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## English Summaries

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Guy P. Marchal:

### *Avant-propos*

The formula “Made in Switzerland” lives from so many references to Swiss national historical imagination that it has – itself – become part of the Swiss historical culture. Whatever slightly refers to history flows into historical culture. And as there is always an actual interest behind a historical allusion, historical culture looks like the crossroad of ideologies, myths and realities. In the last years historical research has increasingly been focusing on this fact. This book tries to show new approaches including industrial production and marketing.

Yann Decorzant, Alix Heiniger, Serge Reubi, Anne Vernat:

### *Introduction*

Constituent of Switzerland’s image both inside the country and abroad, the concepts of *Made in Switzerland* or *Swissmade* have never been subject to thorough historical analysis. These concepts or notions can be found in most specialisations of the historical discipline, from political to economic, social, military or cultural history. Yet this volume does not seek to establish a catalogue of the components of *Made in Switzerland*, but rather to examine its construction, under what circumstances it emerged, its functionalities, and the conditions of its perpetuation.

The papers in this volume explore the concept of *Made in Switzerland* in three dimensions: myths, realities and functions. The contributions interrogate alternatively, or simultaneously, the logic of its construction and its perpetuation, its functions inside and outside the country, and its role in setting standards or models for the social and economic space. The authors tackle the *Made in Switzerland* concept from various perspectives, such as Swiss cultural policy, the profile of cantonal police commanders, and Switzerland’s image in the promotion of certain products. The watch and chocolate industries, as well as the modalities in the creation of quality standards in the long run, are also analysed. This allows to observe how standards have been adapted to evolving markets. Finally, two articles on the school and train systems present Switzerland as a role model and space for the development of norms.

Régis Huguenin:

*Is there anything Swiss in Swiss chocolate? The maintenance of a myth*

Nothing inclined Switzerland to be recognized for its chocolate, a product which essential raw material, the cocoa, can only be imported. The "Swiss" stamped chocolate represents a small part of the world consumption, but it benefits from the positive stereotypes associated to the industrial production of this country: a family corporate culture inspired by the paternalism of the pioneers of the 19th century, an advertising imaging which registered the product in an unchanging alpine country and a work realized with attention, extremely organized and hygienic. During the second half of the 20th century, the manufacturers showed a real interest in increasing these comparative advantages and in strengthening those by restricting the use of the *Swiss made* label.

Marie-Agnès Dequidt:

*Quand Made in Switzerland signifiait bon marché pour les horlogers parisiens (1750–1800)*

Between 1750 and 1850, Paris was one of the main watch- and clock-making centres in the world, when the others were London and Switzerland, provided we include Geneva and Neuchâtel area in Switzerland a little before time. In Paris at the end of the eighteenth century, watchmakers belonged to a highly organized and structured guild with strict rules, aiming at protecting the Parisian production. Famous Parisian artists carried the reputation of French watchmaking far beyond the borders. If there were no relations between French and English watchmakers, on the opposite, exchanges between France and Switzerland were quite important, so much so that some of the best known so-called Parisian watchmakers were Swiss natives, namely Breguet, Berthoud or Romilly. Yet, it was in the technical and mainly in the commercial fields that most relations took place, and importation networks from Switzerland to Paris were settled and kept growing over time. When the guild disappeared, the trade between the two countries continued to increase over time. The French imported more and more ébauches or parts (such as plates or springs) but also unfinished movements and even finished watches.

Thanks mainly to two factors: the établissage, the putting out system allowing for peasants living in the mountains to work on watches during wintertime, and a lower gold standard, Neuchâtel offered a broad range of products, including watches which were cheap relatively to Parisian watches. The consequent decrease of the French production in quantity as compared to the Swiss one created some frustration on the Parisian side. The French watchmakers, sometimes being disingenuous, started to complain of the low price and the supposedly related low qual-

ity of Swiss watches. However, if Parisian watchmakers kept buying parts or finished watches from Switzerland, it meant that the cost was favourable to them and also that they silently appreciated the Swiss quality.

Sandrine Girardier:

*Les Jaquet-Droz et Leschot: un mythe historiographique?*

The history of the three watchmakers from La Chaux-de-Fonds, Pierre and Henry-Louis Jaquet-Droz and Jean-Frédéric Leschot, who worked in the luxury mechanical field during the second half of the 18th century, has often, if not always, been confined to their automata. Of course, the three androids that are now on display and still functioning at the Musée d'art et d'histoire of Neuchâtel, symbolize the Jaquet-Droz's mechanical know-how. However, new perspectives opened up by the documents they have left, now permit a broader analysis of their history and reveal its potential.

This article focuses on the historiographical treatment of these famous watchmakers in the 19th and particularly in the 20th century. The main elements that have helped to create an idealised history of watchmaking in the Jura Mountains are considered, together with their mechanical and commercial practices as they appear in the documents. Moreover, a historiographical analysis of characters who are now part of collective memory, also draws attention to present day watchmaking firms that use this history to their advantage.

Odile De Bruyn:

*Counterfeiting a Swiss product under a "Made in Belgium" trademark: alpine gardens in Belgium from the end of the 19th century to the first half of the 20th century*

Around the end of the 19th century, not unlike other northwestern European countries, Belgium experienced a new taste for alpine gardens. Our study is divided in two parts: in the first one, we describe the taste for alpine gardens in a chronological order, studying its geographical, sociological and commercial aspects. In the second part, we try to explain why inhabitants of the "Low Countries" regions were receptive to the idea of shaping their pleasure gardens by alpine features.

The relationship between cultural exchanges and landscape gardening is a complex one to study whose causes are manifold. The success of rock gardens in Belgium did correspond by all means to a peculiar artistic and botanic fashionable model whose boundaries did not exceed the circle of a restricted business and gentry elite who could afford itself such luxuries. But, going beyond this explanation, we can assume that the taste for alpine gardens in Belgium went along with a



deep ideological debate on national identity through the shaping of landscapes. These apparently pure aesthetic gardens delivered indeed a message of great political significance for the then very young Belgian nation, in search of its roots.

Pauline Milani:

*Made in Switzerland: National Identity in Swiss Cultural Policy*

The article examines the possibilities and modalities of a cultural policy that is founded on defending national identity. It begins by describing the key stages in the construction of a Swiss cultural policy, in which the predominant feature has always been to defend Swiss identity in the face of the outsider. Then follows an exploration of the evolution of Pro Helvetia, outlining the strong ties between its directors and politicians; ties that are a cause of tension between the two.

National identity is at the heart of the cultural policy that Switzerland sought to put into place in the 19th century. However, it was in the 1930s that the federal government strongly encouraged and developed a rhetoric based on defending a certain idea of "Swissness", the guardians of which were none other than the directors of Pro Helvetia. Created in 1938 to promote Helvetian culture and to diffuse it beyond Swiss borders, the foundation was predominantly made up of the political and social elite; an elite with close ties to ruling political circles. This elite adapted cultural policy to suit the foreign policy agenda of the Confederation. However, this was not enough to alleviate the tensions between those responsible for cultural policy and those responsible for foreign policy. These tensions became apparent in the relationship between on the one hand, cultural products destined to be exported and on the other, the encouraging creative production in Switzerland. The first must be faultless, whilst the leaders of Pro Helvetia were more tolerant of criticism towards the second. Finally, the importance of identity in cultural policy has sought to undermine the possibility of a politics of cultural exchange, something that the leaders of the foundation will only be able to achieve at the price of a rupture with the decision-makers of Swiss foreign policy.

Oliver Kühschelm:

*Why to shop patriotically. Buy domestic / buy national campaigns in Austria and Switzerland during the interwar period*

The article focuses on posters commissioned by promotional campaigns from Austria and Switzerland during the interwar period. The campaigns exhorted consumers to prefer Austrian and Swiss products respectively. For a comparative analysis it is suggested drawing a distinction between "buy-domestic" and "buy-national" promotion. The former refers to products which have been made within

the borders of a given State, while the call to buy national implies a link to the nation as an imagined community. It 'nationalises' products connecting them to well-established national symbols. It is assumed that the choice of a frame of reference, in this case the nation or the state, goes along with the use of certain mechanisms of persuasion and rhetoric instruments, and opens up different perspectives for the recipient as an individual and as part of a collective whole.

In 1927 the Viennese Chamber of Commerce and the Austrian Federation of Industry formed a working group in order to promote Austrian products. To an important degree, the activities of this working group were modelled on the example of the Swiss Week, which had first been organized in 1917 and became a yearly event. As small industrialised countries, Austria and Switzerland shared much in common. However, Switzerland was a well-established Nation-State with long-standing liberal and democratic traditions, while neighbouring Austria was defined as the remains of a shattered Empire and reigned by doubts as to whether such a small state was economically viable and culturally desirable.

Every year the Swiss Week organisation had an official poster designed, which heralded the shopping week dedicated to Swiss products. Mostly, the posters rendered Swiss production set in a Swiss landscape and accompanied by the Swiss Cross. Production was framed by national imagery and thereby 'nationalised'. The Swiss Week posters did not show objects of purchase, but objects to be looked upon with pride. Consumption remained conspicuously absent. The copy exhorted to pay homage to Swiss work instead of bluntly telling citizen-consumers to buy national products. While the Swiss posters relied heavily on national imagery, but said little about what you actually should do and why you should do this, the Austrian posters were all the opposite.

The buy-Austrian promotion was very outspoken about its immediate goal of getting Austrians to buy Austrian goods. Many items of the promotional campaign also gave reasons why you should buy Austrian products even if you did not feel any attachment to a small state regarded as the unfortunate outcome of an unfortunate war. It made recipients take a different starting point than the Swiss campaign: not the nation, but an acute fear of poverty; not the imagined community of Austrians, but one's immediate family; a family that happened to live in a state called Austria. The campaign could not have asked for national solidarity. This would have demanded to extend the preferential treatment to products from Germany because most Austrian citizens still thought of themselves as belonging to the German nation. While the Swiss campaign was more of a buy-national campaign (although a core purpose was to increase the consumption of domestic products), the Austrian promotional effort emphasized the domestic origin of products and avoided national symbols.

Tobias Scheidegger:

*From the "Swiss Farmer" to the producer of authentic "Swissness":  
A historical approach to images of agrarian Switzerland in contemporary  
food marketing*

Over the past years there could be observed a veritable renaissance of the label "Made in Switzerland" in food marketing. In the course of this revival one has witnessed the re-emergence of the "Swiss Farmer", a figure as mythical as "Swiss made" itself and a character which looks back on quite a successful career within the national-identitary dispositive of Switzerland. Contrary to the decades between 1890 and 1940, when this character played a crucial role in conservative "agrarian" ideologies, farmers in recent days are not any longer an integral part of comparable political constructions.

In times of liberalization of European agriculture, market entry of German discounters, food scandals etc., the refreshed version of the "Swiss Farmer" is not perceived as a defender of freedom and democracy anymore but as a guarantor of safety and authenticity of agricultural goods. Hence the incorporation of food explicitly labeled as "Swiss made" can be interpreted as an example for a "consumerist form of identity production" (A. Leitch).

By analyzing the pictorial representations of some of its core elements – the nation, the region, and the farmer's body – the article explores the visual culture of this identity producing dispositive of "Swiss made" agricultural products. This comparison of historical and the recent images of the "Swiss Farmer" highlights the function of the contemporary visual instrumentalization of farmers in the marketing of food and demonstrates as well which specific forms of Swissness are produced by doing so.

Philippe Hebeisen:

*Vers un profil commun? Recrutement et carrières des commandants cantonaux  
de gendarmerie au prisme de la prosopographie (Suisse romande et canton  
de Berne, 1848–1914)*

Till the very late 19th century, cantonal gendarmerie corps represented first the unique then the main State police force in Switzerland. In the 19th century even more than today, police tasks were the responsibility of cantons and not of the Confederation. The latter relied on cantonal police forces to maintain inner security and execute police tasks within the competence of the Federal State. In the context of the Swiss nation building and based on a prosopography study of gendarmerie chiefs' careers, this paper questions the emergence of a typical police chief profile leading to the position of head of gendarmerie. The paper also addres-



ses the role the Confederation in this process. The study shows that a change in the recruitment of commanders happened at the Belle Epoque but also that the Confederation didn't play a major role in this evolution. The converging profiles of the gendarmerie chiefs is rather explained by the increasing contacts between cantonal police and authorities in the international context of struggle against criminality and anarchy, and can also be seen as a need for professionalization of the cantonal police forces due to the increasing specialisation of the different police departments.

Damiano Matasci:

*Jalons pour une histoire de la circulation internationale du «modèle scolaire» suisse à la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*

By focusing on the representations of the Swiss school system by foreign observers at the end of the 19th century this paper aims to deconstruct the label “made in Switzerland”. The purpose is to examine the logics of the circulation of the Swiss “school model” in Western Europe during a crucial period for the construction of modern school systems and Nation-States. According to foreign reformers, the diversity of pedagogical methods and theories, the important number of schools and the legacy of some leading pedagogical figures (such as Pestalozzi, Père Girard, etc.) conferred to Switzerland a status of “laboratory of education”. The paper investigates the symbolic patterns of what we can define as “Swiss model” and the way by which it was internationally promoted. On the one hand, it focuses on travels and scientific missions of foreign education experts whose goal was to study the institutional and pedagogical organization of the Swiss school system. On the other hand, this contribution will shed light on the promotion and propaganda strategies of Swiss school institutions during international exhibitions and congresses. By focusing on the vectors of the international circulation of pedagogical knowledge, this paper provides another point of view on the history of education in Switzerland.

Georges Ribeill:

*Des normes ferroviaires européennes «made in Switzerland»: conventions de Berne (CIM, CIV, COTIF), clef de Berne, gabarit passe-partout*

Railways have always striven to increase their long-distance (that is, beyond national borders) traffics, both passenger and freight ones. This explains why agreements, conventions and international organisations were set up very early between railways and European States. In this context, Switzerland, a transit country for many routes, played a leading role in pushing forward various initiatives, such as a



set of prescriptions to be imposed on wagons transiting from one country to another (UT, Technical Unit) as well as famous international conventions (CIM and CIV Uniform rules), still being enforced (COTIF, Convention on International Carriage by Rail).

Johann Boillat, Francesco Garufo:

*De la protection à la promotion: aux sources du Swiss made horloger (1924–1980)*

In the context of reinforcement of the productive conditions through the concept of “Swissness”, this contribution aims at studying the origin and development of the well-known watch label “Swiss made” in the XXth century. The analysis highlights two different periods, referring to two different paradigms: protection (1924–1951) and promotion (1951–1980).

In the middle of the 1920s, industrial associations progressively structured the norms of Swiss watch quality in creating two visual distinctions: the “FH” and “FB” marks. Both were introduced, intentionally, to promote to foreign customers a high degree of quality. During the 1930s, these codes were protected by the State itself through “watch laws”, which were introduced by the Government in 1934 and 1936 in order to maintain the industry in the country and to protect Swiss watch products in terms of quality and technology.

During the second period, the “watch laws” were progressively sidelined, in order to stimulate the concentration and rationalization of production. From a political stance of protectionism, the Swiss watch industry turned to promotion with the introduction, first, of a quality control in 1961 and then, in 1971, of “Swiss made”, a label for which Swiss watches became one of the most important ambassadors.