner's 1990)

<sup>64</sup> D.Bohm 'The Failure of the Radical left' Comparative Political Studies 1986 and K. Kobach, The Referendum: Direct Democracy in Switzerland, (Aldershot, Dartmouth, 1993)

<sup>65</sup> O.Luening 'Lenin in Zurich.' Partisan Review 1980 47(4): 587-590; VE Senn Assassination in Switzerland (Madison, U of Wisconsin Press 1981)

<sup>66</sup> A. Read Operation Lucy (London, Hodder & Stoughton, 1980) and HK. Meier 'Intelligence Operations in Switzerland during The Second World War'. Swiss American Historical Society Newsletter 1984 20(1): 21-42

<sup>67</sup> C.H. Church 'The Political and Economic Development of Switzerland, 1945-1991' in M. Butler & M.Pender (eds) Rejection and Emancipation (N York / Oxford, Berg, 1991) 7-23. This account has subsequently been updated, on a continuing basis, in Europa's annual Western Europe handbooks.

<sup>68</sup> D. Miller The Swiss at War 1300-1500 (London, Osprey, Men at War Series, 1979); J. Stussi-Lauterburg 'The Swiss Military System and Neutrality in the Seventeenth Century As Seen By Contemporary Europe' War & Society 1984 2(2): 19-26; and G.D. Reiss 'Fortification in Switzerland from 1860 to 1945' Fort - The International Journal of Fortification 1993 21: 19-53; and J.. McCormack One Million mercenaries: Swiss soldiers in the armies of the world (London : Leo Cooper, 1993).

<sup>69</sup> R.W.Scribner 'Communalism: Universal Category Or Ideological Construct: A Debate In The Historiography of Modern Germany and Switzerland' Historical Journal 1994 37(1): 199-207 and JC Favez 'Between Myth And Memory: Swiss History and the Present Day' Contemporary European History 1994 3(3): 355-365; J Steinberg loc.cit also discusses this at 14-15.

<sup>70</sup> Two early exceptions to this pattern were P. Bernholz 'Inflation and Monetary Constitutions in Historical Perspective' Kyklos 1983 36(3): 397-419 and P & H Zacher, The Evolution of Social Insurance, 1881-1981: Studies of Germany, France, Great Britain, Austria and Switzerland (NY, St

the way that Swiss historiography was changing, partially under the influence of the 'Annales' approach and partly building on earlier discordant Swiss voices.<sup>71</sup> English speaking authors did, however, produce a study of Gruyère cheese-makers, possibly the first discussion of Switzerland in a popular English historical magazine, and a consideration of the Swiss underclass.<sup>72</sup> Most of the studies originating in Switzerland were devoted to the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>73</sup> The subjects covered included gender, labour mobility and management.<sup>74</sup> Of particular interest to English readers was Tissot's study of the mechanisms underlying English dominance in the making of Swiss tourism.<sup>75</sup>

Some of this was summarised in more general works in the 1970s and after. However, chapters in two more general works on Switzerland probably had more impact than most of this on the way people thought about Swiss history.<sup>76</sup> Christopher Hughes, then the UK's sole specialist in Swiss politics, wrote both to help the traveller who wishes to understand with his mind and not just with his eyes and to see what lessons might be drawn to help his own hard pressed country. In fact he devoted two chapters to Swiss history one on the Ancien Regime and the other on 'Modern Times', although he eschewed a strictly narrative approach. Rather he picked out a series of crucial dates and reflected upon them in his unusual way, hoping to avoid the tendentiousness of some short histories. For him the early Confederation survived because it provided sufficient unity of peoples against outsiders and sufficient unity of oligarchies against rural dissidence at home. Since 1798 new institutions, lobbies and even the Sonderbund war are seen as factors helping to maintain Switzerland until the modernization of the post war period.

Jonathan Steinberg, an American who taught for many years in Cambridge, also, in his one historical chapter, addresses the question as to why Switzerland survived the French revolution, the ravages of nationalism and the two world wars. This is largely a narrative treatment, but a not strictly chronological one but it is shot through with analyses of events and their significance. For him neutrality was an insufficient explanation for Swiss survival, and he looks initially at communal economic organization and military prowess. From the 16<sup>th</sup> century onward the development of a deep equilibrium developed, and after the turbulence of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, political stability came very rapidly. He also argues that Switzerland is different and valuable because it has managed to preserve pre-modern features which have vanished elsewhere. The fact that his book was reprinted six times and is often cited suggests that his views must have had a real impact on Anglo-Saxon ideas of

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Martins, 1982)

<sup>71</sup> Church, 'Outlines of Swiss Historiography', unpublished mss in progress.

<sup>72</sup> D. Birmingham 'Gruyere's Cheesemakers' History Today 1991 41(feb): 21-26 and J.C.Davis 'Coping with the Underclasses: Venice, Lille, and Zurich in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries' ; Journal of Urban History 1993 19(4): 116-122

<sup>73</sup> The one exception was F.Galler 'The Devaluation of the Swiss Franc in 1936' Journal of Psychohistory 1990 17(3): 257-265

<sup>74</sup> B. Kuhn, 'Public Welfare and Labour Mobility: the Case of Britain (1349-1834), Prussia (1696-1871) and Switzerland (1848-1975)' Journal of European Economic History 1992 21(2): 315-324; M. Müller, 'Good Luck or Good Management? Multigenerational Family Control in two Swiss Enterprises since the 19th Century' Entreprises Et Histoire 1996 (12): 19-47; and P. Sarasin 'Domination, Gender Difference and National Myths: the Discursive Structure of Bourgeois Identity in the Basel Pageant of 1892'. German History 1996 14 (2) 141-67

<sup>75</sup> L. Tissot 'How Did The British Conquer Switzerland? Guidebooks, Railways, Travel Agencies, 1850-1914' Journal of Transport History 1995 16(1): 21-54

<sup>76</sup> C.J.Hughes, Switzerland (London Benn/Nations of the Modern World, 1975) 76-127; J.Steinberg Why Switzerland? (Cambridge CUP, first edition 1976; second, enlarged and illustrated edition, 1996). As noted in footnote 65, the latter adds an interesting assessment of Swiss 'revisionist' historiography and a discussion of the extent to which Switzerland gained from the Second World War at 14-15.

Switzerland.

Conversely longer works did not apparently have as much impact. This was true of the first Anglo-Saxon authored global history of Switzerland for over thirty years, the massive 900 page illustrated History of Switzerland: The First 100,000 years by Murray Luck which appeared a few years later.<sup>77</sup> Despite its rather silly sub title, Luck, a Professor of Chemistry turned US Cultural Attaché in Berne, does not really suggest that there was a Swiss state from prehistoric times. Indeed he devotes only a third of his narrative to the pre 1500 era focussing more on the modern period. And this narrative is only half the book, the rest being devoted to a set of thematic studies of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In fact the narrative really stops in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century so that little was said either about Swiss politics from the introduction of the initiative in 1891 or, more surprisingly, about the Second World War.

Overall, Luck's Switzerland is not a very political one. Prior to the 20<sup>th</sup> century his concentration is mainly on external relations rather than on internal politics. Thus little is said about the Regeneration or the way that political harmony was achieved after 1848. However, he does highlight 18<sup>th</sup> century disturbances as the beginnings of a revolutionary movement, helping to prepare 1798. The Reformation is attributed to a general desire for religious awakening. And all through the narrative tends to halt to give way to thematic treatments, notably on demography, neutrality, and public health. Analysis is less developed.

His coverage draws on a wide range of sources, notably the chronicles, travellers accounts and standard histories, tied in to his extensive, descriptive, notes by a system of enumeration. So there is a good deal of information for other historians and readers to mine in his book. And his judgements are usually considered and sensible, However, overall, it becomes very difficult to see the overall tree of vision in the forest of detail. About this time other histories of Switzerland were planned in England, notably by Michael Hurst of Oxford, but illness and other factors prevented their publication.<sup>78</sup> So, despite the appearance of the first edition of a new and widely distributed historical guide was published by Pro Helvetia, the gains of increased professionalization were only rarely made widely available.<sup>79</sup>

## Into the New Century: Expansion and Revaluation

Many of these trends continued into the new century. Thus the volume of works recorded increased still further as did the number published by Swiss authors, some of whom now started writing in English in Swiss journals as globalized professionalization spread. The Reformation and social and economic history remained major sources of interest, somewhat more so than writings on the more political aspects of Swiss history. However, what was most notable, reflecting events in the Swiss arena, was the surge of - mainly critical - writings on the Second World War and notably on Swiss dealings with the Nazis and Jewish assets. At the same time there was the beginnings of a new interest in the making of Swiss identity. Unfortunately, little of this was summarized in overall histories. And it does not seem, as has been claimed, that from the 1990s English speaking historians have moved into

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<sup>77</sup> J.Murray Luck, History of Switzerland: The First 100,000 years. From the Beginnings to the Days of the Present. (Palo Alto, SPOS, 1985)

<sup>78</sup> Illness prevented Hurst's work while Church's plan to replace Bonjour, Potter & Offler only reached a couple of chapters, due to other commitments. JF Bergier is also said to have turned down the chance to write a summative history at about this time. But cf C.H.Church 'Realities and Images in Swiss History and Culture' unpublished mss (1985) and 'Introduction to the History of Switzerland' in I Robertson (ed) Blue Guide: Switzerland 3rd ed (London, Black, 1987) In Switzerland an illustrated study was translated into English eg F. auf der Maur & M. Niederhauser, Switzerland past and present (Berne, Kümmerly & Frey, 1983)

<sup>79</sup> D Farhni An Outline History of Switzerland (Zurich, Pro Helvetia, 1983)

Swiss social and cultural history in a big way, helping thereby to rejuvenate Swiss historical writing. Writing on Swiss history remained the exception rather than the rule while Swiss historians were capable of developing new approaches without needing to be showed the way.

Where the Reformation was concerned the major event was Gordon's overall survey.<sup>80</sup> This sees things in terms of the Reformation in Switzerland, a jumble of alliances and not a single Swiss state. So although Gordon argues that Zwingli caused the Reformation, he gives much attention to local developments both initially and in the elaboration of a new religious culture. And, while Calvin is played down, there is a good deal of valuable coverage of other aspects of Swiss history. However, more specialized studies on Calvin's Geneva also continued to emerge as did work on both Berne and Basle.<sup>81</sup> Basle is also the centre of the growing number of local studies of toleration in the post Reformation era.<sup>82</sup> This is an emerging theme of Randolph Head's writings on the Graubünden and its popularity possibly says something about the evolution of western society today.

Social and economic historical writing, mostly by Swiss, also reflected new trends. Indeed, there was a debate on the best methods to be used in social history.<sup>83</sup> Thus the origins of banking secrecy, which became a burning topic at the turn of the century because of differences with the EU, were examined in some detail.<sup>84</sup> Equally, women's studies began to make an appearance, thanks again to Swiss historians.<sup>85</sup> There was also an interest

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<sup>80</sup> B. Gordon, The Swiss Reformation (Manchester, MUP/New Frontiers in History, 2002). Cf also L. Harder The Sources of Swiss Anabaptism: The Grebel Letters and Related Documents. (Eugene, OR, Wipf & Stock, 2001) and J.R.Watt Choosing death: suicide and Calvinism in early modern Geneva. (Kirksville, Mo. Truman State UP, 2001)

<sup>81</sup> On Geneva see, inter alia, M. Valeri 'Religion, Discipline, and the Economy in Calvin's Geneva' Sixteenth Century Journal 1997 28(1): 123-142 and J. Witte & R.M. Kingdon Sex, Marriage, and Family in John Calvin's Geneva (Grand Rapids, Mich. Eerdmans, c2005. Cf also G.Ehrstine Theater, culture, and community in Reformation Bern, 1523- 1555 (Leiden, Brill, 2002) and A.N.Burnett, Teaching the Reformation: Ministers and Their Message in Basel, 1529-1629.(Oxford, OUP, 2006)

<sup>82</sup> H.R. Guggisberg, Tolerance and intolerance in sixteenth-century Basle 2002, Cambridge University Press, 2002); D. Hacke, 'Church, space and conflict: religious co-existence and political communication in seventeenth-century Switzerland'. German History 2007, v.25 (no. 3), 285-312 and R.Head 'Religious coexistence and confessional conflict in the Vier Dörfer: practices of toleration in Eastern Switzerland, 1525-1615," in John C. Laursen and Cary J. Nederman, eds., Beyond the Persecuting Society: Religious Toleration before the Enlightenment (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 145-165 and 'Catholics and Protestants In Graubünden: Confessional Discipline and Confessional Identities without an Early Modern State?'; German History 1999 17(3): 321-345.

<sup>83</sup> H. Rebel, 'What Do The Peasants Want Now? Realists and Fundamentalists in Swiss and South German Rural Politics, 1650-1750' Central European History 2001 34(3): 313-356 and A. Suter 'Theories And Methods for a Social History Of Historical Events: A Reply To Hermann Rebel' Central European History 2001 34(3): 383-418

<sup>84</sup> S. Guex 'The Origins of the Swiss Banking Secrecy Law and its Repercussions for Swiss Federal Policy'. Business History Review 2000 74(2): 237-266 and R. Vogler, 'The Genesis of Swiss Banking Secrecy: Political and Economic Environment'. Financial History Review 2001 8(1): 73-84.

<sup>85</sup> C. Wirz, 'A historical memory for women: the Gosteli archive documents more than one hundred years of Swiss women's history' Journal of Women's History 2000 (Spring), v.12 (no. 1), p165-72 together with S.Burghartz 'Tales of Seduction, Tales of Violence: Argumentative Strategies Before The Basel Marriage Court', German History 1999 17(1): 41-56; U.Pfister 'Women's Bread - Men's Capital: The Domestic Economy of Small Textile Entrepreneurs in Rural Zurich in the 17th and 18th Centuries' . History of the Family 2001 6(2): 147-166 and AF Praz, 'Four Swiss Villages, 1860-1930: Putting Gender back into Historical Demography', Gender & History 2007 19(2): 242-259

in the actual size of the past Swiss economy.<sup>86</sup> Finally, there were two significant local studies, one on intellectual life in Basle and the other on Chateau d'Oex as a microcosm of Swiss history.<sup>87</sup> Birmingham's study, having been reprinted in paperback, has had a wide impact. It covers the evolution of the village from an isolated community, largely supported by cheese making, to a one linked up by tourism to wider circuits and events, some of which had a significant effect on the community in question.

As to more traditional political history there was an important contribution on the later Middle Ages with Sablonier's chapter in the New Cambridge Mediaeval History.<sup>88</sup> This argues, building on new thinking on Swiss historiography, that the Confederation only really emerged as a distinct political entity around 1500, thanks in part to the *Stanser Verkommis* of 1481, and even then it can only be thought of as a state with great reservations. Two other eras seem to have been of interest at the turn of the century, the Revolutionary era and the immediate post war period when Switzerland uneasily manoeuvred to find an appropriate place within emerging power relations.<sup>89</sup> Thus there has been quite an interest in Swiss relations with NATO, which were often closer than neutrality would lead us to assume.<sup>90</sup> A major new study of the Red Cross also throws some light on 19<sup>th</sup> century Swiss history.<sup>91</sup> Equally, a collective work of 1998 prints useful articles by Swiss historians on 1848 in Switzerland.<sup>92</sup>

Related to all this, but also perhaps influenced by the growing strength of the Swiss People's Party and its stress on defending Swiss traditions, changing nature of Swiss politics there has been a new interest in the formation of Swiss identity.<sup>93</sup> A major part in this has been played by Oliver Zimmer, an Oxford historian, in a major book and a series of

<sup>86</sup> F. Andrist et al 'Real output in Switzerland: new estimates for 1914-47' Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis 2000 (5-6), v.82 (no. 3), 43-70 and S & P. Gerlach 'Estimates of real economic activity in Switzerland, 1886-1930' Empirical Economics 2005 (10), v.30 (no. 3), 763 -82. Cf also S. Paquier 'Swiss Holding Companies from the mid-Nineteenth Century to the early 1930s' Financial History Review 2001 8(2): 163-182

<sup>87</sup> L. Gossman, Basel in the Age of Burckhardt: A Study in Unseasonable Ideas, (Chicago, U. of Chicago Pr, 2000) and D. Birmingham, Switzerland: A Village History. (London/ N.York, Palgrave/ St. Martin's Press, 2000) . Cf also B Kumin 'Public Houses and Civic Tensions in Early Modern Bern' Urban History 2007 34(1): 89-101

<sup>88</sup> R.Sablonier 'The Swiss Confederation 1415-1500' NCMH Vol VII ed C Allmand (1998) 645-70. This is one of the few texts to bring recent Swiss historiographical debates before an Anglo-Saxon readership. But cf R.Head 'Shared Lordship, Authority, And Administration: The Exercise Of Dominion In The 'Gemeine Herrschaften' of the Swiss Confederation, 1417-1600' Central European History 1997 30(4): 489-512 .

<sup>89</sup> H. Blanton 'The Swiss Option: Grand Strategy and Allied Disharmony' Consortium on Revolutionary Europe 1750-1850 (1997) 513-524; D D Howard 'Zurich, Massena and Brumaire, 1799' Consortium on Revolutionary Europe 1750-1850: 2000: 191-196 ; A.C. Offord 'Military Conscription: A Yardstick of the Genevans' Acceptance of the Napoleonic System of Government?' European Review of History 2000 7(1): 7-31; and M Lerner "The Helvetic Republic: An Ambivalent Reception of French Revolutionary Liberty," French History 18/ 1 (2004): 50-75.

<sup>90</sup> On EFTA see R. Steininger '1961: Europe 'at Sixes and Sevens': The European Free Trade Association, the Neutrals, and Great Britain's Decision to join the E.E.C' Journal of European Economic History 1997 26(3) 535-68 and R.Maurhofer, 'Revisiting the creation of EFTA: the British and the Swiss case' Journal of European integration history 2001, v.7 (no. 2), 65 -85. On NATO see M. Mantovani, 'Another 'Special Relationship': The British-Swiss Early Cold War Coordination of Defence (1947-53)' Diplomacy & Statecraft 1999 10(1): 127-146; and D. Ganser NATO's Secret Armies: Operation Gladio and Terrorism (London, Cass, 2005) . On Swiss military history in general see also J Charnley The Swiss and War (Berne, Lang, 1999)

<sup>91</sup> C Moorehead Dunant's Dream London, Harper Collins, 1998

<sup>92</sup> M Butler et al (ed) The Making of Modern Switzerland, 1848-1998 (Basingstoke, Macmillan 2000)

<sup>93</sup> This built on an earlier set of essays by Bouvier, Craig and Gossman, originally presented at a 1991 anniversary seminar: Geneva, Zurich, Basel: history, culture & national identity (Princeton, N.J. : Princeton University Press, c1994).

articles.<sup>94</sup> His argument is that Swiss national identity emerged in the mid 18<sup>th</sup> century and rests on a mixture of voluntarist and organic factors, to wit civic exceptionalism and naturalist nationalism, with the Alps playing a large part in the latter. Popular cultural traditions, socio-economic divisions and popular debate are also involved. Other roots of identity recently examined by others include borders, conscription, exhibitions and locality.<sup>95</sup> However, perhaps not surprisingly other authors point to the Second World War as a crucial element in contemporary Swiss identity.<sup>96</sup> DeJung sees recent events as liberating memories drowned out by the received view of ‘an innocent and resisting nation’.

This reflects what is, without doubt, the major trend in English language writing on Swiss history in recent years, the focus on the Swiss role in the Second World War, arising out of the pressures brought on the country – mainly by the World Jewish Congress - over its treatment of assets seized from Jews by the Nazis, both during the war and thereafter. These were said to have been deliberately overlooked and concealed, down to trying to shred documents. This pressure eventually led both to deals between both state and banks and Jewish claimants and the creation of a professional committee of enquiry into Switzerland’s role in the war.<sup>97</sup> It is likely that the resulting furore brought contemporary Swiss history to the attention of far more Anglo-Saxons than might otherwise have been the case, not always with positive results. Indeed, some authorities think that it fundamentally changed appreciations of the Swiss for the worse. From thinking that Switzerland had a ‘good war’ much opinion veered towards seeing it as less than neutral, hostile to Jews and refugees and, then and thereafter, avaricious and grasping.<sup>98</sup> And, by its actions, Switzerland is accused of having both funded the Nazi war effort and prolonged the war.

This shift was due to the large number of often hostile book length assessments which came out, not all of which were strictly historical in nature. Initially, in fact, there was a wave of very hostile studies of the way the Swiss, and especially the banks, had handled

<sup>94</sup> O Zimmer A Contested Nationalism (CUP 2003) together with ‘In Search of Natural Identity: Alpine Landscape and the Reconstruction of the Swiss Nation’. Comparative Studies in Society & History 1998 40(4): 637-665; ‘In search of the authentic nation: landscape and national identity in Canada and Switzerland’ (with E. Kaufmann) Nations and Nationalism 4/4 (1998) 483-510; ‘Competing Memories of the Nation’ Past & Present 2000 (168): 194-226; and ‘A Unique Fusion of the Natural and the Man-Made: The Trajectory of Swiss Nationalism, 1933-39’ Journal of Contemporary History 39/1 (2004) 5-24

<sup>95</sup> J M Callaghan & F.Kernic ‘Conscription in Citizenship Identity in Austria and Switzerland’ Osterreichische Militarische Zeitschrift 2001 39(2): 189-198; R.Torriani ‘The dynamics of national identity: a comparison of the Swiss national exhibitions of 1939 and 1964’ Journal of Contemporary History 2002 (10), v.37 (no. 4), 559-75; H.A.Schmitt ‘The Primacy of Local Allegiances in Divided Communities: Two Case Studies on the Swiss Border with France and Germany’ Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism 2002 29(1-2): 1-11 and J. Hartley-Moore ‘The Song Of Gryon: Political Ritual, Local Identity, and the Consolidation of Nationalism in Multiethnic Switzerland’ Journal of American Folklore 2007 120(476): 204-229. C.Tilly, ‘Switzerland as a Special Case’ in his Contention and Democracy (Cambridge, CUP, 2004) also offers a political scientists assessment of Swiss particularities in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>96</sup> J. Petropoulos ‘Business as usual: Switzerland, the Commerce in artworks during and after World War II, and National Identity’ Contemporary Austrian Studies 1999/ 7: 229-243 and, especially, C. DeJung ‘Dissonant memories: national identity, political power, and the commemoration of World War Two in Switzerland’. Oral History 2007 (Autumn), v.35 (no. 2), 57-66

<sup>97</sup> The Independent Commission of Experts: Switzerland - Second World War (ICE) chaired by Prof. Jean François Bergier, produced 23 studies in French and German plus a Final Report also published in English: Switzerland, National Socialism and the Second World War Final Report (Zurich, Pendo, 2002). Cf also <http://www.uek.ch/en/index.htm>

<sup>98</sup> T. Judt op. cit 813-4

the question of Nazi gold and Jewish assets.<sup>99</sup> Most of these were written by non-Swiss and, very often, their drift is all too plain in their titles. Space does not allow for further comment.

Not surprisingly there was a less extreme response to this, again often written by non-Swiss and concentrating on the Swiss situation during the war.<sup>100</sup> They also looked more closely at neutrality and at German intentions towards Switzerland. Equally authors like Wylie examine Swiss diplomacy fairly carefully.<sup>101</sup> In Swiss dealings with Britain he suggests that while Switzerland, faced with its own pressing problems and fiercely defending its own immediate interests, was not able to live up to British expectations, it was treated relatively sympathetically. On the one hand this was due to the persistence of old ideas about Switzerland, derived from happier days, coupled with hopes that the Swiss would repay diplomatic support in earlier eras. On the other hand, the need for access to Swiss manufacturing, finance and humanitarian assistance, especially needed by British forces, encouraged the British to be selective and sympathetic to the Swiss, even when they played hard ball.

Wylie is also well represented in the emerging literature on the role of intelligence in Swiss relations during the war.<sup>102</sup> Indeed he argues that gaining access to secret intelligence

<sup>99</sup> In chronological order: A. LeBor Hitler's Secret Bankers: How Swiss Banks Profited from Nazi Genocide. (London, Birch Lane Press, 1997); T. Bower, Nazi Gold: The Full Story of the Fifty-Year Swiss-Nazi Conspiracy to Steal Billions from Europe's Jews and Holocaust Survivors. London/N.York, HarperCollins, 1997); I. Vincent, Hitler's Silent Partners. Swiss Banks, Nazi Gold, and the Pursuit of Justice (New York: W. Morrow, 1997) ; G.J. Rickman Swiss Banks and Jewish Souls. Piscataway, NJ, Transaction Books 1999); I. Levin The Last Deposit: The Swiss Banks and Holocaust Victims' Accounts. (Greenwood Press, 1999); P. Braillard, Switzerland and the crisis of dormant assets and Nazi gold (London, Kegan Paul International, 2000); S.P.Halbrook, Target Switzerland. Swiss Armed Neutrality in World War II. (NYork, Sarpedon/Da Capo Press Inc, 2003) and R.Ludi, Why Switzerland?' - remarks on a neutral's role in the Nazi program of robbery and allied postwar restitution policy . N. York, Berghahn Books, 2007) were the main titles. There were also articles as such as P.B.Miller, 'Europe's Gold: Nazis, Neutrals and the Holocaust' Journal of Holocaust Studies 1997 11(1): 7-14

<sup>100</sup> G L Weinberg, 'German Plans and Policies regarding Neutral Nations in World War II with Special Reference to Switzerland' German Studies Review 1999 22(1): 99-103; J. Petropoulos 'Co-opting Nazi Germany: Neutrality in Europe during World War II' Dimensions: A Journal of Holocaust Studies 1997 11(1): 15-21; L.Schelbert, Switzerland Under Siege (Rockport Me, Picton Press, 2000); G Kreis (ed) Switzerland and the Second World War (London, Routledge, 2000); A.Codevilla, Between the Alps and a Hard Place: Switzerland in World War II and Moral Blackmail Today. (Washington, DC: Regnery, 2000); K. Urner, Let's swallow Switzerland!: Hitler's plans against the Swiss Confederation Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2001) ; GA Chevallaz The Challenge of Neutrality (Harvey Fergusson, 2001); D.P.Hilty, Retrospectives on Switzerland in World War Two (Rockport Me, Picton, 2001); R.Prior & T.Wilson 'Lesser Powers among the Big Powers: Eastern Europe, Switzerland and the Second World War. Journal of Contemporary History 2002 37(3): 479-487; and R.Ludi 'Demystification or Restoration of Neutrality? Confronting The History of the Nazi Era in Switzerland' Holocaust Studies: A Journal of Culture & History 2005 11(3) 23-51.

<sup>101</sup> N. Wylie Britain, Switzerland and WW2 (Oxford, OUP, 2003) following on, inter alia; 'Pilet-Golaz and the Making of Swiss Foreign Policy' Schweizerische Zeitschrift fur Geschichte 1997 47(4): 608-620; and 'Marcel Pilet-Golaz, David Kelly and Anglo-Swiss Relations in 1940' Diplomacy & Statecraft 1997 8(1): 49-79

<sup>102</sup> H. Fulmer 'German espionage vs Switzerland in WW2' Relations Internationales 78 (1994) 215-39; N. Wylie 'Keeping the Swiss Sweet': Intelligence as a Factor in British Policy towards Switzerland' Intelligence & National Security 1996 11(3): 442-467; D.Alvarez, 'Intelligence And The European Neutrals, 1939-45'. Intelligence & National Security 1997; D.M. Segesser, 'Common Doctrine Rather than Secret Staff Conversations: Military Co-Operation Between France and Switzerland in the 1920s and 1930s'. War in History 2003 10(1): 60-91; P.T Braunschweig Secret Channel to Berlin: The Masson-Schellenberg Connection and Swiss Intelligence in WWII (Casemate Books, 2004); N.Wylie 'No Immunity: Signals Intelligence and the European. British Smuggling Operations fFrom Switzerland, 1940-1944' Historical Journal 2005 48(4): 1077-1102 ; N. Wylie 'The Importance of

was yet another factor in the relatively benevolent British attitude to Switzerland. A second spin off from this revived interest in the war years was research into domestic Swiss relations with Nazism before and during the war.<sup>103</sup> Although there are two good critical appreciation of some of the main contribution to the debate, there is no single assessment of the whole question.<sup>104</sup> And former British Europe Minister Denis McShane rightly observes, however, that no work on Switzerland has established a wide spread popular readership and recognition so that the impact of the debate is limited.

In any case, overall, there has been so much writing on such issues over the last ten years or so that it has been hard to summarize and introduce into a new general narrative. There has been however, one – remarkably expensive - three volume history of Switzerland, very much axed to prehistory and early mediaeval history.<sup>105</sup> Rather like Luck it alternates political narrative with socio-economic considerations, although there is not a lot of analysis. And the material seems to be derived mainly from works of an earlier era, references to recent works being very limited. Again, as with Luck, there is no narrative for the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, only a series of essays on the cantons, diplomacy, economy, education, identity, politics and religion. This means that treatment of the Nazi Gold phase is scattered about the third volume. So, overall while there is a lot of material there, no clear and convincing picture of Swiss history.

This is also true of some of the other general writings in recent years.<sup>106</sup> Thus Lister surveys the evolving nature of the Confederation as a security system, mainly in the late middle ages, but also between 1815 and 1847. This offers a view of the changing nature of Swiss federalism. A recent short history in French for tourists has been translated into English, which echoes some old ideas, while Pro-Helvetia's booklet has also been updated to take account of the new work on the Second World War. More significantly, Schelbert has produced a very useful, if excessively expensive, manual for people working on Swiss history.<sup>107</sup> How much it will be used in the future is uncertain, such are the continuing problems for Anglo-Saxon work on Swiss history.

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being Honest': Switzerland, Neutrality and the Problems of Intelligence Collection and Liaison. Intelligence & National Security 2006 21(5): 782-808

<sup>103</sup> R. Scheck 'Swiss Funding for the Early Nazi Movement: Motivation, Context and Continuities' Journal of Modern History 1999 71(4): 793-813 and J.Picard 'Switzerland, National Socialist Policy and the Legacy of History' , Journal of Holocaust Education 2000 9(2-3): 103-145 .

<sup>104</sup> A.Schwarzenbach 'Victims, Veterans and Cuckoo Clocks: Recent Books on Switzerland and the Second World War' Contemporary European History 2005 14(2): 259-270 which looks at the Nazi gold and ICE side of things and N.Wylie , 'Life between the Volcanoes' Historical Journal 1995 38(3): 759-767 which helpfully assesses the military and diplomatic aspects of Switzerland's wartime experience. Cf also D.MacShane, 'Britain, Switzerland and the Second World War' International Affairs 82/3 (2006), 567-73

<sup>105</sup> F Dame History of Switzerland 3 vols (Lampeter, Edwin Mellon Press, 2000/1). The first volume covers prehistory, the second goes from Roman times to 1815 and the last covers more recent times.

<sup>106</sup> F.K. Lister The Early Security Confederations: From the Ancient Greeks to the United Colonies of New England (Westport CT, Greenwood Press, 1999) 68-91 and The Later Security Confederations (Greenwood 2001) 99-120. The latter covers the period from 1798 until 1848 when, for Lister, Switzerland became a full Federation. NB also J. Kuntz Switzerland. How an Alpine Pass became a Nation (Geneva, Historiator, 2008).

<sup>107</sup> L. Schelbert, Leo. Historical Dictionary of Switzerland (Plymouth, Scarecrow Press, 2007). This could well be helpfully supplemented in the future by a projected one volume English language selection of cantonal and other key articles from the Dictionnaire Historique de la Suisse/Historisches Lexicon, available at <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/index.php?lg=f>. A useful brief summary of Swiss historiography is also now available eg G de Syon 'Switzerland'in K.Boyd (ed) Encyclopaedia of Historiography and Historical Writing (1999) 2, 1162

## A Final Assessment

Anglo-Saxon writing about Swiss history has now been going on for about 250 years. It started as a limited exploration – usually in drum and trumpet mode - of the libertarian tradition of Switzerland but by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century it was treating the country much more as a model and on a more regular basis. Come 1945 much writing took on a more defensive tone, impelled by the country's then uncomfortable international position. Then, from the 1970s coverage moved on to a more professional basis, opening up to other disciplines and new interests., partly reflecting trends in Swiss historiography This continued into the present century by when the Second World War was the dominant element in what was generally a more professional yet also more pointilliste approach.

As a result, although there is now much more information available, it remains poorly co-ordinated, so that no overriding vision seems to emerge, on either side of the Atlantic. Professional research on Switzerland in Anglo-Saxon countries tends to be split into a number of sub-fields and not into a single, fully fledged, field of Swiss history, recognised as such by Anglo-Saxon historiography. No organised academic community focussing on Swiss history has emerged, and there is little prospect of a specialist journal on the model of French Historical Studies. Indeed, such is its marginal status that it is not unheard of for those who have written on it to be made aware that this is not the way to gain promotion.

Not surprisingly then, the various sub-fields in which Switzerland can be found, rarely come together. Too many historians, often outsiders, take up one aspect of Swiss history and then move on, without building on it or fitting it into wider historiographical debates. Hence the information being generated about Switzerland has only a limited impact even though Swiss studies, by Swiss, are now penetrating more into mainline journals. And no overall pattern emerges from all this.

Writing on Switzerland, with one or two honourable exceptions tends to be sporadic, personal and often without a clear relation to mainstream Swiss historiography.<sup>108</sup> And the impact of external events does not always help things. Coverage can also be tangential and ill informed. This, as Birmingham points out, means that outside writers can often too readily accept a nationalist interpretation of Swiss state building which has come under attack from new, often structuralist and social schools of history.<sup>109</sup>

Unfortunately such irregular contributions have yet to succeed either in making much of an impact on conventional textbooks or general studies.<sup>110</sup> These often continue to pass Switzerland over in silence. This is true of most periods of European history. Thus there are surveys of post 1945 events which only mention Switzerland as joining EFTA in 1960.<sup>111</sup> Obviously there are exceptions but the average Anglo-Saxon textbook gives

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<sup>108</sup> More information on recent Swiss historiography can be found, inter alia, in G.Kreis 'Schweizergeschichte nur als Nationalgeschichte' in C.Bosshart-Pfluger et al (eds) Nation und Nationalismus in Europa (Frauenfeld, Huber, 2002), U.Imhof 'Des Chroniquers etc' in Nouvelle Histoire de la Suisse et des Suisses 2<sup>nd</sup> ed (Lausanne, Payot, 1986) 9-18 and in a forthcoming special issue of Itinera. On the historical profession in Switzerland see the articles by F.Walter in the new Historisches Lexicon.

<sup>109</sup> Birmingham Village History 207-110. Cf also O. Meuwly La Liberte Cacophonique (Geneva, Slatkine, 2008); U.Imhoff 'Les Suisses face à leur histoire in Storia Nazionale, etc (Lugano, 1983); G Kreis 'Schweizerische nationalgeschichte in 20 und 21 Jahrhundert' and HU Jost 'Pour une histoire Europeenne de la suisse; l'histoire contemporaine de la Suisse' and 'L'histoire suisse sous l'emprise de la defense spirituelle'. For a defence of the traditional view and attacks on 'left wing rewriting of history see, inter alia. cf P. Stadler Epochen der Schweizergeschichte (Zurich, Orrell Fussli, 2003) and K. Stohliker La Suisse en detresse (Lausanne, LEP, 2003)

<sup>110</sup> Wylie, Britain & Switzerland 10-11 on the failure of diplomatic history to consider the Swiss case.

<sup>111</sup> P.Calvacoressi, World Politics Since 1945 9<sup>th</sup> ed (Longman, 2009)

Switzerland no real attention, even when, as in 1815, it was significant.<sup>112</sup> The result of this is that Switzerland remains in a kind of limbo, which exaggerates the impression that it is not at all like other states.<sup>113</sup> This reinforces the Sonderfall myth and ignores the arguments of those Swiss writers who believe Swiss history is only explicable in European terms. And, without either easily available summaries or a guiding line, it is also very hard for Swiss history to gain a proper place within teaching and research.

The existing coverage is also somewhat patchy. Where periods are concerned, the 16<sup>th</sup> century is quite well covered and so is the Second World War and its immediate aftermath. There is also some work on the revolutionary era. Conversely the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries are but poorly covered, along with the later 19<sup>th</sup> century. Equally, cantons like Zurich, Geneva and Graubunden get a good deal of attention whereas North Eastern Switzerland and the Ticino are often passed over in silence. Hence, the complaints made by historians from Stanyan, through Planta, McCracken and Offler to Steinberg, that there are huge gaps, no proper studies and hence poor understanding, are still valid.<sup>114</sup> Or, as one early historian put it ‘the subject has so long lain neglected in the literary garret that cobwebs have gathered over it and obscured the truth’.

To what extent is this due to the motivations behind Anglo-Saxon writings? Ironically, these problems have emerged even though much Anglo-Saxon writing has been driven by a desire to make Swiss history better known abroad. Indeed, on the one hand, Anglo-Saxon writings have almost always been motivated partly by a desire to make English and American readers – and until the 1970s those with a special interest in mountaineering and winter sports – more aware of Swiss history. Usually this is done from a sympathetic point of view. On the other, they are also partly driven by the need to respond both to events in Switzerland, whether the threats posed by the French Revolution, the creation of a new Federal State or the controversies surrounding the Second World War. However, fear of upsetting Swiss sensitivities, arising from the political salience of history, does not seem to have been an issue, few writers being aware of it. And, of course, the requirements of individual academic historians and sub-disciplines and fields have also played a part. What seems to be missing, however, is the dynamic which could come from a generalized concern with the history of Switzerland as such.

In other words, there is a long way to go before Swiss history establishes a full and continuing presence in British and American historiography. Concise summaries of the findings of recent research and publication do not yet exist and, indeed, seem unlikely to appear soon. Without these, teaching on Switzerland will remain difficult, as will proper coverage of the country in more general historiography. And this will not help to remedy the well recognized defects in general English visions of Switzerland with its heavy dependence on stereotypes.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> For exceptions see the volumes by Ford and Hearder in the Longman History of Europe both of which make frequent, and varied, reference to Switzerland. Compare, *inter alia*, J.A.Gillis [The Development of European Society 1770-1870](#) (N.Y University Press of America, 1987), D. Mason [Revolutionary Europe 1789-1989](#) (Routledge, 2005) and C.A.Bayley, [The Birth of the Modern World 1780-1914](#) (Oxford, Blackwell, 2004). The first two leave Switzerland out altogether, last only recognizes it once, in mentioning the formation of the Red Cross. On 1815 see G.J.Ikenberry [After Victory](#) (Princeton UP, 2001)

<sup>113</sup> But cf A. Holenstein, et al (eds), [The Republican Alternative: The Netherlands and Switzerland compared](#) (Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 2008).

<sup>114</sup> Stanyan apparently observed that he was surprised that a country situated where Switzerland was should be so little known; Planta, [2<sup>nd</sup> ed x](#) and Steinberg [loc.cit](#)

<sup>115</sup> British Council Switzerland: ‘Nation Images: Perceptions of the UK and Switzerland in each other’s press’ Available at [www.britishcouncil.org/switzerland-science-nationimages.htm](http://www.britishcouncil.org/switzerland-science-nationimages.htm)

I hope that the present article might make easier summarizing Swiss history and making this more widely available in the Anglo-Saxon academic world. It does point to the rich sources available on Switzerland to non specialists and tries to set it in some kind of wider context. But whether anyone will actually take any notice is another matter. It probably needs need more general and externally focussed activities by Swiss historians, not to mention further developments in Swiss domestic life, to jog professional shoulders in the Anglo-sphere..