



The Beginnings of the Federal Tourism Policy 1917-1939

An institutional history
of Switzerland's
national tourist office,
the Schweizerische
Verkehrszentrale (SVZ)

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Summary

Research question, methodology and thesis

The present study aimed at giving reasons for the question, why and how the confederation interfered and was involved in tourism promotion in Switzerland in the first half of the 20th century. It checked this idea by analyzing the establishment and development of the first national tourist office (NTO) of Switzerland, the Schweizerische Verkehrszentrale SVZ. The analysis based on comprehensive holdings of sources of different archives in Switzerland, mainly the Federal Archives and the Archive of the Federal Railways. The sources suggested themselves for an administrative-historical approach, so that an institutional history of Switzerland's first national tourist office between 1917 and 1939 resulted. A chapter on the SVZ' past history, on its successor (until 1942) and a bird's eye view on the development of national tourist offices all over the world helped to contextualize the Swiss development. The method applied was the critical source interpretation, although the study also profited from a quantitative description of the relevant key figures of tourism (e.g. overnight stays, arrivals, added value by the tourism industry, expenditures by the confederation in favour of tourism, etc.) as well as from a cultural historical interpretation of some posters published by the SVZ. The underlying thesis was that the SVZ - and therewith: the federal tourism policy - became increasingly institutionalized during the Interwar Period, so that in 1939, the SVZ was transferred from an association of private law into a corporation under public law. This transfer mirrored the Swiss confederation's increasing interest in tourism, which brought along the hypothesized institutionalization and a certain politicization. The latter based on the SVZ' fight against the regulations by the federal alien's branch of the police (eidgenössische Fremdenpolizei) in the 1920s and tourism's strategic importance in the clearing agreements with Germany in the 1930s.

Results

The foundation of the SVZ was an interplay of external pressure and internal reasons. The opening of the French and Austro-Hungarian national tourist offices urged Switzerland to join this development, which turned the Alpine countries France, Switzerland, Austria and Italy into pioneers. Further NTOs opened in the Western World in the Interwar Period and on a worldwide scale after the Second World War.

The Swiss tourism industry called for a NTO in 1911 because it perceived a crisis (e.g. falling returns on investments) and felt misrepresented in the SBB's marketing. After a preparatory phase, in 1917, the Federal Council supported a NTO because of the economic interconnectedness of tourism and of tourism's capability of contributing to the reconstruction of the post-war economy (a line of reasoning which fully matched the allies' opinion). By means of membership fees, by subsidies and extra credits the federal administration secured its control and strengthened its demand as the public expenses for Switzerland's general tourism advertising grew, particularly after 1933. Accordingly, the confederation interfered in terms of content of the marketing as the World Economic Crisis occupied Switzerland in economic, social and cultural terms. By offering considerable price reductions on ski tickets for the Swiss youth, the SVZ was instrumentalized by the confederation because, around 1940, the latter needed soldiers trained and tested in the Alps. Thus, the SVZ' transfer in a "nationalized" institution under public law in 1939 was a "discreet nationalization" and did not represent a hostile takeover which might be associated with the term "nationalization".

Key words

Switzerland Tourism (ST), national tourist offices, tourism, institutions, marketing, tourism policy, tourism history, history of administration, Switzerland, 1917-1939, WWI, Interwar Period

Résumé

Question, methode et thèse

L'étude présente essayait de donner des raisons pour la question, pourquoi et comment la confédération intervenait et était engagée dans la promotion touristique en Suisse pendant la première moitié du 20e siècle. Il vérifiait cette idée en analysant la fondation et le développement du premier office national du tourisme (ONT) de la Suisse, l'Office Suisse du Tourisme OST. L'analyse basait sur des sources étendues dans des différentes archives en Suisse, principalement les Archives Fédérales et l'Archive des Chemins de Fer Fédéraux. Les sources étaient appropriées pour une approche administrative-historique afin qu'une histoire institutionnelle du premier office national du tourisme de la Suisse entre 1917 et 1939 resultait. Un chapitre sur la préhistoire de l'OST, sur son successeur (jusqu'à 1942) et une vue globale sur le développement des offices nationaux du tourisme dans le monde entier aidaient à contextualiser le développement suisse. La méthode appliquée était l'interprétation critique des sources, bien que l'étude profitait aussi d'une description quantitative des chiffres clés touristique (par ex. nuitées, arrivées, valeur ajouté par l'industrie touristique, dépenses fédérales pour le tourisme, etc.) et d'une interprétation culturelle-historique de quelques affiches publiées par l'OST. La thèse sous-jacente était que l'OST - et ci-inclus: la politique touristique fédérale - devenait institutionnalisée de plus en plus pendant l'entre-deux-guerres, afin que, en 1939, l'OST était transféré d'une association de droit privé dans un établissement de droit public. Ce transfert reflétait l'intérêt croissant de la confédération suisse pour le tourisme ce qui entraînait l'institutionnalisation supposée et une certaine politisation. La dernière basait sur la lutte de l'OST contre les régulations de la police fédérale des étrangers (eidgenössische Fremdenpolizei) dans les années 1920 et l'importance croissante du tourisme dans les accord de clearing avec l'Allemagne dans les années 1930s.

Résultats

En fait, la fondation de l'OST était une interaction des pressions extérieures et des raisons de politique intérieure. L'ouverture des offices nationaux du tourisme français et austro-hongrois en 1908 et 1910 poussait la Suisse à joindre ce développement ce qui tournait les pays alpins France, Suisse, Autriche et Italie en pionniers. De

plus, des ONTs s'ouvraient dans le monde occidental pendant l'entre-deux-guerres et dans le monde entier après la deuxième guerre mondiale. L'industrie touristique suisse demandait un ONT à 1911 parce qu'elle percevait une crise (par ex. par une baisse des retours sur investissements) et se sentait représentée inadéquatement par le marketing des CFF. Après une phase préparative, en 1917, le Conseil Fédéral supportait un ONT grâce à l'entrelacement économique du tourisme et la capacité du tourisme de contribuer à la reconstruction de l'économie de l'après-guerre (une ligne de raisonnement qui correspondait entièrement à l'opinion des Alliés). Au moyen de cotisations, subventions et des crédits extra l'administration fédérale garantissait son contrôle et renforçait son revendication parce que les dépenses publiques pour la publicité touristique générale de la Suisse augmentaient, en particulier après 1933. En conséquence, la confédération intervenait sur le contenu du marketing comme la Grande Dépression employait la Suisse économiquement, socialement et culturellement. En offrant des réductions considérables sur les prix des billets de ski pour la jeunesse suisse, l'OST était instrumentalisé par la confédération parce que, autour de 1940, la confédération avait besoin des soldats formés dans les Alpes. Ainsi, le transfert de l'OST dans une institution "nationalisée" de droit public en 1939 était une "nationalisation discrète" et ne représentait pas un achat hostile ce qui pourrait être associé avec la notion "nationalisation".

Mots-clés:

Suisse Tourism (ST), offices du tourisme, tourisme, institutions, marketing, politique touristique, histoire du tourisme, histoire de l'administration, la Suisse, 1917-1939, première guerre mondiale, l'entre-deux-guerres

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Abbreviations and translations

Abbreviation	German / French / Italian	English
ACS	Automobil Club der Schweiz	Automobile Club of Switzerland
ANTA		Australian National Travel Association <i>A declaration which dated back to the First World War and which automated the price fixations by the interest associations and thereby cemented their power considerably</i>
AVE	Allgemeinverbindlicherklärung von Verbandsbeschlüssen	
BAR	Bundesarchiv	Federal Archives
BFS	Bundesamt für Statistik	Federal Statistical Office
BIGA	Bundesamt für Industrie, Gewerbe und Arbeit	Federal Office of Industry, Trade and Work
BLS	Bern-Lötschberg-Simplon Bahn	Berne-Lötschberg-Simplon Railway
EAV	Eidgenössisches Amt für Verkehr	Federal Office of Transport
EDA	Eidgenössisches Departement für auswärtige Angelegenheiten	Federal Department for Foreign Affairs
EDI	Eidgenössisches Departement des Innern	Federal Department of Home Affairs
EFZD	Eidgenössisches Finanz- und Zolldepartement	Federal Department for Finance and Customs
EJPD	Eidgenössisches Justiz- und Polizeidepartement	Federal Department for Justice and Police
EPED	Eidgenössische Post- und Eisenbahndepartement	Federal Department for Postal Services and Railways
EVD	Eidgenössisches Volkswirtschaftsdepartement	Federal Department of Economic Affairs
GD SBB	Generaldirektion der SBB	Directorate-General of the SBB
ITA		Irish Tourist Association
JS	Jura-Simplon Bahn	Jura-Simplon Railway
Liat	Ligue internationale des associations touristes (Liat)	<i>International League of touristic associations</i>
LTO	Verkehrsverein, Société de développement, Pro Loco	Local Tourist Office
MER	Mitteuropäisches Reisebüro	Travel Agency of Central Europe
MOB	Montreux-Oberland Bahn	Montreux-Oberland Railway
NTO	Nationale Tourismusorganisation	National Tourist Office
OEEC	Organisation für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung (OECD)	Organization for European Economic Co-operation
PTT	Post-, Telegraf- und	Post, Telephone and Telegram

	Telefonverwaltung	administration
RhB	Rhätische Bahn	Rhaetian Railway
SBB	Schweizerische Bundesbahnen	Swiss Federal Railways
SBV	Schweizerischer Bauernverband	Swiss Farmers Union
SFV	Schweizerischer Fremdenverkehrsverband	Swiss Tourism Federation
SGV	Schweizerischer Gewerbeverband	Swiss Union of Commerce
SHIV	Schweizerischer Handels- und Industrieverein	Swiss Commerce and Industry Association
SHV	Schweizerischer Hotelier-Verein	Swiss Hotel Association
STV	Schweizerischer Tourismus-Verband	Swiss Tourism Federation
SVZ	Schweizerische Verkehrszentrale	Swiss Tourism Association
SZV	Schweizerische Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung	Swiss Association for the Development of Traffic
TCS	Touring Club Schweiz	Touring Club Switzerland
UEK	Unabhängige Expertenkommission Schweiz – Zweiter Weltkrieg	Independent Commission of Experts Switzerland – Second World War (ICE)
USTB	<i>Nationale Tourismusorganisation der USA</i>	United States Travel Bureau
VBS (EMD)	Eidgenössisches Departement für Verteidigung, Bevölkerungsschutz und Sport (früher: Eidgenössisches Militärdepartement)	Federal Department of Defence, Civil Protection and Sport (formerly: Federal Department of Defense)
VSV	Verband Schweizerischer Verkehrsvereine	Association of Swiss Tourist Offices
WTO		World Tourism Organization

Foreword

There has been a story in our family about my grand-father who in a distant past jumped over a ski jump dressed in no more than shorts and with olive oil put on because he wanted to become as tanned as possible. This child's memory was complemented years later when an uncle fished a picture out of a drawer showing the grand-father in the moment of taking off.

Backed by the stories about the English guests coming to Adelboden and renting the holiday apartment in my grand-parents' house year after year the skiing grand-father and the English formed a kind of an exciting past in the child's memory which was – what a stroke of luck! – animated during my studies of history, standing in a universitarian library with hundreds of dull books around me. Looking at pictures of tourists skating in front of hotels in Swiss winter destinations, sledging down in breackneck speed, women in skirts on skis, and colourful touristic posters fascinate me. Still I let me lure by the swing of the ladies on the colourful posters curving down a virgin ski run, embraced by nothing more than pure sunshine and the powdery white.

Why not link this experience with my delight at history and with my delight at working scientifically? It is thanks to Prof. Dr. Laurent Tissot's, Prof. Dr. Claudio Visentin's and Prof. em. Dr. Christian Pfister's willingness to cooperate that I started the project. Although it was not only a pleasure, it is – partially – about pleasure, and I would like to take pleasure in thanking all my supervisors, colleagues, friends and families who have accompanied me and the making of this study in the past years. In particular, I thank Jöri Hoppler, my husband, for assisting the ups and downs of such an undertaking.

Many people have contributed to this study. I thank Benedikt Meyer for the critical assessment, Susanna Hanke for improving the English, Reto Müller for the information about skiing in Switzerland – in theoretical as well as practical respect, Hans Kaspar Schiesser for the explanations about some aspects of the Swiss public transport system, the Staatsarchiv Luzern for hospitality and its employees for stimulating discussions, and Evelyne Lüthi-Graf for the encouragment and the

information about the archive of Switzerland Tourism. The competent and friendly staff of the visited archives and libraries, especially Daniel Mani from the Archive SBB, Laurent Egger from the National Library, Catherine Touaibi from Switzerland Tourism and Mila Trombitas from the Swiss Tourism Federation have simplified my search for documents, information and insight. For the financial support, I thank the Swiss National Fund (SNF) and the Dätwyler Stiftung. ViaStoria has finally offered an inspiring working environment for which I am grateful.

Lucerne, November 2015

1 Introduction

Switzerland's chocolate, cheese and mountains would not stand for the country, if there was no tourism marketing. Souvenir shops, cableways, hotels, restaurants, transport enterprises, tour guides, mountain guides and ski instructors, they all constantly reproduce the image of Switzerland as the small alpine democracy where modest people mainly eat cheese and chocolate in front of a mountainous scenery, wild and beautiful at the same time. As dominant this image is,¹ as obvious is its illusive nature. Ads sell illusions and create images which do not have much in common with reality most of the time. The effect counts, the number of tourists streaming into Switzerland. Indeed, tourists do not only come today, but they have been coming to Switzerland since the Middle Age, in great numbers since the 19th century. In 2012, tourism contributed some 15 billion Swiss Francs to Switzerland's export income, or put differently, was the fourth most important export branch after the chemical, metalworking and watch-and-clock industries.² In how far this based on the country's tourism marketing, is hard to count, but the fact leads our focus on Switzerland's tourism marketing. Has there been an authority, which has sold Switzerland like a product? If that is true: Who has stood behind it? Why, when and where was it established? Is it due to such an authority that mountains have been glorified on touristic ads of Switzerland for over a century?

In 1917, Switzerland witnessed the establishment of such an authority: Its first national tourist office, the "Schweizerische Verkehrszentrale (SVZ)"³ was founded in the fourth year of the First World War, when the Swiss confederation was occupied with rising food-prices, missing coal-imports and increasing social tensions between the labour movement and the bourgeois elite. Similarly, the first two decades of the SVZ' existence were coined by unemployment, the World Economic Crisis, international trade regulations and domestic political frictions. Tourism, at first sight,

¹ According to Tissot, Laurent, "From Alpine Tourism to the "Alpinization" of Tourism", in Zuelow, Eric G.E. (ed.), *Touring Beyond the Nation: A Transnational Approach to European Tourism History*, Farnham/Burlington, 2011, p. 59-78, here 62, an integral part of the mountainous scenery was the altitude, which did not only imply the sheer physical elevation, but also the ideological domination of nature by men.

² Schweizer Tourismus-Verband, *Schweizer Tourismus in Zahlen 2012. Struktur- und Branchendaten*, Bern: Länggass Druck AG, 2013, p. 4.

³ Translated in the general sense: Swiss Tourism Association. Today, the SVZ is called "Schweiz Tourismus" ("Switzerland Tourism").

was not the most pressing task of the confederation, then. It was, however, exactly in the Interwar Period that Switzerland experienced ongoing debates about the organization of tourism's interest. In fact, the SVZ was not only the first touristic marketing organization at the national level, but also functioned as a lobbyist for tourism. The situation after the war was completely different compared to the time when the SVZ had been planned. The base of the luxurious tourism of the time prior to the First World War had been destroyed, and it was unclear what the future would bring. How could Switzerland uphold its position as "playground of Europe"⁴? An answer to this question pressed all the more as the neighbouring, competing countries, namely France and Austria, also had founded their national tourist offices, both preceding the SVZ, and as the domestic hotels and transport enterprises faced heavy debts.

Obviously, prior to and after the First World War, an institution like a national tourist office was a contemporary answer to the question of how a country could uphold its position as a touristic destination. A national tourist office represented an institution, which stood for a new approach towards tourism by the society and the state. They lend themselves for an analysis of a change in the societal, economic and cultural attitude towards tourism in the first decades of the 20th century. In contrast to the importance of the national tourist office, they have not attracted the attention of tourism historians so far, although their products – mostly posters – repeatedly appear in touristic historical research, be it as a topic or for illustrative purposes. Yet, a close look on the institution, which stands behind these cultural artifacts, opens up a hitherto unexplored field of research in tourism history. Not astonishingly, political tourism history was identified as a research gap in 2009 by Walton.⁵ It is here that this study starts, even more as the topic profits from a good situation of the sources, at least in Switzerland. Looking at national tourist offices is rewarding because they have belonged to a national administration most of the time and were therefore

⁴ According to Meinherz, Paul, "Alpinismus", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2008, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D16338.php> (accessed 25.11.2010), the term "Playground of Europe" was the title of a book by Leslie Stephen published in 1871. It is often used for characterizing 19th century Switzerland as a place of touristic activities (e.g. alpinism, winter sports) which were applied in other countries later on. Thus, Humair and Tissot use the term even in the title of their book: Humair, Cédric; Tissot, Laurent (ed.), *Le tourisme suisse et son rayonnement international (XIXe-XXe siècles)*. "Switzerland, the playground of the world", Lausanne: Éditions Antipodes, 2011.

⁵ Walton, John K., "Prospects in tourism history: Evolution, state of play and future developments", in *Tourism Management*, Vol. 30, Issue 6, 2009, p. 783-793, here 790.

subject to political decisions, which were usually reported by an administration. Switzerland's national tourist office serves as a good example because the country has not faced any wars since the establishment of its national tourist office, so that the historian finds numerous, comprehensive holdings of sources. In analyzing the development of national tourist offices all over the world as well as the establishment and development of the SVZ, this study presents an institutional history of a touristic-political institution. In how far, however, shall the SVZ be subject to discussion exactly?

1.1 Leading question

The institutional approach bases on the following, central question:

Why and how did the confederation support, promote, control, demand and instrumentalize tourism in Switzerland during the first half of the 20th century? How and why was the Schweizerische Verkehrszentrale (SVZ) created? Why in 1917, that is in the fourth year of the First World War?

Although the promotion of Switzerland abroad and at home was among the SVZ' main tasks, the SVZ also functioned as an interest group. As a lobby and interest-defending organization of an economic sector, however, the SVZ came into existence later compared to the national associations of the trade and the industries or of the farmers which were founded in 1870 and 1897 respectively.⁶ The following sub-questions help to state the leading question mentioned above more precisely:

- Which was the institutional framework? How did it emerge and develop, and why?
- Who were the protagonists?
- Which were the political, economic and social circumstances? Which influence did they have on tourism in Switzerland and on the Swiss tourism policy?

⁶ Degen, Bernard, "Verbände", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2012, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D16417.php> (accessed 2.8.2012).

- Which were the economic and cultural results of the tourism policy? What did the tourism policy look like? Which images of Switzerland were promoted abroad?

As the leading question focuses on an institution on the national level critics might object the Swiss subsidiary and federalism. This is correct, but does not exclude a national focus. Not only for the critics' but also for accuracy's sake, the SVZ' precedent and parallel organizations and bodies – as far as they are of interest for our leading question – are also investigated and included. As will be shown, the beginnings of an organization of tourism in Switzerland rooted in the initiative of some business persons of the Lake Geneva Region. The parliamentary motion of 1911, which aimed at a national tourist office, must also be judged as coming from the grass root level. The office which was founded in its aftermath and the development of this office into a part of the federal administration until the end of the 1930s suggests, however, a more national perspective. A second obstacle may – falsely – arise for this study, too. The power of the state, especially of the nation state, is sometimes – if it is mentioned at all – described as weak or less effective than the tourists' and the tourist industry's behaviour.⁷ That this analysis deals with the Swiss nation state does not mean that it was a strong, successful or effective state. The experience of the development of the Swiss Confederation since 1848 suggests a weak nation state, although its power might have increased over the decades.⁸ Yet, attempts of centralizations of countrywide activities, like tourism promotion, appeared throughout the 20th century. The Interwar Period seemed to play a key role for this.

This study treats the period between 1917 and 1939. Obviously, these dates refer to business historical turning points. While 1917 represents the year of establishment, in 1939, the SVZ was transferred into a corporation under public law, called Schweizerische Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung (SZV).⁹ It is obvious that these dates

⁷ Colantonio, Andrea; Potter, Robert B., *Urban Tourism and Development in the Socialist State. Havana during the 'Special Period'*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006, p. 93; Merrill, Dennis, *Negotiating Paradise. U.S. Tourism and Empire in Twentieth-Century Latin America*, Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2009, p. 1.

⁸ Tanner, Jakob, *Geschichte der Schweiz im 20. Jahrhundert*, München: Verlag C.H.Beck, 2015, p. 24-25.

⁹ Translated in the general sense: Swiss Association for the Development of Traffic.

appear with respect to the institution in focus. From other points of view, one might object them. On the one hand, there had been previous efforts for a national tourism marketing, particularly the "Publizitätsdienst der SBB"¹⁰ also marketed the country in its ads. Several topics with which the SVZ was occupied in the 1920s and 1930s based on developments or decisions, which had taken place previously. Therefore, a chapter on the prehistory explains the base, predecessors and efforts which were crucial for the SVZ' establishment and the first two decades of existence. This chapter on the prehistory roughly covers the period between 1893 and 1917. On the other hand, touristic- and economic historical considerations might suggest the middle of the 1950s as an appropriate deadline, because it was only then, when the period of a stagnating demand for tourism in Switzerland (1914-1955) ended.¹¹ Moreover, the year 1939 was not a definite break in the economic development in Switzerland: the constitution remained in power, the government did not resign, no deep changes in the course of the Second World War took place.¹² Nevertheless, this analysis ends in 1939 because this year also witnessed the outbreak of the Second World War, an unintended, but influential coincidence for the SVZ/SZV. The period 1939–1955 shows many different problems, topics, personalities, administrative and legislative peculiarities and changing economic, political, social and cultural circumstances, that they only can be analyzed in a proper thesis. The sources for these problems are numerous, both for the period 1917–1939, taken into account in this study, as well as for the period 1939–1955, open for future research.

Basing on the SVZ, a Swiss institution, the present study mainly deals with Switzerland as the place studied. This includes that it ignores neither local nor regional developments if they are of any importance for the SVZ and that it also focuses on the international dimension in order to get insights by a comparison with other countries. Tourism in Switzerland has had a strong international dimension ever since, so that a strong geographical limitation does not make sense. While the

¹⁰ Translated in the general sense: Publicity Service of the SBB.

¹¹ Humair, Cédric, "Introduction. Le tourisme comme moteur du développement socioéconomique et vecteur du rayonnement international de la Suisse (XIXe-XXe siècles)", in Humair; Tissot, *rayonnement international*, 2011, p. 9-54, here 21.

¹² Frech, Stefan; Gees, Thomas; Kropf, Blaise; Meier, Martin, "Bilaterale Arrangements und korporatistischer Entscheidungsprozess. Schweizerische Aussenwirtschaftspolitik und europäische Integrationskonzepte 1930-1960", in Sandkühler, Thomas (ed.), *Europäische Integration. Deutsche Hegemonialpolitik gegenüber Westeuropa 1920-1960. Sonderdruck*, Göttingen: Wallstein-Verlag, 2002, p. 223-251, here 223.

SVZ was situated in Zurich and its branch office in Lausanne, its campaigns were destined at the USA, Great Britain, France, Germany, or other selected countries. The tourists coming to Switzerland finally stayed in a place, which can be regarded as local. Tourism combines several geographical levels by definition and thereby delivers a productive ground for research.¹³ Geographical limitations, in any event, do not dominate the research in tourism history, as the state of the art shows.

1.2 State of the art

1.2.1 Tourism history

As the discussion of definitions of the term "tourism" will show, tourism is a phenomenon with manifold links to society, culture, economy, infrastructure, technology, mobility, and politics. If tourism is considered a social, cultural, economic, technical or political phenomenon depends heavily on the approach chosen by the scientist. Hence, a methodological plurality dominates, most of the studies are interdisciplinary and characterize tourism as a part of modern consumerism and as an important but neglected cultural process of globalization.¹⁴ Today's tourism historians agree that leisure is not (only) an opposite of everyday routine and that tourists are not (only) passive spectators who mediate the rhythm and hierarchies of capitalism.¹⁵ Rather, leisure and tourism result from desires and expectations by individuals and social groups that do not necessarily correspond to the definitions attributed to them by dominant classes, elite institutions and leisure promoters.¹⁶ This characterization challenges the social scientific interpretation according to which, in the aftermath of Enzensberger's highly influential escape-hypothesis of 1958,¹⁷

¹³ While tourism history has already embarked on this research undertaking, other research fields are just at the beginning of doing so. See, for instance, Storm, Eric, "Overcoming Methodological Nationalism in Nationalism Studies: The Impact of Tourism on the Construction and Diffusion of National and Regional Identities", in *History Compass*, Vol. 12, Issue 4, 2014, p. 361–373, here 366–367.

¹⁴ Baranowski, Shelley, "An Alternative to Everyday Life? The Politics of Leisure and Tourism", in *Contemporary European History*, Vol. 12, Issue 4, 2003, p. 561–572, here 562; Baranowski, Shelley; Furlough, Ellen, "Introduction", in Baranowski, Shelley; Furlough, Ellen (eds.), *Being Elsewhere. Tourism, Consumer Culture, and Identity in Modern Europe and North America*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001, p. 1–31, here 5; Franklin, Adrian, *Tourism: An Introduction*, London: Sage Publications, 2003, p. 8; Walton, Prospects, 2009, p. 784.

¹⁵ Baranowski, An Alternative, 2003, p. 562; Tissot, Alpinization, 2011, p. 66.

¹⁶ Baranowski, An Alternative, 2003, p. 562.

¹⁷ First published as Enzensberger, Hans Magnus, "Vergebliche Brandung der Ferne: Eine Theorie des Tourismus", in *Merkur*, Heft 126, 1958, p. 701–720.

tourism was characterized as an escape from the industrial world.¹⁸ As a consequence, tourism history has developed own insights and emancipated itself from the sociological and economic approaches on tourism.

Yet, tourism history is a relatively young branch of the historical science. Why? Several reasons are plausible: Firstly, as Durie has pointed out for tourism history in general, tourism is an "umbrella term" since it implies very differing experiences.¹⁹ Furthermore, tourism is a very heterogeneous object of research. Looking at the economic implications of tourism in Switzerland, for instance, the researcher turns possibly to the employment aspect in the hotels. On the same time, he/she is quickly confronted with the whole question of the social question, the history of the social insurances in Switzerland or the country's policy on foreigners. Asking about a hoteliers' success implies having a close look at the technical developments of that time since lifts, for example, became a promotional advantage for the luxurious hotels in the Lake Geneva Region in the 1880/90s.²⁰ Secondly, the situation of the resources is uneven. On the one hand, there are newspapers, journals, diaries, letters, photographs, and guidebooks, notes of touristic organizations or legal sources by the authorities, on the other hand, the quantitative aspect of tourism is hard to get a grip on.²¹ This magnitude paired with a lack of basic data you need if you want to treat a subject profoundly does not ease the methodological and theoretical approach to tourism history.²² Given the various kinds of resources can demand applying different approaches in an analysis which is a demanding undertaking. Finally, tourism as a historical subject seems to have spread a certain uneasiness among historians. Be it due to the "trivial pursuit"²³ of tourism or the stronger interest on the heavy industries²⁴ – the softness of leisure and people's

¹⁸ For a long time, tourism has been of interest in the social sciences, especially in economics, which focused on tourism when it became a mass phenomenon in the second half of the 20th century. On the same time, numerous research institutes appeared by social scientists who began studying and teaching the social, economic and cultural implications and consequences of tourism. According to Spode, Hasso, "Zur Einführung: Wohin die Reise geht", in *Voyage. Jahrbuch für Reise- & Tourismusforschung*, Vol. 1, 1997, p. 7-12, here 9, tourism is mostly taught not at universities but at universities of applied sciences.

¹⁹ Durie, Alastair J., *Scotland for the holidays. A History of Tourism in Scotland, 1780-1939*, Glasgow: Tuckwell, 2003, p. 6.

²⁰ Lapointe, Julie, *Lifts in Lake Geneva hotels (1867-1914): symbols of prestige, mobility and technical innovation. Paper presented on the 2. Schweizerische Geschichtstage, 4th-10th February 2010*, Basel: unpublished paper, 2010.

²¹ Durie, Scotland, 2003, p. 7, 9.

²² See Hachtmann, Rüdiger, *Tourismus-Geschichte*, Göttingen: UTB, 2007, p. 17-18.

²³ Davidson, Jim; Spearritt, Peter, *Holiday business: Tourism in Australia since 1870*, Carlton: Miegunyah Press, 2000, p. 344.

²⁴ Durie, Scotland, 2003, p. 6.

happiness have seemed to be unworthy for having a closer historical look on it for a long time. Yet, the foundation of the Journal of Tourism History in 2009 showed that the research field has been growing.²⁵

Some topics have attracted the historians' interest more than others have. On the one hand, the literature deals with the question, when, on which basis, and how tourism emerged. The relation to the Industrial Revolution is equally treated as is the way in which tourism became part of modern life. In Switzerland, for instance, the modernization of the society in the course of the Industrial Revolution in the second half of the 19th century found expression among others in the economic overheating and extraordinary competition between the touristic agents and regions prior in the Belle Epoque, which led to the foundation of the SVZ (and its predecessors) (see chapter 3.1.1 *From boom to overheating: the economic development*). On the other hand, some particular forms of tourism, like the grand tour, the role of Thomas and Mason Cook in democratizing access to tourism, and the popular international tourism at the Mediterranean beaches after the Second World War, have been studied thoroughly.²⁶

All these foci mentioned above have helped to form out a periodization, which is a constant subject to discussion. After a long phase of "preparation", modern tourism began to take shape between 1830 and 1860,²⁷ saw a first standardization in the 1860s and a widening of the supply in the Belle Epoque (1890-1914).²⁸ In the Interwar Period, there were changes on the demand side with more and more social spheres gaining access to tourism.²⁹ If the term "democratization of travelling" is adequate already for this period, for the Interwar Period, or, as Heiss argues, only for the years following the West-German monetary reform in 1948, remains subject to discussion.³⁰ For Switzerland, at least, Humair finds a "démocratisation du voyage" already for the period 1820 to 1875, and encompasses the Interwar Period in a long

²⁵ Walton, John K., "Welcome to the Journal of Tourism History", in *Journal of Tourism History*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 2009, p. 1-6.

²⁶ Walton, John K., "Histories of Tourism", in Jamal, Tazim; Robinson, Mike (eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Tourism Studies*, London: SAGE, 2009, p. 115-129, here 116-117.

²⁷ This periodization does, for example, not take into consideration Boyer's hypothesis of the "touristic revolution" in the 18th century; see Boyer, Marc, *Histoire de l'invention du tourisme XVIe-XIXe siècles. Origine et développement du tourisme dans le Sud-Est de la France*, La Tour d'Aigues: Éditions de l'Aube, 2000, p. 255.

²⁸ Heiss, Hans, "Saisons sans fin? Les grande étapes de l'histoire du tourisme, 1830-2002", in *Geschichte der Alpen*, Vol. 9, 2004, p. 45-60, here p. 46-51.

²⁹ Heiss, Saisons sans fin?, 2004, p. 52-53.

³⁰ Heiss, Saisons sans fin?, 2004, p. 54.

phase, which lasted from 1914 to 1955, coined by a stagnating demand.³¹ In correspondence with Heiss' proposals, Humair's periodization of the touristic development in Switzerland consists of five phases: Firstly, the second half of the 18th century, when Switzerland turned from a transit country to a country where tourists stayed.³² Secondly, the years between 1820 and 1875, when a progressive industrialization of tourism took place, symbolized in the construction of big hotels in the main touristic regions around the Lake Geneva, the Lakes of Thun and Brienz, and the Lake of Lucerne.³³ Thirdly, a crises and a quick expansion of the economy coined the period between 1875 and 1914, when the supply was restructured (mountain railways, medical tourism, winter sport), and further regions like the Grisons, Ticino and Valais gained importance.³⁴ Fourthly, a stagnation of the demand marked the years between 1914 and 1955, while the fifth period, lasting from around 1955 until today, witnessed another restructuring of Swiss tourism and the entry into a mass tourism.³⁵ These attempts of periodization are challenged by Hachtmann. In his analysis, which encompasses more than 2'000 years of touristic activity, he identifies a constant broadening of the privilege of participating in tourism.³⁶ Yet, this did not mean a homogeneous process, but bigger or smaller differences between social classes, gender, generations, marital status and peer-groups.³⁷ Consequently, too narrow datings were irritating because they did not show adequately that tourism, its coming into existence and its developments were processes.³⁸ Tissot points to the fact that the English terms "tourist" and "tourism" occurred to the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century for the first time and thereby deliver a convincing starting point.³⁹ Before, tourism-like activities were not called accordingly and therefore not well comprehensible as such.⁴⁰ For the period 1893 to 1939 which this study covers, Humair's periodization is applied as it is in line with the economic historical phases that are usually used to describe the development of the economy of Switzerland.

³¹ Humair, *Le tourisme comme moteur*, 2011, p. 18, 21.

³² Humair, *Le tourisme comme moteur*, 2011, p. 17.

³³ Humair, *Le tourisme comme moteur*, 2011, p. 17-18.

³⁴ Humair, *Le tourisme comme moteur*, 2011, p. 19-20.

³⁵ Humair, *Le tourisme comme moteur*, 2011, p. 21, 23.

³⁶ Hachtmann, *Tourismus-Geschichte*, 2007, p. 22.

³⁷ Hachtmann, *Tourismus-Geschichte*, 2007, p. 22.

³⁸ Hachtmann, *Tourismus-Geschichte*, 2007, p. 23.

³⁹ Tissot, Laurent, "Alpen, Tourismus, Fremdenverkehr", in Kreis, Georg (ed.), *Die Geschichte der Schweiz*, Basel: Schwabe, 2014, p. 483-485, here 483.

⁴⁰ Tissot, Alpen, Tourismus, Fremdenverkehr, 2014, p. 483.

1.2.1.1 Economic history

Tourism and the Industrial Revolution

It is in this perspective in which one of the most recent, most discussed and most fundamental questions have to be placed: Was tourism a result or a contemporary of the Industrial Revolution? What were the relationships between tourism and the Industrial Revolution?⁴¹ While Boyer has shown that tourism is not the result of the Industrial Revolution but took place *contemporarily*,⁴² Walton has recently suggested that tourism was not only an integral part of the Industrial Revolution, but of the *early* Industrial Revolution.⁴³ According to the above-mentioned authors, not only the industrialists and traders drove on the capitalist industrial dynamic, but also those "couches rentières" who could afford to tour for leisure purposes during the summer.⁴⁴ Moreover, those landed elites, middle ranks and lower orders (during the 18th century) helped "to stimulate and spread the demand for new products and experiences that was the necessary corollary of and stimulus to the rise of manufacturing industry and of the division of labour" (e.g. classical statues by artisans).⁴⁵ The facts that the Grand Tour reached its peak or that famous British spa places developed to coastal resorts before the Industrial Revolution make clear that tourism was not "a lagged consequence of rising living standards, transport innovation and the development and spread of the fashion cycle."⁴⁶ Similarly, modern commercial spa tourism rooted in preindustrial popular rituals and customs, some places like Spanish Cestona became fashionable in a touristic point of view, although they were isolated from the railway network, and industrial practices like mining could affect touristic places negatively.⁴⁷ Although Boyer admits that the touristic development has been linked to the economic development, it has not been "l'histoire

⁴¹ The same discussion arose between leisure and the Industrial Revolution, see Borsay, Peter, *A History of Leisure. The British Experience since 1500*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006, p. 8-12.

⁴² Boyer, *Histoire de l'invention*, 2000, p. 256.

⁴³ Walton, John K., *Tourism and Industrialization, c. 1740-1914*, in Gigase, Marc; Humair, Cédric; Tissot, Laurent, *Le tourisme comme facteur de transformations économiques, techniques et sociales (XIXe-XXe siècles)*, Neuchâtel: Éditions Alphil – Presses universitaires suisses, Neuchâtel, 2014, p. 41-57, here 1.

⁴⁴ Boyer, *Histoire de l'invention*, 2000, p. 256-257.

⁴⁵ Walton, *Tourism and Industrialization*, 2014, p. 1.

⁴⁶ Walton therewith rejects Boyer who, allegedly, describes tourism as rooting in these three preconditions: Boyer, Marc, "El turismo en Europa, de la Edad Moderna al siglo XXI", in *Historia Contemporánea*, Vol. 25, 2002, p. 13-31, cited in: Walton, *Tourism and Industrialization*, 2014, p. 1.

⁴⁷ Walton, *Tourism and Industrialization*, 2014, p. 1, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 16.

continue d'un avènement du tourisme ou des loisirs".⁴⁸ Yet, if tourism developed by jumping from one innovation to another, as his hypothesis of a "révolution touristique" (innovation-revolution-hypothesis) in the 18th century suggests,⁴⁹ is another question. The hypothesis finally ends in a list of – ostensible – touristic innovations: the Grand Tour, the revolution of Bath as an aristocratic bathing place, the summer as pleasure time for aristocrats, the nature as new European idea, the invention of the glaciers, the Mont-Blanc and the coast as touristic destinations as well as the winter in the Mediterranean.⁵⁰ Boyer also explains the turn from the elitist tourism of the 18th and 19th century to the mass tourism of the 20th century. This turn includes additional innovations such as the invention of the skidding sports like skiing, sledging and skating and the invention of the Mediterranean summer in the first half of the 20th century.⁵¹ Meanwhile, Tissot is cautious in his comments about touristic innovations which should have drove on the touristic development.⁵² Analyzing the case of the Alps, Tissot rejects the idea "that there was ever a single 'invention of the Alps', [...] rather there is a continual process of invention and reinvention of various models within a vast playground."⁵³

Quantitative studies

In order to clarify the effects of tourism on the pre-industrial and industrial economy a quantitative underpinning would be helpful. Yet, quantitative data on tourism – and especially reliable, credible, historical quantitative data – are extremely hard to gather. The problems are manifold, ranging from definition and delineation of contents to the basic question where useful sources could be found. Walton has repeatedly elaborated on these problems.⁵⁴ Nevertheless, there are authors who have faced the challenging situation with quantitative data, yet mostly on a low local level and on a modest scale.⁵⁵ Bound to selective sources, most of them are

⁴⁸ Boyer, *Histoire de l'invention*, 2000, p. 275.

⁴⁹ Boyer, *Histoire de l'invention*, 2000, p. 272.

⁵⁰ Boyer, *Histoire de l'invention*, 2000, p. 255-256.

⁵¹ Boyer, Marc, *Histoire générale du tourisme. Du XVIe au XXIe siècle*, Paris: l'Harmattan, 2005, p. 299, 305.

⁵² Tissot, *Alpinization*, 2011, p. 65.

⁵³ Tissot, *Alpinization*, 2011, p. 65.

⁵⁴ See for example: Walton, *Tourism and Industrialization*, 2014, p. 5-7; Walton, *Welcome*, 2009, p. 1; Walton, *Histories of Tourism*, 2009, p. 119-120.

⁵⁵ See for instance Vecchiarelli, Ilaria, "Statistica e storia del turismo: il caso tirolese", in Leonardi, Andrea; Heiss, Hans (eds.), *Tourismus und Entwicklung im Alpenraum 18.-20. Jh. Beiträge des ständigen Seminars zur Wirtschafts- und Unternehmensgeschichte in den Alpen in Neuzeit und Gegenwart*, Innsbruck: Studien Verlag, 2003, p. 469-486.

enforced to present and interpret these selective data. This study is subject to similar limitations. Making carefully some projections remains therewith as adventurous as comparisons are mostly destined to fail. Depending on the sources, the content of the quantitative data varies. Guidebooks are often cited sources for the 18th and the 19th century.⁵⁶ The nation states emerging from the second half of the 19th century onwards made tourism a subject of the collection of quantitative data in varying degrees. Thanks to its recognition tourism started to appear as autonomous economic sector in national statistics.⁵⁷ Most of the time, the collected data got more and more detailed: the guests' countries of origin, the medium length of a stay, the differentiation between domestic and foreign guests and several other factors complemented the data pool.⁵⁸ In the case of a weak nation state, professional associations like the "Schweizerische Hotelierverein (SHV)"⁵⁹ in Switzerland, often played a crucial role for the collection of quantitative data since these associations often were the only ones doing it. On their basis, some authors have estimated the economic importance of tourism such as Püntener whose estimations date back to 1850.⁶⁰ A national tourism statistics of Switzerland only starts as late as 1934!⁶¹ Stronger central states, like the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, seemed to have directed the collection of quantitative data.⁶² The quantitative approach has therefore not proven completely unsuitable for analyzing tourism in history, but remains enormously challenging and requires a very careful handling: The definition of a tourist by the World Tourism Organization (WTO) bases on the definition formulated

⁵⁶ For example: Tissot, Laurent, *Naissance d'une industrie touristique. Les Anglais et la Suisse au XIXe siècle*, Lausanne: Payot, 2000, p. 130-136.

⁵⁷ Tissot, Laurent, "Storia del turismo e storia economica. Considerazioni metodologiche ed epistemologiche", in Leonardi, Andrea; Heiss, Hans (eds.), *Tourismus und Entwicklung im Alpenraum 18.-20. Jh. Beiträge des ständigen Seminars zur Wirtschafts- und Unternehmensgeschichte in den Alpen in Neuzeit und Gegenwart*, Innsbruck: Studien Verlag, 2003, p. 23-41, here 40.

⁵⁸ An exhaustive presentation of a state statistics presents Leonardi, Andrea "Turismo e modernizzazione economica nell'area alpina austriaca", in Leonardi, Andrea; Heiss, Hans (eds.), *Tourismus und Entwicklung im Alpenraum 18.-20. Jh. Beiträge des ständigen Seminars zur Wirtschafts- und Unternehmensgeschichte in den Alpen in Neuzeit und Gegenwart*, Innsbruck: Studien Verlag, 2003, p. 227-280.

⁵⁹ Translated in the general sense: Swiss Hotel Association.

⁶⁰ Püntener, Peter, "Der Beitrag des Fremdenverkehrs zur Entwicklung der Schweizer Wirtschaft (1850-1913)", in Ernst, Andreas; Gerlach, Thomas; Halbeisen, Patrick; Heintz, Bettina; Müller, Margrit (eds.), *Kontinuität und Krise. Sozialer Wandel als Lernprozess. Beiträge zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte der Schweiz*, Zürich: Chronos-Verlag, 1994, p. 51-59.

⁶¹ Ritzmann-Blickenstorfer, Heiner, "Gastgewerbe", in Siegenthaler, Hansjörg; Ritzmann-Blickenstorfer, Heiner (ed.), *Historische Statistik der Schweiz*, Zürich: Chronos-Verlag, 1996, p. 735-759, here p. 735.

⁶² Vecchiarelli, *Statistica e storia del turismo*, 2003, p. 469-486 works with data mainly collected by the Kurverwaltung. Leonardi, *Turismo e modernizzazione economica*, 2003, p. 227-280 works with data mainly collected by the Statistische Zentralkommission of Vienna.

by the League of Nations in 1937!⁶³ As a consequence, historical data, like "[s]tatistics of visitor and traveler numbers and per capita expenditure remain extremely dubious", so that "resource and archival problems ensure that the quantitative economic history of tourism will remain provisional and imprecise".⁶⁴

1.2.1.2 Cultural History

The dominant cultural history includes socio-historical, economic historical or political considerations. This becomes apparent when describing the history of tourism in the Western World in the 19th and 20th century. It is there where most historians have worked on and where the main interest of this study lies (in order to be able to contextualize this study). In methodological perspective travel writings and guidebooks have often served as sources, highlighting the tourists' experiences, perceptions, points of view, attitudes, feelings and the description of their behaviour.⁶⁵ Recent research has pivoted around the following topics – topics, that all are intertwined with the history of the SVZ, as the several references prove (see below).

National Identity

The notion "national identity" deserves a certain reluctance which is not only due to the paradox that "the emergence of modern nationalism from the end of the eighteenth century onward [...] was a highly international ideology imported for national ends."⁶⁶ It is also due to its overtones of race, empire, hierarchy, which the term has been associated with since the 19th century.⁶⁷ Nevertheless, the notion of "national identity" is widely mentioned in the literature on tourism history what mirrors a recent shift in historiography: According to Richards, "national identity replaced class at the top of the historians' agenda"⁶⁸ and has only recently attracted the historians' interest. Yet, most of the cultural historical studies are satisfied with the

⁶³ Walton, *Tourism and Industrialization*, 2014, p. 5.

⁶⁴ Walton, *Histories of Tourism*, 2009, p. 120.

⁶⁵ As an example, see Campbell, Robert, *In Darkest Alaska. Travel and Empire Along the Inside Passage*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007.

⁶⁶ Löfgren, Orvar, "Know Your Country. A Comparative Perspective on Tourism and Nation Building in Sweden", in Baranowski, Shelley; Furlough, Ellen (eds.), *Being elsewhere. Tourism, Consumer Culture, and Identity in Modern Europe and North America*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001, p. 137-154, here p. 138.

⁶⁷ Richards, Jeffrey, "General editor's foreword", in Counce, Stephen; Mazierska, Ewa; Sydney-Smith, Susan; Walton, John K. (eds.), *Relocating Britishness*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004, p. xii.

⁶⁸ Richards, foreword, 2004, p. xii.

explication of the construction of the national identity. Tourism contributes to the construction and elaboration of national identity by promoting domestic tourism, encouraging tourist mobility to places where a national belonging can be achieved, stimulating national pride, or sustaining social tourism.⁶⁹ Switzerland is not an exception in this respect. In the 1930s, the SVZ offered considerable price reductions for the Swiss not only on railway tickets, but also for ski courses, as skiing in the Swiss Alps represented an activity, where the Swiss national identity crystallized (see chapters 5.2.4.5 *The 1930s: affordability* and 5.6.5.1 *Skiing and its meaning for tourism in Switzerland (1939-1942)*).

National imaginaries. Travel writings and guidebooks have been interpreted to the effect that they told the tourists what to see, view, buy, admire, and do before the journey so that the tourists knew already in advance, what they would experience. By creating these "mindscape"⁷⁰ about the landscapes the travel writings and guidebooks contributed to a "national imaginary"⁷¹ which is considered decisive to the formation of a national identity. Koshar even interprets national identity as "one of the key significations arising from tourism" basing on guidebooks which "were active agents in the formation of an optics of tourism, the attempt to visualize an authenticity that could provide meaning beyond the marketplace".⁷² How a meaning was given to a nation and how this lead to a national identity, reveal Shaffer⁷³ and Campbell⁷⁴ for the 19th century North America, which, in this time, was struggling for an identity. By discussing the different meanings which have been applied on the Niagara Falls, Strand unfolds how this – at least at first glance – touristic site at the US-American–Canadian border contributed to and became part of the North American national identity.⁷⁵ Gassan and Aron complement this story for the early 19th century and 20th

⁶⁹ Walton, *Histories of Tourism*, 2009, p. 123.

⁷⁰ Campbell, *Darkest Alaska*, 2007, p. 9.

⁷¹ Campbell, *Darkest Alaska*, 2007, p. 9.

⁷² Koshar, Rudy, "'What Ought to Be Seen': Tourists' Guidebooks and National Identities in Modern Germany and Europe", in *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 33, No. 3, 1998, p. 323-340, here p. 339.

⁷³ Shaffer, Marguerite S., *See America First. Tourism and National Identity, 1880-1940*, Washington, London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001, p. 6; Shaffer, Marguerite S., "Seeing the Nature of America", in Baranowski, Shelley; Furlough, Ellen (eds.), *Being elsewhere. Tourism, Consumer Culture, and Identity in Modern Europe and North America*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press 2001, p. 155-184.

⁷⁴ Campbell, *Darkest Alaska*, 2007, p. 9.

⁷⁵ Strand, Ginger, *Inventing Niagara. Beauty, Power, and Lies*, New York: Simon & Schuster, 2008.

century North America,⁷⁶ Löfgren proceeds in the same way for Sweden and other Nordic countries.⁷⁷ Chapter 5.2.4 *The image of Switzerland created abroad* shows some aspects of the Swiss national imaginaries by revealing how the SVZ – apart from the local tourist offices, the hoteliers or the railway companies – promoted Switzerland.

Imperial extension. National identity could also develop due to imperial extension of, for example, Great Britain,⁷⁸ the USA,⁷⁹ France⁸⁰, and the Netherlands.⁸¹ In this respect, a lot of work remains to be done.⁸² According to Campbell, the American tourists travelling to Alaska were on a level with the military and the territorial government in the imperial conquest of America's first overseas colony.⁸³ He even grants them being "all the more effective because they were not an official institution of the state apparatus."⁸⁴ Although Merrill acknowledges the importance of political economy and the state, he, too, stresses the tourists' importance for the shaping of the social and cultural life of the US-empire in Latin America.⁸⁵ If the inversion of this argument – state apparatus is ineffective – is also valuable, will be subject to discussion. Löfgren, at least, suggests that the state should be interested in tourism and its promotion because it boosted national identity, symbolized modernity and served as a means for educating the people.⁸⁶ In late imperial Austria, however, the question of a national identity supported rather awareness of regional and cultural differences within the country than it united the

⁷⁶ Gassan, Richard H., *The Birth of American Tourism. New York, the Hudson Valley, and American Culture, 1790-1830*, Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2008; Aron, Cindy S., *Working at Play. A History of Vacations in the United States*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

⁷⁷ Löfgren, *Know your Country*, 2001, p. 139.

⁷⁸ Berghoff, Hartmut; Korte, Barbara; Schneider, Ralf; Harvie, Christopher (eds.), *The Making of Modern Tourism. The Cultural History of the British Experience, 1600-2000*, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002, cited in Baranowski, *An Alternative*, 2003, p. 566-567.

⁷⁹ Campbell, *Darkest Alaska*, 2007.

⁸⁰ DeWald, Erich, "The Development of Tourism in French Colonial Vietnam, 1918-1940", in Cochrane, Janet (ed.), *Asian Tourism: Growth and Change*, Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2008, p. 221-232; Furlough, Ellen, "Une leçon des choses: Tourism, Empire, and the Nation in Interwar France", in *French Historical Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 3, 2002, p. 441-473.

⁸¹ Douglas, Ngaire; Douglas, Norman, "Tourism in South and Southeast Asia: historical dimensions", in Hall, C. Michael; Page, Stephen, *Tourism in South and Southeast Asia: Issues and Cases*, Oxford: Butterworth Heinemann, 2000, p. 29-44, here p. 38.

⁸² Baranowski; Furlough, Introduction, 2001, p. 20.

⁸³ Campbell, *Darkest Alaska*, 2007, p. 272, 283.

⁸⁴ Campbell, *Darkest Alaska*, 2007, p. 272.

⁸⁵ Merrill, *Negotiating Paradise*, 2009, p. 1.

⁸⁶ Löfgren, Orvar, *On Holiday: A History of Vacationing*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999, p. 271, 273-274.

"family of nations" inside the Austro-Hungarian monarchy.⁸⁷ That is probably why Steward prefers to speak about "cultural" and not from "national" identity.⁸⁸ Finally, although the Soviet Union considered itself as a "postcolonial multinational state"⁸⁹, the history of tourism in the country showed some characteristics of imperial rule.⁹⁰ The experience of imperial extension does definitely not describe appropriately, how a national identity was achieved in Switzerland. Löfgren's mention, however, that the state should be interested in tourism because it helped to boost national identity, can be observed in the context of the Swiss NTO (see chapter 5.6.5.1 *Skiing and its meaning for tourism in Switzerland (1939-1942)*).

Consumer culture. National identity has also been developed by the help of a modern consumer culture which tourism has been described as being constitutive of (see chapter 4.1.3 *A short history of advertising and marketing*).⁹¹ Tourists became consumers of places, experiences, and souvenirs because a growing tourist business, profit-making tour operators, hotels, guidebooks, seaside resorts, or travel agencies, started to administer and promote leisure travel in an increasingly bureaucratic and rational way, relying – among others – on advertising.⁹² This also counts for Switzerland, as chapter 5.6.5.1 *Skiing and its meaning for tourism in Switzerland (1939-1942)* shows. In the authoritarian regimes in Germany and Italy in the Interwar Period, tourism served as a substitute for postponed consumption. While the production of war materiel did not allow producing consumer goods, tourism was the way in which the Germans could obtain consumption – and were, on the same time, ideologically indoctrinated.⁹³

⁸⁷ Steward, Jill, "Tourism in Late Imperial Austria", in Baranowski, Shelley; Furlough, Ellen (eds.), *Being elsewhere. Tourism, Consumer Culture, and Identity in Modern Europe and North America*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001, p. 108-134, here 109.

⁸⁸ Steward, Late Imperial Austria, 2001, p. 108.

⁸⁹ Hirsch, Francine, "Getting to Know 'The Peoples of the USSR': Ethnographic Exhibits as Soviet Virtual Tourism, 1923-1934", in *Slavic Review*, Vol. 62, No. 4, 2003, p. 683-709, here 684, cited in Gorsuch, Anne E.; Koenker, Diane P., "Introduction", in Gorsuch, Anne E.; Koenker, Diane P. (eds), *Turizm. The Russian and East European Tourist under Capitalism and Socialism*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006, p. 1-14, here 9.

⁹⁰ Gorsuch; Koenker, Introduction, 2006, p. 9.

⁹¹ Baranowski; Furlough, Introduction, 2001, p. 7; Baranowski, *An Alternative*, 2003, p. 562.

⁹² Baranowski; Furlough, Introduction, 2001, p. 6. For the promotion of seaside resorts, see Beckerson, John; Walton, John K., "Selling Air: Marketing the Intangible at British Resorts", in Walton, J. K. (ed.), *Histories of Tourism: Representation, Identity and Conflict*, Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2005, p. 55-68.

⁹³ Baranowski, Shelley, *Strength Through Joy. Consumerism and Mass Tourism in the Third Reich*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, p. 4, 6.

Apart from ideology, what is the political implication of the term "national identity"? The adjective "national" refers to the term "nation" which is, according to recent research, considered to be an imagined community following imagined rules.⁹⁴ This definition refuses the – former – attempts of defining nations like naturally evolving public orders, but emphasizes its political, societal and especially cultural aspect.⁹⁵ Nations lead, most of the time, to the rise of a so-called "nation state" which has come into being in Western Europe from the second half of the 19th century onwards. They are often based on the practical construction of national institutions, a process called "nation building".⁹⁶ Recent research suggests, that the building of a political-administrative unity precedes an understanding of the way in which the nation sees itself.⁹⁷ This is noteworthy as it is not exclusively the cultural self-understanding, an ethnical or cultural identity, which creates the nation, but the administration as a result of a given political structure, for example a constitution which stands at the beginning of the "nation building". Thus, administrative processes and institutions of a nation state present an object of identification for its citizens; they (can) consequently contribute to a "national identity".

Switzerland is used to be called a "Willensnation", because a common language, ethnicity or religion, aspects which are usually considered to be constitutive for a nation, have not existed.⁹⁸ Yet, exactly the competition and rivalries of different languages and religions proved unifying in Switzerland, because they necessitated a constant dealing with each other.⁹⁹ This political act of will was supported by the fact that Switzerland has not faced any military devastations since 1848 and that it has seen a relatively economic stability and prosperity so far.¹⁰⁰ The Swiss nation therefore presents a nation building which has been based on a politically cultural background and which has been stabilized by economic

⁹⁴ Jansen, Christian; Borggräfe, Henning, *Nation – Nationalität – Nationalismus (Historische Einführungen, Vol. 1)*, Frankfurt/Main: Campus-Verlag, 2007, p. 14.

⁹⁵ Jansen; Borggräfe, Nation, 2007, p. 14.

⁹⁶ Jansen; Borggräfe, Nation, 2007, p. 28.

⁹⁷ Kreis, Georg, "Nation", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2011, <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D17437.php>, (accessed 12.12.2011); Fehrenbach, Elisabeth, *Verfassungsstaat und Nationsbildung 1815-1871 (Enzyklopädie Deutscher Geschichte, Vol. 22)*, München: Oldenbourg, 1992, p. 2-3.

⁹⁸ Jansen; Borggräfe, Nation, 2007, p. 145, 146.

⁹⁹ Jansen; Borggräfe, Nation, 2007, p. 146.

¹⁰⁰ Jansen; Borggräfe, Nation, 2007, p. 146-147.

advantages.¹⁰¹ The same may be said about the US if we consider non-European countries.¹⁰²

Vacationing becomes part of modern life

Several historians have asked why and how vacationing had become part of the modern life and had shown it for Sweden and the Western World in general,¹⁰³ Switzerland¹⁰⁴ or the USA for which Aron shows how, when and why vacationing came to be part of American life.¹⁰⁵ She has analyzed the uneasiness of the public opinion with vacationing in general since it embodied (and, according to her, still embodies) the dilemma which the white American middle-class has faced right from the beginning of its striving for vacationing: A lot of the middle-class people had become part of this social class through hard work and damning amusements and idleness – that is in accordance with Puritan and republican doctrines.¹⁰⁶ However, during the vacationing, the middle-class should enjoy idleness and being away from work, even more since vacationing became an important marker of middle-class status.¹⁰⁷ That is why camping and self-improvement vacations in religious resorts appeared apart from the dominant resort vacations from the 1870s onwards.¹⁰⁸ The idea of, at least, acquiring financial, physical or moral benefit while camping or learning in a summer institute during vacationing in the Great Depression accompanied the growing share of the American working class during their first vacations in the 1910s, 1920s or 1930s.¹⁰⁹ In fact, "[t]he fear of leisure and relaxation [...] took new forms but endured not only through the 1930s but, I [Aron] would suggest, until today."¹¹⁰ In Europe, the emphasis seemed to lie not so much on a financial, physical or moral benefit but on the education of the working class about

¹⁰¹ Jansen; Borggräfe, Nation, 2007, p. 146.

¹⁰² Jansen; Borggräfe, Nation, 2007, p. 146.

¹⁰³ Löfgren, Know your Country, 2001; Löfgren, On Holiday, 1999.

¹⁰⁴ Schumacher, Beatrice, *Ferien. Interpretationen und Popularisierung eines Bedürfnisses. Schweiz 1890-1950*, Wien: Böhlau, 2002; Schumacher, Beatrice, "Popularizing Vacationing and Trade-Union Politics. The Railway Men's Holiday Home. A Swiss Case Study, 1890-1930", in Tissot, Laurent (ed.), *Construction d'une industrie touristique aux 19e et 20e siècles. Perspectives internationales*, Neuchâtel: Edition Alphil, 2003, p. 293-305.

¹⁰⁵ Aron, Working at Play, 1999, p. 3.

¹⁰⁶ Aron, Working at Play, 1999, p. 7, 9, 257.

¹⁰⁷ Aron, Working at Play, 1999, p. 5.

¹⁰⁸ Aron, Working at Play, 1999, p. 177, 126, 256.

¹⁰⁹ Aron, Working at Play, 1999, p. 177, 205, 256.

¹¹⁰ Aron, Working at Play, 1999, p. 257.

how to make holiday.¹¹¹ In this respect, the year 1936 seems to be decisive since, then, European countries started their national holiday programs.¹¹² The French and Italian popular trains¹¹³ to the coast or the Swiss 30-45 percent discount on railway tickets¹¹⁴, did not only boost domestic tourism, but was also intended to boost patriotic feelings. Thus, the European working class obtained its participation in tourism in the Interwar Period, which led to the mass tourism after the Second World War.

Seaside

A well-studied topic in tourism history is the history of holidays and leisure at the seaside. While Towner stated already in 1996 that "[f]ew places [...] have received as much attention from scholars as the development of the seaside resort", Walton pleaded in 2001 that differences within and between national and regional cultures at the beach and in seaside resorts should be brought out more clearly in order to prevent a generalization of the social history of the beach across broad swathes of Western culture.¹¹⁵ Originating from Britain in the 18th century¹¹⁶ the seaside holiday appeared during the 19th century in Spain,¹¹⁷ Germany,¹¹⁸ the USA or France,¹¹⁹ and spread to the Pacific with the creation of the ideal of the tropical beach like Waikiki beach (Hawaii) in the 20th century.¹²⁰ The changing cultural connotations, social restraints and natural elements of the beach are described by Löfgren¹²¹ and

¹¹¹ Grazia, Victoria de, *The Culture of Consent. Mass Organization of Leisure in Fascist Italy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981, p. 238.

¹¹² Schumacher, Ferien, 2002, p. 292.

¹¹³ Larique, Bertrand, *L'Economie du tourisme en France des Années 1890 à la veille de la Seconde Guerre Mondiale. Organisation et développement d'un secteur socio-économique*, Bordeaux: unpublished Thèse de doctorat d'histoire (Université Bordeaux III), 2006, p. 662; de Grazia, Culture of Consent, 1981, p. 180.

¹¹⁴ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 34, 1930-1955: "Protokoll der Sitzung, [...] 31. Juli 1933 [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Zürich, 31.7.1933.

¹¹⁵ Walton, John K. "Consuming the Beach. Seaside Resorts and Cultures of Tourism in England and Spain from the 1840s to the 1930s", in Baranowski, Shelley; Furlough, Ellen (eds.), *Being elsewhere. Tourism, Consumer Culture, and Identity in Modern Europe and North America*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001, p. 272-298, here 295.

¹¹⁶ Walton, Consuming the Beach, 2001, p. 272-298, here 272.

¹¹⁷ Walton, Consuming the Beach, 2001, p. 272-298.

¹¹⁸ Kurilo, Olga (ed.), *Seebäder an der Ostsee im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert (Colloquia Baltica 18)*, München: Martin Meidenbauer, 2009.

¹¹⁹ For France see Boyer, Histoire générale, 2005, p. 308. On all listed countries, see Towner, John, *An Historical Geography of Recreation and Tourism in the Western World 1540-1940*, Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 1996, p.167-216, especially 184-194.

¹²⁰ Löfgren, On Holiday, 1999, p. 216.

¹²¹ Löfgren, On Holiday, 1999, p. 213-239.

Urbain¹²². Since Switzerland has no seaside or maritime beach, the research on seaside resorts only indirectly touches the history of tourism in Switzerland, as both destinations were bound to seasonality – at least until the Interwar Period in the 20th century. Seaside and mountainous resorts are interconnected in two ways: On the one hand, they represented seasonal complements, at least, until the Interwar Period in the 20th century. Holidays at the seaside in winter, for example in the Mediterranean, preceded the "winter" in mountainous resorts in the Alps where winter sports activities appeared from the 1870s onwards. Although Boyer makes clear that the winter season in the Mediterranean did not decline only due to the rise of the winter season in mountainous resorts stimulated by winter sport activities, the latter played a certain role in it – apart from the disappearance of (the financial power of) the aristocrats, the former guests, in the aftermath of the World Economic Crisis in 1929, and the loss of cultural and social distinction of the Côte d'Azur as a fashionable touristic place.¹²³ Yet, the Mediterranean reacted and invented the "Méditerranée estivale".¹²⁴ In addition, air travel and new social practices disrupted this strong seasonality – resulting in, at the beginning of the 21st century, a shrunken globe where people go to the beach or hike in the Alps whenever they want. On the other hand, seaside and mountainous resorts witnessed similar developments in terms of the creation of the touristic supply like a beach or a ski run. The factors leading to Blackpool as a seaside resort, for instance, resembled the factors leading to some winter sports resorts in Switzerland like Davos, Arosa or Leysin (see chapter 5.2.4.2 *The role of the English in shaping Switzerland's image*). The coincidence of a medical vogue (curing tuberculosis by means of fresh alpine air) with "entrepreneurial doctors" and a revaluation of the aesthetics and moral connotations of the natural environments (growing Alpinism in the Alps in the case of Switzerland) as Walton has shown for England in the 18th century was also playing in Switzerland in the 19th century.¹²⁵ This similarity shows again the tourism historians' claim that the reasons for the rise of a touristic destination does not always ground in its accessibility by the latest means of transport.

¹²² Urbain, Jean-Didier, *At the Beach, Translated by Catherine Porter*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003.

¹²³ Boyer, Marc, *L'hiver dans le Midi. L'invention de la Côte d'Azur (XVIIIe – XXIe siècles)*, Paris: L'Harmattan, 2009, p. 12, 427.

¹²⁴ Boyer, *Histoire de l'invention*, 2000, p. 273.

¹²⁵ According to Walton, *Consuming the Beach*, 2001, p. 274, these three factors were decisive in making seaside resorts in England.

1.2.1.3 Mobility history and transport history

The tourism historians' agreement that tourism developed not thanks to, but despite of transport has not yet been noted heavily by transport historians. The insight has even less been taken note of outside the historical sciences. Otherwise, Page would not have started his handbook article on the relationship of transport and tourism with the remark that "[t]ransportation is a [...] precondition for travel, [...] an essential service element of tourism [...]"¹²⁶. Yet, tourism historians have refuted this on several occasions: Spanish Cestona became touristically fashionable although it was isolated from the railway network.¹²⁷ Moreover, the Swiss railway companies did not hinder the touristic development but they did not foster it either,¹²⁸ and the rise of the winter in the Mediterranean, the Côte d'Azur or Chamonix as touristic destinations preceded the arrival of the train.¹²⁹ These examples have been supported by the economic historians Fogel and North "qui dénoncent 'l'axiome d'indispensabilité' et l'habituel discours selon lequel le chemin de fer 'coast to coast' fut le fondement de la croissance américaine du XIX^e siècle et de sa conquête de l'Ouest".¹³⁰ [In italics according to Boyer]

The transport historical focus on the transport infrastructure might have supported the idea that the touristic development based on the progress of the transport infrastructure.¹³¹ The advancement of transport history, however, has resulted in a widening of the foci. Thus, transport history has meandered with varying degrees along the border to tourism history over the past years, especially since it started to turn into "mobility history", that is an integrated transport history. In this regard, Schmucki has suggested that an integrated or integrative transport history only makes sense when the users of transport are included.¹³² Focusing the tourists is an obvious way to link transport with tourism history. By analyzing people's

¹²⁶ Page, Stephen; Ge, Yue (Gurt), "Transport and Tourism: A Symbiotic Relationship?", in Jamal, Tazim; Robinson, Mike (eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Tourism Studies*: London: SAGE, 2009, p. 371-395, here 371.

¹²⁷ Walton, *Tourism and Industrialization*, 2014, p. 11.

¹²⁸ Tissot, Laurent, "Développement des transports et tourisme: quelles relations?", in *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte*, Vol. 56, No. 1, 2006, p. 31-37, here 37.

¹²⁹ Boyer, *Histoire de l'invention*, 2000, p. 265-266.

¹³⁰ Boyer, *Histoire de l'invention*, 2000, p. 265.

¹³¹ Thanks to Benedikt Meyer for the clarification of this idea.

¹³² Schmucki, Barbara, "'Nothing reminds you on the journey that England is an island...'. Reiseerfahrung, Verkehrsmittel und transnationale Mobilität in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts.", in Schiedt, Hans-Ulrich; Tissot, Laurent; Merki, Christoph Maria; Schwinges, Rainer C. (ed.), *Verkehrsgeschichte. Histoire des transports*, Zürich: Chronos Verlag, 2010, p. 303-316, here 303.

experiences during travelling Schmucki aims at understanding transport history as a cultural history of technique.¹³³ In this respect, she finds that the luxury-trains and -boats produced a completely new travel experience insofar as the travel on the trains and boats became an experience in itself. Due to customs clearances inside sleeping-couches between London and Paris, for instance, the experience of a certain internationality replaced the one at the border.¹³⁴ Identity and nationalism became therewith more important than the technical aspect of the means of transport.¹³⁵ In other words, the experience in a train, which crossed national borders, contributed to a tourist's national consciousness. Recent research supported this experience for an automobile tourist, as driving a car necessitated showing several administrative documents needed to cross the borders.¹³⁶ Yet, while driving, the national borders faded away for European automobile-drivers as the car suggested itself for "cocooning" in the car itself.¹³⁷ In fact, the automobile tourists, who appeared in the Interwar Period in Switzerland, belonged to a social group, which gathered in an own "automobilistische Lebenswelt" consisting of clubs, races, specialized press, and for which the car implied a socio-cultural added value.¹³⁸ As part of the upper social strata, the Swiss hoteliers heavily endeavored to attract automobile tourists in the Interwar Period (see chapter 5.1.3 *Transport: the automobilists' conquest of the public*). These works by Schmucki, Merki, Bertho Lavenir and Mom show, that the strong nexus between transport and tourism has been loosened and led to a mobility history. As Tissot defines:

¹³³ Schmucki, *Nothing reminds you*, 2010, p. 305.

¹³⁴ Schmucki, *Nothing reminds you*, 2010, p. 312.

¹³⁵ Schmucki, *Nothing reminds you*, 2010, p. 313.

¹³⁶ Bertho Lavenir, Catherine, *Portrait du touriste en automobiliste. Les vecteurs de la construction d'une culture du grand tourisme automobile dans l'Europe du nord et du Sud au XXe siècle. Paper presented at the international conference "Tourism as a factor of economic, technical and social transformations: a comparative approach (19th-20th centuries)", 10th-12th November 2011*, organized by Prof. Dr. Cédric Humair (University of Lausanne), Prof. Dr. Laurent Tissot (University of Neuchâtel) and Marc Gigase (University of Lausanne), Lausanne: unpublished paper, 2011, p. 2, 11; Bertho Lavenir, Catherine, "Grand tourisme automobile et identité européenne", in Gigase; Humair; Tissot, *Le tourisme comme facteur*, 2014, p. 325-341.

¹³⁷ Mom, Gijs, "Encapsulating culture: European car travel, 1900-1940", in *Journal of Tourism History*, Vol. 3, No. 3, 2011, p. 289-307, especially p. 291.

¹³⁸ Merki, Christoph Maria, *Der holprige Siegeszug des Automobils 1895-1930. Zur Motorisierung des Strassenverkehrs in Frankreich, Deutschland und der Schweiz*, Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2002, p. 423.

La mobilité n'est pas qu'un déplacement physique sur un territoire et elle n'est pas synonyme de transport. Elle exprime aussi les déplacements sociaux, professionnels, symboliques" and "rend justice aux attentes qu'un déplacement peut suggérer."¹³⁹

Such socio-symbolic and mental dimensions of tourism (e.g. the relation between supplier and consumer, producer and user, promoter and consumer, visitor and visited people)¹⁴⁰ are applied by a study on how mountaineering women have jostled for the physical and ideological occupation of the alpine summits, a contest which has not yet solved and endures into our days.¹⁴¹ Future studies would be worthwhile if they focused on the psychological and emotional aspects of travel, the destination and how it comes into existence, and the hotel as a place of converging mobilities.¹⁴² As a consequence, a mobility history might result which would circumvent the dangers of a "cultural turn" in transport towards tourism history.¹⁴³

1.2.2 Administrative history

1.2.2.1 Political history

The present study claims to represent an institutional history of the SVZ. But what is an institutional history exactly? On the one hand, the institution considered, the SVZ, was destined at tourism promotion and sometimes tourism politics and contributes thereby to the history of tourism. On the other hand, it maintained special relations with the federal administration and should therefore be analyzed as a part of the history of the federal administration. Finally, tourism gained importance for the Swiss foreign trade policy in the context of the clearing system of Germany in the 1930s, so that it became part of the economic and political history of Switzerland as well. All these branches of history offer some different perspectives, which on their own, only partially tackle the subject of this study: the history of a Swiss touristic political institution. In summa, however, they guide this study's perspective: This institutional history of the SVZ is influenced by the approaches of the political history, the

¹³⁹ Tissot, Laurent, "D'une Suisse aimée à la Suisse aimante. Tourisme, transport et mobilité dans l'historiographie économique de la Suisse aux 19e et 20e siècles", in *Traverse - Zeitschrift für Geschichte*, Vol. 1, 2010, p. 156-170, here 161.

¹⁴⁰ Tissot, Suisse aimée, 2010, p. 161-162.

¹⁴¹ Wirz, Tanja, *Gipfelstürmerinnen. Eine Geschlechtergeschichte des Alpinismus in der Schweiz 1840-1940*, Baden: hier + jetzt, 2007, p. 387-388.

¹⁴² Tissot, Suisse aimée, 2010, p. 162-164.

¹⁴³ Walton, John, "Transport, travel, tourism and mobility: a cultural turn?", in *Journal of Transport History*, Third Series, Vol. 27, No. 2, 2006, p. 129-134.

administrative history particularly of Switzerland and the history of tourism. Some methodological considerations are therefore necessary.

It was with determination that proponents of the political history recently rejected the cultural *turn* in the historical sciences. In 2007, the *Historische Zeitschrift* published an issue focusing on "Geschichte der Politik. Alte und Neue Wege" and thereby revived the institutions as the center of historical research. Particularly the political institutions and the "staatlich-administrative Organisationen" should, according to Löffler, remain a central base and a crucial point of reference of political history and not become a simple "Anhängsel kulturalistisch-diskurstheoretischer Erörterungen".¹⁴⁴ This rejection of the cultural elaboration supported the tone of the whole issue: The publishers were convinced "dass es keinen 'Paradigmenwechsel' innerhalb der Geschichtswissenschaften von 'alter' Politikgeschichte zu 'neuer' Kulturgeschichte gibt – und dass es ihn auch nicht geben kann."¹⁴⁵ This does not mean that new methods should not be applied, in contrast. But traditional topics like state and power can still induce leading questions according to the publishers. Moreover: "Es gilt, die Thematik von Macht und Herrschaft wieder als die zentrale Herausforderung der Geschichtswissenschaft zu erkennen [...]."¹⁴⁶ In order to reach this, the publishers welcome a plurality of approaches and the application of old *and* new methods,¹⁴⁷ although their methodological preferences are traditional. In fact, it is a call for the return to the historians' basic method: Firstly, the publishers propose, to remain as close to the sources as possible, instead of conceptualizing, create concepts and start from approaches of periodization or to speculate on a "Symbolizität" (symbolism) of a ministry.¹⁴⁸ Löffler reinforces this call explicitly with reference to institutions: "Ein Ministerium ist kein Text und kein fiktionaler Diskurs [...], sondern ein in politischen Ereignissen fassbares Faktum."¹⁴⁹ Secondly, and basing on this first call, the publishers demand a turn for the concrete, to the object

¹⁴⁴ Löffler, Bernhard, "Moderne Institutionengeschichte in kulturhistorischer Erweiterung. Thesen und Beispiele aus der Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland", in Kraus, Hans-Christof; Nicklas, Thomas (ed.), *Geschichte der Politik. Alte und Neue Wege (Historische Zeitschrift, Beihefte, Neue Folge, Vol. 44)*, München: Oldenbourg, 2007, p. 155-180, here 174-175.

¹⁴⁵ Kraus, Hans-Christof; Nicklas, Thomas, "Einleitung", in Kraus; Nicklas, *Geschichte der Politik*, 2007, p. 1-12, here 12.

¹⁴⁶ Kraus; Nicklas, *Einleitung*, 2007, p. 1. Similarly, Haas, Stefan; Pfister, Ulrich, "Verwaltungsgeschichte - eine einleitende Perspektive", in Pfister, Ulrich; Tribolet, Maurice de (eds.), *Sozialdisziplinierung - Verfahren - Bürokraten. Entstehung und Entwicklung der modernen Verwaltung*, Basel: Schwabe, 1999, p. 11-26, here 11, find that cultural history ignores power as a research field.

¹⁴⁷ Kraus; Nicklas, *Einleitung*, 2007, p. 12.

¹⁴⁸ Kraus; Nicklas, *Einleitung*, 2007, p. 4-5.

¹⁴⁹ Löffler, *Moderne Institutionengeschichte*, 2007, p. 178.

as such, and to what they call the problems of a world, where no room for escape exists.¹⁵⁰ In terms of content and applied in an administrative context, this implies a turn to the informal life in an administration. What does that mean? It is – among others – the question about the role and relevance of an individual, how the acting of people can be analyzed and presented accurately.¹⁵¹ According to Löffler, who, despite of the publishers' rejection of a the cultural turn, pleads for an enhancement of the political history by the cultural approaches, focusing the informal life helps to identify and to explain the "institutionelle Wirklichkeit" (institutional reality) and the effect of institutions, that is to overcome the description of formal organizational structures, rules and the political decision-making.¹⁵²

This study profits from the call for power and reign as central topics for the historical sciences and the call for focusing the informal life of an institution (institutional reality) insofar as it exactly deals with those issues. While the confederation as such is even addressed in the leading question, its representatives – the public officials of the federal administration – as well as the functionaries of the SVZ also become subject of discussion several times and thereby help to locate and define the driving power in the Swiss tourism industry. Fathoming out the institutional reality in the SVZ is another imperative in this study; otherwise, a history of the first two decades of existence of the SVZ would not be very credible. Similarly to these political historical foci, the history of administration, and particularly the research on administrative elites, deals with the role of individuals. It is here where the present study finds some further theoretical inputs.

1.2.2.2 History of the federal administration

The history of the Swiss administration meanders on a very low level.¹⁵³ The situation is so dramatic that no other than the Swiss National Archives in Berne – the embodiment of the history of the Swiss administration itself – ordered different research reports about the history of the Swiss federal administration.¹⁵⁴ Bösiger

¹⁵⁰ Kraus; Nicklas, Einleitung, 2007, p. 5.

¹⁵¹ Kraus; Nicklas, Einleitung, 2007, p. 4.

¹⁵² Löffler, *Moderne Institutionengeschichte*, 2007, p. 168.

¹⁵³ Dahinden, David, *Bürokratiekritik im 19. Jahrhundert. Eine historische Spurensuche anhand der Eisenbahn-Systemfrage*, Sursee: unpublished Lizentiatsarbeit (Universität Bern), 2008, p. 19.

¹⁵⁴ Bösiger, Stephan, *Geschichte der Bundesverwaltung. Forschungsbericht verfasst im Auftrag des Schweizerischen Bundesarchivs von Stephan Bösiger lic. phil. hist*, Bern: [Schweizerisches Bundesarchiv], 2010. Similarly, a report on the cultural practices of administrations was ordered:

currently represents the most up-to-date overview, including also the main approaches and fields of interest of those publications which exist on the topic. According to him, the main problem is that most of the books, articles and book chapters do not understand themselves as contributions to the history of administration, but as contributions to other, more popular fields of research, like, for instance, the migration research, although they mainly deal with the administration and its sources.¹⁵⁵ The label "history of administration" is missing and this makes the literature so disparate.¹⁵⁶ Basing on his research report, Bösiger develops the thesis that there is certainly a kind of history of the modern Swiss administration, but it has hitherto not been labeled accordingly.¹⁵⁷ As a consequence, he assumes that a long-term overview would reveal interesting and substantial results.¹⁵⁸ Bösiger summarizes the most important publications and identifies the most treated subjects: While the personal of the federal administration and especially its administrative elite has been analyzed, some departments or sections of the federal administration have attracted attention due to their role in historical events, developments or processes: the Eidgenössisches Departement für auswärtige Angelegenheiten (EDA),¹⁵⁹ in particular its trading department, the Eidgenössisches Justiz- und Polizeidepartement (EJPD),¹⁶⁰ the Eidgenössisches Finanzdepartement (EFD)¹⁶¹ and the Eidgenössisches Departement für Verteidigung, Bevölkerungsschutz und Sport (VBS),¹⁶² the former Militärdepartement (EMD).¹⁶³ On para-state organizations, however, there exist only a few publications, mainly in the field of agriculture.¹⁶⁴ Tourism is not mentioned.

In 2011, the scientific journal "Traverse – Zeitschrift für Geschichte" on the subject followed the same way when stating: "Die Verwaltungsgeschichte der

Becker, Peter, *Kulturtechniken der Verwaltung. Forschungsbericht. Verfasst im Auftrag des Schweizerischen Bundesarchivs von Prof. Dr. Peter Becker, Deutsche Hochschule für Verwaltungswissenschaften*, Speyer, Wien: Schweizerisches Bundesarchiv, 2010. Finally, a report on the support services inside the federal administration was ordered: Fehr, Sandro, *Supportaufgaben in der Bundesverwaltung 1918–2000. Forschungsbericht. Verfasst im Auftrag des Schweizerischen Bundesarchivs von lic. phil. Sandro Fehr*, Bern: Schweizerisches Bundesarchiv, 2011.

¹⁵⁵ Bösiger, Forschungsbericht, 2010, p. 18.

¹⁵⁶ Bösiger, Forschungsbericht, 2010, p. 18.

¹⁵⁷ Bösiger, Forschungsbericht, 2010, p. 18.

¹⁵⁸ Bösiger, Forschungsbericht, 2010, p. 18.

¹⁵⁹ Translated in the general sense: Federal Department of Foreign Affairs (FDFA).

¹⁶⁰ Translated in the general sense: Federal Department of Justice and Police (FDJP).

¹⁶¹ Translated in the general sense: Federal Department of Finance (FDF).

¹⁶² Translated in the general sense: Federal Department of Defense, Civil Protection and Sports (DDPS).

¹⁶³ Bösiger, Forschungsbericht, 2010, p. 16-17.

¹⁶⁴ Bösiger, Forschungsbericht, 2010, p. 17.

Schweiz harrt trotz wegweisenden Ansätzen und Plädoyers einer eingehenden historisch-kritischen Analyse.¹⁶⁵ The historians have left the field clear for jurists¹⁶⁶ and social scientists.¹⁶⁷ As a consequence, we lack a canon of common research questions and approaches. Apart from the lack of an introductory reference book, a call for a "Verwaltungskulturgeschichte" (cultural history of the administration) died away without having any effects.¹⁶⁸ Similarly, the theoretical propositions for a history of administration by Haas/Pfister have not induced any studies following their propositions.¹⁶⁹ Even in a subordinated field which has recently been subject to scientific analysis, the research on a transnational comparative history of European administrative elites, Melis has proposed an intensification of common questions.¹⁷⁰ It is obvious that this would similarly be useful for the history of the federal administration in general.

One widespread topic is the comparison of the Swiss administration with its foreign counterparts. This is not astonishing because the history of administration has been a productive research field in France or elsewhere since the 1980s.¹⁷¹ The research on the federal administration can consequently be read against the background of the international development. Following Fleiner who has solved the methodological problems by screening the cantonal administrations and comparing them with the federal and foreign administrations,¹⁷² Nellen/Nienhaus/Sardet/Schiedt plead for an internationally comparative approach as long as the differences between the Swiss confederation and its foreign counterparts do not reveal a lack of sophistication of the Swiss administration, but rather, are understood as a basis for a productive analysis.¹⁷³ Accordingly, the issue of the *Traverse* risks the transnational step and puts the history of the Swiss federal administration in relation to its German, French, Austrian and British counterparts.¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁵ Nellen, Stefan; Nienhaus, Agnes; Sardet, Frédéric; Schiedt, Hans-Ulrich, "Verwalten und regieren", in *Traverse - Zeitschrift für Geschichte*, Vol. 2, 2011, p. 15-28, here 15.

¹⁶⁶ Nellen; Nienhaus, Sardet; Schiedt, Verwalten und regieren, 2011, p. 15.

¹⁶⁷ Bösiger, Forschungsbericht, 2010, p. 5.

¹⁶⁸ Bösiger, Forschungsbericht, 2010, p. 12.

¹⁶⁹ Bösiger, Forschungsbericht, 2010, p. 13.

¹⁷⁰ Melis, Guido; Volkmar Heyen, Erk, "Editorial", in *Jahrbuch für europäische Verwaltungsgeschichte (JEV)*, Vol. 17, 2005, p. VII-XII, here X.

¹⁷¹ For the history of national statistics and national statistical offices, see for example Busset, Thomas, "La mise en place du Bureau fédéral de statistique", in *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte*, Vol. 45, 1995, p. 7-28, here 8.

¹⁷² Nellen; Nienhaus, Sardet; Schiedt, Verwalten und regieren, 2011, p. 19.

¹⁷³ Nellen; Nienhaus, Sardet; Schiedt, Verwalten und regieren, 2011, p. 19-20.

¹⁷⁴ Nellen; Nienhaus, Sardet; Schiedt, Verwalten und regieren, 2011, p. 15.

Yet, the risks are numerous. As well-developed and rich the French "science administrative" and the German "Staatswissenschaften", as cautious presents itself the history of the federal administration in Switzerland. Several comparisons have shown, that the Swiss federal administration is only inappropriately described by German or French terms. Bösiger, discussing Raimund E. Germann's "Öffentliche Verwaltung in der Schweiz", concludes that Max Weber's typologies of the bureaucracy do not correspond with the Swiss administration.¹⁷⁵ Germann himself states that the permanent contract of employment widely used in most of the European countries was applied in Switzerland only in two cantons (Geneva, Vaud), while the federal administration followed a "Ämterssystem" (system of positions) in which the public officials are appointed for a specific function and for a limited duration.¹⁷⁶

Das im Ausland und v.a. in den meisten Ländern Europas verbreitete 'System des dauernden berufsmässigen Dienstverhältnisses', d.h. des B[eamte]n auf Lebenszeit, kannten in der Schweiz nur die Kt. Genf und Waadt. Die Bundesverwaltung sowie die meisten Kantone und Gem[einden] praktizieren oder praktizierten mindestens in formaljurist[ischer] Hinsicht das 'Ämterssystem', bei welchem der B[eamte] für eine bestimmte Funktion und auf eine bestimmte Dauer ernannt wird. Dieses System wurzelt in einer ausgeprägt republikan[ischen] und später direktdemokrat[ischen] Tradition, welche dem im Hofstaat des Monarchen wurzelnden Berufsbeamtentum abhold ist.¹⁷⁷

Similarly, Nellen / Nienhaus / Sardet / Schiedt cite Fritz Fleiner, a Swiss lawyer employed at the University of Heidelberg, who judged it as a mistake "'schweizerische Einrichtungen wegen ihrer äusserlichen Ähnlichkeit mit ausländischen, insbesondere reichsdeutschen Erscheinungen mit den im deutschen Recht dafür geprägten Ausdrücken zu belegen."¹⁷⁸ As a consequence, neither Weber's bureaucratization model, nor the French central administration is considered as an appropriate reference point for explaining the history of the Swiss federal administration. This does not simplify the task. The history of the federal administration is far away from a synthesis and only contains several characteristics

¹⁷⁵ Bösiger, Forschungsbericht, 2010, p. 7.

¹⁷⁶ Germann, Raimund G., "Beamte", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2011, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D10346.php> (accessed 5.11.2012).

¹⁷⁷ Germann, Beamte, 2011.

¹⁷⁸ Fleiner, Fritz, "Beamtenstaat und Volksstaat" [1916], in Fleiner, Fritz, *Ausgewählte Schriften und Reden*, Zürich: Polygraph. Verlag A.G, 1941, p. 138-162, here 146, cited in Nellen, Stefan; Nienhaus, Agnes; Sardet, Frédéric; Schiedt, Hans-Ulrich, "Verwalten und regieren", in *Traverse - Zeitschrift für Geschichte*, Vol. 2, 2011, p. 15-28, here 19.

– they are owed to historians, jurists and political scientists – which can be interpreted as theoretical fragments. Exactly this lack of theorization, however, prevents us from categories which narrow our perspective. The present study thereby follows Steinmann, who, in his Ph.D. on the Federal transport policy, concluded: "Theoriebildung als Ziel der historischen Forschung hiesse sich aber einem Konzept zu unterwerfen, das den Möglichkeiten und Interessen der Geschichtswissenschaft schlecht angepasst ist."¹⁷⁹

1.2.2.3 National tourist offices in historical perspective

Some fragments

Equally far from a theorization is the research on national tourist offices (NTOs). Yet, it deserves attention. Surely, how tourism was utilized in authoritarian states has recently been subject to some analysis.¹⁸⁰ This counts less for tourism promotion and the tourism policy of countries which remained democratic in the Interwar Period. Walton recently suggested that "the role of government in general, in all spheres from tourism policies to transport [...] requires further examination."¹⁸¹ It is noteworthy, that when it comes to the tourism policy, tourism promotion by national organizations seemed to be at the beginning of this development:

'The oldest of our NTAs [National Tourism Administration] were created immediately after the First World War. [...] And the very first international body, the predecessor of IUOTO [International Union of Official Travel Organizations], which itself preceded WTO [World Tourism Organization], was the International Union of Official Tourist Propaganda Organizations. It is interesting to note that *promotion, which was where things began*, is

¹⁷⁹ Steinmann, Jonas, *Weichenstellungen. Die Krise der schweizerischen Eisenbahnen und ihre Bewältigung 1944-1982*, Bern: Peter Lang, 2010, p. 26.

¹⁸⁰ Baranowski, Strength Through Joy, 2004, p. 132; Baranowski, Shelley, "Strength through Joy: Tourism and National Integration in the Third Reich", in Baranowski, Shelley; Furlough, Ellen (eds.), *Being Elsewhere. Tourism, Consumer Culture, and Identity in Modern Europe and North America*, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2001, p. 213-236; Semmens, Kristin, *Seeing Hitler's Germany. Tourism in the Third Reich*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005; de Grazia, Culture of Consent, 1981; Pack, Sasha D., *Tourism and Dictatorship: Europe's Peaceful Invasion of Franco's Spain*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.

¹⁸¹ Walton, Prospects, 2009, p. 790. Similarly: Booth, Rodrigo, "Turismo y representación del paisaje. La invención del sur de Chile en la mirada de la Guía del Veraneante (1932-1962)", in *Nuevo Mundo Mundos Nuevos*, [online], Debates, 2008, URL: <http://nuevomundo.revues.org/25052> (accessed 14.1.2013).

perhaps, in certain cases, all that remains today.¹⁸² [Left outs, full meaning of the abbreviations and accentuation added by AAH]

Beckerson, who is among those few who have worked on the organization of tourism promotion, laments over the focusing on the railway companies which has "skewed our perceptions" so that "[v]ery little attention has been given to the organisations which promoted nations, and it is to this void that further research will be addressed."¹⁸³ Indeed, who promoted nations? The most relevant institutions were the national tourist offices (NTOs). They lay at the heart of two recently, intensively discussed topics – tourism and the national identity¹⁸⁴ –, but imply a further category: politics. Nevertheless, NTOs have only rarely been the subject of discussion in historical research. Why? One reason may lie in the historiographical trends of the last decades. While the critical social history following Wehler and Kocka tended to show the processes and structures of social change, the (new) cultural history has been dealing with new issues such as women, gender and everyday life rather than with traditional issues like the state.¹⁸⁵ Another reason may be the dominant cultural aspect in tourism history, which is, however, comprehensible, after having spent numerous hours in archives and having screened reams of touristic-historical sources: pictures, postcards, posters, advertisements, diaries and literary travel accounts are literally crying for cultural historical interpretation. The difficulties of finding sources which are better destined for political historical questions – internal reports, minutes of meetings, etc. – may be a third reason, as the example of British Columbia reveals.¹⁸⁶ Or, in case of a good state of the sources like in Switzerland, it demands newly applied approaches to tourism history, like for example an institutional, political-historical approach. Indeed, the institutional or political history is

¹⁸² World Tourism Organization, *Tourism Responsibilities of European Governments. WTO/CEU-ETC Joint Seminar*, Madrid: WTO, 1997, p. 47, cited in Jeffries, David, *Governments and tourism*, Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 2001, p. 53.

¹⁸³ Beckerson, John, "Marketing British Tourism. Government Approaches to the Stimulation of a Service Sector, 1880-1950", in Berghoff, Hartmut; Korte, Barbara; Schneider, Ralf; Harvie, Christopher (eds.), *The Making of Modern Tourism. The Cultural History of the British Experience, 1600-2000*, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002, p. 133-157, here 134, 153.

¹⁸⁴ Baranowski, An Alternative, 2003, p. 562, 569-571.

¹⁸⁵ Iggers, Georg G., *Geschichtswissenschaft im 20. Jahrhundert. Ein kritischer Überblick im internationalen Zusammenhang, Neuauflage*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007, p. 68, 110.

¹⁸⁶ See Dawson, Michael, *Selling British Columbia: Tourism and Consumer Culture, 1890-1970*, Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004, p. 12, for British Columbia: "The internal records of the provincial government's tourist bureau [...] no longer exist; the records of the leading publicity bureau in Victoria are sparse."

definitely not new, they have rather been revived (see chapter 1.2.2.1 *Political history*).

In his study on the French NTO, Larique has applied such an political-historical approach.¹⁸⁷ The French Office National du Tourisme was founded in 1910 following the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and integrating the French touristical scene in its advisory body, the Conseil Supérieure du Tourisme.¹⁸⁸ Although the NTO was proposed by the minister for public works, Alexandre Millerand, the automobile lobby played an important role in the NTO right from the beginning.¹⁸⁹ Fighting with missing financial means and a contested legitimacy, the performance of the Office National du Tourisme disappointed until 1916, when the NTO regained legitimacy as an important column of the reconstruction after the war.¹⁹⁰ In fact, the French NTO blossomed in the 1920s, when it subsidized the local tourist offices, represented a real "organisme de synthèse", uniting the crucial persons of the French touristic scene, instituted the Crédit National Hôtelier, launched a first tourism statistics and opened several "bureaux de renseignements".¹⁹¹ In 1930, a financial scandal about the Maison de France, where the symbolic "centre de la vie touristique française" was located in, undermined the NTO's legitimacy fully, which lead to its suspension in 1935.¹⁹² The Office National du Tourism was replaced by a strictly governmental Commissariat général au tourisme.¹⁹³ The history of the French NTOs reveals a lot of characteristics, which also appear in the cases of the NTOs of other countries. Chapter 2 *The development of NTOs worldwide: An alpine model? (19th-20th century)* exactly tries to find some characteristics, which coined the establishment of a NTO.

In fact, Ward has theorized on the selling of places, but his findings only roughly help to characterize the development of NTOs.¹⁹⁴ Although he does not include the national level, he analyzes the touristic promotion of land open to

¹⁸⁷ Larique, *L'Economie du tourisme en France*, 2006; Larique, Bertrand, "Les débuts et déboires de l'organisation officielle du tourisme en France: l'expérience malheureuse de l'office national du tourisme (1910-1935)", in *Entreprises et histoire*, Vol. 47, No. 2, 2007, p. 73-92.

¹⁸⁸ Larique, *débuts et déboires*, 2007, p. 74, 76.

¹⁸⁹ Larique, *débuts et déboires*, 2007, p. 74-75, 78, 80.

¹⁹⁰ Larique, *débuts et déboires*, 2007, p. 70, 79.

¹⁹¹ Larique, *débuts et déboires*, 2007, p. 82-83.

¹⁹² Larique, *débuts et déboires*, 2007, p. 84-85, 89.

¹⁹³ Larique, *débuts et déboires*, 2007, p. 89.

¹⁹⁴ Ward, Stephen V., *Selling Places. The marketing and promotion of towns and cities 1850–2000*, London: Routledge, 1998.

settlement in the USA, tourist resorts, residential suburbs and post-industrial cities.¹⁹⁵ Ward differentiates three stages of touristic promotion – agricultural colonization (settlement), urban functional diversity (including tourist resorts) and urban regeneration following a decline¹⁹⁶ – and describes the process of selling places as a development which depends on many factors: Firstly, place sellings blossomed in periods of economic change and instability¹⁹⁷ – the foundation of the SVZ' predecessor, the Syndicat, and partially of the SVZ perfectly fit into this experience (see chapter 3.2. *The Syndicat pour les intérêts de la Suisse romande et du Jura-Simplon and the Publicity Department of the Jura-Simplon-Railway (1893-1902)*). This setting was repeated at the occasion of the establishment of the SVZ in 1911/17 (see chapter 4.2 *The preparation stage*). Secondly, place selling differed from case to case, from country to country (e.g. between the USA and GB).¹⁹⁸ Thirdly, the institutional framework where the selling of places occurred gave better reasons for its existence than the economic framework.¹⁹⁹ "That local marketing exists at all is in many ways a comment on the policies of higher governments."²⁰⁰ He finds that local marketing blossomed when higher governments have tolerated local autonomy and encouraged fiscal self-reliance.²⁰¹ This did not only favour marketing activities of private agencies (private business organizations, railway companies), but also let room for manoeuvre for the engagement of "key local individuals" and – considered as most important by Ward – the local relationship of business and political leaders.²⁰² As we will see, the SVZ' predecessor, the Syndicat, profited from a high local autonomy and fiscal self-reliance, so that "key local individuals" – we call them initiators – brought together business and politics (see chapter 3.2.1. *The Initiators*). Fourthly, the embracement or at least the toleration of the visions of the place sellers by the wider population seems to play a role for the success of place marketing.²⁰³ This characterization is more adequate than the application of branding methods on nations, newly en vogue in business administration.²⁰⁴

¹⁹⁵ Ward, *Selling Places*, 1998, p. 7.

¹⁹⁶ Ward, *Selling Places*, 1998, p. 7.

¹⁹⁷ Ward, *Selling Places*, 1998, p. 236.

¹⁹⁸ Ward, *Selling Places*, 1998, p. 237.

¹⁹⁹ Ward, *Selling Places*, 1998, p. 237.

²⁰⁰ Ward, *Selling Places*, 1998, p. 237-238.

²⁰¹ Ward, *Selling Places*, 1998, p. 238.

²⁰² Ward, *Selling Places*, 1998, p. 238.

²⁰³ Ward, *Selling Places*, 1998, p. 238.

²⁰⁴ Dinnie, Keith, *Nation Branding. Concepts, Issues, Practice*, Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 2008.

The SVZ in historical perspective

Publications on the Swiss national tourist office, the SVZ are rare, especially recent ones and especially scientific ones. It is noteworthy that the SVZ and tourism in Switzerland in general has mostly attracted the scientific interest in the four decades after the foundation of the SVZ, which is between the 1920s and the 1950s. This elder literature sometimes must be considered a source rather than historical research,²⁰⁵ all the more since not only scientists but also protagonists of the SVZ or of the touristic-political scene of Switzerland in these days published on this institution. The earliest publication on the SVZ delivered Barberini in 1929. She investigated the development of the SVZ which was founded among others by the help of the Swiss hotel industry.²⁰⁶ She heavily stressed the grave situation of the Swiss hotel industry in order to reason the foundation of the SVZ.²⁰⁷ Her scientific study is the only one which exclusively deals with the SVZ and on the same time fulfills scientific requirements. From the point of view of the sources, however, she mainly relies on the Federal Gazette and the stenographic bulletin of the Federal Assembly, thus reflecting the official documents produced by the federal administration. On this bases she describes the circumstances of the foundation of the SVZ, its legal status, structure, financing and tasks. According to Barberini, the devastating effect of the First World War on the Swiss hotel industry revitalized the belief that Switzerland was lacking a central marketing organization.²⁰⁸ Thus, the pre-war movement which had intended to build up such an organization gathered, so that in 1917, the "Association nationale pour le développement du tourisme" ("Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs") was founded, destined to maintain a national tourism office of Switzerland.²⁰⁹ In the same year, the Federal Assembly agreed to subsidizing the Association.²¹⁰ Other authors only touch the SVZ, but offer interesting details. Rubi considers the SVZ as crucial for the winter sport in

²⁰⁵ On tourism in general see: Gölden, Hubert, *Strukturwandlungen des schweizerischen Fremdenverkehrs 1890-1935*, Zürich: Girsberger, 1939; Gurtner, Hermann, *Die wirtschaftliche Bedeutung des schweiz. Hotelgewerbes*, Elgg: Büchi, 1939; Krapf, Kurt, *Der touristische Konsum. Ein Beitrag zur Lehre von der Konsumtion*, Bern: [s.n.], 1947; Verein "Verkehrshaus der Schweiz" (ed.), *Vorträge gehalten an der Schweizerischen Verkehrstagung am 5. und 6. November 1943*, Zürich: Verlag der Schweizerischen Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung, 1944.

²⁰⁶ Barberini, Emma, *L'Industrie Hôtelière et le Tourisme en Suisse de 1914 à 1929. Situation en 1914. La crise provoquée par la guerre et les remèdes qui y ont été apportés*, St. Maurice: Imprimerie de l'Œuvre St-Augustin, 1929.

²⁰⁷ Barberini, L'Industrie Hôtelière et le Tourisme en Suisse, 1929, p. 44.

²⁰⁸ Barberini, L'Industrie Hôtelière et le Tourisme en Suisse, 1929, p. 44.

²⁰⁹ Barberini, L'Industrie Hôtelière et le Tourisme en Suisse, 1929, p. 45.

²¹⁰ Barberini, L'Industrie Hôtelière et le Tourisme en Suisse, 1929, p. 45-46.

Switzerland because of its planned marketing campaigns for Swiss winter sport destination.²¹¹ The detailed contributions by contemporaries on special tourism political topics as for example the foreign trade policy²¹² remain indispensable.

In 1969 and 2007, the SVZ edited publications for its anniversaries, both a short listing of main dates, events and personalities. They are as informative as they are short.²¹³ Similar, rather short contributions are found concerning the publicity department of the SBB. While the publicity department's head presented his department in the internal newspaper of the SBB in 1926, Seger traced the history of the Publizitätsdienst in his function as the long-lasting head of this department.²¹⁴ The relationships among the two marketing institutions are profoundly treated in the following chapter. That is why we content ourselves at this moment with the remark that the literature on the SVZ and the publicity department of the SBB explicitly dealing with these two institutions is very modest in point of view of quantity as well as quality.

In summary, the state of the art in tourism history shows that the present study treats a topic which has been neglected so far. It does not astonish, therefore, that the present study heavily bases on sources while the contextualization by means of the literature faced some difficulties, it rather supports the idea of a research gap.

1.3 Sources

Jede Geschichtsschreibung geht aus einer personen-, zeit- und kulturgebundenen Perspektive hervor und enthält deshalb ein ideologisches Element. Jeder Versuch, dieses perspektivische Element zu leugnen, [...] hat die Werturteile und die

²¹¹ Rubi, Fred, *Der Wintertourismus in der Schweiz, Entwicklung, Struktur und volkswirtschaftliche Bedeutung*, Basel: Arnaud Druck, 1953, p. 5.

²¹² Ferralli, Marcel, *Der deutsch-schweizerische Verrechnungsverkehr von seiner Entstehung im Jahre 1934 bis zum Ende des Zweiten Weltkrieges*, Brombach: [s.n.], 1955; Probst, Fritz, *Clearing und Aussenhandel. Vortrag gehalten am 12. Juni 1944 im volkswirtschaftlichen Seminar der Universität Bern (Wirtschaftswissenschaftlicher Verband an der Universität Bern, Heft 2, Sommer-Semester 1944)*, [s.l.]: [s.n.], 1944; Schaad, Hans, *Die Schweiz im internationalen Clearing-Verkehr*, Zürich: Verlag des Schweizerischen Kaufmännischen Vereins, 1943; Streiff, R. C., "Die Preisnormierung im Wandel der Zeit", in Schweizer Hotelier-Verein (ed.), *75 Jahre. Jubiläum Schweizer Hotelier-Verein. Geschäftsbericht 1956*, Basel: Boehm & Co., 1957, p. 22-27.

²¹³ Schweizerische Verkehrszentrale (ed.), *50 Jahre Schweizerische Verkehrszentrale. Les grandes heures de l'ONST*, Zürich: Schweizerische Verkehrszentrale, 1969; Schweiz Tourismus, *In 90 Jahren um die Welt. Chronik Schweiz Tourismus. 1917 bis 2007*, [Zürich]: [Schweiz Tourismus], [2007].

²¹⁴ Thiessing, René, "Der Publizitätsdienst der S.B.B.", in SBB-Nachrichtenblatt, 3. Jahrgang, No. 1, 1926, p. 211-215; Seger, Markus, *Die Werbung der SBB 1902–2000*, Bern: SBB Historic, 2005; Seger, Markus, "Wie die SBB das Marketing lernten", in Arx, Heinz von (ed.), *Der Kluge reist im Zuge. Hundert Jahre SBB*, Ottersweier: AS-Verlag, 2001, p. 161-190.

ideologischen Voraussetzungen, auf denen die Wissenschaft beruht, nur verschleiert. Perspektivität schliesst aber keineswegs die um Erkenntnis bemühte Auseinandersetzung mit der Vergangenheit aus. Johann Christoph Gatterer hat schon vor zweihundert Jahren festgestellt, dass 'Standort und Gesichtspunct [sic!] des Geschichtsschreibers'²¹⁵ historische Erkenntnis erst ermöglichen. Das Ziel der wissenschaftlichen Beschäftigung mit der Geschichte ist die Annäherung, wie partiell sie auch sein mag, an eine Vergangenheit, wie wirkliche Menschen sie erfahren und gemacht haben. Die Erforschung der Geschichte erscheint uns daher als ein fortdauernder Dialog, der weder ausschliesslich rational noch rein willkürlich geführt werden kann, sich aber stets an der Wirklichkeit orientieren muss.²¹⁶

This citation forms a good base for the self-understanding of the present study: The author is convinced that there was a reality in past times which a today's historian has the honour to trace back to – as perspective as it may be. The important thing is to explain the method of this tracing back and the cascade of steps taken. As usual, the method applied in this study tightly depended on the sources. Sources can have different qualities. On the one hand, some sources are called "Überrest" (leftovers). They were not made with the intention of transferring them to future generations. On the other hand, the sources called "Tradition" were made exactly for this purpose. Letters, internal notes, internal reports, and drafts of different projects have been consulted and must mainly be labeled as leftovers because an intention for a transfer to coming generations is not very plausible. The same counts for the minutes of a constitutive assembly, as well as the decrees and messages by the Federal Council, which, however, also can be considered as documents which must be labeled as "Tradition", as an intention of transferring them to coming generations cannot be excluded fully. At least, the sheer fact that they usually were printed and/or published reveals the intention that one might look up some information in them. The publications by members of the personel of the SVZ, in contrast, must be considered a "Tradition".²¹⁷ An often-cited type of sources are the minutes of the meetings of an organ of the SVZ, for instance, the minutes of the meetings of the board of management. These minutes were used for the advancement of the daily work and

²¹⁵ Blanke, Horst Walter; Fleischer, Dirk (ed.), *Theoretiker der deutschen Aufklärungshistorie*, Vol. 2, Stuttgart – Bad Cannstatt: frommann-holzboog, 1990, p. 452-466, here 453, cited in: Iggers, *Geschichtswissenschaft im 20. Jahrhundert*, 2007, p. 119.

²¹⁶ Iggers, *Geschichtswissenschaft im 20. Jahrhundert*, 2007, p. 119.

²¹⁷ Thiessing, René, "Schweizerische Fremdenverkehrspolitik", in Verein "Verkehrshaus der Schweiz" (ed.), *Vorträge gehalten an der Schweizerischen Verkehrstagung am 5. und 6. November 1943*, Zürich: Verlag der Schweizerischen Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung, 1944, p. 199-217; Senger, Max, *Strasse und Fremdenverkehr*, [Zürich]: [s.n.], 1935.

belong to the "Überreste", but, in some cases, function like a "Tradition" as the minutes of an organ's meetings also were made for a later consultation in order to find a decision or an argument. Moreover, as minutes sometimes took on the form of a legal document (e.g. the election of the board of management at the occasion of a general assembly), they are considered as "Tradition" in some cases. Why is this reasoning so important? Making a difference between documents called "Tradition" and documents functioning like leftovers is important because it makes clear the function of the leftovers which form the majority of the sources used in this study. Leftovers provide some room for development, change, sudden turns in opinions or coalitions etc. They suggest themselves for answering the questions how an institution came into being, how a decision was taken, who said what and when and why, which interest much more in this study than the final decision, the result itself (e.g. the articles of association of the SVZ of 1917 or of the SZV of 1939). Consequently, the quality of the sources – that is if they are considered as a "Tradition" or leftovers – supports the study's aim. As it is often the case in tourism history the archival situation is very complex.²¹⁸ Several archives were consulted, but the Archive SBB and the "Bundesarchiv (BAR)" (Federal Archives), both located in Berne, hold the most important part of the sources which were consulted.

1.3.1 Archive of the SVZ (Switzerland Tourism)

The SVZ as main target of this research work has some of the annual reports and brochures, catalogues, flyers and further promotional publications by the SVZ in its archive located at the head office in Zurich. These publications are the results of the SVZ' daily work. Documents for explaining these results – minutes for instance, but also the other annual reports, namely, the 9th to the 23rd annual report – are missing in Zurich. Luckily, they can be found in other archives, mainly the Bundesarchiv (BAR). They can be found there because the Eidgenössische Post- und Eisenbahndepartement (EPED)²¹⁹ was a member of the board of management of the

²¹⁸ Hachtmann, Tourismus-Geschichte, 2007, p. 17-18.

²¹⁹ According to Eidgenössisches Amt für Verkehr, *Hundert Jahre Eidgenössisches Amt für Verkehr*, Bern: EDMZ, 1973, p. 11, 13, the name of the federal department which was in charge of tourism changed several times: After 1878, the „Post- und Eisenbahndepartement“ supervised the transport sector, after 1935, it was called "Eidgenössisches Verkehrs- und Energiewirtschaftsdepartement (EVED)". In contrast, according to Altermatt, Urs, "Die Departemente der Bundesverwaltung. Eine historische Skizze", in Prongué, Bernard; Rieder, Joëlle; Hauser, Claude; Python, Francis (ed.), *Passé pluriel. En hommage au professeur Roland Ruffieux*, Fribourg: Editions Universitaires, 1991, p. 291-305, here 295, the name EVED only came into power in 1963. As the sources used in this study

SVZ and therefore collected the minutes of its meetings, drafts of contracts (as preparatory material to the meetings), etc. Furthermore, the EPED archived all documents concerning the SVZ which its employees judged as valuable for holding, since it was the federal department responsible for the SVZ.

1.3.2 Bundesarchiv (BAR)

The Bundesarchiv (BAR) in Berne have extensive documents concerning the foundation of the SVZ (BAR E 57 (-), 1000/921) and its activities. Only the four accessions BAR E 8100 (B), 1971/137, BAR E 8100 (B), 1972/19, BAR E 8100 (B), 1972/28 and BAR E 8100 (B), 1972/86 comprise around 90 boxes with tourism political value. After all, the minutes of the meeting of the SVZ' board of management are crucial to the central question and are available in the Bundesarchiv. Preparatory material for the meetings is often added. Thus, when the SVZ signed a contract with the Publizitätsdienst der SBB in 1927 on their collaboration, this contract had to be approved by the board of management before signing. The correspondent discussions of the members of the board of management can be followed in the minutes of their respective meetings. The minutes mostly mention the statements of the different members under their respective names and do not summarize the topics. Like this, the statements of the different protagonists can be analyzed and contribute to define the protagonists' interests, goals, intentions, and roles.

The call for reorganization and overcoming the dualism after the foundation of the SVZ caused several temporal coordinative bodies between the SVZ and the Publizitätsdienst der SBB. These are the "Zentralkommission für die Vereinheitlichung Schweizerischer Verkehrswerbung"²²⁰ and the "Werbegemeinschaft"²²¹. For this, contracts, articles of association or guidelines were created – often by or at least with the help of the Eidgenössisches Departement des Innern (EDI).²²² That's why drafts of such articles of association or contracts are in the Bundesarchiv. The interesting sources, however, are the numerous letters written

support Altermatt's designation, the name EPED is used in the following. Today, the former EVED is called Eidgenössisches Departement für Umwelt, Verkehr, Energie und Kommunikation (UVEK), or, translated in the general sense: Federal Department of the Environment, Transport, Energy and Communications (DETEC).

²²⁰ Translated in the general sense: Central Commission for the Standardization of Swiss Traffic Advertising.

²²¹ Translated in the general sense: Publicity Community.

²²² Translated in the general sense: Federal Department of Home Affairs (FDHA).

and received by the EDI or the EPED²²³ and accompanying the creational process of these contracts: they reveal in detail the discussions and therewith the different ideas of the institutional organization of the federal tourism policy.

Moreover, internal documents of the EDI or EPED enlighten the opinion concerning the SVZ inside the administration. An employee's notes for his superior (sometimes quite informal and so showing the true intention), the post and transport minister's letters as well as written orders and interdepartmental reports on an affair concerning the SVZ reveal the opinion and ideas inside the federal administration. These sources, interpreted critically, explain in fact the administration's role in the SVZ and are therefore crucial and very helpful for describing the federal tourism policy. It is, however, important to realize that the EDI and later the EPED were, on the one hand, member of the SVZ, but on the other hand, the supervisory body! Thus, the departments archived those information which they considered useful for the supervision of the SVZ.

A unique kind of source are the (sometimes secret) reports by the agencies of the SVZ abroad fixed to the minutes of the meetings of the board of management. The agencies regularly had to report on the general political, economic and social situation in their respective countries as well as on their promotional activities. Due to the sheer amount of them, they will not be included since it would be worth to study them in a separate project.

1.3.3 Archive SBB

The archive of the SBB, Archive SBB, has extensive documents on the Publizitätsdienst, the accession Archive SBB, GD PUB 2003/005 alone counts 79 boxes. The Publizitätsdienst der SBB was supported by the Beratende Kommission (Advisory Committee). The minutes of the meetings of the Beratende Kommission, the Zentralkommission and Werbegemeinschaft as well as numerous letters, drafts of contracts and internal reports of the Publizitätsdienst are archived in the Archive SBB. Press releases, newspaper articles and reports by the agencies of the Publizitätsdienst can be found in this extensive accession, too. Due to the enormous quantity of documents, they will only be included when they help to explain a topic

²²³ The federal department in charge of the SVZ was the EDI until 1933 and the EPED afterwards. When the EPED transferred its railway department into the newly founded EAV in 1935, it was this office which became the SVZ' supervisory body.

emerging in the minutes, letters and internal reports. Even with these minutes, letters and internal reports, the structure of the forerunner and competing institution of the SVZ can be discussed comprehensively .

1.3.4 Federal Gazette and Federal Assembly's Official Gazette

The EPED prepared the materials for the Federal Council and the Federal Assembly. The final versions of the official decrees, messages and decisions of the Federal Council and the two chambers (National Council and Council of States) are published in the *Federal Gazette* which is digitalized and easy accessible.²²⁴ The verbatim minutes of the Federal Assembly in the Federal Assembly's Official Gazette are accessible in the Bundesarchiv as well as in the National Library. All these sources help to fix the political cornerstones of the federal tourism policy. They have to be read, however, critically and put into relation with the minutes, letters and internal reports found in the Bundesarchivf.

1.3.5 Museum of Design Zurich / National Library

Having realized the great cultural historical impact of its posters and graphical collection, the SVZ donated them to the Museum of Design Zurich for professional handling in 1998.²²⁵ The earliest poster dates from 1921, the last one from 1992.²²⁶ They can be consulted there. However, some of the posters are accessible online in the Swiss Posters Collection.²²⁷

Apart from the relevant posters in the Swiss Posters Collection, the National Library possesses considerable numbers of the SVZ' promotional materials like brochures, leaflets, flyers etc. While most of these publications are normally accessible, the holding V 4800 counts as a "Sonderausleihe" and has to be fixed with the Library's responsible for this topic.²²⁸

²²⁴ Schweizerisches Bundesarchiv, *Federal Gazette*, [s.d.], URL: <http://www.bar.admin.ch/archivgut/00945/00948/index.html?lang=en> (accessed 30.6.2014).

²²⁵ Willi, Hanes, *Schenkung Schweiz Tourismus. Elektronische Erfassung von Plakatentwürfen aus der Schenkung Schweiz Tourismus an die Plakatsammlung des Museums für Gestaltung Zürich (Einführung und Arbeitsbericht)*, Zürich: unpublished thesis (s.n.), 2000, p. 4.

²²⁶ Willi, *Schenkung*, 2000, p. 5.

²²⁷ National Library, *Welcome to the Swiss Poster Collection*, [s.d.], URL: <http://ccsa.admin.ch/cgi-bin/gw/chameleon?skin=affiches&lng=en> (accessed 30.6.2014).

²²⁸ Personal communication by Laurent Egger, NB, to Anna Amacher Hoppler, Email, 17.12.2014.

1.3.6 Archive of the SFV

The archive of the SFV mainly stores the association's publications and the minutes of the meetings of the SFV's organs. Due to the minutes of the meetings of the SFV's board of management and its committee, we are able to reconstruct the SFV's opinions, issues, tasks and activities.

1.4 Method and the limits of the study

1.4.1 Critical source interpretation

The origin, type and intention of the sources described above have some crucial methodological consequences. Firstly, we are bound to the sources. Therefore, the method applied in this study is the critical source interpretation. Starting from the rather homogenous sources (minutes, internal notes, internal reports, letters, drafts, official publications, but newspapers or similar publications only exceptionally), the critical source interpretation is a suitable way of generating knowledge out of them. This basic historical method allows us to follow the sources closely and to prevent us from becoming blind for the sources' meaning because no theoretical concept narrows down our lecture of the sources.²²⁹ As the content of the sources normally provokes additional questions, the way of proceeding is hermeneutical. Secondly, this proximity to the sources suggests to apply different approaches. Why is this? Because of the fact, that many different kinds of topics prevail in different periods. If we want to try to explain them, only different approaches may be suitable to explain one aspect or another. It is therefore that only different theoretical considerations are able to explain – if at all – the different aspects, topics and questions. Consequently, different theories and approaches are applied only situational, that means according to a given time and/or topic.

Time and content can be seen as two dimensions: On the one hand, there is a time dimension ranging from the "prehistory", to the phase of the creation and establishment of the SVZ, the first years of existence to the phase of the SZV, that is to say the relabeled and organizationally restructured SVZ. On the other hand, there

²²⁹ In doing so, this study conceptionally follows Hachtmann, *Tourismus-Geschichte*, 2007, p. 22.

is a dimension in terms of content. As figure 1 shows, very different topics occupied the SVZ in these different temporal phases.

SHORT HISTORY OF THE SVZ / SZV

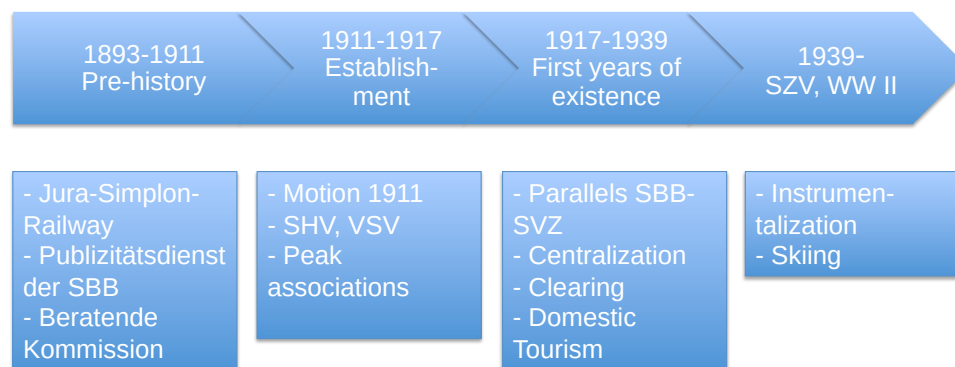


Fig. 1: Different topics dominated different phases of the SVZ' (coming into) existence.

Source: Own illustration.

When Emery and Seiler submitted their parliamentary motion demanding a Swiss tourism office in 1911, they started a process of creating and establishing a new institution, which was, formally speaking, an association of private law, but which the Swiss confederation was member and – on the same time – the supervisory body of (see chapter 5.2.1 *The structure of the SVZ*). In particular the EDI coordinated and coached the process of the creation and supervised the SVZ' activities after the establishment. Consequently, the SVZ can be considered as a part of the federal administration, although not an integral one. Most of the persons working for or employed by the SVZ did not consider themselves as officials. Nevertheless, some of them played crucial roles for its establishment and development. In the period between 1917 and 1939, they regularly appear in different functions for the SVZ. In a theoretical point of view, this rises many questions: What was the function of those persons regularly appearing in the context of the SVZ? Why and how the institution was created? Put into the context of the Swiss federal administration, the question

must be reformulated: How and why was a part of the federal administration created? How did an administration come into existence? The special role of the confederation in the SVZ made it to the first *official* institution for tourism promotion and – partially – politics. Yet, tourism in Switzerland had already been promoted before 1917.

Apart from several local tourist offices, the marketing of regions gained a new aspect when some businesspersons and politicians from the Lake Geneva Region started to promote the French-speaking part of Switzerland in London. Under the auspices of the main regional railway company, the "Jura-Simplon-Bahn (JS)",²³⁰ they opened two "bureaux de renseignements", one in London and one in Lausanne, where the company was seated. They turned into a "Service de publicité" of the JS one year later, which is in 1894. When the JS became part of the SBB in 1902, its "Service de publicité" was transferred into the Publizitätsdienst der SBB which existed until 1939. Thus, the establishment of the SVZ provoked a parallel which lasted until this date when the agencies of the Publizitätsdienst der SBB were transferred to the SVZ. As the SBB were not mainly interested in tourism marketing – they first and foremost had to repair the rails, then the electrification kept them occupied for over four decades –, they founded a Beratende Kommission für den Publizitätsdienst der SBB (Advisory Committee for the Publicity Service of the SBB), which touristic (political) agents like hoteliers, directors of private, sometimes touristic railway companies, etc. were allowed to take part in. In this way, the SBB got the experts' knowledge while keeping the competence to decide from them. Thus, the SVZ was not the first institution to promote tourism in Switzerland. However, it was the first official institution. Obviously, the dominant questions here are the following: How was tourism marketing organized in Switzerland before the SVZ, particularly at the end of the 19th century? Who was active in this respect and why? What did they do? Which were the consequences?

After the establishment, the SVZ faced its first years of existence. How did it manage these years, which, in the case of the SVZ, comprised roughly the 1920s and the 1930s? Which subjects did dominate? Why? Did anything like a normality, a continuity in point of view of the personnel, the politics or the tactics appear? Which topics did prevail?

²³⁰ Bärtschi, Hans-Peter, "Jura-Simplon-Bahn (JS)", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2007, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D42008.php> (accessed 26.10.2012).

In 1939, the fusion of the SVZ and the Publizitätsdienst der SBB brought the centralization in the marketing of tourism in Switzerland being longed for and discussed for a long time. Yet, in this year, the external circumstances were about to change considerably. The SZV witnessed a certain instrumentalization by the confederation during the Second World War, while it tried to prepare the conquest of the American market, which the SZV wanted to perform after the war. Again, the dominant questions differ from those in previous periods: How did the confederation instrumentalize the SZV? Which messages did it spread? How did the SZV manage the first war years?

To do justice to this multitude of topics, following the sources closely according to the critical source interpretation seems to be an appropriate way. It also prevents us from an inappropriate use of terms found in the sources.

1.4.2 Why the national level?

The present study fully fits into the interdisciplinary approach, as it derives inputs from the history of administration, of institutions, of tourism and the politico-economic history. The focus on an institution poses chances as well as dangers, so that the institutional approach faces some limits: Regarding NTOs, the institutional approach runs the risk of appearing artificial. Why? As will be explained below, the nuclei of the institutions of tourism promotion were literally mushrooming on a local and regional level in the beginning. Why should one ask about the national level, then? On the one hand, focusing the NTOs makes sense because tourism is considered to contribute to the construction and elaboration of a national identity.²³¹ How this found expression in the administration (in the case of Switzerland), which for its part contributed to the national identity itself, is one of the topics of this study. On the other hand, an institutional approach is easier applied at a national level than at a local or regional level, because the sources of and the literature about national administrations are usually more extensive and easier accessible than for local and regional administrations. The national focus in tourism history is, however, often criticized – despite of a persistent application.²³² The point thereby is, that tourism is a distinct international matter but analyzed in a national perspective. How should one

²³¹ Walton, *Histories of Tourism*, 2009, p. 123.

²³² Storm, *Overcoming Methodological Nationalism*, 2014, p. 363-364.

tackle this tension which, surely, can and shall not be hidden? The multiple use of the national perspective in tourism history shows at least that there must be some good reasons for doing so. In the case of the SVZ, for instance, the national perspective makes sense because tourism policy was anchored on the national level in the first half of the 20th century. There was simply no European tourism policy, let alone public touristic political institutions. It was only after the establishment of the national ones that a collaboration between them started, thus got international. The Tourism Committee of the Organization for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC) after 1948 may be called a first real international touristic political institution, although an exchange of experiences had taken place well before! This is not to say that there was no collaboration on the private level. In the field of automobile tourism, the international cooperation was institutionalized earlier, in 1898, when the Ligue internationale des associations touristes (Liat) united the Touring Clubs of France, Belgium, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Italy, Germany and Austria.²³³ In the field of the private travel agencies, the several cooperative bodies appeared in the Interwar Period.²³⁴ Another reason for the persistence of the national perspective may lie in the fact that there are still a lot of national topics we do not know about enough yet. It makes sense, to clarify the national cases before comparing them with each other. Finally, the methodological and organizational problems of an international research should not be underestimated. The chapter on the development of NTOs worldwide (see chapter 2 *The development of NTOs worldwide: An alpine model? (19th-20th century)*) shows that the methodological challenges are considerable, if the sources stem from different countries or differ in their kind (e.g. newspaper vs. minutes). Transnational research projects with a *common* leading question, method and research design would be a solution to this, but have not been realized until now. The international perspective is therefore emphasized and taken as the motto for future research. Thus, the young Journal of Tourism History is "international in scope, global in geographical range, directed at a variety of historical period, diverse in methodology and thematic engagement, and interdisciplinary in outlook."²³⁵ Most of the articles, however, limit themselves to one or two geographical places. This is not to criticize the international intention, in contrast, but it is to explain the persistence of

²³³ Berrino, Annunziata, *Storia del Turismo in Italia*, Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino, 2011, p. 149.

²³⁴ Visentin, Claudio, "Per una storia dei viaggi organizzati in Italia. Milano 1873-1939", in Visentin, Claudio (ed.), *Il turismo contemporaneo. Cultura e mondo dell'impresa*, Lugano: Giampiero Casagrande editore, 2002, p. 67-103, here 90-93.

²³⁵ Walton, Welcome, 2009, p. 4.

the national perspective. Future research, surely, should address topics in a manner as Walton designed it for the *Journal of Tourism History*. The final limit of the present study is of fundamental nature: The SVZ was – at first sight – an institution for marketing Switzerland, basically a marketing-organization. What did it have to do with politics? Why and how does this study connect the SVZ with tourism policy? Why do we use a marketing-organization for revealing some aspects of Swiss politics? The answer for this is as simple as short: the date of establishment. In 1917, there was no other national institution with public contribution which dealt with tourism policy as such. The *real* interest association for tourism, which took on the role of a peak association, was established in 1934, the "Schweizerischer Fremdenverkehrsverband (SFV)", today "Schweizer Tourismus-Verband (STV)".²³⁶ In this year, however, the SVZ had already achieved a certain position in the federal administration and its politics. The SFV first and foremost took on the job of defending touristic interests in the clearing negotiations with Germany.²³⁷ But a history of the SFV would undoubtedly reveal a considerable part of the Swiss tourism politics. A master thesis, however, would at least be appropriate. For the present study this implies that we are occupied with the institutionalization of a marketing-organization which, however, influenced Swiss touristic-political considerations and was instrumentalized by the Swiss federal administration, a genuine political institution in itself. This approach is also applied by other authors like Visentin, according to whom the Italian NTO, the ENIT, represented a touristic institution which attracted the nation states' interest for the first time: "[A]ttraverso il quale [the ENIT] lo Stato per la prima volta interveniva direttamente nell'ambito del turismo."²³⁸ Obviously, tourism promotion – for which the NTOs like the SVZ or the ENIT stand – was one of the first fields where the nation states interfered in tourism, and, as a result, the political interferences in tourism can be tackled. As the administrative approach may support the focus on the SVZ, the present study complements tourism history to the amount of a further – institutional – aspect. At least, the institutional

²³⁶ STV-Archiv, PROTOKOLLE Vorstandssitzungen 1934-1938, 1955-1962: "PROTOKOLL der Sitzung des Vorstandes des Schweizerischen Fremdenverkehrsverbandes [...], den 4. August 1934, [...]", by the board of management of the SFV, Bern, 4.8.1934; Schweizerischer Tourismus-Verband, *The STF: A powerful voice for tourism in Switzerland*, [s.d.], URL: http://www.swisstourfed.ch/index.cfm?fuseaction=sprachewechseln&sprache=en&parents_id=1160 (accessed 17.11.2014). Translated in the general sense, the STV reads: Swiss Tourism Federation.

²³⁷ See for example all the minutes in: STV-Archiv, PROTOKOLLE Vorstandssitzungen 1934-1938, 1955-1962.

²³⁸ Visentin, *Per una storia dei viaggi organizzati*, 2002, p. 90.

approach complements the existing traditional approaches and extends the interdisciplinary in tourism history, but on the same time enlarges the history of tourism in Switzerland in administrative perspective. As one chapter deals with the development of NTOs worldwide, the international perspective is considered as well, although the main topic is national in nature.

1.5 Terms and definitions

There are some terms, which might evoke misleading ideas. An elaboration is given here in order to explain them and their contemporary meanings.

Propaganda. In its German version, the term "Propaganda" is connoted with the suggestive information techniques of authoritarian regimes like the Nazi or Fascist regimes in Germany and Italy in the Interwar Period. In the sources, however, the term already appeared prior to the First World War so that this connotation was improbable for the documents of that time. Indeed, around 1900, the term "Propaganda" was defined as "advertising" ("Reklame") and did not imply a politically embarrassing reception.²³⁹ Rather, it was part of the vocabulary used in business life.²⁴⁰ This apolitical and harmless connotation, however, made it possible, that the term became popular in political contexts (again) at the end of the 19th century, where the connotation turned to the politically embarrassing meaning mentioned above: "Die Renaissance des Propagandabegriffs in der politischen Sprache wurde jedoch dadurch ermöglicht, dass ihr eine politisch unverfängliche Rezeption des Begriffs in der Wirtschaftssprache vorausging."²⁴¹ If a document of the late 1930s shows the term "Propaganda", it correctly evokes the feeling of a determined action appearing in a militarily manner. For documents originating from the first decade of the 20th century, however, this would be inappropriate.

²³⁹ Schieder, Wolfgang; Dipper, Christof, "Propaganda", in Brunner, Otto; Conze, Werner; Koselleck, Reinhart (ed.), *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe. Historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland*, Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, Vol. 5, 1984, p. 69-112, here 100.

²⁴⁰ Schieder; Dipper, Propaganda, 1984, p. 100.

²⁴¹ Schieder; Dipper, Propaganda, 1984, p. 100. In the 1840s, the term "propaganda" had been taken over of the French "Bezeichnung der Produktenwerbung in der Presse".

Institution: The term "institution" derives from the Latin noun "institutio"²⁴² which means "establishment", but also "organization" or "method". In today's scientific language, the term "ist von einer kaum präzisierbaren Allgemeinheit",²⁴³ as it describes a great variety of circumstances (of the case) in theology, social sciences, economics, law and anthropology.²⁴⁴ The term has been used in the social sciences since the 1970s in order to describe a set of rules forming the behaviour of (a part of) the society:

Im sozialwissenschaftlichen Sprachgebrauch sind I[nstitution]en die der unmittelbaren Disposition des individuellen Subjekts weitgehend entzogenen, dieses als solches vielmehr erst konstituierenden (Sozialisation), durch rechtliche Fixierung auf Dauer gestellten und doch historisch beschränkten Beziehungsformen einer Gesellschaft.²⁴⁵ [In italics according to Dubiel]

This definition which defines institutions as societal relationships or a set of social rules which are fixed by law is also used by the economic research, which has broadened the term's implication away from a single institution to "'institutional arrangements'", that is a comprehensive institutional classification system.²⁴⁶ In political history, the term has been describing political settings as well as ministries, offices or state-administrative organizations, but tends to include non-state organizations like market regulations or companies, too.²⁴⁷ All these forms of institutions, however, define institutions as materialized ideas or concepts of society.²⁴⁸ The recent political-historical research thereby emphasizes the concrete momentum of an institution: only after the analysis of the concrete forms of organization, the connection to higher ideas should be made.²⁴⁹

Given these varying definitions, it is necessary to make clear in which sense the term "institution" is used in this study. Basically, "institution" means "something instituted" like an "organization" or a "corporation".²⁵⁰ This rather concrete

²⁴² Dubiel, H., "Institution", in Ritter, Joachim; Gründer, Karlfried (ed.), *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie*, Basel, Stuttgart: Schwabe & Co., Vol. 4, 1976, p. 418-424, here 418.

²⁴³ Dubiel, Institution, 1976, p. 418.

²⁴⁴ Dubiel, Institution, 1976, p. 418-424.

²⁴⁵ Dubiel, Institution, 1976, p. 420.

²⁴⁶ Löffler, *Moderne Institutionengeschichte*, 2007, p. 161.

²⁴⁷ Löffler, *Moderne Institutionengeschichte*, 2007, p. 162, 174-175, 178.

²⁴⁸ Löffler, *Moderne Institutionengeschichte*, 2007, p. 175.

²⁴⁹ Löffler, *Moderne Institutionengeschichte*, 2007, p. 175.

²⁵⁰ Oxford Dictionaries, "Synonyms of *institution* in English", [s.d.], URL: <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english-thesaurus/institution?q=institution> (accessed 23.9.2014).

understanding needs, nevertheless, that the term is stated more precisely. Following the political-historical approach, an "institution" also includes the context, which it was involved in. This might be a wider entity, for instance the federal administration. Consequently, the present study understands "institution" on the one hand as a concrete office, department, ministry, in short: as a part of an administration, which is described by normative rules and whose faith is based on decrees, rules etc. But on the other hand, it can mean a place of social interaction, where the administrative reality is shaped.²⁵¹ Basing on this understanding, the term "institutionalization" describes the process of becoming an institution in the sense of a sedimentation of social practices – not exclusively, but mostly inside an administration. In doing so, the term "institutionalization" emphasizes the transitional momentum of an institution's life.

Tourism: As tourism history is relatively young, the term "tourism" is still discussed controversially.²⁵² Ranging from a "voyage d'agrément"²⁵³ (pleasure trip) to "a kind of travel that creates an illusion of novelty while remaining within a narrow range of comfortable, societally defined boundaries"²⁵⁴, the latest attempt defines "tourism" as a part of the economic sector which is generated by the activities carried out during a trip or a stay or the passing-by of a passenger.²⁵⁵ This latest definition, which understands "tourism" in a wide sense, is useful insofar as it enables us to include the "disguised tourists" who are involved in other activities and whose temporal and spacial movements are hard to get a grip on (e.g. the participation in a colloquium in a foreign city, or a pilgrimage).²⁵⁶ Another advantage of this definition lies in the fact that the subjective intention is accepted but not considered as a problem.²⁵⁷ This study follows this latest, wide definition. Describing "tourism" as a part of the third economic sector includes that "tourism" is the outcome of an interplay of

²⁵¹ Löffler, *Moderne Institutionengeschichte*, 2007, p. 155, 157.

²⁵² For an interpretation of "tourism" in economics, see Franklin, *Introduction*, 2003, p. 29.

²⁵³ Humair, Cédric; Tissot, Laurent, "Préface. Pourquoi parler de tourisme? De quel tourisme?", in Humair; Tissot, *rayonnement international*, 2011, p. 5-8, here 7.

²⁵⁴ Gassan, *Birth*, 2008, p. 4.

²⁵⁵ Tissot, Laurent; Moser, Peter, "Binnenwirtschaft, Tourismus und Landwirtschaft", in Halbeisen, Patrick; Müller, Margrit; Veyrassat, Béatrice (ed.), *Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Schweiz im 20. Jahrhundert*, Basel: Schwabe Verlag, 2012, p. 519-628, here 553-554.

²⁵⁶ Tissot; Moser, *Binnenwirtschaft, Tourismus und Landwirtschaft*, 2012, p. 553-554.

²⁵⁷ According to Urbain, *At the Beach*, 2003, p. 2-5 a "radical difference in perception" (p. 5) divides the tourist and the summer resident. For the "tourist", "the space is a place to pass through", for the summer resident, "it [the place] is a territory to inhabit" (p. 4). That is why the two belong to two completely different worlds (p. 4). Accordingly, a subjective perception makes all the attempts to define a "tourist" or a "summer resident" so difficult.

personalities, initiatives, practices, space and time,²⁵⁸ and thereby accepts that tourism also – that is parallel to its economic function – is a cultural activity. Apart from the visit of a famous artistic building, the cultural function of tourism points to the social practice of travelling and relaxing: Recreation forms an integral part of tourism. Thus, it makes tourism a cultural activity.²⁵⁹

1.6 Structure of the present study

The establishment of the SVZ (and its predecessors) and its first two decades of existence heavily based on the economic, social, technical, and cultural development in Switzerland. As these developments influenced and were sometimes crucial for the SVZ, they are outlined in contextualization-chapters at the beginning of each analysis chapter (see chapters *3.1 Context of the establishment of the SVZ' predecessors (1893-1911)*, *4.1 Context of the SVZ' origins*, and *5.1 Context of the SVZ first two decades of existence*). In order to guarantee an appropriate contextualization of the findings of the analysis, references on these chapters will be made in the following analyses. This for three reasons: Firstly, the contexts can be explained comprehensively and are placed right at the beginning of where they come into play. Secondly, they do not interrupt the cogency of the analysis. Where necessary, a short reference guarantees the link to the contextualization-chapter. At the end of each analysis-chapter (*2 The development of NTOs worldwide: An alpine model? (19th-20th century)*, *3 Past History of the Swiss National Tourist Office (1893 – 1911)*, *4 Establishment of the SVZ (1911 – 1917)*, and *5 Institutionalization: the SVZ 1917-1939*), a sub-chapter summarizes the insights of the specific chapter and thereby especially focuses on the wider context, see those developments which are explained in the contextualization-chapters. Thirdly, repetitions are avoided as far as possible. Yet, some repetitions remain, because this study is structured not only chronologically (see below) but also with regard to content (some developments influenced the SVZ in different aspects). Such is the case, among others, with the automobile tourism (economic importance, lobbying), the importance of the English tourists for tourism in Switzerland (cultural inputs, economic importance), or the increase of Swiss tourists in the Interwar Period (working class, mental defense). These repetitions, however, underline the importance of a topic.

²⁵⁸ Tissot; Moser, *Binnenwirtschaft, Tourismus und Landwirtschaft*, 2012, p. 553.

²⁵⁹ Boyer, *Histoire de l'invention*, 2000, p. 8-11.

Analyzing an establishment and the first two decades of existence of an institution might suggest a strict chronological reasoning. Partially, this study follows this mode of structuring, because it helps to understand some developments like the process of establishing or institutionalization better. This chronological proceeding, however, is complemented by a structure with respect to the content, because certain topics occupied the SVZ in certain times heavily, while they did not in other times. For the structure of the present study this means, that the study is structured chronologically, but that – especially for the analysis of the period 1917–1939 – dominant topics are treated according to their first repeated appearances in the sources. Therefore, the sequence of the following chapters represents a rough timeline which is complemented by the topics which were dominant in the SVZ' daily work at a certain time. These chapters thereby mirror the subjects, with which the Swiss tourism industry was busy in the Interwar Period and which were crucial for the development of the SVZ.

A bird's eye view on the development of national tourist offices worldwide opens up this study (see chapter 2 *The development of NTOs worldwide: An alpine model? (19th-20th century)*). This chapter develops the thesis that the establishment of national tourist offices followed an alpine model as the first national tourist offices appeared in countries along the alpine arc. It finds numerous similarities to the way of establishing national tourist offices so that the deepening look at the SVZ' past history in chapter 3 *Past History of the Swiss National Tourist Office (1893 – 1911)* can be read against an international background. This chapter on the past history of the SVZ should not be underestimated as it discusses several institutions and issues, which came to dominate the whole Interwar Period (e.g. the selling of tickets). While chapter 4 *Establishment of the SVZ (1911 – 1917)* reconstructs the establishment of the SVZ in detail roughly between 1911 and 1917 and thereby answers to one part of the leading question – Why was the SVZ established in 1917? –, chapter 5 *Institutionalization: the SVZ 1917-1939* covers the period 1917–1939 while making the SVZ' involvement in contemporary political challenges the subject of discussion. Basically, the question "why and how did the confederation support, promote, control, demand and instrumentalize tourism in Switzerland in the first half of the 20th century?" is answered here. In the years immediately following the First World War, the SVZ had to find its role and define its daily work. As a result, the publications and promotional campaigns are of special interest because they reveal this search of

identity as an institution. Similarly, the creation of a branch office in Lausanne and several branch offices in foreign countries treated the question what image of Switzerland the SVZ created abroad. Accordingly, chapter 5.2 *Settling down: activities, branch offices and the image promoted abroad* presents this by means of some posters published by the SVZ between 1918 and 1939. Parallel to these promotional activities, the care for its existence occupied the SVZ throughout the Interwar Period, so that chapter 5.3 *Care for its existence: the financing as a constant concern and its implications on the SVZ' institutionalization* shows the SVZ' financing and financial problems respectively. This aspect was highly intertwined with the question about the confederation's interference in the course of which several coordinative bodies appeared and disappeared. The state interference increased from 1933 onwards, a break, which the chapter reproduces. Before claiming for a considerable state support, see mainly in the 1920s, the SVZ intensively fought against the decrees and regulations issued by the federal alien's branch of the police. Chapter 5.4 *Rebellious tourism industry: Questions of the alien's branch of the police* summarizes this technical topic which, however, illustrates the circumstances, which a tourist who travelled to Switzerland experienced mainly in the 1920s. While the SVZ occasionally developed into an opposite number of the federal alien's branch of the police, it hold a more stable role in Switzerland's foreign trade policy in the 1930s (see chapter 5.5 *Subject or object? Tourism and the Swiss foreign trade policy. From the "Vollmachtenregime" to the clearing system and the foundation of the SFV*). In order to be able to present a fix part in the delegation for the clearing negotiations with Germany, the Swiss tourism industry founded another touristic peak association in 1934, the SFV. This inclusion in the country's economic policy also mirrored the increased awareness of tourism by the national government and administration, which lead to a politicization of tourism in the 1930s. That the SVZ became a state enterprise in 1939 did not astonish in this context. Chapter 5.6 *Centralization accomplished: The Schweizerische Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung (SZV) (1939-1942)* therefore explains the reasons for this step and its consequences. With this final analytical chapter, we will be able to give an answer to the leading question. The conclusion (see chapter 6 *Conclusion*) therefore summarizes and delivers answers to the leading question and suggests further research.

2 The development of NTOs worldwide: An alpine model? (19th-20th century)

This chapter asks about how national governments became involved in the promotion of tourism, how NTOs developed in different countries, and which were the similarities and differences. Basing on a summary of the existing literature on the history of NTOs, a model is proposed. As the literature is often poor, further research is suggested.

2.1 Overview

It is only punctually, that NTOs were subject to analysis in the literature. Table 1 is therefore not exhaustive and shows those NTOs which we clearly know their year of establishment of, which are not predominantly financed by the national railway companies and which developed, according to the literature, some activities. Or rather: for which the literature does not report a real inactivity or an existence only de jure. If these three criteria were answered in the affirmative, the NTO was listed in table 1.

1. Year of establishment: This is a needed, but not a sufficient criterion. The other criteria must also be fulfilled, because the sheer establishment did not forcibly lead to promotional activities, as the case of the Spanish "Comisión Nacional para Fomentar las Excursiones Artísticas y de Recreo del Público Extranjero" reveals: its promotion was only short-lived and symbolic.²⁶⁰
2. (Relative) Independence from the national railway company: In how far was the NTO independent from the national railway company which first promoted destinations? The differentiation is important insofar as NTOs had a slightly different understanding of tourism promotion as national railway companies: The main activities of the NTOs were promotion, campaigning, advertising, but also political lobbying, advising and statistical research. The railway companies focused more on the selling of trips and accommodation as they had the monopoly for the selling of tickets. In the Interwar Period, the railway

²⁶⁰ Gonzáles Morales, Juan Carlos, "La comisión Nacional de Turismo y las primeras iniciativas para el fomento del turismo: la industria de los forasteros (1905-1911)", in *Estudios Turísticos*, no. 163-164, 2005, p. 17-30, here 22-23.

companies often transferred these monopolies to travel agencies which were not taken into consideration either, although they were numerous: Founded in Austria in 1918, the "Mitteleuropäisches Reisebüro (MER)"²⁶¹ possessed the monopoly for the selling of tickets in Germany, albeit outside of the stations, in Austria the "Österreichisches Verkehrsbüro" fulfilled the same function as did the "Compagnie italienne pour le tourisme (CIT)" in Italy from 1927 onwards.²⁶² Similar monopolies existed in Poland ("Orbis"), in Czechoslovakia ("Codok") and in Yugoslavia ("Putnik").²⁶³ These agencies were united in a supranational organization called "Association des Grandes Organisations Touristiques (AGOT)" in order to facilitate their relations.²⁶⁴ It was not included either.

3. Activities: Was the office active or only an organization which existed de jure but not in reality? Did it develop any promotional activities with a certain continuity?

If there was no information on one of these criteria, the country was put into the list of countries not taken into consideration (table 2). Further research on this list is highly welcome.

Year of Establishment	Country	Name of the NTO
1908	Austro-Hungarian Monarchy	Ministerium für öffentliche Arbeiten ²⁶⁵
1910	France	Office National du Tourisme (ONT) ²⁶⁶
1917	Switzerland	Schweizerische Verkehrszentrale (SVZ) ²⁶⁷
1919	Italy	Ente nazionale per l'incremento delle industrie turistiche (ENIT) ²⁶⁸

²⁶¹ Translated in the general sense: Travel Agency of Central Europe.

²⁶² Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_004_01, 1927-1931: "RATIONALISATION ET UNIFICATION DE LA PROPAGANDE EN FAVEUR DU MOUVEMENT DES ETRANGERS EN SUISSE", document attached to Junod's letter [to the members of the Zentralkommission], Zürich, 17.9.1929, p. 12, 14, 21.

²⁶³ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_004_01, 1927-1931: "RATIONALISATION ET UNIFICATION DE LA PROPAGANDE EN FAVEUR DU MOUVEMENT DES ETRANGERS EN SUISSE", document attached to Junod's letter [to the members of the Zentralkommission], Zürich, 17.9.1929, p. 20, 23-24.

²⁶⁴ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_004_01, 1927-1931: "RATIONALISATION ET UNIFICATION DE LA PROPAGANDE EN FAVEUR DU MOUVEMENT DES ETRANGERS EN SUISSE", document attached to Junod's letter [to the members of the Zentralkommission], Zürich, 17.9.1929, p. 24. See also Visentin, Per una storia dei viaggi organizzati, 2002, p. 90-93, who elaborates on the (private) travel agencies function, problems and relations to the nation states.

²⁶⁵ Mechtler, Paul, "Die Staatliche Förderung des Fremdenverkehrs in Österreich bis zur Errichtung eines Ministeriums für öffentliche Arbeiten im Jahre 1908", in *Mitteilungen des österreichischen Staatsarchivs*, Vol. 7, 1954, p. 256-67, here 266.

²⁶⁶ Larique, L'Economie du tourisme en France, 2006, p. 238.

²⁶⁷ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "Statuten der nationalen Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs", Bern, 28.11.1917, art. 1.

²⁶⁸ Berrino, Storia del turismo, 2011, p. 200.

1926	Ireland	Irish Tourist Association (ITA) ²⁶⁹
1927	Chile	"sección de turismo" in the "Ministerio de Fomento" ²⁷⁰
1928	Great Britain	Travel Association (TA) ²⁷¹
1928	Spain	Patronato nacional de Turismo ²⁷²
1929	Australia	Australian National Travel Association (ANTA) ²⁷³
1929	Mexico	Mixed Pro-Tourism Committee (CMPT) ²⁷⁴
1929	Sowjetunion	Intourist ²⁷⁵
1933	Germany	Reichsausschuss für Fremdenverkehr ²⁷⁶
1934	Cuba	Corporación Nacional de Turismo (CNT) ²⁷⁷
1934	Canada	Canadian Travel Bureau (CTB) ²⁷⁸
1934	Latvia	Tourist Department within the Ministry of the Interior ²⁷⁹
1937	USA	United States Travel Bureau ²⁸⁰

Tab. 1: The establishment of NTOs in selected countries.

Sources indicated in the table.

Figure 2 shows a pattern of three generations: a pioneering generation prior and during the First World War, an adapting generation in the Interwar Period, and a final generation which resulted in a globalization of the concept of a NTO. In the beginning, NTOs were opened in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and France prior to the First World War. Switzerland and Italy established its NTO *during* and shortly after the war because they did not manage to bring to an end their preparatory activities prior to it. What is characteristic about these pioneering countries? Firstly, it is noteworthy that all countries border on the alpine arc. The German Empire

²⁶⁹ Furlong, Irene, *Irish Tourism 1880-1980*, Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2009, p. 40.

²⁷⁰ Booth, Turismo y representación del paisaje, 2008, p. 18.

²⁷¹ Beckerson, Marketing British Tourism, 2002, p. 142.

²⁷² Esteve Secall, Rafael; Fuentes Carcía, Rafael, *Economía, historia e instituciones del turismo en España*, Madrid: Ediciones Pirámide, 2000, p. 23.

²⁷³ Davidson; Spearritt, Tourism in Australia, 2000, p. 79.

²⁷⁴ Berger, Dina, *The Development of Mexico's Tourism Industry: Pyramids by Day, Martinis by Night*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006, p. 23.

²⁷⁵ Heeke, Matthias, *Reisen zu den Sowjets. Der ausländische Tourismus in Russland 1921-1941. Mit einem bio-bibliographischen Anhang zu 96 deutschen Reiseautoren*, Münster: Lit-Verlag, 2003, p. 34.

²⁷⁶ Semmens, Seeing Hitler's Germany, 2005, p. 18.

²⁷⁷ Colantonio; Potter, Urban Tourism, 2006, p. 93.

²⁷⁸ Apostle, Alisa, *Canada, Vacations Unlimited: The Canadian Government Tourism Industry, 1934-1959*, Kingston: unpublished PhD (Queen's University), 2003, p. 3.

²⁷⁹ Purs, Aldis, "'One Breath for Every Two Strides'. The State's Attempt to Construct Tourism and Identity in Interwar Latvia", in Gorsuch, Anne E.; Koenker, Diane P. (eds.), *Turizm. The Russian and East European Tourist under Capitalism and Socialism*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006, p. 97-115, here 101.

²⁸⁰ Berkowitz, Michael, "A 'New Deal' for Leisure. Making Mass Tourism During the Great Depression", in Baranowski, Shelley; Furlough, Ellen (eds.), *Being Elsewhere. Tourism, Consumer Culture, and Identity in Modern Europe and North America*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001, p. 185-212, here 203.

(Weimar republic), which would have been the fifth alpine country, did not fulfill the criteria until 1933, because the "Reichszentrale für Deutsche Verkehrswerbung" established in 1920 was quickly incorporated into the national railway company.²⁸¹ Thus, the alpine model suggests that NTOs were first established in countries along the European Alps. Secondly, the form of government of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, France or Italy (republic), and Switzerland (confederation) were quite different. The foundation of a NTO did obviously not depend on the form of the state.

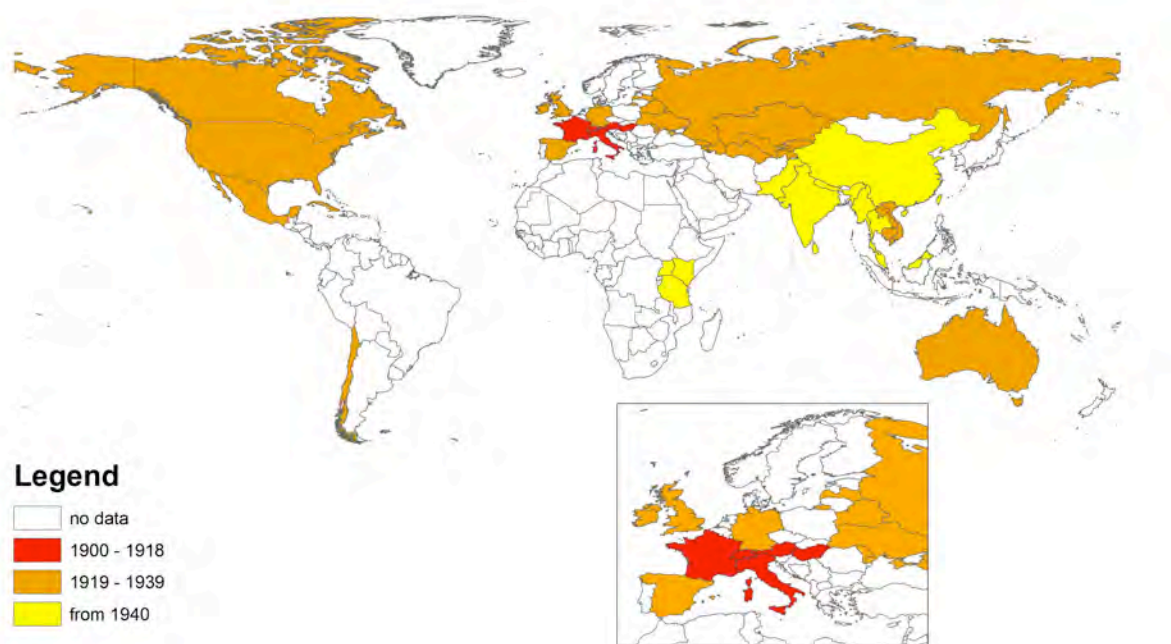


Fig. 2: The establishment of NTOs in selected countries, 1908-1937. NTOs were established in three waves: firstly, in countries along the European Alps, secondly, in Europe, the Anglo-Saxon world and westernized states, thirdly, in decolonized countries.

Source: tables 1 and 3.

The years immediately following the First World War showed a somewhat unclear situation with respect to the foundation of NTOs. While tourism was considered to unite the country in Ireland,²⁸² the German NTO came into existence in the context of the Nazis' increasing power. Although the process started with a "Central Committee for Tourism" located in the Ministry of Transportation in 1929,²⁸³ it resulted in the

²⁸¹ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_004_01, 1927-1931: "RATIONALISATION ET UNIFICATION DE LA PROPAGANDE EN FAVEUR DU MOUVEMENT DES ETRANGERS EN SUISSE", document attached to Junod's letter [to the members of the Zentralkommission], Zürich, 17.9.1929, p. 12.

²⁸² Zuelow, Eric G.E., *Making Ireland Irish. Tourism and National Identity since the Irish Civil War*, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2009, p. 3.

²⁸³ Semmens, *Seeing Hitler's Germany*, 2005, p. 10.

"Reich Tourism Association" in 1933, which unified the Nazis' and the commercial touristic suppliers under the roof of the propaganda ministry.²⁸⁴

The outbreak of the World Economic Crisis in the late 1920s caused a second wave of NTO establishments: Particularly, the Anglo-Saxon world followed. After Great Britain had overcome its objection to state interference in 1928, Australia and Canada founded their NTOs in 1929 and 1934 respectively. In 1937, the USA began to consider tourism worthy of financial support. In the same time, Mexico and Cuba opened a NTO. Both belonged to the sphere of influence of the USA which developed imperial intentions in Alaska, still not a full state but a territory of the USA in this time, and in Central America.

These insights are supported by a list of countries of which some information about their NTO is clear, while other is missing.²⁸⁵ The countries were listed separately because of a missing year of establishment (Norway, Sweden, The Netherlands), too tight relations between the NTOs and the national railway companies (Denmark, Japan), or too few (information on the) activities (Spain in 1905, Belgium, Yugoslavia, Poland, Denmark, Hungary, Greece, Chile, Czechoslovakia). Thus, further research on them is needed. Table 2 bases on a contemporary Swiss source, which gave an overview of the existing NTOs and similar institutions all over the world in 1929.

Table 2 supports the insights of figure 2 in two respects: Firstly, the pioneering role of the alpine countries is not challenged. Although the establishment of the Spanish Comisión Nacional took place before the establishment of a NTO in France, Switzerland and Italy,²⁸⁶ it must be qualified regarding the effect and the importance because the activities of the Comisión Nacional are considered to be short-lived and symbolic "ya que su [the commission's] acción quedó aletargada, [...] tampoco realizó actividad alguna."²⁸⁷ Secondly, the numbers of NTOs worldwide exploded during the Interwar Period – independently from geographical, cultural or political settings.

²⁸⁴ Baranowski, *Strength Through Joy*, 2004, p. 132.

²⁸⁵ The countries were listed separately because of a missing year of establishment (Norway, Sweden, The Netherlands), limited activities (Spain in 1905, Belgium), too tight relations between the NTOs and the national railway companies (Denmark, Japan), or too few information on the budget or the activities (Yugoslavia, Poland, Denmark, Hungary, Greece, Chile, Czechoslovakia).

²⁸⁶ Esteve Secall; Fuentes Carcía, *Economía, historia e instituciones*, 2000, p. 18.

²⁸⁷ Gonzáles Morales, *La comisión Nacional de Turismo*, 2005, p. 22-23.

Year of Establishment	Country	Name of the NTO
?	Netherlands	Allgemeene Nederlandsche Vereeniging voor Vreemdelingenverkeer
?	Norway	?
?	Sweden	Association suédois pour le trafic et le tourisme
1905	Spain	Comisión Nacional para Fomentar las Excursiones Artísticas y de Recreo del Público Extranjero ²⁸⁸
1912	Japan	Office touristique du Japon
1919	Poland	Office polonais du tourisme
1921	Yugoslavia	"section de tourisme" in the "Ministère de l'industrie et du commerce"
1923	Denmark	Association touristique pour le Denmark
1925	Belgium	Conseil supérieure du tourisme
1928	Hungary	Office national hongrois du tourisme, Ministère du commerce et de l'Industrie
1929	Greece	Office national grec du tourisme
1929	Czechoslovakia	Office national du tourisme

Tab. 2: Countries with unclear status of their NTOs, until 1929. After the First World War, the number of the establishments of NTOs worldwide exploded.

Source: Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_004_01, 1927-1931: "RATIONALISATION ET UNIFICATION DE LA PROPAGANDE EN FAVEUR DU MOUVEMENT DES ETRANGERS EN SUISSE", document attached to Junod's letter [to the members of the Zentralkommission], Zürich, 17.9.1929, p. 19-20, 22-24.

Obviously, the consciousness about the importance of tourism for a nation state in form of a NTO was suddenly omnipresent. At least for the allied countries this elevated consciousness may base on a huge conference which dealt with the organization of tourism after the war. Pietro Chabert, a contemporary French counsellor for foreign trade, started to plan an inter-allied tourism congress in 1915.²⁸⁹ The main purpose was to find a unity between the Allies in order to face the Austro-German competition in the field of spas and thermal cure destinations.²⁹⁰ The practical purpose was of economic nature, precisely "di fare rientrare in Europa parte delle ingenti somme spese per i bisogni della guerra".²⁹¹ After years of preparation, the congress took place in Monte Carlo in April 1920²⁹² and was divided in six sub-congresses, each dedicated to a special subject: hydrology/physotherapy,

²⁸⁸ In English: National Commission to Promote Artistic and Recreational Excursions of the Foreign Public. Source: Pack, *Tourism and Dictatorship*, 2006, p. 25.

²⁸⁹ "Un congresso delle nazioni alleate e amiche", in *Le Vie d'Italia*, No. 1, settembre 1917, p. 29-32, here 29.

²⁹⁰ Un congresso, 1917, p. 29.

²⁹¹ Un congresso, 1917, p. 31.

²⁹² Bertarelli, L. V., "I congressi di Monaco", in *Le Vie d'Italia*, No. 5, maggio 1920, p. 273-275, here 273.

hygiene/climatology, thalassotherapy, spas/thermal destinations, organization of the high mountains, and, finally, tourism.²⁹³ The congress dedicated to tourism should stabilize an inter-allied touristic unity in general, the organization of the battlefield tourism in particular, and finally to increase the mutual visits to the spas and thereby increase the volume of traffic.²⁹⁴ The real discussion, however, turned around how a spa and thermal cure destination should be organized, as the touristic organization was considered crucial in order to give an economic value to these destinations.²⁹⁵ Thus, the organization of tourism – the term summarized the collaboration of transport companies, hoteliers, local tourist offices, Touring Clubs, and/or chambers of commerce – was a central topic in Europe in the second half of the 1910s. After Poland established a NTO in 1919, Yugoslavia (1921), Denmark (1923), Belgium (1925) and Hungary (1928) followed. In 1929, some countries surely disposed of (Norway, Sweden, and The Netherlands) or established a NTO (Greece, Chili, Czechoslovakia). The Japanese Railway initiated an "Office touristique du Japon" in 1912, which was, however, heavily influenced by the national railways.²⁹⁶

After the Second World War, the third generation of NTOs followed. With the breaking apart of the former colonial powers in Africa and Asia new nation states developed. The establishment of NTOs in former colonial empires and the following independent nation states does neither challenge the thesis of an alpine model (table 1), it rather suggests a globalization of NTOs.

A collection of articles on tourism in South and Southeast Asia by Hall/Page shows that the colonial status of the countries between Pakistan and Indonesia dominated the touristic development in them. When the colonial powers had left South and Southeast Asia and the process of decolonization had not produced too much political and social unrest, these countries turned to tourism. That is why their development to the touristic destinations of the second half of the 20th century started for most of them in the 1950s the earliest. Some of them struggled with the implications and turmoils produced by the decolonization much longer. The years of

²⁹³ Un congresso, 1917, p. 30.

²⁹⁴ Un congresso, 1917, p. 31.

²⁹⁵ Gerelli, Attilio, "Il congresso di turismo", in *Le Vie d'Italia*, No. 6, giugno 1920, p. 321-326.

²⁹⁶ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_004_01, 1927-1931: "RATIONALISATION ET UNIFICATION DE LA PROPAGANDE EN FAVEUR DU MOUVEMENT DES ETRANGERS EN SUISSE", document attached to Junod's letter [to the members of the Zentralkommission], Zürich, 17.9.1929, p. 22; see also "L'ufficio giapponese del turismo", in *Le Vie d'Italia*, No. 6, giugno 1918, p. 377-378.

the foundation of the NTOs which stand for a certain awareness of tourism in the decolonized countries continue by all means well into the second half of the 20th century. In Africa, which hardly any literature could be found on, tourism was promoted in the aftermath of the Second World War due to the wildlife conservation/national park (EATTA) and the settlers (Kenya) movements – yet still by the colonial power Great Britain.²⁹⁷

The NTOs listed in table 3 do not fulfill the criteria applied to the NTOs in table 1. As the information bases on the literature, however, a certain activity can be assumed. Further research is highly welcome.

Year of Establishment	Country	Name of the NTO
1923	Vietnam	Central Tourist Office (= initiated by the colonial power France!) ²⁹⁸
1935	Indochina	official tourist office [decree by the government-general of Indochina] ²⁹⁹
1948	East Africa (Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania)	East Africa Tourist Travel Association (inter-territorial, initiated by the colonial power Great Britain) ³⁰⁰
1948	Kenya	Kenya Information Office (initiated by the colonial power Great Britain) ³⁰¹
1949	India	Tourist Traffic Branch of the Ministry of Transport ³⁰²
1956	Nepal	Department of Tourism ³⁰³
1960	Thailand	Tourism Authority of Thailand ³⁰⁴
1964	China	Bureau of Travel and Tourism ³⁰⁵
1966	Sri Lanka	Ceylon Tourist Board ³⁰⁶

²⁹⁷ Jackson, Will, "White Man's Country: Kenya Colony and the Making of a Myth", in *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 2, 2011, p. 344-368, here 352; Neumann, Roderick P., "The Postwar Conservation Boom in British Colonial Africa", in *Environmental History*, Vol. 7, No. 1, 2002, p. 22-47, here 36.

²⁹⁸ DeWald, French Colonial Vietnam, 2008, p. 223.

²⁹⁹ Furlough, Tourism, Empire, 2002, p. 453.

³⁰⁰ Neumann, Postwar Conservation Boom, 2002, p. 36. Which countries exactly participated in the EATTA is unclear, but Neumann cites archival sources from the three countries mentioned.

³⁰¹ Jackson, White man's country, 2011, p. 352.

³⁰² Hall, C. Michael; Page, Stephen J., "Developing Tourism in South Asia: India, Pakistan and Bangladesh – SAARC and Beyond", in Hall; Page, Tourism in South and Southeast Asia, 2000, p. 197-224, here 206.

³⁰³ Simmons, David G.; Koirala, Shankar, "Tourism in Nepal, Bhutan and Tibet: Contrasts in the Facilitation, Constraining and Control of Tourism in the Himalayas", in Hall; Page, Tourism in South and Southeast Asia, 2000, p. 256-264, here 263.

³⁰⁴ Higham, James, "Thailand: Prospects for a Tourism-Led Economic Recovery", in Hall; Page, Tourism in South and Southeast Asia, 2000, p. 129-143, here 138.

³⁰⁵ Lew, Alan A., "China: A Growth Engine for Asian Tourism", in Hall; Page, Tourism in South and Southeast Asia, 2000, p. 268-285, here 268.

³⁰⁶ Dowling, Ross, "Sri Lanka and the Maldives: Overview", in Hall; Page, Tourism in South and Southeast Asia, 2000, p. 233-234, here 233. According to Bruin, Anne de; Nithiyanandam, V., "Tourism in Sri Lanka: 'Paradise on Earth'?", in Hall; Page, Tourism in South and Southeast Asia, 2000, p. 235-247, here 236-237, the Ceylon Tourist Board replaced the Ceylon Tourist Bureau in

1972	Malaysia	Tourism Development Corporation ³⁰⁷
1972	Pakistan	Ministry for Culture, Sports and Tourism ³⁰⁸
1992	Vietnam	Vietnam National Administration of Tourism ³⁰⁹
1992	Myanmar/Burma	Ministry of Hotels and Tourism ³¹⁰

Tab. 3: *The establishment of NTOs in South Asia, Southeast Asia, and Africa, 1923-1992.*

Sources indicated in the table.

What can we learn from this last table?

1. The stronger the western influence on or the western orientation in a colony had been, the quicker a NTO was established after independence. India was Great Britain's crown colony, Nepal supported Great Britain in both World Wars and Thailand was oriented to the West. This may also be valid for Mexico and Cuba as independent, but westernized nation states.
2. The establishment of NTOs in the colonies by the colonial powers took place relatively late compared to the time span during which the colonies had been colonized, and also compared to the time span which remained until the breaking apart of the colonial empires. Some of them were established when the colonial power strengthened its imperial idea (e.g. France in Vietnam³¹¹).
3. In the decolonization era, the new nation states in South and Southeast Asia adopted the creation of a NTO more or less quickly. Civilian wars and political unrest hindered and delayed it (e.g. Vietnam).

In summary, the establishment of NTOs started in countries bordering the alpine arc prior to the end of the First World War, continued in Europe, westernized countries and in particular in the Anglo-Saxon World in the Interwar Period and spread to the new states emerging in the aftermath of the decolonization. Who initiated and stood behind this development?

1966, but since the later "undertook tourism promotion on a very small scale, the necessary infrastructure for a tourist industry was altogether absent" (p. 236), the Ceylon Tourist Board is seen as the "real impetus to tourism development" (p. 237).

³⁰⁷ Musa, Ghazali, "Tourism in Malaysia", in Hall; Page, *Tourism in South and Southeast Asia*, 2000, p. 144-156, here 151.

³⁰⁸ Hall; Page, *India, Pakistan and Bangladesh*, 2000, p. 212.

³⁰⁹ Cooper, Malcolm, "Tourism in Vietnam: *Doi Moi* and the Realities of Tourism in the 1990s", in Hall; Page, *Tourism in South and Southeast Asia*, 2000, p. 167-177, here 175.

³¹⁰ Hall, C. Michael; Ringer, Greg, "Tourism in Cambodia, Laos and Myanmar: From Terrorism to Tourism?", in Hall; Page, *Tourism in South and Southeast Asia*, 2000, p. 178-194, here 188.

³¹¹ Furlough, *Tourism, Empire*, 2002, p. 441.

2.2 Mushrooming: the decades prior to the First World War

Tourism historians agree that the first agents taking up marketing functions for a destination were transport companies, hoteliers, local tourist offices, business persons, local authorities, chambers of commerce, professional associations and Touring Clubs.³¹² The literature on these different agents is uneven. While the railway companies' promotion of tourism is well studied, the promotional efforts of the other agents is less analyzed.

2.2.1 Railway companies

In many respects, European railway companies were the first state tourist offices. The European railway companies were seldom fully private enterprises, rather part of the state's administration, or public enterprises which acted as private enterprises but was obliged to the state in financial and legal terms.³¹³ As they were organizationally and administratively belonging to nation states, these nation states used the agencies of their national railway company for the country's promotion abroad. A lot of the European national railway companies opened agencies in European capitals.³¹⁴ These agencies sold tickets, organized journeys and gave information about the country they were originating from. Despite of their financial and organizational power, European railway companies collaborated with other touristic agents in order to promote their region or country. In Ireland, for instance, the first "Irish Tourist Association" was founded by hoteliers, transport companies and a local tourist office in 1924, but was forced to be incorporated by a second "Irish Tourist Association" (ITA) which was initiated by the Minister for Industry and Trade in 1926.³¹⁵ Similarly, the railway companies opened the first tourist offices in New South Wales and Victoria (Australia).³¹⁶ Thereby, tourism developed in tight connection with

³¹² For the USA see Shaffer, *See America First*, 2001; for Scotland see Durie, *Scotland*, 2003; for Ireland see Furlong, *Irish Tourism*, 2009, p. 210-211; Zuelow, *Making Ireland Irish*, 2009, p. 4; for Switzerland see Humair, Cédric, *The Long Depression and its impact on Swiss tourism: from Manchester Liberalism to the beginnings of "organized capitalism" (1873-1913). Paper presented at the EBHA's Athens Conference, 24-26 August 2011*, [s.l.], [s.n.], 2011, p. 2, 5, 7.

³¹³ For different forms of the state's involvement with enterprises, in particular railway and electricity generating companies, see Millward, Robert, *Private and Public Enterprise in Europe. Energy, Telecommunications and Transport, 1830-1990*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

³¹⁴ For instance the Italian railway company, see: Giuntini, Andrea, "Le tourisme ferroviaire en Italie des origines jusqu'à la création des 'trains populaires'", in Tissot, Laurent (ed.), *Construction d'une industrie touristique aux 19e et 20e siècles. Perspectives internationales*. Neuchâtel: Éditions Alphil, 2003, p. 59-81, here 73.

³¹⁵ Furlong, *Irish Tourism*, 2009, p. 38-41.

³¹⁶ Davidson; Spearritt, *Tourism in Australia*, 2000, p. 73.

one or several departments of the state administration,³¹⁷ since the state New South Wales had a broad interest in monitoring people who streamed into it. The general belief was that settlers would follow tourists, so that tourism was a means to influence the settlement of the territory. Consequently, tourism and immigration were promoted and institutionally brought together in the "Immigration and Tourist Bureau" of New South Wales.³¹⁸ In the beginning, however, the Tasmanian railway companies did not welcome the first official tourist office, the "Tasmanian Tourist Association", initiated by the Tasmanian prime minister in 1893, because they wanted to promote their services on their own.³¹⁹

Some railway companies in the USA promoted tourism, but also offered touristic accommodation.³²⁰ Some of them became the seller of entire regions: The "Northern Pacific Railroad" opened the area around Yellowstone (Wyoming) as a National Park as early as 1872, built a hotel and promoted the Yellowstone Park until 1915.³²¹ Similarly, the "Santa Fe Railroad" together with the "Fred Harvey Company", a restaurant chain, sold the south-west of the USA.³²² After having reached the Southern entry of the canyon by train in 1901, roads and hotels were built in the next four years. Together, the railway and the restaurant companies monopolized the tourism in the canyon and promoted it as the strange and exotic.³²³ The "Great Northern Railway", meanwhile, marketed the north-west of the USA with the "Glacier National Park" in Montana.³²⁴ Chalets, roads, hiking trails, viewpoints and the "Glacier Park Hotel" were built after 1910.³²⁵ Branded as a national landscape the Glacier National Park helped to foster domestic tourism and to experience the American wilderness which was used as an integrating symbol for the national identity.³²⁶ All three North American railway companies – two of them transcontinental ones – made promotional campaigns for their parks. They did them

³¹⁷ Davidson; Spearritt, *Tourism in Australia*, 2000, p. 94.

³¹⁸ Davidson; Spearritt, *Tourism in Australia*, 2000, p. 71.

³¹⁹ Davidson; Spearritt, *Tourism in Australia*, 2000, p. 65.

³²⁰ According to Mechtler, *staatliche Förderung*, 1954, p. 260, railway companies built hotels in particular in the 1870s in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, too, but later, they rejected it.

³²¹ Shaffer, *See America First*, 2001, p. 44, 49-51.

³²² Rothman, Hal K., "Selling the Meaning of Place: Entrepreneurship, Tourism, and Community Transformation in the Twentieth-Century American West", in *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 65, No. 4, 1996, p. 525-57, here 527.

³²³ Shaffer, *See America First*, 2001, p. 52-58.

³²⁴ Shaffer, *See America First*, 2001, p. 59.

³²⁵ Shaffer, *See America First*, 2001, p. 62.

³²⁶ Shaffer, *See America First*, 2001, p. 61-62.

mostly on their own, since they were, then, the only touristic agents which possessed the financial power and organizational means to launch nationwide campaigns at that time.³²⁷

Nevertheless, the role of railway companies as boosters for tourism is challenged by different authors. Towner shows that the role of changes in transport technologies and the relationships between different forms of transport were more complex than sometimes suggested.³²⁸ Löfgren – supported by Boyer³²⁹ – states that "new infrastructures like railways and roads did not simply create new tourist demands, they were also the result of them."³³⁰ The Swiss railway companies, for instance, did not hinder the touristic development but they did not foster it either,³³¹ although some of them invested in tourism: Founded in 1901, the "Montreux-Oberland-Bahn (MOB)" was the first to create a comprehensive touristic infrastructure – viewpoints, hotels, sporting facilities, mountain railways etc. – along its railway networks.³³²

2.2.2 Chambers of commerce, Touring Clubs, business persons

Such exhausting information as we dispose of the railway companies is not guaranteed for other agents of tourism promotion. For the USA, Berkowitz stresses the role of some chambers of commerce and cooperative-marketing associations which performed promotional activities from the late 19th century onwards.³³³

Chambers of commerce disposed of "diverse competenze in materia di comunicazioni e trasporti, ovvero in un ambito strategico per il movimento turistico."³³⁴ Touring Clubs focused on the administrative demands³³⁵ and culture³³⁶ of the automobile tourism. From 1898 onwards, they were organized at an international level in the "Ligue internationale des associations touristes (Liat)" which

³²⁷ Shaffer, See America First, 2001, p. 42.

³²⁸ Towner, Historical Geography, 1996, p. 268.

³²⁹ Boyer, Histoire de l'invention, 2000, p. 276.

³³⁰ Löfgren, On Holiday, 1999, p. 68. Similarly, Tissot, quelles relations, 2006, p. 31, 37.

³³¹ Tissot, quelles relations, 2006, p. 37.

³³² Tissot, quelles relations, 2006, p. 36; Tissot, Laurent, "A travers les Alpes. Le Montreux-Oberland Bernois ou la construction d'un système touristique, 1900-1970", in *Geschichte der Alpen*, Vol. 9, 2004, p. 227-244.

³³³ Berkowitz, Making Mass Tourism, 2001, p. 195.

³³⁴ Bonoldi, Andrea, "Organizzazioni e sviluppo turistico: l'esperienza tirolese", in Leonardi, Andrea; Heiss, Hans (eds.), *Tourismus und Entwicklung im Alpenraum*, Innsbruck: StudienVerlag, 2003, p. 385-411, here p. 400.

³³⁵ Bertho Lavenir, Portrait du touriste en automobiliste, 2011, p. 10-12.

³³⁶ Berrino, Storia del turismo, 2011, p. 149.

united the Touring Clubs of France, Belgium, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Italy, Germany and Austria.³³⁷ Additionally, single business persons promoted their region: In Switzerland, an industrialist, a publisher, a hotelier, a politician and two forwarders attempted to coordinate their marketing expenses by founding the "Syndicat des Intérêts de la Suisse Romande et du Jura-Simplon" in 1893 which they passed to the leading railway company of their region, the Jura-Simplon Railway, in order to profit from the railway company's network and image within a year.³³⁸

2.2.3 Hotel owners

Hotel owners were other powerful agents who promoted a touristic destination. They could heavily influence a place, not only visibly – their big buildings often contrasted the traditional architecture of the place – but by means of their power and commitment in businesses other than the hotel business. Not seldom, they were additionally dedicated in local, regional or national politics and/or in the industries which promised technological progress, e.g. (mountain) railways, or electricity. The first places where people could marvel at electric lightning in the Pyrenees or Switzerland happened to be, in fact, in hotels or at promenades.³³⁹ Some of the successful hotel owners built up international hotel chains or family businesses which operated transnationally. Proper family clans emerged since family members were more trusted when undertaking risky investments – abroad (in order to open business there) or at home.³⁴⁰ Switzerland with its first-class, international tourism

³³⁷ Berrino, Storia del turismo, 2011, p. 149.

³³⁸ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_05, [1893]: "Création d'un bureau de publicité à Londres. Pour les Intérêts de la Suisse Romande et du Jura-Simplon", by unknown author, [Lausanne], [28.2.1893]; Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_01, 1893: "Extrait des Procès-verbaux de la Direction. [...] Séance du 20 février 1893", [s.l.], 20.2.1893; Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_02, 1893-1894: Letter by Ruffieux to the Jura-Simplon Railway, Lausanne, 13.1.1894.

³³⁹ Bouneau, Christophe, "La construction et les mutations de l'économie touristique pyrénéenne du milieu du 19e siècle au second conflit mondial", in Tissot, Laurent (ed.), *Construction d'une industrie touristique aux 19e et 20e siècles. Perspectives internationales*. Neuchâtel: Éditions Alphil, 2003, p. 127-143, here 136; Flückiger-Seiler, Roland, *Hotelpaläste zwischen Traum und Wirklichkeit. Schweizer Tourismus und Hotelbau 1830-1920*, Baden: Hier+Jetzt, 2003, p. 99-100.

³⁴⁰ Berghoff, Hartmut, "Die Zähmung des entfesselten Prometheus? Die Generierung von Vertrauenskapital und die Konstruktion des Marktes im Industrialisierungs- und Globalisierungsprozess", in Berghoff, Hartmut; Vogel, Jakob (eds), *Wirtschaftsgeschichte als Kulturgeschichte. Dimensionen eines Perspektivenwechsels*, Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2004, p. 143-168, here p. 150, pointed out that familial relationships played an important role for financing the industrial revolution, since they supported the economic network with trust and liabilities.

produced several "hoteliers' dynasties",³⁴¹ who took part in forming the destiny of the destination,³⁴² even though their activities were often criticized.³⁴³

2.2.4 Local tourist offices

The lack of literature about the role of hotels or chambers of commerce for tourism promotion is sometimes balanced with the fact that lots of them participated in a local tourist office (LTO). They combined hotel owners, local transport enterprises, and shop keepers, proprietors of small boarding houses, physicians, business persons and representatives of the local government. The motives for their gathering were, that only a few of them could promote their services on their own efficiently,³⁴⁴ or that they did not feel properly represented in the railway companies' advertising.³⁴⁵ A centralization at the local – or the regional level – was therefore often considered to improve the efficiency.³⁴⁶ This was made in form of local (or regional) tourist offices. The first LTOs appeared in cities (e.g. Zurich and Lausanne 1885,³⁴⁷ Grenoble 1889,³⁴⁸ Malaga 1897,³⁴⁹ Vancouver and Victoria 1902³⁵⁰), soon to be followed by destinations on the countryside: in the Alps in Switzerland (e.g. Zermatt, Grindelwald)³⁵¹, in beach resorts in Great Britain³⁵². The creation of these LTOs showed similar characteristics: On the one hand, the participants in the LTOs were often heavily engaged in voluntary activities, on the other hand the founders' financial security depended on the well-being of the city.³⁵³ Their aims were the beautification

³⁴¹ According to Gaulis, Louis; Creux, René, *Schweizer Pioniere der Hotellerie*, Paudex: Ed. de Fontainemore, 1976, p. 77-89, 95-110, 202, there were the Badrutts in St. Moritz, the Seilers in Zermatt or Alexandre Emery in Montreux.

³⁴² According to Boyer, *Histoire de l'invention*, 2000, p. 245, local families coined the developement of Chamonix, too.

³⁴³ According to Antonietti, Thomas, *Bauern. Bergführer. Hoteliers. Fremdenverkehr und Bauernkultur. Zermatt und Aletsch 1850-1950*, Baden: Hier+Jetzt, 2000, p. 54, Alexander Seiler, for example, who did not originate from Zermatt, was denied the local citizenship for over 30 years, since his undertakings were considered to affect the local agricultural economy.

³⁴⁴ Beckerson, *Marketing British Tourism*, 2002, p. 135.

³⁴⁵ Beckerson, *Marketing British Tourism*, 2002, p. 135.

³⁴⁶ For Switzerland see: Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_05, [1893]: "Création d'un bureau de publicité à Londres. Pour les Intérêts de la Suisse Romande et du Jura-Simplon", by unknown author, [Lausanne], [28.2.1893].

³⁴⁷ Tissot, Laurent, "Offices du tourisme", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2008, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/f/F16456.php> (accessed 6.12.2010).

³⁴⁸ Larique, *L'Economie du tourisme en France*, 2006, Annexe 1, p. 72.

³⁴⁹ Pack, *Tourism and Dictatorship*, 2006, p. 26.

³⁵⁰ Dawson, *Selling British Columbia*, 2004, p. 26, 37.

³⁵¹ Tissot, *Offices du tourisme*, 2008.

³⁵² Beckerson, *Marketing British Tourism*, 2002, p. 134, 136.

³⁵³ Dawson, *Selling British Columbia*, 2004, p. 29.

and the development of the destination.³⁵⁴ In Europe, they were often named "Verschönerungsvereine", "Kurkommissionen", "Société de développement", "Syndicat d'initiatives" or "Pro Loco".³⁵⁵

2.2.5 NTOs

The institutionalization at the local and regional level was paralleled at the national level. According to table 1, the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy instituted a special department for tourism as part of the Ministry for Public Works, which it depended on, in 1908. Two years later, the French minister for public works opened the country's NTO in his ministry. In 1917 and 1919, Switzerland and Italy followed with their NTOs. All of these four nation states had also witnessed the creation of LTOs which were not destroyed with the establishment of the NTOs. Rather, the private agents, in particular railway companies, hoteliers, or LTOs, often claimed for a centralization at the national level.³⁵⁶ So, the offices at the national level were installed in order to coordinate the efforts of the offices at the local and/or regional level. The latter did thereby not disappear! Thus, a bottom up approach coined the establishment of the first NTOs. In France, the proposition for a NTO was made by the Minister for Public Works, Alexandre Millerand, in 1909, yet he thereby put into practice what the French Touring Club, which he was a member of,³⁵⁷ and other important private touristic organizations had been claiming for a long time.³⁵⁸ Yet, the key-event for the establishment of the French NTO was the foundation of the Austro-Hungarian NTO in 1908,³⁵⁹ which was obliged to foster tourism, measures to attract tourists, private organizations destined at boosting tourism, hotels, traffic (especially automobiles), souvenir industries, opening up of new destinations and the protection of characteristic places and scenic beauties.³⁶⁰ This early institutionalization of tourism and tourism promotion in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy mirrored the increasing,

³⁵⁴ Sulmoni, Stefano, "Pro Lugano: une société au service de l'aménagement d'espaces de loisirs (1888-1919)", in Gilomen, Hans-Jörg; Schumacher, Beatrice; Tissot, Laurent (ed.), *Freizeit und Vergnügen vom 14. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert. Temps libre et loisirs du 14e au 20e siècles* (Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte/Société suisse d'histoire économique et sociale, Vol. 20), Zürich: Chronos Verlag, 2005, p. 143-155, here 143, 146.

³⁵⁵ Berrino, Storia del turismo, 2011, p. 149; Sulmoni, Pro Lugano, 2005, p. 143.

³⁵⁶ Larique, L'Economie du tourisme en France, 2006, p. 239-240; "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung betreffend die Beteiligung des Bundes an der Errichtung eines Schweizerischen Verkehrsamtes. (Vom 16. März 1917.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 12, 1917, p. 375-404, here 375.

³⁵⁷ Larique, L'Economie du tourisme en France, 2006, p. 239.

³⁵⁸ Larique, L'Economie du tourisme en France, 2006, p. 239-240.

³⁵⁹ Larique, L'Economie du tourisme en France, 2006, p. 239-240.

³⁶⁰ Mechtler, staatliche Förderung, 1954, p. 267.

but still modest understanding of the economic importance of tourism in the administration.³⁶¹ The associations of the LTOs had petitioned for the foundation of a department in the Ministry of the *Interior* which should have treated all questions concerning tourism in 1896 already.³⁶² Similar, the initiatives for a Swiss NTO came from two private associations which represented the Swiss hoteliers and the Swiss LTOs.

Summarizing, we can state that prior to the First World War, local and/or regional promotional efforts for tourism were mushrooming in Western Europe and North America in communities, regions and nation states, in cities, bathing resorts, and alpine destinations. Railway companies, hoteliers, Touring Clubs and chambers of commerce thought to attract tourists, industrial investors or settlers to the marketed region. Most dominant were railway companies, which had the financial resources and managerial skills to promote their services nationwide (USA) or at the international level (Europe). European railway companies were often involved with the nation states, thus they could function as the first state tourist offices. Additionally, they collaborated with other touristic agents for tourism promotion. In the Anglo-Saxon world, tourism promotion was used by nation states as a means to monitor domestic tourism to national parks (USA), industrial investments (Canada) and migration and settlement (Australia). Accordingly, several Australian state administrations developed in tight connection with their railway companies.

LTOs were other agents of tourism promotion. Mostly, they were organizations in which several touristic-political agents were collaborating, thereby representing a first stage of organization of tourism promotion. They often functioned as a centralizing unity which should absorb the negative effects of the uncoordinated, inefficient promotion by the different agents in tourism promotion. This "model" of a voluntary, often privately organized, in the beginning rather uncoordinated tourism promotion was the basis for the organization of the NTOs. Most of the NTOs came into existence after the First World War. The creation of a NTO did not destroy the LTOs or the railway companies' marketing departments, rather complement them. It is noteworthy that in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, France and Switzerland, the establishment of a NTO fulfilled the claims of the LTOs and/or hoteliers.

³⁶¹ Mechtler, staatliche Förderung, 1954, p. 264.

³⁶² Mechtler, staatliche Förderung, 1954, p. 264.

2.3 Centralization: the Interwar Period

Most Western societies were deeply divided after the First World War in political and social respective. With the working class fighting for its rights, a completely new part of the society turned into potential tourists. Domestic tourism became an alternative to international tourism which was again heavily disturbed by the World Economic Crisis. Against this background, state interference became an option even in countries which were traditionally skeptical about it.³⁶³ Thus, Great Britain inaugurated its first NTO in 1928, followed by Australia in 1929, Canada in 1934 and the USA in 1937. Until the outbreak of the Second World War, the number of NTOs worldwide exploded. Some of them showed considerable similarities as a comparison of some of the countries in table 1 reveals:

Firstly, many of the NTOs were established in order to reach a central body which should coordinate the different efforts by the agents of the mushrooming-era. Why? A lot of these agents tried to promote their services not only in their direct environment or own country, but also abroad.³⁶⁴ This tasks often exceeded their financial resources. Additionally, the fact that enterprises from the same destination or business tried the same, did not ease the task. Competition was obviously so tough, that countermeasures were increasingly discussed. The environment the touristic agents were working in had changed fundamentally. The First World War had destroyed the basis of the former luxurious, internationally oriented, wealthy tourism. The results were a heavy indebtedness in the European hotel and transport sector, and, for those which had hold out under the stress, smaller incomes.³⁶⁵ That is why some hoteliers, railway companies and LTOs called for a central institution which would guarantee that those marketing budgets, which were still budgeted, were used efficiently and purposeful. In some countries, such a central institution was considered to coordinate the marketing of the country as a tourist destination abroad. Thus, the British TA was founded because a private initiative for marketing Great Britain in the USA, the 'Come to Britain' movement, had failed.³⁶⁶ Similarly, the

³⁶³ Beckerson, *Marketing British Tourism*, 2002, p. 144; Berkowitz, *Making Mass Tourism*, 2001, p. 203.

³⁶⁴ Beckerson, *Marketing British Tourism*, 2002, p. 140.

³⁶⁵ For Switzerland, see "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung betreffend die Beteiligung des Bundes an der Errichtung eines Schweizerischen Verkehrsamtes. (Vom 16. März 1917.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 12, 1917, p. 376.

³⁶⁶ Beckerson, *Marketing British Tourism*, 2002, p. 140-142.

"Australian National Travel Association (ANTA)" was formed to coordinate the marketing efforts of the states and their respective travel bureaus, railway companies, shipping lines, automobile organizations, and merchants.³⁶⁷ The same motives had led to the French and Swiss NTOs prior to the First World War.³⁶⁸ In Spain, the Comisión Nacional was destined at the foreign guests in particular as its full name revealed (see table 2).³⁶⁹

Secondly, these national institutions helped to minimize the competition. It is noteworthy that the state was asked to limit the negative effects of the competition in touristic marketing by the very agents of this marketing! In Britain, the competition in touristic marketing between resorts and regions had led to the call for LTOs in the 1890s,³⁷⁰ and the failure of the "Come to Britain" movement, which was mainly carried out by private companies voluntarily, convinced the national administration to support the TA in 1933 finally.³⁷¹ In Germany, the different suppliers of touristic marketing did not reject the Nazi's *Gleichschaltung* in 1933 in the beginning, because the responsibilities for the German touristic marketing abroad were confusing: In 1920, the "Reichsbahn" set up its own "German Railroads Information Office (RDV)" which focused on the promotion of Germany abroad, in 1921 a "Reich Committee for Tourism Advertising Abroad" as well as a "Reich Working Group for German Tourism Promotion" were established.³⁷² In 1929, a "Central Committee for Tourism", located within the Ministry of Transportation,³⁷³ brought a first centralization, which was, in the beginning, welcomed by tourism officials.³⁷⁴ In Austria, too, it were the touristic associations which had firstly, but unsuccessfully called for a state department for tourism in 1896.³⁷⁵ Obviously, the establishment of NTOs did not distinctively differ in democratic and authoritarian countries. The examples reveal that the relation authoritarian-top down is not correct in any case. Bottom up initiatives dominated in democratic countries – but, as this approach also appeared in authoritarian countries (Germany, Austro-Hungarian Monarchy), it cannot be limited to democratic countries.

³⁶⁷ Davidson; Spearritt, *Tourism in Australia*, 2000, p. 77.

³⁶⁸ Larique, *L'Economie du tourisme en France*, 2006, p. 242; "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung betreffend die Beteiligung des Bundes an der Errichtung eines Schweizerischen Verkehrsamtes. (Vom 16. März 1917.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 12, 1917, p. 379-380.

³⁶⁹ Pack, *Tourism and Dictatorship*, 2006, p. 25.

³⁷⁰ Beckerson, *Marketing British Tourism*, 2002, p. 134.

³⁷¹ Beckerson, *Marketing British Tourism*, 2002, p. 140-142.

³⁷² Semmens, *Seeing Hitler's Germany*, 2005, p. 10.

³⁷³ Semmens, *Seeing Hitler's Germany*, 2005, p. 10.

³⁷⁴ Semmens, *Seeing Hitler's Germany*, 2005, p. 16.

³⁷⁵ Mechtler, *staatliche Förderung*, 1954, p. 264.

The German or Italian state leisure *programs* (not offices!) ("Kraft durch Freude", founded in 1933, "Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro", founded in 1925) maybe best suit a top down approach.³⁷⁶

Thirdly, most of the nation states were reluctant to fund touristic promotion in the beginning. The small financing resulted in modest results and in unattained aims. Thus, the British "Travel Association" received a "pump prime-funding", but not a permanent grant in 1928.³⁷⁷ The French "Office National du Tourisme" disappointed the touristic agents' expectations, it should have met all its tasks with 30'000 French francs per year in 1910 and 1911.³⁷⁸ If the 500'000 Austrian Kronen were enough for the planned works,³⁷⁹ can hardly be assessed. Yet, these absolute numbers should be used very carefully. It is mentioned seldom,³⁸⁰ if at all, what the numbers included. Were the salaries of a NTO's officials or the costs for the licenses (e.g. for hanging up posters) included? A comparison is hard to manage, the more so because the numbers were mostly mentioned in discussions about the amount of state funding the NTO should receive. That the lobbyists and the opposition were using the numbers which were in their interest, is therefore highly plausible. Nevertheless, an international comparison as an argument for a higher state funding of the NTO was widely spread between the 1910s and 1930s: European lobbyists perceived that the foreign countries were spending more for tourism promotion than their countries did.³⁸¹ Basing on the complaints about the modest financial commitments to state tourism promotion, one may get the impression that the nation states sometimes engaged themselves *contre coeur*. In fact, this may base on a widespread uneasiness over a bureaucratization of tourism promotion and of tourism in general.³⁸² A countermeasure which should undo this impression was what we call a "Public-Private-Partnership" today, that is a mutual financing by public and private entities. Accordingly, the boards and/or the leading and advising bodies of the NTOs

³⁷⁶ For extensive analysis of these leisure programs see: Baranowski, *Strength Through Joy*, 2004; Baranowski, *Tourism and National Integration*, 2001, p. 213-236; Semmens, *Seeing Hitler's Germany*, 2005; de Grazia, *Culture of Consent*, 1981; for Latvia see: Purs, *State's Attempt*, 2006.

³⁷⁷ Beckerson, *Marketing British Tourism*, 2002, p. 142-143.

³⁷⁸ Larique, *L'Economie du tourisme en France*, 2006, p. 238, 254.

³⁷⁹ Mechtler, *staatliche Förderung*, 1954, p. 267.

³⁸⁰ For example in Mechtler, *staatliche Förderung*, 1954, p. 267.

³⁸¹ For France see Larique, *L'Economie du tourisme en France*, 2006, p. 640; for the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy see Mechtler, *staatliche Förderung*, 1954, p. 259, 261; for Switzerland, see "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung betreffend die Beteiligung des Bundes an der Errichtung eines Schweizerischen Verkehrsamtes. (Vom 16. März 1917.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 12, 1917, p. 375-376, 378.

³⁸² Larique, *L'Economie du tourisme en France*, 2006, p. 241.

were often composed of representatives of the government and/or administration on the one hand, and on the other hand, of representatives of the other touristic agents.³⁸³ The economic and political tensions during and in the aftermath of the World Economic Crisis in most of the Western countries led, however, to an increase if not noticeably in state funding, but in state interference. Against the background of a divided society, national governments realized the advantages of their NTOs which were utilized for the state's purposes. The French and Italian popular trains³⁸⁴ to the coast or the Swiss 30-45 percent discount on railway tickets³⁸⁵, did not only boost domestic tourism, but was also intended to boost patriotic feelings (see chapter 5.6.5.2 *Patriotism as ground for tourism*). After the process of institutionalization, an utilization appeared in the 1930s and 1940s.

Fourthly, most of the first NTOs were advised by committees, advisory boards, private councils, commissions and the like. These advisory bodies unified in most cases the agents of the mushrooming-era which guaranteed them a right to have a say. This can also be seen in the number of the members which joined these organizations. In France, a "Conseil Supérieure du Tourisme", which consisted of 50 members, advised the NTO,³⁸⁶ in the USA, a "National Travel Advisory Board" consisted of executives and officials from transportation and travel-related businesses and organizations,³⁸⁷ while the leaders of the Swiss NTO were assisted by a "Verkehrsrat"³⁸⁸ consisting of at least 21 members.³⁸⁹

Fifthly, the NTOs often enlarged their duty by turning to domestic tourism. This happened in particular when the financial and economic tensions in the 1930s became prevalent. The NTOs thereby became means of monitoring the population and of educating them to become domestic tourists since the social tensions had to be overcome in times of political unrest in the neighbouring countries or at home, and the missing foreign guests had to be replaced. Thereby, the NTOs were recognized

³⁸³ For France see: Larique, *L'Economie du tourisme en France*, 2006, p. 245; for Australia, see Davidson; Spearritt, *Tourism in Australia*, 2000, p. 79; for Switzerland, see BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "Statuten der nationalen Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs", Bern, 28.11.1917, Art. 2.

³⁸⁴ Larique, *L'Economie du tourisme en France*, 2006, p. 662; de Grazia, *Culture of Consent*, 1981, p. 180.

³⁸⁵ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 34, 1930-1955: "Protokoll der Sitzung, [...] 31. Juli 1933 [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Zürich, 31.7.1933.

³⁸⁶ Larique, *L'Economie du tourisme en France*, 2006, p. 244.

³⁸⁷ Berkowitz, *Making Mass Tourism*, 2001, p. 203.

³⁸⁸ Translated in the general sense: Swiss Traffic Council.

³⁸⁹ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "Statuten der nationalen Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs", Bern, 28.11.1917.

by the national governments as useful for monitoring the people. The development in the USA illustrates this as an example: After Woodrow Wilson had created a so called "Western Roads Bureau of Service" as a part of the United States Railroad Administration in order to balance the sharp fall of private marketing campaigns in 1918,³⁹⁰ the US-state interference resulted, after the dissolution of the Bureau, in the foundation of the "United States Travel Bureau" (USTB) in 1937 which was given official authorization and independent appropriation by the Congress in 1940.³⁹¹ This centralization had begun in 1934 with Franklin D. Roosevelt's order to his secretary of the interior "to expand the Park Service's authority over the management of most federally owned tourist attractions – the battlefields, parks, monuments, and buildings that had been formerly managed by the War and Agriculture Departments."³⁹² In the course of the economic crisis Roosevelt set off a job creation program for white collar workers for touristic purposes. Between 1935 and 1943, 10 000 white collars created 48 tourist guides on the American states, three touring-guides and innumerable local guides which characterized tourism as a patriotic and nationalistic task of the "modern folk nation".³⁹³ Yet, the USTB was shut down after the outbreak of the Second World War. Nevertheless, "the bureau during its brief tenure reshaped the federal government's role in tourism promotion."³⁹⁴ In particular, it created the "National Travel Advisory Board" which – among other measures – directly assisted tourists by establishing local offices in New York City, San Francisco and Washington and coordinated special promotional campaigns such as the "Travel America Year campaign" in 1940 (proclaimed by Roosevelt) or the "See the Old West campaign" in 1941.³⁹⁵ Berkowitz puts this increased state interference in the 1930s down to three reasons: Firstly, under the effect of a threatening internal division, radical revolution and right-wing reaction as well as foreign aggression tourism seemed to help making Americans into better citizens.³⁹⁶ Secondly, tourism was seen by the New Dealers as a solution to the problems of economic instability due to its ability to stimulate the sluggish demand.³⁹⁷ Thirdly, the New Dealers realized increasingly that tourism promotion could be successful only with the active participation of the federal

³⁹⁰ Shaffer, *See America First*, 2001, p. 96-97, 110.

³⁹¹ Berkowitz, *Making Mass Tourism*, 2001, p. 203.

³⁹² Berkowitz, *Making Mass Tourism*, 2001, p. 203.

³⁹³ Shaffer, *See America First*, 2001, p. 202-203.

³⁹⁴ Berkowitz, *Making Mass Tourism*, 2001, p. 203.

³⁹⁵ Berkowitz, *Making Mass Tourism*, 2001, p. 203.

³⁹⁶ Berkowitz, *Making Mass Tourism*, 2001, p. 204.

³⁹⁷ Berkowitz, *Making Mass Tourism*, 2001, p. 204.

government since the "the tourist industry as a whole remained rather disparate, unorganized, and undercapitalized."³⁹⁸ The federal government succeeded therewith in influencing the American national identity insofar as tourism had become essential to the personal pursuit of happiness and the proper functioning of the American economy and workplace.³⁹⁹ That the USA, the archetype of a capitalistic country (at least in the late 19th century) in which state interference was associated with negative effects for the economy, finally inaugurated their NTO in the late 1930s, shows how important tourism had become for national governments.

Sixthly, nevertheless, the national interference in tourism did not guarantee a smooth development of an NTO. In contrast, several NTOs experienced a crisis in the Interwar Period. Although the reasons for these critical phases were subject to national peculiarities, one similarity sticks out: the financial engagement of the state. While in Switzerland and France, the nation states did not provide enough financial means, the Italian ENIT lost its commercial branch with the splitting off of the NTOs agencies abroad.⁴⁰⁰ The closing of the USTB in 1939 (see above) or of the French Office National du Tourisme in 1935 thereby represented the extreme cases.⁴⁰¹

In summary, the striking point about the development of NTOs in Europe and North America is that it took place in different institutional settings, but showed a lot of similarities. In the Interwar Period, many western, particularly Anglo-Saxon countries, saw the establishment of a NTO which should coordinate the promotional efforts abroad and limit competition between the different agents of tourism promotion. Such central institutions were placed at the national level, so that the nation state was often co-financing, but also co-deciding with the other agents. Both, the nation state and the other touristic agents, were represented in the advisory and/or leading bodies of the NTO, which often consisted of a great number of representatives. Once the process of institutionalization had ended and the NTO was established, some NTOs were utilized by the national government in order to counteract the separating tendencies in the society in the 1930s. The mutual funding by the touristic agents and

³⁹⁸ Berkowitz, *Making Mass Tourism*, 2001, p. 204-205.

³⁹⁹ Berkowitz, *Making Mass Tourism*, 2001, p. 207.

⁴⁰⁰ Larique, *débuts et déboires*, 2007, p. 84-85; Visentin, *Per una storia dei viaggi organizzati*, 2002, p. 92; BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 68, 1926-1939: "VIERZEHNTER JAHRESBERICHT für den Zeitraum vom 1. Januar bis 31. Dezember 1931", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Zürich, 1932, p. 28.

⁴⁰¹ Larique, *débuts et déboires*, 2007, p. 89; Berkowitz, *Making Mass Tourism*, 2001, p. 203.

the nation state supported this insofar as the nation state – due to its partial engagement in the financing – had the right to have a say. Yet, such an increased state interference should not be mistaken as a propaganda program as they appeared in authoritarian states.

2.4 Preliminary results

Basing on the rare literature about the institutional setting for NTOs, this chapter aimed at answering how national governments became involved in the promotion of tourism and how their NTOs developed. The underlying hypothesis was that the establishment and development of NTOs was an alpine model. This helped to identify two noteworthy points:

Firstly, the sheer chronology of the opening of different NTOs suggests the hypothesis. The first NTOs were established in countries bordering to the European alpine arc. The explosion of the number of NTOs in the Interwar Period and the clear orientation to Western Europe, visible in the decolonizing world after the Second World War with an NTO, supports the hypothesis.

Secondly, tourism promotion developed, accordingly to this alpine model in two waves, each with its special characteristics. In a first step, tourism promotion was carried out by many different players. Agents of touristic promotion were mushrooming at the local, regional, but also national level. A strong bottom up approach can be observed, mainly in the decades prior to the First World War. In a second step, tourism promotion was centralized at a national level. NTOs were attempts to centralize single promotional efforts in order to improve efficiency, to limit competition among the agents of tourism promotion and to improve a country's promotion abroad. They often fulfilled long-standing claims for a central institution *by the existing promotional agents*, thus the hoteliers, railway companies and LTOs of the mushrooming-era. This led occasionally to a mutual financing in the form of a Public-Private-Partnership, and to large advisory bodies which consisted of numerous representatives of these agents. In the beginning, the nation states' commitments to tourism promotion were often modest, sometimes *contre coeur*, – an attitude which sometimes drove the NTOs in a times of crisis after a couple of years. Yet, in the course of the world economic crisis and the corresponding economic and social tensions in society, they realized their NTO's potential for the strengthening of the social cohesion through domestic tourism. Such a state interference remained,

however, in democratic realms, except in countries which turned authoritarian in the Interwar Period and whose regimes developed special state leisure programs (Germany, Italy). Most of the western(ized) nation states became increasingly interested in tourism due to its economic potential, all the more against the background of the Great Depression. Thus, a utilization can be observed mostly in the 1930s, after the process of institutionalization had started in the first decade of the 20th century.

3 Past History of the Swiss National Tourist Office (1893 – 1911)

Until the SVZ was founded in 1917, Switzerland had experienced different attempts of joint tourism promotion. The "Verband Schweizerischer Verkehrsvereine (VSV)",⁴⁰² founded in 1893, focused on the tourism promotion of those Swiss parties which were interested in tourism.⁴⁰³ As this task was taken over by the SVZ in 1917, the VSV drifted into unimportance after this year.⁴⁰⁴ With respect to the organization of tourism (cartelization), the VSV was equally unsuccessful.⁴⁰⁵ It is therefore, that is not further treated here. Other efforts of unification proved more successful. After private business persons in the Lake Geneva Region had gathered in a "Syndicat pour les intérêts de la Suisse romande et du Jura-Simplon (Syndicat)" in order to centralize their marketing expenses, the railway company of this region, the Jura-Simplon-Railway (JS), opened up a first publicity department in 1894. With the incorporation of the JS into the SBB in 1902, its publicity department was relabeled into Publizitätsdienst der SBB. Advertising by railway companies which then often meant tourism-advertising arrived at a national institution for the first time. Yet, the railway company did not promote the hotels, small boarding houses, or feeding industries for tourism which also wanted to advertise and market their services. There were, therefore, repeated attempts among them to make a joint promotion. The foundation of the SVZ can therefore be seen as a late success of these attempts which started in the 1890s.

This chapter shows the first attempts of joint tourism promotion in Switzerland. In particular, it discusses the establishment and development of the SBB's publicity department, the Publizitätsdienst der SBB, and its predecessors, the JS' publicity department and the Syndicat, by asking about the initiators, their social, economic and cultural background, and about the aims, purposes and tasks of these various institutions. As the literature is poor about these topics, this chapter mainly bases on sources found in the SBB Archive. Compared to later decades, the situation of the

⁴⁰² Translated in the general sense, the VSV reads: Association of Swiss tourist offices.

⁴⁰³ Hunziker, W.[alter], *Der schweizerische Fremdenverkehr*, Bern: Buchdruckerei Benteli A.G., 1939, p. 41.

⁴⁰⁴ Hunziker, *Fremdenverkehr*, 1939, p. 41.

⁴⁰⁵ Humair, *The Long Depression and its impact on Swiss tourism*, [2011], p. 5.

sources for the period 1893 to 1911 must be labeled fragmentary. The documents are sometimes inexact, sometimes incomplete, and do not continue throughout the period analyzed in this chapter. The line of reasoning therefore follows the institutions which were established in this period, in a chronological way as much as possible. As a consequence, some questions remain only partially answered, which might, however, encourage further research.

3.1 Context of the establishment of the SVZ' predecessors (1893-1911)

3.1.1 From boom to overheating: the economic development

In the Lake Geneva Region, where the Syndicat was founded and which was one of the vibrant centers of tourism in Switzerland in the second half of the 19th century, tourism took on the role of an economic leading sector which generated economic growth and technical modernization and was by no means an appendix to the industrialization and urbanization.⁴⁰⁶ Humair and Tissot, who carried out a project called "Système touristique et culture technique dans l'Arc lémanique: acteurs, réseaux sociaux et synergies (1852-1919)"⁴⁰⁷ thereby found for the regional level what Püntener had found for the Swiss level: that tourism developed into a leading sector in the second half of the 19th century.⁴⁰⁸ The technical modernization took place in the fields of railways (on the Mount Salève),⁴⁰⁹ the valorization of the touristic supply,⁴¹⁰ and lifts in the hotels, which very much contributed to the technical

⁴⁰⁶ Humair, Cédric; Gigase, Marc; Lapointe Guigoz, Julie; Sulmoni, Stefano, "La success story du tourisme dans l'Arc lémanique et ses effets économiques, techniques et socioculturels 1852-1914", in Gigase; Humair; Tissot, *Le tourisme comme facteur*, 2014, p. 13-35, here 35.

⁴⁰⁷ A first dissemination of results delivers Humair, Cédric, "The hotel industry and its importance in the technical and economic development of a region: the Lake Geneva case (1852-1914)", in *Journal of Tourism History*, Vol. 3, No. 3, 2011, p. 237-265.

⁴⁰⁸ Püntener, *Beitrag des Fremdenverkehrs*, 1994, p. 56.

⁴⁰⁹ Gigase, Marc, *Le rail et son expansion dans l'arc lémanique: portraits d'une société en mutation (1845-1914)* (doctoral thesis supervised by M. Cédric Humair), according to Université de Lausanne, Section d'histoire, *Thèses en cours*, [s.d.], URL: <http://www.unil.ch/hist/fr/home/menuinst/recherche/theses.html> (accessed 11.11.2014); Gigase, Marc, *From Geneva to Mount Salève with the First Electric Rack Railway: Technical progress and Tourist Prestige (1890-1914)*, Paper presented on the 2. Schweizerische Geschichtstage, 4th-10th February 2010, Basel: unpublished paper, 2010.

⁴¹⁰ Sulmoni, Stefano, *Séduire et divertir le touriste: la construction d'une offre touristique dans l'arc lémanique et ses enjeux techniques (1852-1914)* (doctoral thesis supervised by Prof. Laurent Tissot, Université de Neuchâtel, and M. Cédric Humair), according to Université de Lausanne, Section d'histoire, *Thèses en cours*, [s.d.], URL: <http://www.unil.ch/hist/fr/home/menuinst/recherche/theses.html> (accessed 11.11.2014).

development.⁴¹¹ Moreover, tourism induced the production of infrastructure and of consumer goods which, in turn, enabled the producing industrial enterprises to step from the regional onto the international market in some cases.⁴¹² Tourism and especially the hotels were highly capitalized and heavily technical,⁴¹³ which allowed the Lake Geneva Region to belong to the pioneering regions in the fields of transport infrastructures, communication, energy supply, water supply and sewage disposal.⁴¹⁴ These technical developments changed the daily life of the regional inhabitants profoundly, which was criticized in some cases.⁴¹⁵ It also changed the composition of the guests: While the journey to Switzerland was reserved for the English gentry and the upper bourgeoisie until the age of the railway, the middle class could increasingly afford travelling to Switzerland as the transport fares fell with the technical advancement in the second half of the 19th century.⁴¹⁶ The partition of the tourists in Switzerland according to their countries of origin is another question. Gölden shows that after 1871, more and more Germans visited Switzerland which led to a decreasing part of the English compared to the total of visitors since the 1880s.⁴¹⁷

The importance of tourism in the Lake Geneva Region was mirrored in Switzerland's rise to a top destination in Europe during the 19th century. According to Humair, this "success story" based on several factors.⁴¹⁸ Known as a transit country between Northern and Southern Europe, honoured in the literature, and chosen as a place for alpinism and different forms of therapies (e.g. heliotherapy), Switzerland heavily attracted English tourists due to mutual admiration (e.g. Great Britain's economic growth, Switzerland's republican tradition) and a perfect meeting of the touristic supply with the English' demand basing on Switzerland's quick adaptation to

⁴¹¹ Lapointe Guigoz, Julie, *L'hôtellerie de l'arc lémanique et le développement technique: défis et synergies (1840-1914)* (doctoral thesis supervised by M. Cédric Humair and Prof. Laurent Tissot, Université de Neuchâtel), according to Université de Lausanne, Section d'histoire, *Thèses en cours*, [s.d.], URL: <http://www.unil.ch/hist/fr/home/menuinst/recherche/theses.html> (accessed 11.11.2014).

⁴¹² Humair; Gigase; Lapointe Guigoz; Sulmoni, success story, 2014, p. 35.

⁴¹³ Humair; Gigase; Lapointe Guigoz; Sulmoni, success story, 2014, p. 16.

⁴¹⁴ Humair; Gigase; Lapointe Guigoz; Sulmoni, success story, 2014, p. 30.

⁴¹⁵ Humair; Gigase; Lapointe Guigoz; Sulmoni, success story, 2014, p. 35. On the criticisms of tourism, see also: Bachmann, Stefan, "Alpenromantik und Tourismuskritik. Widerstand gegen den Boom der Bergbahnen", in Bundi, Madlaina (ed.), *Erhalten und Gestalten. 100 Jahre Schweizer Heimatschutz*, Baden: Hier+Jetzt, 2005, p. 27-35, here 27-28; Le Dinh, Diana, *Le Heimatschutz, une ligue pour la beauté. Esthétique et conscience culturelle au début du siècle en Suisse*, Lausanne: Faculté des Lettres, Section d'histoire, 1992; Narindal, Mathieu, "Des établissements de jeu sur l'Arc lémanique? Un équilibre difficile entre intérêts touristiques et résistances morales (1884-1914)", in Humair; Tissot, rayonnement international, 2011, p. 89-107.

⁴¹⁶ Tissot, Naissance, 2000, p. 17, 133, 136.

⁴¹⁷ Gölden, Strukturwandlungen, 1939, p. 113, cited in Püntener, Beitrag des Fremdenverkehrs, 1994, p. 54.

⁴¹⁸ Humair, Le tourisme comme moteur, 2011, p. 12-17.

the English expectations.⁴¹⁹ That the touristic demand met the supply well based on the "imaginaire touristique" about Switzerland which was created by the romantic literature, guidebooks, souvenirs, panoramas, dioramas and presentations (see chapter 5.2.4.1 *Prelude: the reinterpretation of the Alps prior to the Belle Epoque*). In order to react on the economic crisis of the 1880s, local and regional tourist offices appeared, and national associations (Verband Schweizerischer Verkehrsvereine (VSV), Schweizerischer Hotelier-Verein SHV) as well as the SBB marketed Switzerland by means of texts, slides, expositions and posters.⁴²⁰ Tourism also led to a tight international interconnection as Swiss business persons invested in France (Evian, Chamonix), Swiss hoteliers founded hotels abroad (César Ritz, Franz Josef Bucher, Alexandre Emery), Swiss banks and engineers invested in mountain railways all over the world, and as the Swiss model of professional colleges was imitated in other countries.⁴²¹ But why did Switzerland succeed in such a multifaceted phenomenon? Tissot drafts a "Swiss model" consisting of seven parameters: Technology, symbols, promotion, culture, professionalization, politics and economics.⁴²² They heavily depend on each other and are subject to constant rejuvenation, so that the whole model – the touristic Switzerland – has been able to adapt to changing conditions until today, although it is questionable how long the utopia of a perfect touristic destination might endure.⁴²³ According to Tissot, the ability of the Swiss model to handle the commercial rivalries and the guests' desire of being welcomed ensured its successful operation.⁴²⁴

Tissot's model and Humair's synthesis use contributions which have analyzed and elaborated on specific topics in detail. Particularly, they complement the quantitative description of tourism in Switzerland which has hitherto based on a basis heavily consisting of estimations and approximations. Püntener quantified the economic impact of tourism for the years between 1850 and 1913.⁴²⁵ While the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of Switzerland rose between 1851 and 1913 from 719 to 3399 million Swiss Francs – that is from roughly some 83 billions Swiss

⁴¹⁹ Humair, *Le tourisme comme moteur*, 2011, p. 15-16.

⁴²⁰ Humair, *Le tourisme comme moteur*, 2011, p. 26-27.

⁴²¹ Humair, *Le tourisme comme moteur*, 2011, p. 37-43.

⁴²² Tissot, Laurent, "Un monde parfait ou considérations sur le 'modèle touristique suisse'", in Humair; Tissot, *rayonnement international*, 2011, p. 213-220, here 215-216; Tissot, *Alpinization*, 2011, p. 64.

⁴²³ Tissot, *monde parfait*, 2011, p. 216, 220.

⁴²⁴ Tissot, *monde parfait*, 2011, p. 220.

⁴²⁵ Püntener, *Beitrag des Fremdenverkehrs*, 1994, p. 51-59.

Francs of 2009 to roughly some 113 billion Swiss Francs of 2009⁴²⁶ –, the nominal added value by tourism increased from 1.2 to 5 percent for the part of the touristic added value compared to the GDP.⁴²⁷ All in all, Püntener finds that tourism in the 19th century has been neglected in Swiss economic historiography given its importance for the whole economy:

"Gemessen an der Wertschöpfung, am Beitrag zu den gesamtwirtschaftlichen Investitionen und zur Zahlungsbilanz, ist er [der Tourismus] zwischen 1870 und 1913 zu einer der wichtigsten Exportindustrien der Schweiz aufgestiegen."⁴²⁸

His findings are consequently used by the standard reference book on historical data for Switzerland – the Historical Statistics of Switzerland by Siegenthaler.⁴²⁹ It includes Püntener's estimations, the elder literature which occasionally delivered detailed information, and the data published by the Federal Office of Statistics.⁴³⁰

Summarizing one must state that, indeed, there are historical data concerning tourism, but they are far from being complete. The available data from the Historical Statistics of Switzerland is analyzed in the literature. Even the most recent economic historical analysis of Switzerland in the 20th century by Tissot and Mooser bases on the quantitative data of the Federal Office of Statistics and the Historical Statistics of Switzerland.⁴³¹ Indeed, what Humair, Gigase, Lapointe Guigoz and Sulmoni find for the Lake Geneva Region strongly supports Püntener's findings. Since 1890 there are indications concerning the duration of holidays and so called overnight stays.⁴³² This variable is used until today for referring "to the number of nights spent by non-resident tourists in accommodation establishments (guests). If one person travels to a country and spends five nights there, that makes five tourist overnight stays (or

⁴²⁶ According to Pfister, Christian; Studer, Roman, *Swistoval. The Swiss Historical Monetary Value Converter*, [s.d.], URL: <http://www.swistoval.ch> (accessed 14.9.2015), 719 million Swiss Francs in 1851 roughly equaled some 83 billion Swiss Francs of 2009, while 3.399 billion Swiss Francs in 1913 roughly equaled some 113 billion Swiss Francs of 2009 (deflator: historical wage index).

⁴²⁷ Püntener, *Beitrag des Fremdenverkehrs*, 1994, p. 57.

⁴²⁸ Püntener, *Beitrag des Fremdenverkehrs*, 1994, p. 57-58.

⁴²⁹ Siegenthaler, Hansjörg; Ritzmann-Blickenstorfer, Heiner (ed.), *Historische Statistik der Schweiz*, Zürich: Chronos-Verlag, 1996. It is also online: Kammerer, Patrick; Müller, Margrit; Tanner, Jakob; Woitek, Ulrich (eds.), *Online Datenbasis zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte der Schweiz*, [s.d.], URL: <http://www.fsw.uzh.ch/histstat/main.php> (accessed 26.8.2014).

⁴³⁰ See, for example, Kammerer; Müller; Tanner; Woitek, *Online Datenbasis*, [s.d.], table M.1 "Tourism 1850-1913: Number of Guest Beds, Room Nights, Gross Production Value, Intermediat Consumption and Value Added" (accessed 27.10.2014), and table M.3 "Tourism 1894, 1905, and 1910-1923: Arrivals, Room Nights, and Occupancy Rates of Available Beds by Month" (accessed 27.10.2014).

⁴³¹ Tissot; Moser, *Binnenwirtschaft, Tourismus und Landwirtschaft*, 2012, p. 519-628.

⁴³² Schumacher, *Ferien*, 2002, Appendix.

person-nights).⁴³³ Different authors show these data from the Belle Epoque onwards.⁴³⁴ Thus, the overnight stays in Switzerland totalled roughly 12.5 million in 1890, peaked in 1895 and 1899 with around 17 and 17.5 million, fell to 13 million in 1900 and afterwards steadily rose until 1912 to the highest peak of 25 million and 14 million in 1913. In 1921 and 1932 and 1933 the total of overnight stays equaled around 15 million while in between this mark rose to 21 and 22 million in 1925 and 1928/29 respectively. 1926 fell the total on 18 million. Until 1939 the total equaled between 13 and 17 million, with a sharp fall to 10 million in 1940. A constant rise until 1944 up to 14 million and afterwards an even sharper rise until 1947 up to 22.5 million precede a decrease until 1950 ending with 18 million overnight stays.⁴³⁵

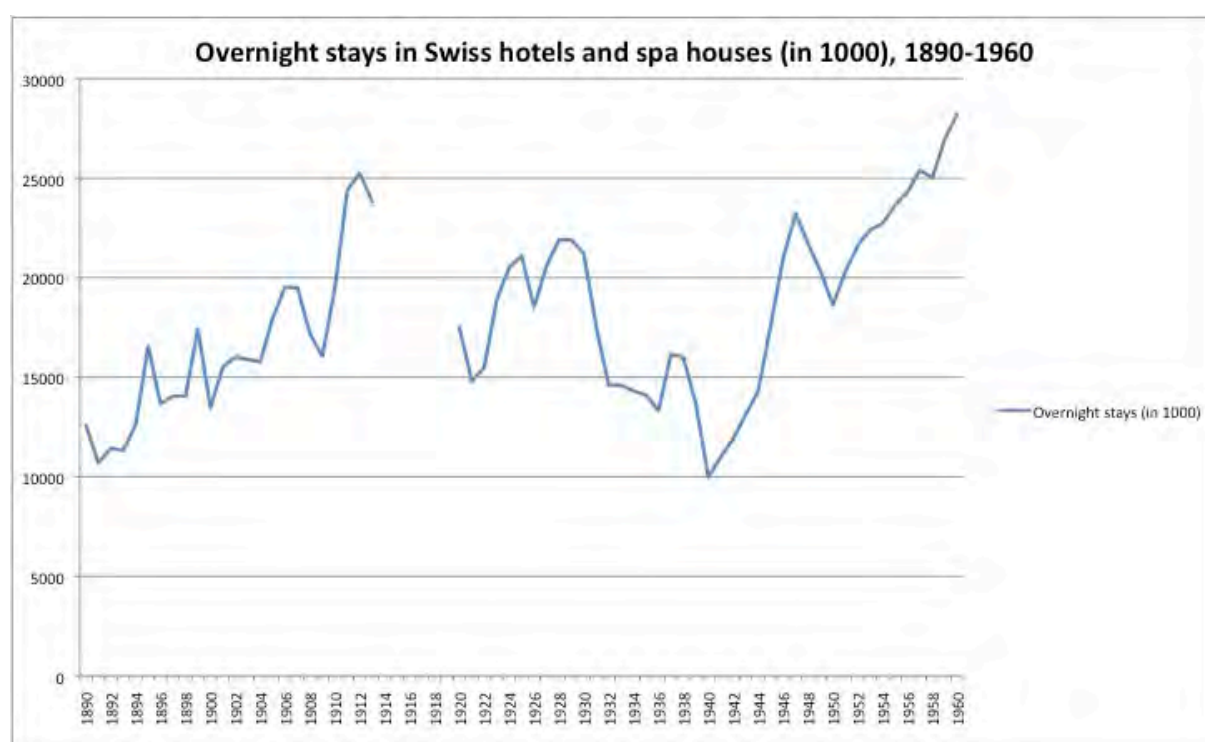


Fig. 3: The numbers of overnight stays in Swiss hotels and spa houses were subject to heavy fluctuations between 1890 and 1960. The numbers gained in the Belle Epoque were roughly lost in the Interwar Period, only to see a stabile increase not prior to 1950.

Source: Müller; Amacher Hoppler, neutral country, 2012, p. 108.

⁴³³ World Tourism Organization, *Yearbook of Tourism Statistics, Data 2004 – 2008*, 2010 Edition, Madrid: WTO, 2010, p. x.

⁴³⁴ Tissot; Moser, *Binnenwirtschaft, Tourismus und Landwirtschaft*, 2012, p. 561; Schumacher, *Ferien*, 2002, Appendix, diagrams 15-17; Müller, Hansruedi; Amacher Hoppler, Anna, "Tourism in a Neutral Country Surrounded by War: The case of Switzerland", in Butler, Richard; Suntikul, Wantanee (eds.), *Tourism and War*, London: Routledge, 2013, p. 106-118, here 108.

⁴³⁵ Müller; Amacher Hoppler, neutral country, 2013, p. 108.

3.1.2 Transport: the conquest of the mountains by rail

As mentioned above tourism induced technical innovations. Yet, some caution is suitable. The relationship railway-tourism in 19th century Switzerland, for example, is not so clear, because, as Tissot shows, tourism developed in Switzerland not because of but in spite of the railways.⁴³⁶ The Swiss railway companies did not hinder the touristic development but they did not foster it either,⁴³⁷ although the railways stood at the beginning of several important developments like an economic valorization, a commercial increase in value, a socio-cultural circulation, the discovery of the landscape, an European consciousness, a technical knowledge, etc.⁴³⁸ Such an economic valorization took place, for instance, around Montreux, where the Montreux-Oberland-Bahn (MOB) built up a touristic industry within its own limits.⁴³⁹ That is, the MOB integrated a whole touristic supply – mountain railways with connections to feeder lines, sporting facilities, hotels and restaurants – just from the beginning and was eager to do this according to the latest technical advancements, thus symbolizing modernity.⁴⁴⁰ The conquest of the height by train became a Swiss touristic ideal which was realized physically by the construction of the mountain railways. They did not only made this conquest enjoyable but also boosted the making of a real touristic industry.⁴⁴¹

In order to be part of this Swiss touristic ideal, the technical possibilities served some foreign tourists as an argument to come to Switzerland, although it was an expensive undertaking: Frey/Schiedt calculated the reachability for a famous Swiss tourist destination:⁴⁴² the Rigi, a mountain in the surroundings of Lucerne and labelled – at least in the fiction making the overcrowded Rigi – "Kursaal" already in

⁴³⁶ Tissot, *quelles relations*, 2006, p. 31, 37.

⁴³⁷ Tissot, *quelles relations*, 2006, p. 37.

⁴³⁸ Tissot, *Suisse aimée*, 2010, p. 158.

⁴³⁹ Tissot, *A travers les Alpes*, 2004, p. 227-244.

⁴⁴⁰ Tissot, Laurent, "La quête du haut. Les lignes ferroviaires touristiques dans le canton de Vaud jusqu'à la Seconde Guerre mondiale", in *Revue historique vaudoise*, Tome 114, 2006, p. 195-212, here 202-210.

⁴⁴¹ Tissot, *quête du haut*, 2006, p. 211-212.

⁴⁴² If not indicted otherwise, this part refers to Frey, Thomas; Schiedt, Hans-Ulrich, "Die internationale Erreichbarkeit von alpinen Schweizer Tourismuszentren 1850-1930 am Beispiel der Rigi", in Burri, Monika; Elsasser, Kilian T.; Gugerli, David (ed.), *Die Internationalität der Eisenbahn 1850-1970 (Interferenzen. Studien zur Kulturgeschichte der Technik, 7)*, Zürich: Chronos Verlag, 2003, p. 219-235; Frey, Thomas; Schiedt, Hans-Ulrich, "Wie viel Arbeitszeit kostet die Freizeitmobilität? Monetäre Reisekosten in der Schweiz 1850-1910", in Gilomen, Hans-Jörg; Schumacher, Beatrice; Tissot, Laurent (ed.), *Freizeit und Vergnügen vom 14. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert. Temps libre et loisirs du 14e au 20e siècles (Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte/Société suisse d'histoire économique et sociale, Vol. 20)*, Zürich: Chronos Verlag, 2005, p. 157-171.

1880.⁴⁴³ The Rigi was embedded in a functioning international transport network consisting of an intermodal combination of railways and diligences (stage coaches) in 1850. In this year, there was one daily connection between Paris and Rigi Kulm lasting at least 63 hours and costing 8825 Swiss Cents. In 1910, the trip from Paris to Rigi Kulm could be done three times a day within a minimal travel time of 11.4 hours and for 5320 Swiss Cents. While the time benefits of the railways were appreciated, the extraordinary high prices hindered travelling for a long time, although the price level for passenger transportation fell constantly over the second half of the 19th century. But special trains such as cable cars and cog railways heightened the prices. The enthusiasm about technical innovation in the Belle Epoque, however, let people pay the journey from Paris to the Rigi since visiting the technical – apart from the natural – wonders and sights of that period had often become a social must.⁴⁴⁴

For the locals, the construction of a mountain railways offered (additional) opportunities to earn money, while the big business was made by some influential personalities who often profited from relationships tied in the army, politics or associations.⁴⁴⁵ On the one hand, such investors profited from the weak social and political organization of the workers constructing the railways who mainly came from Italy and lost their jobs in times of a crisis.⁴⁴⁶ On the other hand, the investors sometimes came under pressure, because several projects for mountain railways faced the opposition of the Swiss conservationist movement (e.g. 1905 Meiringen-Grindelwald via Rosenlauri, 1906 Matterhorn).⁴⁴⁷ United in the "Heimatschutz", an association in favour of the preservation of sites and regional traditions, the conservationists considered tourism as a danger for the nature.⁴⁴⁸ As the nature and the past formed the base for the criticisms of modernity by the Heimatschutz,⁴⁴⁹ Switzerland experienced bitter fights between members of the "Heimatschutzbewegung" (movement for the preservation of sites and regional traditions) and advocates of projects for mountain railways, especially railways (or

⁴⁴³ Daudet, Alphonse, *Tartarin sur les Alpes. Edition présentée, établie et annotée par Roger Ripoll*, [Paris]: Gallimard, 1997, p. 103.

⁴⁴⁴ Frey; Schiedt, internationale Erreichbarkeit, 2003, p. 225, 232-234.

⁴⁴⁵ Frey, Thomas, "Bergbahnen und Tourismus: Die Kommerzialisierung der Alpen", in Verkehrshaus der Schweiz (ed.), *Kohle, Strom und Schienen. Die Eisenbahn erobert die Schweiz*, Zürich: Verlag Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 1997, p. 86-106, here 102, 104, 106.

⁴⁴⁶ Frey, Kommerzialisierung, 1997, p. 102-103.

⁴⁴⁷ König, Wolfgang, *Bahnen und Berge. Verkehrstechnik, Tourismus und Naturschutz in den Schweizer Alpen 1870-1939*, Frankfurt a. M.: Campus Verlag, 2000, p. 110-112.

⁴⁴⁸ Bachmann, Tourismuskritik, 2005, p. 27-28. For an integral history of the "Heimatschutz", see Le Dinh, *Le Heimatschutz*, 1992.

⁴⁴⁹ Le Dinh, *Le Heimatschutz*, 1992, p. 13.

cableways) reaching the peaks: While for the "Heimatschutz", the alpine peaks symbolized the virgine nature and the Swiss character and identity,⁴⁵⁰ the touristic promoters considered them as the ultimate enlargement of touristic attraction. Thus, the publicity of the conservationist groups influenced the public rejection of mountain railways leading, for instance, over 4000 meters above sea level.⁴⁵¹ Obviously, in tourism, the frictions of the Fin de Siècle – between the naive trust in the power of technology and the naive trust in the power of nature – became visible, too.⁴⁵² Furthermore, around the turn to the 20th century, the touristic infrastructure suddenly gained the interest of the federal administration, which used it in order to make an example of boosting the national technology (e.g. for suspension railways).⁴⁵³

It is in this context of a very high international interconnectedness (international transport system, international hotel chains), of technical attractions (mountain railways), and of an economic boom, when the predecessor of the Swiss NTO was founded.

3.2. The Syndicat pour les intérêts de la Suisse romande et du Jura-Simplon and the Publicity Department of the Jura-Simplon-Railway (1893-1902)

Tourism had become one of the most important export industries of Switzerland at the eve of the First World War and contributed considerably not only to Swiss investments abroad in hotels and mountain railways, but also served as a model in architectural (Swiss chalet), educational (schools of hotel management), institutional⁴⁵⁴ or marketing perspective (reference to Switzerland in a foreign destination's marketing).⁴⁵⁵ With regard to the Swiss economy, tourism played a crucial role in many ways: It generated 19 percent of the passenger transport of the Swiss railway companies in 1913 (without the mountain railways), while the banking sector profited from it due to large investments in hotels, railways and the

⁴⁵⁰ König, Wolfgang, "Railways on Swiss Mountains: A Demonstration of an Agency-Structure-Concept of Technological Development", in Tissot, Laurent; Veyrassat, Béatrice (eds), *Technological Trajectories, Markets, Institutions. Industrialized Countries, 19th-20th Centuries. From context dependency to path dependency*, Bern: P. Lang Verlag, 2001, p. 114.

⁴⁵¹ König, Railways on Swiss Mountains, 2001, p. 115.

⁴⁵² Tanner, Geschichte der Schweiz im 20. Jahrhundert, 2015, p. 110-112.

⁴⁵³ König, Railways on Swiss Mountains, 2001, p. 115.

⁴⁵⁴ According to Larique, L'Economie du tourisme en France, 2006, p. 122-127, cited in Humair, The Long Depression and its impact on Swiss tourism, [2011], p. 14, the founders of French LTOs referred to the Swiss model of LTOs.

⁴⁵⁵ Humair, Le tourisme comme moteur, 2011, p. 38-43.

construction industry and the attraction of foreign capital.⁴⁵⁶ Its function as an employer which was not outstanding in quantitative terms (2.4 percent of all gainfully employed persons – while the engineering industry or the embroidery employed 5.8 or 4.1 percent respectively), but in qualitative terms because it often employed people in peripheral regions often exposed to emigration and thereby boosted the social cohesion.⁴⁵⁷ According to Humair it is probable that the strong presence of foreign employees in tourism changed the migration balance of Switzerland from negative to positive in the 1880s.⁴⁵⁸

Which were these peripheral regions? After the cities at the shores of the lakes of Geneva, Thun, Brienz and Lucerne between 1820 and 1875 became the centers of the touristic regions like the Lake Geneva Region, the Bernese Oberland and central Switzerland, medical tourism and winter sport put the mountainous, hitherto relatively peripheral cantons of Grisons, Tessin and Valais on the touristic map of Switzerland.⁴⁵⁹ Like the Bernese Oberland and central Switzerland, the Lake Geneva Region, however, remained a vibrant center of touristic development. By presenting the first steamship on a Swiss lake in 1823, the first stream-driven tramway in Switzerland (Geneva) and the first funicular railway (Lausanne) in 1877, it succeeded in being a pioneer during the whole 19th century.⁴⁶⁰ Geneva even "a, en quelque sorte, colonisé la France voisine", that is Savoy, and planned to construct a real touristic system in Chamonix.⁴⁶¹ The leading role of the Lake Geneva Region did also show up in the marketing of a place. In fact, it was in Lausanne, that the predecessor of the SBB's publicity department was founded.

The vivid development of tourism in the Lake Geneva Region in the second half of the 19th century in terms of technical innovation⁴⁶², heavy investments and a booming building activity in the hotel sector⁴⁶³ as well as social modernization in form of demanding, luxury-orientated and upper-class guests brought along the new

⁴⁵⁶ Humair, *Le tourisme comme moteur*, 2011, p. 47-49.

⁴⁵⁷ Humair, *Le tourisme comme moteur*, 2011, p. 49.

⁴⁵⁸ Humair, *Le tourisme comme moteur*, 2011, p. 49.

⁴⁵⁹ Humair, *Le tourisme comme moteur*, 2011, p. 18-20.

⁴⁶⁰ Humair, *Le tourisme comme moteur*, 2011, p. 34-35.

⁴⁶¹ Humair, *Le tourisme comme moteur*, 2011, p. 37-38.

⁴⁶² Lapointe, *symbols of prestige*, 2010; Gigase, *Mount Salève*, 2010; Tissot, *quête du haut*, 2006, p. 195-212.

⁴⁶³ Lüthi-Graf, Evelyne, "Montreux", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2009, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D2617.php> (accessed 25.8.2010).

aspect of marketing. Marketing campaigns by hotels, transport companies and industrial producers tried to reach the prospective customers by means of advertisements, posters, extra offers, and the lure of social distinction. In an "époque qui est le triomphe de la publicité et de la réclame"⁴⁶⁴ as a temporary put it, the expenses for their campaigns could be quite large, yet their effect was not clear. The market for attention and publicity was highly competitive and coined by hard concurrence by cheating advertising companies at the same time.⁴⁶⁵ A single actor's campaign could easily prove insufficient due to the sheer extension of the market.

In the Lake Geneva Region, the parallel advertising which sometimes exceeded the financial sources of the companies was perceived as a problem by different touristic agents. On the one hand, four business persons from Geneva, Lausanne, Vevey and Montreux tried to counteract this perceived inefficiency in 1893 by centralizing the expenses for marketing campaigns and to open an advertising office in London. On the other hand, on the same time, the same idea was discussed inside the Jura-Simplon Railway (JS) which came into existence in 1890 by the merger of three railway companies of western Switzerland: the Suisse Occidentale-Simplon (SOS), Pont-Vallorbe, and Jura-Bern-Luzern (without the Jura-Neuchâtelais which was split off earlier).⁴⁶⁶ The JS succeeded in building the Simplon tunnel which was opened in 1906, albeit already under the exploitation and the management of the SBB which the JS was a constituent part of.⁴⁶⁷ It approximately exploited western Switzerland stretching from Geneva, Brig, Meiringen, and Lucerne to Basel and the border crossing points Delle, La Chaux-de-Fonds, Les Verrières and Vallorbe and thereby was the biggest railway corporate group of Switzerland at that time.⁴⁶⁸

The idea of an advertising office in London was firstly mentioned in a letter by the head of the Commercial Service of the JS (Kommerzieller Dienst) to his management in which he informed that an advertising office in London would generate more traffic

⁴⁶⁴ „Les intérêts de la Suisse romande“, in *La Revue. Organe du parti démocratique et fédéraliste vaudois*, Lausanne, 7.3.1893, p. 2.

⁴⁶⁵ Pfister, Adolf, "Die Hotel-Revue, Organ und Spiegelbild der Verbandstätigkeit", in *Schweizer Hotelier-Verein (ed.), 75 Jahre. Jubiläum Schweizer Hotelier-Verein. Geschäfts-Bericht 1956*, Basel: Boehm & Co., 1957, p. 57-64, here 58.

⁴⁶⁶ Bärtschi, Jura-Simplon-Bahn, 2007.

⁴⁶⁷ Bärtschi, Jura-Simplon-Bahn, 2007.

⁴⁶⁸ Bärtschi, Jura-Simplon-Bahn, 2007.

on the lines of the JS in the French-speaking part of Switzerland.⁴⁶⁹ Similarly, a report at the end of February comprehensively elaborated on the establishment of an advertising office in London; the author of this report is not indicated, but probably worked for the JS.

The report firstly complained about the fact that the overwhelming part of the tourists newly passed by the French-speaking part of Switzerland because of the St. Gotthard line. Cook and Gaze sold only the mostly required tickets, which led to the peculiar state that the tourists entered Switzerland at Basel, continue to Lucerne, the Brunig, the Bernese Oberland, Berne and left Switzerland at Basel again. Faster connections, direct coaches of the JS and newly opened railway lines (e.g. Visp-Zermatt, Mont Salève, Glion-Naye) had helped to bring more tourists to the French-speaking part of Switzerland. Nevertheless, the stream of the tourists was lost for the French-speaking part of Switzerland as long as no homogeneous advertising included all interests of the region. All the money which was invested in the advertising of single destinations or transport companies was lost because the advertisings never mentioned how people could reach the destination. Additionally, the nature of the advertising had changed completely: the "annonces" which were placed in brochures, guides etc. earlier were flooded by masses of publications in those days. If the French-speaking part of Switzerland received the numbers of tourists which was in its right due to its many sights, one should begin to show the possibilities how one could get there, show the direct lines of the JS and show which European railway companies were connected to the JS. American, English and continental railway companies did the same, even opened advertising offices in European capitals, particularly in London, where the Americans and Britons planned their sightseeing tours during the "saison mondaine" (May to July). Consequently, London suited well in order to advertise for the French-speaking part of Switzerland. Under the auspices of the JS, a syndicate was founded which should establish an advertising office in London and thereby represent and defend the interests of the whole French-speaking part of Switzerland and the JS. The main goal was:

⁴⁶⁹ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_01, 1893: Letter by the head of the commercial department [of the JS] to the management [of the JS], Berne, 2.1.1893.

1. To publish collective posters and brochures of the whole Lake Geneva Region and of its transport enterprises.
2. To contact foreign travel agencies in order to profit as far as possible from advantages such as adjusting time tables in favour of the Lake Geneva Region, mentioning the net of the JS, mutual hanging up of posters, etc.
3. To distribute brochures and leaflets in hotels, bars, theaters, clubs etc. and to send them to relevant persons.
4. To push ahead with hanging up collective posters all over England and elsewhere and to distribute the leaflets carefully.

A concentration of all powers was needed and the JS now called upon all interested cantons, cities, communities, curing and bathing destinations, transport companies, local tourist offices and hoteliers to participate in the attempt of entrusting their advertising to the syndicate by financially supporting it. In addition, the office was considered not to sell any tickets, but to focus exclusively on the advertisement.⁴⁷⁰

This report took the business persons' efforts into consideration. Parallel to the JS, they had gathered in a *consortium* which aimed at bringing more international, particularly American and British, tourists to the French-speaking part of Switzerland by establishing an advertising office in London. On 20th February 1893, four delegates of the consortium, Beck-Raccaud, Chapalay, Dupuis, and Ruffieux, presented their plan to the JS and asked for physical and financial help: The Syndicat wanted, among other things, to gather for a meeting with all persons interested under the auspices – that is the protection – and in the administration building of the JS in Lausanne, to receive a subsidy for the printing of a poster with the lines of the JS, to receive the permission for the entitlement of the Syndicat's representative in London as "agent commerciale du Jura-Simplon", and to elect a "commissaire-vérificateur" who was entitled to check the account book at any time. The management of the JS welcomed the plan, but refused to convene the meeting and wanted it to take place in a neutral location. Additionally, it attached value to maintain a balance between the

⁴⁷⁰ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_05, [1893]: "Création d'un bureau de publicité à Londres. Pour les Intérêts de la Suisse Romande et du Jura-Simplon", by unknown author, [Lausanne], [28.2.1893].

different lines of the JS' net and not to offend railway companies which the JS was in contact with.⁴⁷¹

From a theoretical point of view, this proposed collaboration deserves attention because it seemed to be a solution to what other tourist resorts fought with: a fierce competition between resorts.⁴⁷² While British resorts "were competing with each other and served by private railways that were also competing with each other", the Belgian resorts "identified their interests much more with those of the nation as a whole."⁴⁷³ In the case of the Lake Geneva Region, the competition found expression on the individual level, where hoteliers, transport entrepreneurs and regional railway companies sought to attract international guests, and on a interregional level, as the Lake Geneva Region was afraid of losing tourists in favour of the St. Gotthard line. Collaboration in order to stand this competition therefore seemed to be a strategy. The foundation of a consortium, which later came to be called Syndicat pour les intérêts de la Suisse romande et du Jura-Simplon (see below), in contrast, resembled the European experience again.⁴⁷⁴

3.2.1. The Initiators

Who were the members of this consortium?

Pierre Beck-Raccaud was a businessman who seemingly was active in the Valais but also engaged in national associations. In the head of a letter he was called

Administrateur-délégué de la Société de Conserves alimentaires de la Vallée du Rhone.
– Président du Syndicat des Cultures de la Vallée du Rhone. – Administrateur-délégué
de la Société suisse des Distributeurs automatiques de Papiers.⁴⁷⁵

These titles reveal that Beck-Raccaud was engaged in different industrial branches: on the one hand in the food industry, on the other hand in sanitary fittings. It is important to note that he was first and almost a lobbyist – be it as the managing director of an association of the Swiss food industry or as the managing director of an

⁴⁷¹ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_01, 1893: "Extrait des Procès-verbaux de la Direction. [...] Séance du 20 février 1893", [s.l.], 20.2.1893.

⁴⁷² Ward, *Selling Places*, 1998, p. 40.

⁴⁷³ Ward, *Selling Places*, 1998, p. 40.

⁴⁷⁴ Ward, *Selling Places*, 1998, p. 35.

⁴⁷⁵ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_02: 02, 1893-1894: Letter by Ruffieux to the Jura-Simplon Railway, Lausanne, 13.1.1894.

association of Swiss forwarders of paper towel dispensers. Both of these industrial branches functioned as a supplier for the hotel industry and had a vital interest in all activities which fostered the hotel industry in the Valais. Beck-Raccaud's economic motives are therefore clear: He wanted to secure and enlarge the market for the members of the associations he was managing. That these associations united members from all over Switzerland – and not only from the Valais – may have diverted the fact that the industry was only modestly developed in the Valais in 1890. There were only 15 factories in the whole canton in that year!⁴⁷⁶ But Beck-Raccaud lobbied for the agriculture, the economic sector most of the population of the Valais was working in, too.⁴⁷⁷ As a president of the association of the cultivators of the Rhone Valley he was also active in favour of his region in an association. Beck-Raccaud acted as the managing director and president respectively of these associations. Therefore, he obviously did not act as a single person, but as a representative of whole industrial branches and economic sectors. This gave substance to his engagement for a publicity campaign in favour of the Valais and the Lake Geneva Region.

Jules Chapalay worked in Geneva and published a yearbook of the Swiss trade industry called "Annuaire du Commerce Suisse. Chapalay & Mottier, Genève".⁴⁷⁸ There are bequeathed two volumes with trade companies of Geneva, arranged according to streets, names, professions, municipalities and zones for the years 1902 and 1907 as well as a terminology for watchmakers (from 1926 onwards).⁴⁷⁹ Thus, Chapalay worked in the publishing business with tight connections to the trade business. In a letter for the JS he was finally called councilor of Uruguay.⁴⁸⁰

⁴⁷⁶ Fibicher, Arthur, *Walliser Geschichte*, Vol. 3.1, Visp: Rotten Verlag, 1993, p. 234.

⁴⁷⁷ According to Clavien, Alain, "La modernisation du Valais, 1848-1914", in Papilloud, Jean-Henry (ed.), *Histoire du Valais*, Vol. 3, Sierre: Société d'histoire du Valais romand, 2002, p. 581-635, here p. 620, 79,2 % of the active population worked in the agriculture, mines and forests in 1888 (68,9% in 1900).

⁴⁷⁸ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_05, [1893]: Letter by Chapalays to Jolissaint, Genève, 19.4.1893.

⁴⁷⁹ *Terminologie horlogère: Etablie avec la collab. des écoles d'horlogerie suisses et françaises*, Genève: Annuaire du commerce suisse Chapalay et Mottier, 1926; *Annuaire du Commerce Genevois par ordre de rues - de noms - de professions, Communes et Zone. 30e année*, Genève: Annuaire du Commerce Suisse Chapalay & Mottier, 1907; *Annuaire du Commerce Suisse Chapalay & Mottier-Genève, 1902. 25e Année, Extrait Genève par ordre de rues - de noms - de professions, Communes et Zone*, [Genève]: Annuaire du C.[ommerce] S.[uisse] Ch.[apalay] & M.[ottier], 1902.

⁴⁸⁰ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_01, 1893: Letter by Beck-Raccaud, Chapalay and Echenard to the manager of the JS, Vevey, 7.1.1893.

Louis Echenard originated from Bex in the Vaud Alps and worked in two distinct touristic branches: the hotel industry and the transport business. On the one hand, he had worked for the Midland Railway before 1892.⁴⁸¹ His function for this company is not further specified since the sources only reveal that the directors of other English railway companies considered Echenard able to represent the Swiss mountain railways in London.⁴⁸² At least one can state that he liaised with the directors of different English railway companies. On the other hand, he directed the Savoy Hotel in London.⁴⁸³



Fig. 4: The Savoy Hotel belonged to the most luxurious hotels in the world – and was the place where the Syndicat opened the first agency in 1893.

Source: Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_01, 1893: "Continental Time Table for SAVOY HOTEL & RESTAURANT, LONDON (Winter, 1892-1893)", [s.l.], 1892-1893.

This hotel was part of the luxury hotel industry which was highly connected all over Europe in terms of guests as well as in terms of ownership. Thus, the Savoy Hotel belonged to César Ritz who also owned the Hotel Provence in Cannes.⁴⁸⁴ He acted as the General Manager of the Savoy Hotel in which he collaborated with the famous cook Auguste Escoffier.⁴⁸⁵ As is commonly known Ritz founded a real hotel chain for

⁴⁸¹ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_05, [1893]: Letter by the representative of the L.D.&C. Railway to Echenard, [s.l.], 1.12.1892.

⁴⁸² Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_05, [1893]: Letter by the representative of the L.D.&C. Railway to Echenard, [s.l.], 1.12.1892.

⁴⁸³ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_01, 1893: "Continental Time Table for SAVOY HOTEL & RESTAURANT, LONDON (Winter, 1892-1893)", [s.l.], 1892-1893.

⁴⁸⁴ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_01, 1893: "Continental Time Table for SAVOY HOTEL & RESTAURANT, LONDON (Winter, 1892-1893)", [s.l.], 1892-1893.

⁴⁸⁵ Truffer, Bernard, "Ritz, Cäsar", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2010, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D30868.php> (accessed 15.8.2011).

a cosmopolitan public.⁴⁸⁶ Both hotels were locations where the upper class met since they offered the latest facilities of comfort and convenience. As figure 4 shows, a promotional slogan put this message bluntly: the Savoy Hotel as *The Hotel de Luxe of the World*. Located at the Victoria Embankment in the center of London the Savoy Hotel was an impressive building with a large terrace, "the Finest & only Open-air Restaurant in London" and special rooms for private parties. The timetable for the winter 1892/1893 at the back of the ad showed the connections to other points of interest in Europe where the upper class used to travel to as for example Paris, Montreux and the Italian Riviera. According to this timetable, a journey from London Charring Cross via Paris to Montreux lasted 27 hours.⁴⁸⁷ Obviously, Echenard was well connected in the luxury, international touristic scene of Europe due to his employment at the Midland Railways and the Savoy Hotel. He literally embodied Switzerland's international interconnectedness described in chapter 3.1.1 *From boom to overheating: the economic development*.

Césaire Dupuis was prefect of Vevey-Montreux and president of the Syndicat.⁴⁸⁸

Emile Ruffieux (1857-1919) originated from Broc in the canton of Fribourg. From 1881 onwards, he acted as a forwarder in Lausanne. In this position he was in charge of a trade mission to Chile in 1896. He became artillery colonel in 1906 and donated a protestant chapel in Siders where he was living between 1900 and 1909.⁴⁸⁹

The biographical indications concerning Robert Ruchonnet are extremely rare. He owned a forwarding company together with Emile Ruffieux. It is unclear if he belonged to the famous Ruchonnet lineage which produced influential and well known personalities like Ernest Ruchonnet (1832-1904) who directed the Jura-Simplon railway between 1892 and 1904 and was a leading figure for the building of the Simplon tunnel,⁴⁹⁰ or Louis Ruchonnet (1834-1893) who was Federal

⁴⁸⁶ Truffer, Ritz, Cäsar, 2010.

⁴⁸⁷ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_01, 1893: "Continental Time Table for SAVOY HOTEL & RESTAURANT, LONDON (Winter, 1892-1893)", [s.l.], 1892-1893.

⁴⁸⁸ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_01, 1893: Letter by Ruchonnet and Dupuis to interested parties, Lausanne, 27.2.1893.

⁴⁸⁹ Türlér, Heinrich; Godet, Marcel; Attinger, Victor, *Historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Schweiz*, Vol. 5, Neuenburg: Administration des Historisch-biographischen Lexikons der Schweiz, 1929, p. 351.

⁴⁹⁰ Meuwly, Olivier, "Ruchonnet, Louis", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2010, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D4362.php> (accessed 3.9.2010).

Counsellor.⁴⁹¹ A recent biography of Louis Ruchonnet, at least, does not name Robert Ruchonnet.⁴⁹² Interpreting the head of the letter of Ruffieux' and Ruchonnet's company, however, delivers some additional insights. There is written in swinging letters: "General Forwarding & Shipping Agency. Exchange Office - Change. Agence Maritime & de Voyage. Ruffieux & Ruchonnet. Commissionnaires, Expéditeurs." Obviously, Ruffieux and Ruchonnet were business partners.



Fig. 5: Head of a letter of Ruffieux's and Ruchonnet's travel agency. They had a strong interest in the promotion of the Lake Geneva Region as planned by the Syndicat which they co-initiated.

Source: Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_02: 02, 1893-1894: Letter by Ruffieux to the Jura-Simplon Railway, Lausanne, 13.1.1894.

Since the head of the letter points to the two men's business fields it allows to place them at least in economic terms. Therefore, the logo of their company will be examined and interpreted in the following. In the middle of the logo the Swiss national flag attracts attention. It is the only element in colour – referring to where the company considers itself to belong to. Above this national placement a globe is hanging. A ribbon with the inscription "TRANSPORTS" is stretching across the globe making the world trade apparent which seemingly was carried out from Switzerland all over the world. The means for this was put there also: The steam locomotive and the steamer, the means of transport on which the world trade was relying on in these days. These means of transport are affiliated. On the top, a winged wheel seems to carry the whole logo. The winged wheel was symbolizing the fusing of the organic-

⁴⁹¹ Meuwly, Ruchonnet, 2010.

⁴⁹² Meuwly, Olivier, *Louis Ruchonnet. 1834-1893. Un homme d'Etat entre action et idéal*, Lausanne: Bibliothèque historique vaudoise, 2006. Robert Ruchonnet does not appear in the index where other members of the Ruchonnet family are listed.

natural and the technique: the wings enable the wheel to burst its technical borders and to reach natural powers.⁴⁹³ It promised supernatural qualities.⁴⁹⁴ Thus, the winged wheel seems to be a bird carrying the logo through the air. It is interesting to note that the front page of the 1894 time table of the JS showed the same motive: a winged wheel producing flashlights by touching the rail.



Fig. 6: The front page of the 1894 time table of the JS. The winged wheel should empower the JS with heavenly powers in 1894.

Source: Maison, Gaston, *Les chemins de fer d'autrefois en Suisse romande de 1870 à 1920*, Aigle: Editions "Revue du Rail", 1980, p. 165.

In order to not losing the ground the logo is based on three toponyms: Lausanne, Montreux and Zermatt. In the 19th century, one of the touristic centers of Switzerland was the Vaud Riviera with Lausanne and Montreux.⁴⁹⁵ A company which positioned itself as a forwarder with an exchange service (see the above head of the letter), hence a full touristic service, profited from being present in that center. Being present in Lausanne was therefore a necessity since a lot of travelers visited Lausanne on their trips through Europe. The city saw an impressive increase of their luxury hotel industry between 1880 and 1914 thanks to wealthy foreigners.⁴⁹⁶ Located at the route Paris-Milano and embedded in a tight net of regional railway lines Lausanne became an important junction in the European railway system.⁴⁹⁷ Similarly, Montreux became another touristic place-to-be. Due to its proximity to the mountains and the

⁴⁹³ Falco, Daniel di, "Prometheus fährt Rad. Die Mythen der industriellen Moderne in der frühen Fahrradwerbung", in Falco, Daniel di; Bär, Peter; Pfister, Christian (ed.), *Bilder vom besseren Leben. Wie Werbung Geschichte erzählt*, Bern: Verlag Paul Haupt, 2002, p. 83-97, here p. 89.

⁴⁹⁴ Falco, Daniel di, *Prometheus fährt Rad*, 2002, p. 89.

⁴⁹⁵ Humair, *Le tourisme comme moteur*, 2011, p. 18-19.

⁴⁹⁶ Sardet, Frédéric, "Lausanne (Gemeinde)", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2009, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D2408-1-3.php> (accessed 25.8.2010).

⁴⁹⁷ Sardet, Lausanne, 2009.

lake of Geneva it was known as a health resort for patients with respiratory diseases.⁴⁹⁸ In 1892, Thomas Cook opened a branch of his travel agency since Montreux was easily accessible by train (since it lay at the route towards the Simplon Pass) and by boat.⁴⁹⁹ Mountain railways were built on the nearby summits which therewith became touristic attractions.⁵⁰⁰ As a consequence, the hotel industry experienced a splendid development leading to 70 hotels in 1900.⁵⁰¹ Meanwhile, Zermatt gained touristic attention due to the Matterhorn and several first ascents around the place in the middle of the 19th century. From 1850 onwards, the hotel industry developed and in 1853 Alexander Seiler started to build his hotel emporium.⁵⁰² Zermatt therewith quickly rose – according to the numbers of beds – to the most important touristic center in the Valais with 490 beds in 1881 and 2235 in 1912.⁵⁰³ The railway, the Visp-Zermatt-Bahn, reached Zermatt in 1892⁵⁰⁴ – but only during summer. Winter tourism gained importance as late as 1933 when Zermatt became accessible by train in winter.⁵⁰⁵

Ruffieux and Ruchonnet obviously offered transport and exchange services to tourists between the three touristic centers Zermatt, Lausanne and Montreux. Thus, they inscribed themselves in the international transport system leading from London to the Rigi or Zermatt (see chapter 3.1.2 *Transport: the conquest of the mountains by rail*). They were business persons who made use of the new technical means of transport in the field of tourism and thereby profited from the modernization induced by tourism (see chapter 3.1.1 *From boom to overheating: the economic development*). They had a vital economic interest in all activities promoting the Lake Geneva Region on an international scale since they would generate prospective customers for their agency.

3.2.2 The foundation of the Syndicat des Intérêts de la Suisse Romande et du Jura-Simplon

As the management of the JS had wished, the meeting did neither take place in a building of the JS, nor was the invitation sent by the JS. Instead, secretary Robert

⁴⁹⁸ Lüthi-Graf, Montreux, 2009.

⁴⁹⁹ Lüthi-Graf, Montreux, 2009.

⁵⁰⁰ Lüthi-Graf, Montreux, 2009.

⁵⁰¹ Lüthi-Graf, Montreux, 2009.

⁵⁰² Antonietti, *Fremdenverkehr und Bauernkultur*, 2000, p. 50-52.

⁵⁰³ Fibicher, *Walliser Geschichte*, 1993, p. 230, 232.

⁵⁰⁴ Fibicher, *Walliser Geschichte*, 1993, p. 227.

⁵⁰⁵ König, *Bahnen und Berge*, 2000, p. 169, 171.

Ruchonnet and president César Dupuis invited the interested persons in the name of the Syndicat des Intérêts de la Suisse Romande et du Jura-Simplon.⁵⁰⁶ Yet, the invitation referred to the JS several times and thereby made clear that the Syndicat wished to be close to the JS. Destined at cantons, municipalities, transport companies, local tourist offices and hoteliers, small boarding houses, casinos, the Syndicat insisted on numerous participants, although time was running out since the planned advertising office should already be active in 1893:

Dans cette occasion unique d'associer vos intérêts à ceux du Jura-Simplon pour augmenter le trafic des touristes dans notre contrée trop négligée jusqu'à présent, nous insistons sur la **nécessité de votre présence** à cette assemblée ou à défaut, de vous y faire représenter.⁵⁰⁷ [Bold according to Ruchonnet and Dupuis]

On 6th March 1893, only one week after the invitation had been sent out, 68 persons took part on the de facto⁵⁰⁸ constituent general meeting of the Syndicat des Intérêts de la Suisse Romande et du Jura-Simplon (Syndicat) in the casino-theatre in Lausanne. The budget foresaw some 2,4 million Swiss Francs (of 2009)⁵⁰⁹ in the first year and should be covered by the contributions of the interested persons and companies who were divided into four groups and who should contribute according to their importance and benefit of the planned advertising office in London. Thus, the contributions were split up among the different stakeholders as follows:

0.4 percent by the transport companies,

0.35 percent by the hotels, guest houses, casinos, etc.,

0.15 percent by the states, cantons, municipalities, and health resorts, and

0.1 percent by the tourist promotion agency.⁵¹⁰

The biggest contributions should obviously be made by the transport companies, the catering trade and the hotels. Therewith, it was clear, that not the public institutions should pay the advertising office in London but those economic branches which directly profited from the tourists. The public institutions, however, kept playing a

⁵⁰⁶ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_01, 1893: Letter by Ruchonnet and Dupuis to interested parties, Lausanne, 27.2.1893.

⁵⁰⁷ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_01, 1893: Letter by Ruchonnet and Dupuis to interested parties, Lausanne, 27.2.1893.

⁵⁰⁸ Since the participants in the meeting did not yet have a legal form and did not yet have a right to vote, it was no "de jure", but only a "de facto" constitution.

⁵⁰⁹ According to Pfister; Studer, Swistoval, [s.d.] (accessed 9.9.2015), 50'000 Swiss Francs in 1893 equaled roughly 2.4 million Swiss Francs in 2009 (deflator: historical wage index).

⁵¹⁰ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_01, 1893: "Procès-verbal de l'Assemblée Générale du 6 Mars 1893 [...]", by Guisan, president, and Leyvraz, secretary, of the Syndicat des intérêts de la Suisse Romande et du Jura-Simplon, Lausanne, 6.3.1893.

certain role: according to the resolutions the cantonal delegates were allowed to participate in the committee. With this variety of mainly private stake-holders, who, nevertheless, did not exclude the authorities, the Syndicat made a similar experience as did other Western countries at that time (see chapter 2.2 *Mushrooming: the decades prior to the First World War*). The management consisted of César Dupuis, Emile Ruffieux, Jules Chapalay, Pierre Beck-Raccaud, Robert Ruchonnet and [Louis] Echenard.⁵¹¹

The central idea – establishing an advertising office for the French-speaking part of Switzerland and the JS in London – was broadly supported. Jolissaint, manager of the JS, opened the discussion in the initiators' sense when stating that an effective advertising would be possible only in association with each other as other regions, in particular the St. Gotthard region, were already showing. In addition, he demanded a collaboration of the railway companies in order to offer tickets for circular tours as long as possible. Similarly, well-known representatives of the cantons of Vaud and Valais, the former secretary of the local tourist office of Vevey, and the representative of the Visp-Zermatt-Bahn and the railway on the Mount Salève took a positive view of the matter and were ready to contribute financially. They set the tone for the other public which lauded the Syndicat's initiative.⁵¹²

The idea obviously satisfied the need of a region which felt ignored: the liberal newspaper "La Revue. Organe du parti démocratique et fédéraliste vaudois" lamented over the missing mentioning of the French-speaking part of Switzerland in some English publications.⁵¹³ La Revue had been founded by Louis (not Robert!) Ruchonnet (1834-1893), the uncontested leader of the liberals of the canton of Vaud, who became member of the Federal Council in 1881.⁵¹⁴ Top-flight delegations gave expression to the public opinion which esteemed the French-speaking part of Switzerland and its economic development: According to La Revue, three managers of the JS (Ruchonnet, Jolissaint, Colomb), three delegates of the canton of Vaud

⁵¹¹ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_01, 1893: "Procès-verbal de l'Assemblée Générale du 6 Mars 1893 [...]", by Guisan, president, and Leyvraz, secretary, of the Syndicat des intérêts de la Suisse Romande et du Jura-Simplon, Lausanne, 6.3.1893.

⁵¹² Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_01, 1893: "Procès-verbal de l'Assemblée Générale du 6 Mars 1893 [...]", by Guisan, president, and Leyvraz, secretary, of the Syndicat des intérêts de la Suisse Romande et du Jura-Simplon, Lausanne, 6.3.1893.

⁵¹³ „Les intérêts de la Suisse romande“, in *La Revue. Organe du parti démocratique et fédéraliste vaudois*, Lausanne, 7.3.1893, p. 2.

⁵¹⁴ Meuwly, Ruchonnet, 2010.

(Ruffy, Viquerat, Golaz), and the head of the government of the canton of Valais took part in the meeting.⁵¹⁵ Obviously, the initiators were very well linked up to politics and the economy and were taken seriously since they discussed a topic which occupied heads of railway companies, hoteliers and other touristic agents in the French-speaking part of Switzerland at that time.

One decision went nearly unnoticed: The Syndicat should be seated in Lausanne, Place St. François 14,⁵¹⁶ while the office in London was considered as a branch.⁵¹⁷ Accordingly, the management had to report to a controlling commission consisting of one delegate of the JS and four delegates of the public authorities, transport companies, LTO's and the hotels and restaurants.⁵¹⁸ The proximity to the JS was prevalent and organizationally fixed. Yet, the Syndicat cannot be called an integral part of the JS then: It was run in the name of the JS but by persons who were not employed by the JS. Although the JS welcomed the initiators proposals and offered some help, it still kept some distance to them and did not get engaged in the front row in the Syndicat in the beginning. The Syndicat worked, in fact, independently.

3.2.3 The establishment of two "agences de publicité et de renseignements"

This reserved behaviour continued in the first year. There is not much information about the works in the months after the general meeting on 6th March 1893. The sources show loose contacts between members of the Syndicat and the JS. On the one hand, the Syndicat respected the JS' reservation but tried to act as closely at the JS as possible. When Chapalay asked the head of the JS, Jolissaint, for an introductory letter for two railway companies (Paris-Lyon-Méditerranée (PLM), and Chemin de fer de l'est (EST), both upheld connections to the Swiss boarder)⁵¹⁹, he

⁵¹⁵ „Les intérêts de la Suisse romande“, in *La Revue. Organe du parti démocratique et fédéraliste vaudois*, Lausanne, 7.3.1893, p. 2.

⁵¹⁶ „Les intérêts de la Suisse romande“, in *La Revue. Organe du parti démocratique et fédéraliste vaudois*, Lausanne, 7.3.1893, p. 2.

⁵¹⁷ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_01, 1893: "Procès-verbal de l'Assemblée Générale du 6 Mars 1893 [...]", by Guisan, president, and Leyvraz, secretary, of the Syndicat des intérêts de la Suisse Romande et du Jura-Simplon, Lausanne, 6.3.1893.

⁵¹⁸ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_01, 1893: "Procès-verbal de l'Assemblée Générale du 6 Mars 1893 [...]", by Guisan, president, and Leyvraz, secretary, of the Syndicat des intérêts de la Suisse Romande et du Jura-Simplon, Lausanne, 6.3.1893.

⁵¹⁹ "Französische Ostbahn", in Röhl, Freiherr von (ed.), *Enzyklopädie des Eisenbahnwesens*, Vol. 5, Berlin, Wien: Urban & Schwarzenberg, 1914, p. 191-193, URL: <http://www.zeno.org/nid/20011413484> (accessed 5.9.2014); "Paris-Lyon-Mittelmeer-Bahn", in Röhl, Freiherr, von (ed.), *Enzyklopädie des*

nonetheless felt obliged to assure that "ma démarche n'engagera en rien la Compagnie J-S."⁵²⁰ Moreover, the Syndicat elected Beck-Raccaud as the official contact person of the Syndicat for the relations to the JS in mid May 1893.⁵²¹ On the other hand, the JS did not completely let the Syndicat have the work. The head of the JS, Jolissaint, visited London where he was welcomed and introduced to the city and the English railway companies by Echenard, the member of the Syndicat.⁵²² This personal experience seemed to have helped to overcome the reservations: At the end of May 1893, the management of the JS decided to establish two "agences de publicité et de renseignements pour le développement du trafic-voyageurs étranger à destination ou en provenance du réseau Jura-Simplon et plus spécialement du trafic-voyageurs anglo-américain-suisse" at Jolissaint's suggestion.⁵²³ Additionally, Echenard was elected first agent of the JS in London, therewith entitled to use the title "Agent of the Jura-Simplon Railway Co. (Switzerland), in England and America, London" and entrusted with the Anglo-American-Swiss traffic.⁵²⁴ At the Syndicat's suggestion, the management of the JS similarly elected Beck-Raccaud first agent of the JS in Lausanne, entitled to use the title "Agent du Jura-Simplon pour l'Etranger" and "Foreigner Representative of the Jura-Simplon Railway Co." respectively and entrusted with the international continental traffic.⁵²⁵ Both agents were provisionally elected and profited from a free ticket for the running year.⁵²⁶ The new status of Echenard and therewith the foundation of the Syndicat was immediately communicated to the English railway companies which warmly welcomed it, as several letters by The London North Western Railway, Midland Railway, Henry Johnson & Son, The Great Northern Railway, Sutton & Co. Carriers & Custom House Agents, South Eastern Railway and the London Brighton & South Coast Railway

Eisenbahnwesens, Vol. 7, Berlin, Wien: Urban & Schwarzenberg, 1915, p. 467-468, URL: <http://www.zeno.org/nid/20011421843> (accessed 5.9.2014).

⁵²⁰ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_05, [1893]: Letter by Chapalays to Jolissaint, Genève, 19.4.1893.

⁵²¹ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_05, [1893]: Letter by Dupuis to the manager of the JS, Lausanne, 13.5.1893.

⁵²² Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_01, 1893: Letter by Jolissaint to Echenard, Berne, 8.5.1893.

⁵²³ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_01, 1893: "Extrait du procès-verbal de la séance de la Direction, du 30 Mai 1893", by the manager of the JS to the management of the JS, [s.l.], 30.5.1893.

⁵²⁴ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_01, 1893: "Extrait du procès-verbal de la séance de la Direction, du 30 Mai 1893", by the manager of the JS to the management of the JS, [s.l.], 30.5.1893.

⁵²⁵ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_01, 1893: "Extrait du procès-verbal de la séance de la Direction, du 30 Mai 1893", by the manager of the JS to the management of the JS, [s.l.], 30.5.1893.

⁵²⁶ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_01, 1893: "Extrait du procès-verbal de la séance de la Direction, du 30 Mai 1893", by the manager of the JS to the management of the JS, [s.l.], 30.5.1893.

suggested.⁵²⁷ The Sutton & Co. Carriers & Custom House Agents were convinced that they would be able to help the JS and "our esteemed friends" Ruffieux and Ruchonnet concerning the American market, and that "so far as English business is concerned we think you [JS] could not be in better hands than those of Mr. Echenard."⁵²⁸ Obviously, thanks to Echenard's excellent international networking the Syndicat quickly developed relations to partners in the main market where it was welcomed.

3.2.4 Establishment of a *Service de publicité* of the JS in 1894

3.2.4.1 London

Yet, the Syndicat does not seem to have exploited (financially) its good starting point consisting of a London-based agent well-known on the English travel market, relations to international railway companies and moral support at home. Half a year after the constitution of the Syndicats the four initiators Ruchonnet, Echenard, Ruffieux und Beck-Raccaud sent a letter to the management of the JS again in which they asked for a change in the Syndicat's organization and financing.

They justified their demand with their urge for a long-term financing which would cover the costs of future marketing campaigns. Their urge based on the fact, according to the authors of the letter, that the initiators feared that the municipalities and governments would not prolong their contributions. As a means to secure the Syndicat's financing they proposed to accept paid advertisements, and wanted the JS to found a *Service de publicité* which would be under the patronage, the control and the supervision of the JS. This *Service de publicité* should publish multi-lingual reports, guides, brochures, timetables, maps, and illustrated ads etc, run an advisory and advertising office in Lausanne and one in London, while the initiators would run the *Service de publicité*. The JS could profit from the revenue and could let the risk to the initiators.⁵²⁹

Although the JS did not respond to this letter, it followed its suggestions: On the recommendation of Jolissaint, the management of the JS approved a contract

⁵²⁷ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_01, 1893: Several letters by the mentioned railway companies to the JS, [s.l.], May and June 1893.

⁵²⁸ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_01, 1893: Letter by the Sutton & Co. to the management of the JS, [s.l.], 3.6.1893.

⁵²⁹ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_02, 1893-1894: Letter by Ruchonnet, Echenard, Ruffieux and Beck-Raccaud to the management of the JS, Lausanne, 28.9.1893.

between Ruchonnet, Echenard, Ruffieux and Beck-Raccaud on the one hand, and the JS on the other hand concerning the proposed Service de publicité, on 6th February 1894.⁵³⁰ Thereby, the management of the JS established the JS' Service de publicité which was placed in the presidential financial department (and later transferred to the commercial department).⁵³¹ Yet, the contract only referred to the advertising office in London! In particular, the four initiators were responsible for maintaining the advertising office in London, founded in 1893, in order to bring more people on the net of the JS by means of the "publicité payante"⁵³². The management of the JS decided on the publications at the initiators' suggestion, ratified any contracts and was allowed to inspect the accounting at any time. The JS for its part paid the rent for the office in London, its expenses, salaries and printing costs. Each party got half of the revenues, but only the four initiators were liable in solidarity for possible risks. While Echenard led the office in London as an "Agent du J.S. à Londres", Beck-Raccaud, Ruffieux and Ruchonnet prepared the advertising material. All four initiators received a free ticket of the JS. The contract foresaw a duration of one year on a trial basis.⁵³³

This contract continued the regulations of 30th May 1893. Yet, there was one significant difference: Newly, it was the JS and not the Syndicat anymore who paid for the rent, salaries, and printing costs of the office in London – in other words: the hardware. The four initiators delivered the software, since the overwhelming part of the work was done by them and since they were not paid by the JS but worked on their own behalf.⁵³⁴ But, as wished, they did it under the roof of the JS, which basically meant that the JS was paying the office. The advancement from a loose, associated partner to a part of the JS was also visible in the locations of the

⁵³⁰ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_02, 1893-1894: „Extrait des Procès-verbaux de la Direction pour le Dossier Séance du 6 février 1894“, by Ducommun, general secretary, of the JS, [s.l.], 6.2.1894.

⁵³¹ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_07, 1895-1900: "Dossier No. 14", by [Kihm], [s.l.], [1942], p. 2.

⁵³² According to Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_016_06, 1894-1924: "Die Publizität der Bundesbahnen", report by Ruchonnet, head of the publicity department of the J.S., and Schyzer, president of the A.G. der Schweiz. Annoncenbureaux von Orell Füssli & Cie., represented through Wild, Zürich/Lausanne, 10.7.1901, p. 1, 3, the term "publicité payante" (paying promotion) was distinguished from the costing promotion. While the paying promotion encompassed mainly the renting of shops and aeras for ads at railway stations, the costing promotion stretched from the production of posters, leaflets, brochures etc to the printing of timetables and tariffs.

⁵³³ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_02, 1893-1894: "Rapport pour la publicité commerciale", by Ducommun, Berne, 7.11.1894.

⁵³⁴ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_03, 1894-1896: "Dossier No. 3", by [Kihm], [s.l.], [1942], p. 1.

advertising office in London: Until spring 1894, the Savoy Hotel in which Echenard worked functioned as the agency of the JS in London; afterwards, an apartment was rented at Picadilly Circus, No 7 Shaftesbury Avenue, London W. for 250 Pounds Sterling per month.⁵³⁵

3.2.4.2 Lausanne

With the advertising office in London being paid by the JS, the Syndicat could be dissolved. Accordingly, the invitation for the general assembly of the Syndicat at 28th April 1894 foresaw only two agenda items: the dissolution of the Syndicat and the use of the remaining money.⁵³⁶ By dissolving the Syndicat in 1894, its members fulfilled a decision taken on 20th November 1893 at the occasion of the second general assembly. While discussing how to use the remaining money after the first year of exploitation, the Syndicat proposed its dissolution because its tasks were carried out. The vote, however, resulted in a stalemate, after one of the managers of the JS, Colomb, had explained that the JS was planning to open a publicity department on its own. The representative of the canton of Valais proposed to wait with the Syndicat's dissolution until the JS would have decided upon its publicity department, which was adopted.⁵³⁷ Thus, the Syndicat was neither really dissolved, nor really active between November 1893 and April 1894. This state was lamented over by the local press which traced it back to pitiful circumstances in Vevey:

Chez nous, il en sera toujours de même, les mesquines jalousies, les susceptibilités stupides, la Schadenfreude, comme disent si bien les Allemands, étoufferont toujours les entreprises faites de bonne volonté et de dévouement pour la cause publique.⁵³⁸

⁵³⁵ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_02, 1893-1894: "Dossier No. 2", by [Kihm], [s.l.], [1942], p. 3. According to Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_01, 1893: Letter by Kradolfer to Kihm, [Bern], 28.12.1942, in 1942, Kradolfer, the contemporary head of the EAV which supervised the SZV, asked his subordinate, Dr. Kihm, to reconstruct the history of the Publizitätsdienst der SBB. Kihm summarized the sources which he could find and summarized the results in 15 dossiers. Attached to these dossiers are the sources which Kihm had used. Kihm's results give an overview of the history of the Publizitätsdienst der SBB although he sometimes concluded unprecisely, so that a close look at the attached sources help to state the history more precisely. Thus, the attached sources were taken into consideration, too.

⁵³⁶ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_02, 1893-1894: Letter of the manager of the Syndicat to the management of the JS, Lausanne, 5.4.1894.

⁵³⁷ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_01, 1893: "Procès-verbal de l'assemblée générale du 20 novembre 1893 [...]", by Dupuis, president, and Leyvraz, secretary, of the Syndicat, as well as Dallèves and Duboux, tellers, of the general meeting, Lausanne, 20.11.1893.

⁵³⁸ „Syndicats des intérêts romands" in *Journal de Vevey et des étrangers. Gazette de la Région du Léman*, Vevey, 22.11.1893, p. 2.

Public engagement would not pay off and would discourage those who would have known to gain profits for the whole region:

On ne croit plus au dévouement pas plus qu'aux intentions désintéressées, et c'est ainsi que se lassent et se prennent de dégoût ceux qui, animés d'un beau sentiment en faveur de l'intérêt public, auraient pu provoquer et créer de très réels avantages pour le pays s'ils avaient été mieux secondés et mieux compris.⁵³⁹

Obviously, the hoteliers of the Lake Geneva Region had placed high hopes on the Syndicat. Yet, with the foundation of the Service de publicité of the JS some months later, in February 1894, the local presses disappointment about the Syndicat's dissolution had lost ground. The Service de publicité of the JS, in fact, developed well, although on a modest scale.

There are nearly no sources on the JS' Service de publicité in Lausanne. The remaining initiators, Beck-Raccaud, Ruchonnet and Ruffieux, seem to have produced all the publications which Echenard and his team distributed in London. They were not paid by the JS, worked on their own risk, but received a personal free ticket for the JS' net.⁵⁴⁰ The office was still located at Place St. François 14,⁵⁴¹ yet, its link to London did not seem to be visible at first sight: The local tourist office of Geneva, the Association des intérêts de Genève, at least, felt constrained to ask if the advertising office in London was dependent on the JS, which the JS naturally answered in the affirmative.⁵⁴²

3.2.5 The Service de publicité between 1894 and 1902

When the general secretary of the JS, Elie Ducommun, took stock of the first year of the advertising office in London of the JS, he was satisfied: The English press had positively reported on the new institution, which had given information on numerous occasions, while it had distributed and sold timetables and guides in the JS' couches

⁵³⁹ „Syndicats des intérêts romands" in *Journal de Vevey et des étrangers. Gazette de la Région du Léman*, Vevey, 22.11.1893, p. 2.

⁵⁴⁰ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_02, 1893-1894: "Rapport pour la publicité commerciale", by Ducommun, Berne, 7.11.1894.

⁵⁴¹ „Les intérêts de la Suisse romande", in *La Revue. Organe du parti démocratique et fédéraliste vaudois*, Lausanne, 7.3.1893, p. 2.

⁵⁴² Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_03, 1894-1896: "Dossier No. 3", by [Kihm], [s.l.], [1942], p. 2.

and stations.⁵⁴³ The income generated by the paid advertisements had exceeded the expectations and covered the net expenses for publications in 1894.⁵⁴⁴

In quantitative and qualitative terms, the most important publications were the time tables, tourist maps and luxury brochures. In the first year, the syndicat ordered the production of 20'000 tourist maps, from which three fourth in English and one forth in French. 15'000 time tables were printed for the season 1894, from which 8'000 in French and 7'000 in English. Their production was obviously expensive: The expenses for the time tables and the tourist maps equaled roughly one third of the budget. These were by far the highest expenses the Syndicat faced in 1894. The third highest expenses were paid for the production of a luxury brochure.

Unfortunately, its content is not known as no such brochure was found in the archives. But the sheer existence of a luxury brochure reveals that the Syndicat primarily focused on wealthy guests. In 1895 and 1896, the time tables, maps and luxury brochures remained the three most important kinds of publications. They were mainly distributed among transatlantic shipping lines such as the American, Cunard or White Star-line, English and American railway companies, international travel agencies like the Compagnie des Wagon-Lits, Th. Cook & Son, H. Gaze & Son, Dr. Lunn, hotels within reach of the JS, the "Agence Ruffieux et Ruchonnet", or sold at the counters of the JS or French railway companies.⁵⁴⁵ The international network was impressive.

Another service was the meteorological bulletin. It was a preprinted sheet in which the weather of a given day could be filled in. In 1897, the Syndicat collected and distributed the current weather of twelve destinations: Zermatt, Les Avants sur Montreux, Glion, Interlaken, Macolin-Bienne, Chateau-d'Oex, Sierre-Montana, Genève, Vevey, Berne, Lausanne, Grindelwald.⁵⁴⁶ Obviously, this was a service liable to costs since the Syndicat generated a modest income with the bulletin, at least in the two first years. The distribution of weather information found followers: the French NTO published a "bulletin d'enneigement" of different French destinations in its first years (1910-1916).⁵⁴⁷

⁵⁴³ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_02, 1893-1894: "Rapport pour la publicité commerciale", by Ducommun, Berne, 7.11.1894.

⁵⁴⁴ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_02, 1893-1894: "Rapport pour la publicité commerciale", by Ducommun, Berne, 7.11.1894.

⁵⁴⁵ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_001_06, 1893-1895: "Distribution du matériel de publicité, saison 1894", by the Service de publicité à l'étranger, Lausanne, 1894.

⁵⁴⁶ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_09, 1894: "Dossier No. 16", by [Kihm], [s.l.], [1942].

⁵⁴⁷ Larique, débuts et déboires, 2007, p. 78.



Fig. 7: Apart from time tables, maps, brochures and posters a meteorological bulletin was another service for tourists published by the Syndicat.

Source: Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_09, 1894: "Dossier No. 16", by [Kihm], [s.l.], [1942].

Finally, another kind of publication was also among the publications of the Syndicat: posters. Although the promotion by posters gained momentum in the Interwar Period in the 20th century, the first posters appeared around the turn of the century (see chapter 5.2.4.4 *The 1920s: modern means, traditional values*).⁵⁴⁸ The Swiss tourism industry intensively used this new medium of communication since it was predestined for reaching a large public. In collaboration with other European railway companies the JS agreed upon a mutual hanging up of posters. Thus, posters from the JS were hung up in stations of the Brünig line or of the French "Chemin de fer de l'Est". In turn, these companies were allowed to hang up posters in the stations of the JS.⁵⁴⁹ Indeed, the Chemin de fer de l'Est only hung up posters of the JS in stations outside Paris and its suburbs!⁵⁵⁰ Obviously, this collaboration was a difficult relationship since it implied a favour for a competing railway company which was only worth when the reciprocity was guaranteed. Similarly, the management of the JS decided which connecting lines were allowed to appear on a poster or map by the JS. In 1896, the Dutch railway company asked for drawing in their lines on a publication called "Du Jura aux Alpes" which was refused by the JS: The attention of the public was precious and should not be shared with the competitors without any favour.⁵⁵¹

⁵⁴⁸ Chessex, Pierre, "Plakat", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2010, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D10467.php> (accessed 3.9.2010).

⁵⁴⁹ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_02, 1893-1894: "Rapport pour la publicité commerciale", by Ducommun, Berne, 7.11.1894; Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_001_19, 1894-1900: Letter by the Chef de l'Exploitation of the Compagnie des Chemins de fer de l'Est to the JS, Paris, 17.4.1897.

⁵⁵⁰ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_001_19, 1894-1900: Letter by the Chef de l'Exploitation of the Compagnie des Chemins de fer de l'Est to the JS, Paris, 17.4.1897.

⁵⁵¹ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_001_13, [1896]: Letter by the Ingénieur en Chef and on the same time Chef de l'Exploitation of the Compagnie du chemin de fer hollandais to the JS, Amsterdam, 29.7.1896.

In its first year, the advertising office in London had cost the JS roughly 480'000 Swiss Francs (of 2009),⁵⁵² of which five eighths were used for the rent, two eighths for salaries and one eighth for general costs and expenses.⁵⁵³ As regards personnel, the office in London remained modest: It was driven by the head of the office, Echenard, and one or two officials. While Echenard (as the other initiators in Switzerland) was not on the payroll of the JS, this was the case with the first official, Mr Gilmer, and his deputy who both were engaged extra for the advertising office in London. The deputy was considered to help Mr Gilmer during summer and, if required, in winter. Gilmer had to work in Switzerland during winter because there was no substantial traffic from England to Switzerland at that time.⁵⁵⁴ Yet, Gilmer was too unexperienced and therefore replaced by Mr Secretan, which had to stay in London all year round. Nevertheless, the personnel's fluctuation was steadily high. Most of the officials upheld good relations with Swiss LTOs which employed them after their return to Switzerland.⁵⁵⁵ The JS' superintendent repeatedly criticized the office's expenses, all the more since he attributed the traffic from England to the Lake Geneva Region to the JS' tariff measures and not to the advertising made in London.⁵⁵⁶ The sources do not unveil much further information about the Service de publicité of the JS. Yet, two topics, which were subject to discussion during the whole first half of the 20th century, became visible already in the 1890s. On one side, the question of a central body which could coordinate the different Swiss railway companies' marketing efforts was risen on several occasions and by different agents. The question was accentuated by the impending nationalization of several Swiss railway companies. On the other hand, the JS was preoccupied with the selling of tickets by the advertising office in London, see its branch office. Similar to the question of cooperation, the selling of tickets remained an important topic throughout the first half of the 20th century.

⁵⁵² According to Pfister; Studer, Swistoval, [s.d.] (accessed 9.9.2015), 10'000 Swiss Francs in 1893 equaled roughly 480'000 Swiss Francs in 2009 (deflator: historical wage index).

⁵⁵³ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_03, 1894-1896: "Dossier No. 3", by [Kihm], [s.l.], [1942], p. 1.

⁵⁵⁴ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_03, 1894-1896: "Dossier No. 3", by [Kihm], [s.l.], [1942], p. 1.

⁵⁵⁵ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_04, 1895-1902: "Dossier No. 4", by [Kihm], [s.l.], [1942].

⁵⁵⁶ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_03, 1894-1896: "Dossier No. 3", by [Kihm], [s.l.], [1942], p. 2.

3.2.5.1 Cooperation with other Swiss railway companies in advertising? The beginning of Switzerland's "direct traffic"

The JS was not the only Swiss railway company which kept itself busy with advertising abroad or at home. Apart from the reciprocal hanging up of posters, Swiss railway companies repeatedly organized some joint marketing campaigns abroad.⁵⁵⁷ The relation between them, however, was fragile: In case, the joining did not work, it was concurrence which dominated: When the JS was not assured of the monopoly for advertising in a guide by the Norddeutscher Lloyd in Bremen, because other Swiss railway companies advertised also on two pages, the JS refused completely to advertise in the guide.⁵⁵⁸ Therefore, the association of the LTOs and private persons advocated for a centralization of the advertising of the Swiss railway companies from the second half of the 1890s onwards.⁵⁵⁹ The tension between competition and cooperation was, however, of long standing and defined the limits of the cooperation: Even in the Interwar Period, when the economic situation of the touristic agents would have strongly suggested a cooperation, the individual interests of certain agents prohibited a going-together of the whole branche.⁵⁶⁰

In terms of tariffs, some Swiss railway companies had been cooperating since 1857, leading to the foundation of the Konferenz der schweizerischen Eisenbahnverwaltungen (conference of the Swiss railway administrations) in 1860 and the Verband schweizerische Eisenbahnen (Association of the Swiss Railways) in 1887 respectively.⁵⁶¹ Both of them were coordinating institutions for the so called "direct traffic" (Direkter Verkehr) which implied, that a person was – and still is – entitled to use the trains from different transport companies by one single ticket. Thereby, the participating railway companies must coordinate their tariffs, so that tariff measures and the issue of common half-price subscriptions or a GA travel card

⁵⁵⁷ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_10, 1895: "Dossier No. 17", by [Kihm], [s.l.], [1942].

⁵⁵⁸ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_10, 1895: "Dossier No. 17", by [Kihm], [s.l.], [1942].

⁵⁵⁹ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_08, 1899: Minutes of the „165. Verbandskonferenz. 16 Offre de MM. Blum et consorts de créer à Paris une agence des chemins de fer suisses“, by [Association des Chemins de fer de la Suisse], [s.l.], 1899.

⁵⁶⁰ Humair, Cédric; Narindal, Mathieu, "L'encouragement de la Mobilité touristique durant l'entre-deux-guerres – Entre efforts de coordination et freins concurrentiels", in Duc, Gérard; Perroux, Olivier; Schiedt, Hans-Ulrich; Walter, François (ed.), *Histoire des transports et de la mobilité. Entre concurrence modale et coordination (de 1918 à nos jours)*, Neuchâtel: Éditions Alphil-Presses universitaires suisses 2014, p. 417-433.

⁵⁶¹ Verband öffentlicher Verkehr (VöV), *Manual Direkter Verkehr*, 2. aktualisierte Auflage, Bern: Verband öffentlicher Verkehr (VöV), 2007, p. 5.

became their major tasks.⁵⁶² The GA travel card was created in 1898 and functioned as a free ticket for public transport in Switzerland for a limited time, valid on the lines of those transport companies which participated in the Konferenz der schweizerischen Eisenbahnverwaltungen and its predecessors. It played a crucial role for the advertising. According to several sources, the GA travel card was a possibility which enabled some Swiss railway companies to advertise together for the first time.⁵⁶³ In 1909, the Verband schweizerische Eisenbahnen was dissolved and transferred in a new institution called Kommerzielle Konferenz der schweizerischen Transportanstalten und der Verkehrsinteressenten (Commercial Conference) in 1910.⁵⁶⁴ This new institution differed from the old one in two aspects: On the one hand, the Kommerzielle Konferenz newly comprised all types of transport companies that are standard gauge railways, narrow gauge railways, mountain railways, shipping companies. On the other hand representatives from the commerce, industry, commercial businesses, trade, agriculture and forestry were accepted in an advisory capacity, because the transport tariffs were of high importance to many sectors of the Swiss economy.⁵⁶⁵ Tourism, however, was not taken into consideration in this Kommerzielle Konferenz. In contrast to the industrials, commercial businesses, trading companies, and the farmers, tourism did not possess of a national association which was important and powerful enough to defend its interests, although tariff measures by the transport companies did affect tourism crucially. The national association of the LTOs, founded in 1893, was obviously not on the same level with the peak associations Handels- und Industrieverein (Vorort), the Gewerbeverband and the Bauernverband, which took part in the Kommerzielle Konferenz.⁵⁶⁶ A revision of the rules of procedure of the Kommerzielle Konferenz enlarged the realms of the parties interested in tourism ("Verkehrsinteressenten"), so that tourism was allowed to send one representative to the Kommerzielle Konferenz in 1919. In fact, it was the young SVZ which was considered.⁵⁶⁷ The

⁵⁶² Verband öffentlicher Verkehr, Manual, 2007, p. 5.

⁵⁶³ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_001_19, 1894-1900: Letter by unknown author to Weissenbach, Berne, 23.8.1901; Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_001_19, 1894-1900: "Übersicht über erste Kollektivreklame der Schweiz. Transportanstalten. Propaganda für Generalabonnemente", [s.l.], [s.d.].

⁵⁶⁴ Altwegg, Albert, "Die Kommerzielle Konferenz der schweizerischen Transportanstalten und der Verkehrsinteressenten", in Eidgenössisches Post- und Eisenbahndepartement (ed.), *Ein Jahrhundert Schweizer Bahnen 1847-1947*, Vol. 4, Frauenfeld: Verlag Huber & Co. Aktiengesellschaft, 1955, p. 630-635, here 631.

⁵⁶⁵ Altwegg, Kommerzielle Konferenz, 1955, p. 631.

⁵⁶⁶ Altwegg, Kommerzielle Konferenz, 1955, p. 631.

⁵⁶⁷ Altwegg, Kommerzielle Konferenz, 1955, p. 634.

institutionalization of the Swiss touristic-political scene splintered into diverse groups in the first NTO in 1917 had finally lend it visibility and power.

The history of the Swiss "direct traffic" is a completely unexplored field of research and needs accurate treatment which cannot be guaranteed in this study. Its topicality even today demands a sound research as the complexity of the topic makes it a very challenging undertaking. In point of view of sources, the situation is not bad: As a national institution, the Kommerzielle Konferenz was supervised by the Federal Post- and Railway Department from 1919 onwards, so that sources should be at hand in the Federal Archive in Berne. The private archive of the Verband öffentlicher Verkehr (VöV)⁵⁶⁸ also disposes of some helpful documents.⁵⁶⁹ This may be valid for other involved associations, too.

3.2.5.2 The selling of tickets

As trivial the selling of tickets may seem, as heavy was its impact on the railway companies. The authorization of those institutions who were allowed to sell tickets in whose names was hotly discussed in the 1890s. Even the JS' advertising office in London had to follow detailed regulations about the selling of tickets (e.g. on commissions, encashment, etc).⁵⁷⁰ The question arose with the increasing international and national cooperation and occupied the railway companies for many decades. After the JS had tried to motivate the four Swiss railway companies Schweizerische Centralbahn (SCB), Schweizerische Nordostbahn (NOB), Vereinigte Schweizerbahnen (VSB) and Gotthardbahn to participate in the issue of tickets by the JS' advertising office in London, the JS did not reach an agreement in a meeting on 4th February 1896.⁵⁷¹ In contrast, the JS succeeded in reaching an agreement with English railway companies and the big tour operators Cook and Gaze.⁵⁷² Obviously, concurrence won over cooperation in this case – an experience, which the Swiss touristic agents also made in the Interwar Period.⁵⁷³

⁵⁶⁸ Translated in the general sense: Association for Public Transport.

⁵⁶⁹ Personal communication by Hans Kaspar Schiesser, VöV, to Anna Amacher Hoppler, Email, 4.6.2012.

⁵⁷⁰ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_07, 1895-1900: "Dossier No. 14", by [Kihm], [s.l.], [1942], p. 2.

⁵⁷¹ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_07, 1895-1900: "Dossier No. 14", by [Kihm], [s.l.], [1942], p. 1.

⁵⁷² Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_07, 1895-1900: "Dossier No. 14", by [Kihm], [s.l.], [1942], p. 1.

⁵⁷³ Humair; Narindal, L'encouragement, 2014, p. 417-433.

The importance of the topic becomes clear, when we look at the absolute numbers. Thus, the SBB's agencies in London, Paris and New York, for instance, sold tickets for about 98 million Swiss Francs (of 2009) per year prior to the First World War!⁵⁷⁴ This equaled many times the roughly 26'000 Swiss Francs (of 2009) which the SVZ had got through selling some promotional materials in 1921.⁵⁷⁵ The selling of tickets generated a considerable income which consisted of the genuine profit on a ticket of the own company, but also of the provisions for selling tickets of other companies. That it was profitable even for the (private) agencies, which had to pay the provisions, proved the fact that a big Italian travel agency, la Chiariva of Milan, survived the First World War only thanks to the selling of railway tickets.⁵⁷⁶ As a consequence, the sources most of the time show detailed regulations. The selling of tickets was complicated but of absolutely vital importance to the whole enterprise – most probably in financial terms.⁵⁷⁷ The management did not want to lose control over it.

In summary, the foundation of the SVZ' predecessor, the Syndicat, fully fits into the highly international connectedness which coined Switzerland in the second half of the 19th century. The Syndicat linked the international transport system – Ruffieux' and Ruchonnet's travel agency linked international connections and mountain railways –, with the international hotel chain of César Ritz, the owner of the Savoy Hotel (see chapter 3.1 *Context of the establishment of the SVZ' predecessors (1893-1911)* and chapter 3.2.1. *The Initiators*). The advertising office in London which the JS run from 1894 onwards was destined at the wealthy Anglo-Saxon public, very well linked with the English railway companies and directly associated with one of the most expensive and luxurious hotels at that time: the Savoy Hotel in London. The service itself seemed to be quite modest, since it was only run by two officials (apart from the head of the office, Echenard). The financing of the marketing found expression in

⁵⁷⁴ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/86, 13, 1914-1955: "PROCES-VERBAL de la conférence tenue le 9 mars 1914, à Berne pour l'OFFICE SUISSE DU TOURISME", by Contat, secretary of the EDI, [Berne], 9.3.1914, p. 3. According to Pfister; Studer, Swistoval, [s.d.] (accessed 10.3.2015), three million Swiss Francs in 1914 equaled roughly 98 million Swiss Francs in 2009 (deflator: historical wage index).

⁵⁷⁵ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: "JAHRES-RECHNUNG 1921. Detaillierte Rechnung zur speziellen Einsicht des Vorstandes", by the SVZ, Zürich, 1921, p. 7. According to Pfister; Studer, Swistoval, [s.d.] (accessed 9.9.2015), 2'000 Swiss Francs in 1921 equaled roughly 26'000 Swiss Francs in 2009 (deflator: historical wage index).

⁵⁷⁶ Visentin, *Per una storia dei viaggi organizzati*, 2002, p. 89.

⁵⁷⁷ The author thanks Hans Kaspar Schiesser from the *Verband öffentlicher Verkehr* (VöV) for the discussion and helpful considerations concerning the importance of the selling of tickets. See: Personal communication by Hans Kaspar Schiesser, VöV, to Anna Amacher Hoppler, Email, 4.6.2012.

different strategies of cooperation: While a lot of the publications seemed to have been paid by the "publicité payante", the mutual hanging up of posters and common tariff regulations with a corresponding advertisement heightened the effect of the financial means which the railway companies invested into their marketing. The GA travel card thereby played a leading role as it enabled different Swiss transport companies to advertise together for the first time.

3.3 The SBB's publicity department: the Publizitätsdienst der SBB (1902-1911)

In contrast to the Service de publicité of the JS, the literature on the Publizitätsdienst der SBB is slightly better. At least, there exist some publications. Delley describes the Publizitätsdienst der SBB between 1930 and 1939 and analyses its publications and strategies of implementing them in detail. He mainly bases his research on publications of the Publizitätsdienst der SBB, in particular on the Bulletin des CFF and the Revue CFF.⁵⁷⁸ Similarly, Vonèche analyzes the visual language of the Publizitätsdienst der SBB (see chapter 5.2.4.4 *The 1920s: modern means, traditional values*).⁵⁷⁹ Nevertheless, non-scientific literature dominates the history of the JS' and his Service de publicité. The following reconstruction of the Publizitätsdienst der SBB and its activities between 1903 and 1911 bases therefore on Delley and on letters, internal reports and notes of employees and persons in charge of the Publizitätsdienst der SBB. In this way, some facts are corrected or complemented since Delley was forced to reconstruct the establishment of the Publizitätsdienst der SBB by means of sources which treat the period ex post.

The nationalization of several Swiss railway companies took place between 1902 and 1909, after it had been decided in a referendum on 20th February 1898 which resulted in the "Bundesgesetz betreffend die Erwerbung und den Betrieb von Eisenbahnen für Rechnung des Bundes und die Organisation der Verwaltung der

⁵⁷⁸ Delley, Christophe, *La Suisse, pays de vacances des peuples 1930-1939. Etude des stratégies publicitaires et des médiums déployés par le Service de publicité des CFF en faveur du tourisme en Suisse*, Lausanne: unpublished Mémoire (Université de Lausanne), 2005, p. 10.

⁵⁷⁹ Vonèche, Anne, "L'usage de la photographie dans l'affiche touristique à l'exemple des affiches des CFF et de l'Office national suisse de tourisme", in Giroud, Jean-Charles; Schlup, Michel (eds.), *Paradis à vendre. Un siècle d'affiches touristiques suisses*, Genève: Patrick Cramer Editeur, 2005, p. 9-38.

schweiz. Bundesbahnen".⁵⁸⁰ By joining the SCB, NOB and the VSB in 1902, the JS in 1903, and the Gotthardbahn in 1909, as well as several smaller ones afterwards,⁵⁸¹ the Swiss confederation created its national railway company after this idea had been rejected in 1852.⁵⁸² The JS' Service de publicité was equally transferred into the new enterprise, seemingly without great enthusiasm as a competition about the organization of an advertising service did not deliver any striking ideas.⁵⁸³ Between January 1903 and 1904, Robert Ruchonnet run the Publizitätsdienst der SBB in Lausanne.⁵⁸⁴ Yet, the traditional mode of financing the advertising by means of the "publicité payante" did not satisfy the SBB, because the advertising promoted the paying agents more than the SBB: Consequently, in April 1904, the head of the first department proposed to the general management to cancel the contract with Robert Ruchonnet and to start newly.⁵⁸⁵ Literally, he wanted to *liquidate the past* in order to start a new, own service, which, however, should remain small and modest for the beginning: one low-ranking civil servant and two assistants were foreseen.⁵⁸⁶ The intentions of the head of the first department were clear: keep it simple, so that the SBB can gain experience without spending a lot of money, adjustments will be made if time has come.⁵⁸⁷ The general management followed the propositions and officially established the so called Publizitätsdienst der SBB, which was belonging to the SBB's statistical department in Berne from 1904 onwards.⁵⁸⁸ The place in the statistical department shows that advertising had not yet developed to a fully independent business field, and that it first had to prove its use. It was attached at the first department by chance, because the second one, which would have been responsible, had been overburdened in 1903.⁵⁸⁹ This provisional solution was of long standing: The Publizitätsdienst der SBB was, together with the

⁵⁸⁰ Bärtschi, Hans-Peter, "Schweizerische Bundesbahnen (SBB)", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz* (HLS), 2012, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D42003.php> (accessed 6.11.2015).

⁵⁸¹ 1913 Jura-Neuchâtelois, 1918 Tösstalbahn, 1922 Seetalbahn, and 1948 Uerikon-Bauma-Bahn.

⁵⁸² Bärtschi, Hans-Peter; Dubler, Anne-Marie, "Eisenbahnen", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz* (HLS), 2013, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D7961.php> (accessed 10.9.2014).

⁵⁸³ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_053_02, 1903-1905: "Organisation du service de la publicité", by I. Département to the Directorate-General of the SBB, Berne, 22.4.1904, p. 1.

⁵⁸⁴ Delley, *pays de vacances des peuples*, 2005, p. 20.

⁵⁸⁵ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_053_02, 1903-1905: "Organisation du service de la publicité", by I. Département to the Directorate-General of the SBB, Berne, 22.4.1904, p. 5.

⁵⁸⁶ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_053_02, 1903-1905: "Organisation du service de la publicité", by I. Département to the Directorate-General of the SBB, Berne, 22.4.1904, p. 5, 7.

⁵⁸⁷ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_053_02, 1903-1905: "Organisation du service de la publicité", by I. Département to the Directorate-General of the SBB, Berne, 22.4.1904, p. 7.

⁵⁸⁸ Delley, *pays de vacances des peuples*, 2005, p. 20.

⁵⁸⁹ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_053_02, 1903-1905: "Organisation du service de la publicité", by I. Département to the Directorate-General of the SBB, Berne, 22.4.1904, p. 7.

tariffs, transferred in the newly created commercial division (in the commercial and legal department) as late as 1924.⁵⁹⁰

The main tasks of the Publizitätsdienst der SBB were advertising, customer service and propaganda destined at different publics.⁵⁹¹ A multitude of instruments, Delley uses the term "concert médiatique",⁵⁹² helped to reach the aims: The most important medium, the picture, was paralleled by films, ads, brochures, radio contributions, texts in magazines and newspapers and the "Revue CFF", a journal produced by the Publizitätsdienst der SBB itself.⁵⁹³

With the JS joining the SBB, the question of advertising (abroad) was catapulted at the national level. While the JS' Service de publicité had promoted the French-speaking part of Switzerland, the Publizitätsdienst der SBB had to serve the whole country. Yet, the first thing the Publizitätsdienst der SBB did shortly after its establishment in 1904 was to stop the issue of posters until around 1920!⁵⁹⁴ The SBB considered posters as not being efficient anymore.⁵⁹⁵ Curiously, there are prominent remnants of the activities of the Publizitätsdienst der SBB. In particular, there are posters from different destinations of the period 1904-1920. A lot of them have the logo of the SBB on them, although the latter did not always reach the destination. The regions obviously continued to produce own posters. If the regions mentioned the SBB on their posters, the regions would be allowed to use the international net where the SBB used to hang up posters usually (see chapter 5.2.2.2 *Advertising materials and networking*).⁵⁹⁶

When the head of the first department proposed to the general management of the SBB to stop with the past and to start an own, new publicity service, he used the occasion to strongly reorganize the tourism advertising sector in Switzerland. On the same time as he proposed to create an advertising office which the newly created SBB were worth of, he also proposed to collaborate with other touristic agents such

⁵⁹⁰ Delley, *pays de vacances des peuples*, 2005, p. 21.

⁵⁹¹ Delley, *pays de vacances des peuples*, 2005, p. 25, 27.

⁵⁹² Delley, *pays de vacances des peuples*, 2005, p. 43.

⁵⁹³ Delley, *pays de vacances des peuples*, 2005, p. 46, 48, 58, 64, 72, 75, 84.

⁵⁹⁴ Seger, *Werbung der SBB*, 2005, p. 18; Seger, Markus, "Administratives zu Plakativem", in Credit Suisse (ed.), *Die Bahn bewegt. Bahnplakat-Ausstellung. Ausstellung in der GALERIE LE POINT der CREDIT SUISSE, Paradeplatz 8, Zürich*, Zürich: Pro Litteris, 1997, p. 39-47, here 42.

⁵⁹⁵ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_006_01, 1904-1914: "PROTOKOLL der sechsten Sitzung der beratenden Kommission für den Publizitätsdienst der Schweizerischen Bundesbahnen", [Bern], 7.3.1907.

⁵⁹⁶ Seger, *Administratives zu Plakativem*, 1997, p. 43, cited in Beck, Daniel, "'Der Kluge reist im Zuge'. Themen und Töne in der Werbung der Schweizerischen Bundesbahnen", in Falco; Bär; Pfister, *Bilder vom besseren Leben*, 2002, p. 28-39, here 31.

as the hoteliers, LTOs, destination managers, mountain railways etc. He proposed to think about a consultative commission which would consist of representatives of those touristic agents, thereby fulfilling long-standing wishes on the part of them (see also chapter 2.3 *Centralization: the Interwar Period*).⁵⁹⁷ This consultative commission should utter its opinion on the promotional measures planned by the Publizitätsdienst der SBB and the general management of the SBB.⁵⁹⁸ If the SBB thereby admitted that they were in need of professional support, is not recognizable in the head's report. The not binding tone of the proposition rather suggests, that the head of the first department wanted to settle things well when he was reorganizing them anyway.⁵⁹⁹ And the general management followed him by founding the "Beratende Kommission für den Publizitätsdienst der SBB" in 1904.

3.3.1 The Beratende Kommission für den Publizitätsdienst der SBB

The commission was the first organization where tourism representatives and the SBB met. It met twice a year in order to discuss the marketing measures planned by the Publizitätsdienst der SBB. The meetings were headed by a general manager of the SBB, the secretaries were the head of the statistical division which the Publizitätsdienst der SBB belonged to, and a representative of the Publizitätsdienst der SBB itself. The commission interrupted its work during the First World War and reassembled as late as 1926, because the context had changed with the foundation of the first NTO of Switzerland in 1917 and the commission's disputed importance. When the Publizitätsdienst der SBB asked its agencies about the future of the commission in 1920, the head of the agency in London answered clearly:

[...] nous avons l'avantage de vous informer que nous n'avons jamais attaché beaucoup d'importance à la Commission consultative et estimons qu'elle pourrait être supprimée

⁵⁹⁷ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_053_02, 1903-1905: "Organisation du service de la publicité", by I. Département to the Directorate-General of the SBB, Berne, 22.4.1904, p. 8.

⁵⁹⁸ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_053_02, 1903-1905: "Organisation du service de la publicité", by I. Département to the Directorate-General of the SBB, Berne, 22.4.1904, p. 8.

⁵⁹⁹ According to Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_053_02, 1903-1905: "Organisation du service de la publicité", by I. Département to the Directorate-General of the SBB, Berne, 22.4.1904, p. 8, the proposition read: "Afin de donner satisfaction aux vœux qui ont été exprimés à différentes reprises, et pour tenir compte du fait que la publicité à l'étranger intéresse tout spécialement les sociétés de développement, les Verkehrsvereine, l'industrie hôtelière, les chemins de fer de montagne, etc, il y aurait peut-être lieu de créer une commission consultative qui siégerait sous la présidence du chef du département intéressé de la Direction générale et qui serait appelée à communiquer à cette dernière ses vœux au sujet des mesures de publicité à prendre."

sans le moindre inconvénient. Nous ne voyons pas quel rôle cette commission pourrait jouer à l'avenir.⁶⁰⁰

The SBB clearly played the leading part: It was the SBB which asked touristic associations of their choice if they wanted to send a representative. Then, the SBB elected the proposed representatives for three years. Independent interested persons, like Camille Morel, director of the journal "L'Alpiniste" who had asked for a membership, was denied it.⁶⁰¹ In contrast, the hoteliers' association, the SHV, was entitled to send two representatives (instead of one) after it had asked for.⁶⁰² Indeed, the first composition of the commission assembled some personalities who were or were about to become well-known and influential personalities in the Swiss traffic and touristic scene. The first members of the commission were:⁶⁰³

1. R. Armbruster, secretary of the Vorort schweizer. Verkehrsvereine, Basel
2. H. Dickelmann, National Councilor, CEO of the Emmentalbahn, Burgdorf,
[highly probable, it was Dinkelmann. AAH]
3. Emery, Villa Florentine, Montreux,
4. F. Hasselbrink, head of local tourist office, Chur,
5. H. Jäggi, CEO of the Appenzeller Strassenbahn, Teufen,
6. Jaques, CEO of the Territet-Glion and the Rochers de Naye, Glion, Bahn [sic!]
7. F. Morlock, president of the Schweizer Hotelier-Verein, Zürich,
8. Ramsauer, head of the local tourist office, Luzern,
9. R. Ruchonnet, former head of the Publizitätsdienstes SBB, Lausanne,
10. Dr. Schmid, CEO of the Institut Schmid, St. Gallen,
11. H. Studer, CEO of the Berner Oberland-Bahnen und der Lauterbrunnen
Mürren-Bahn, Interlaken,
12. E.W. Viollier, head of the local tourist office, Genf
13. P. Wild, Orell Füssli, Zürich,

⁶⁰⁰ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_005_11, 1916-1919: Letter by Duruz to the Service de Publicité des CFF, Londres, 24.6.1920.

⁶⁰¹ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_005_01, 1904: Letter by the Directorate-General of the SBB to Morel, Berne, 4.8.1904.

⁶⁰² Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_005_01, 1904: Letter by the Directorate-General of the SBB to Morlock, president of the SHV, Bern, 29.6.1904.

⁶⁰³ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_005_01, 1904: "Liste des Membres de la Commission consultative pour le service de Publicité des C.F.F.", document attached to "Taggelder und Reiseentschädigungen an die Mitglieder der Beratenden Kommission für den Publizitätsdienst", by unknown author, [s.l.], 30.8.1904.

14. O. Ziegler, CEO of the Dampfbbootgesellschaft auf dem Untersee und Rhein, Schaffhausen,
15. Duplan, agent of the SBB, Paris,
16. Duruz, agent of the SBB, London.

There can be identified four groups – which resemble those touristic agents who gathered in a NTO at first (see chapter 2.2 *Mushrooming: the decades prior to the First World War*).

Firstly, the transport companies: Five CEOs of transport companies represented the different modes of transport: rails, tramways, mountain railways and boats.

Secondly, the hoteliers. It is noteworthy that they were represented by their national association, in particular by the president of this association, on one side, and individual, highly influential hoteliers of booming tourist regions in Switzerland (e.g. Alexandre Emery in Montreux).

Thirdly, the LTOs. Similarly to the hoteliers, the LTOs sent the secretary of their national association to the commission, too. The fact, that the heads of the LTOs of Chur, Lucerne and Geneva, altogether centers of touristic regions, also took part supports the importance the LTOs attributed to the commission.

Fourthly, the employees of the Publizitätsdienst der SBB abroad, that is the agents in London and Paris, as well as Robert Ruchonnet and Alexandre Emery! It is noteworthy that Ruchonnet, Emery and the heads of the agencies of the Publizitätsdienst der SBB in London and Paris also participated. Thus, the cut with the past was not fully realized. The SBB thereby rather secured important knowledge of professionals.

Fifthly, further touristic agents like educational institutes (Institut Schmid) and printing houses (Orell Füssli). Paul Wild and Robert Ruchonnet had proposed an advertising service in 1901, when the future of the Service de publicité of the JS was unclear facing the creation of the SBB.⁶⁰⁴ This composition did not basically change over time, but the representation of the different touristic regions became more

⁶⁰⁴ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_016_06, 1894-1924: "Die Publizität der Bundesbahnen", report by Ruchonnet, head of the publicity department of the J.S., and Schyzer, president of the A.G. der Schweiz. Annoncenbureaux von Orell Füssli & Cie., represented through Wild, Zürich/Lausanne, 10.7.1901.

important. The list of the members of the second election for the period from 1907 to 1910 clearly pointed out who was presenting which region.⁶⁰⁵

In contrast to the top-flight composition of the commission combining well-known experts from tourism, the commission's function was purely advisory in nature. The general management of the SBB decided completely on its own after having contacted the commission. For preparatory purposes, the agencies had to deliver a report on the socio-economic and political situation in their respective countries during the previous season.⁶⁰⁶ These reports and the planned measures were discussed in the meetings which followed the same structure most of the time, see all the different publications were discussed each after each (meteorological bulletins, tourist maps, advertisements, brochures, newspapers and magazines, special guides and brochures, timetable, joint advertising abroad), then particular questions and applications were discussed.⁶⁰⁷ Consequently, the discussions turned around single publications and campaigns, which, sometimes, led the commission to the problem of the organization of the touristic marketing in Switzerland. On several occasions, the commission wanted to collaborate with the national associations of the hoteliers or the LTOs which refused it: both of them had reservations because their interests would not have been respected enough.⁶⁰⁸ The association of the LTOs even lobbied against the commission when its central committee advised its members not to participate in the commission's planned summer campaign in France in 1907.⁶⁰⁹ The commission was obviously far from having a homogeneous opinion, rather dissonance and mistrust can repeatedly be noticed. Yet, it functioned as a platform for discussion and for the exchange of ideas between the SBB and the touristic

⁶⁰⁵ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_053_03, 1908: "Commission consultative pour le service de la Puplicité des chemins de fer fédéraux. Etat des membres nommés pour la période 1907-1910.", [s.l.], around 1908.

⁶⁰⁶ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_005_03, 1913: "RAPPORT sur la marche de l'Agence des Chemins de fer fédéraux à Londres pendant la saison d'été 1913", by Duruz, London, 21.10.1913; Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_005_03, 1913: "RAPPORT sur la marche de l'AGENCE DES CHEMINS DE FER FEDERAUX A PARIS pendant la saison d'été 1913", by Duplan, Paris, 22.10.1913.

⁶⁰⁷ See for example: Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_006_01, 1904-1914: "PROTOKOLL der fünften Sitzung der beratenden Kommission für den Publizitätsdienst der Schweizerischen Bundesbahnen", Bern, 20.9.1906, p. 1-2.

⁶⁰⁸ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_006_01, 1904-1914: "PROTOKOLL der fünften Sitzung der beratenden Kommission für den Publizitätsdienst der Schweizerischen Bundesbahnen", Bern, 20.9.1906, p. 19-20; Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_006_01, 1904-1914: "PROTOKOLL der sechsten Sitzung der beratenden Kommission für den Publizitätsdienst der Schweizerischen Bundesbahnen", [Bern], 7.3.1907, p. 19.

⁶⁰⁹ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_006_01, 1904-1914: "PROTOKOLL der sechsten Sitzung der beratenden Kommission für den Publizitätsdienst der Schweizerischen Bundesbahnen", [Bern], 7.3.1907, p. 18-19.

agents of Switzerland. The SBB profited from professional knowledge, and the touristic agents of Switzerland knew what the SBB were doing and planning. The disequilibrium in power between the SBB and the other touristic agents, however, was persistent. It was therefore not astonishing that the question of a central organ became subject to discussion for the first time as early as 1905. The striking point was, however, that the initiators of such a central institution were the same who would initiate the first NTO some years later, in 1911: the Hotelierverein and the Verband Schweizerischer Verkehrsvereine.

The discussion started when the SBB published notes in newspapers that the three publications – "Ostschweiz", "Westschweiz" and "Ins Herz der Schweiz" – were available, but did not mention where and how these publications could be received.⁶¹⁰ As a consequence, the LTOs of Switzerland were besieged with requests, but could not help because the SBB had not delivered them the mentioned publications.⁶¹¹ In Armbruster's, the secretary of the Vorort Schweizerischer Verkehrsvereine, opinion, this uncoordinated campaign damaged Switzerland's image abroad, why he proposed some improvements for the distribution of publications.⁶¹² The core of its propositions was a "Propagandacentrale" (propaganda center) which the SHV and the VSV were about to plan and to co-finance.⁶¹³ Both associations, however, were looking for the SBB's sympathy, as they considered the SBB's agencies as outposts of an integrated Swiss advertising in other countries. But still, they did not want the Publizitätsdienst der SBB to be the only responsible for the Swiss advertising abroad.⁶¹⁴ Two months later, Armbruster insisted on a better collaboration between the Publizitätsdienst der SBB and the LTOs with respect to the distribution of publications by the SBB again.⁶¹⁵ On this occasion, he also revealed, that the SHV and the VSV had hoped for and negotiated – unsuccessfully – a joint action when the five railway companies were

⁶¹⁰ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_051_02, 1903-1905: Letter by Armbruster to the Directorate-General of the SBB, Basel, 24.7.1905.

⁶¹¹ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_051_02, 1903-1905: Letter by Armbruster to the Directorate-General of the SBB, Basel, 24.7.1905.

⁶¹² Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_051_02, 1903-1905: Letter by Armbruster to the Directorate-General of the SBB, Basel, 24.7.1905.

⁶¹³ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_051_02, 1903-1905: Letter by Armbruster to the Directorate-General of the SBB, Basel, 24.7.1905.

⁶¹⁴ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_051_02, 1903-1905: Letter by Armbruster to the Directorate-General of the SBB, Basel, 24.7.1905.

⁶¹⁵ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_052_02, 1905: Letter by Ramsauer to the Directorate-General of the SBB, Luzern, 21.9.1905.

nationalized.⁶¹⁶ Obviously, the two associations had already tried to find a kind of a central organization which would have embraced the LTOs, the hoteliers and the nation state in form of its national railway company in 1902/3.

Some arguments which the VSV and the SHV reproached the Publizitätsdienst der SBB for, was that the Publizitätsdienst der SBB was bureaucratic, unexperienced and inefficient.⁶¹⁷ Therefore, the two associations wanted to collaborate with the SBB because they were convinced that they could make it better. Although the Publizitätsdienst der SBB repeatedly rejected these reproaches and approaches, they became notorious over the years. They additionally revealed the ambiguity of the two associations which, on the one hand, did not want to stop their own advertising activities and rather criticized the Publizitätsdienst der SBB, but on the other hand, were pleased about the SBB's infrastructure for distribution abroad, in particular the agencies. Here again, the ambiguity between cooperation and concurrence, which we saw in chapter 3.2.5.1 *Cooperation with other Swiss railway companies in advertising? The beginning of Switzerland's "direct traffic"* for the first time, flared up. In fact, Humair/Narindals thesis that the individual interests of the different agents of the Swiss touristic promotion limited the cooperation among them in the Interwar Period,⁶¹⁸ can now be enlarged to the Belle Epoque.

Interestingly, the Verband Schweizerischer Verkehrsvereine (VSV) had built a system for the distribution of advertisements, brochures, posters and leaflets from 1895 onwards.⁶¹⁹ The heading section of the association, called "Vorort", sent the promotional material of the association's members, the Swiss LTOs, to the Swiss embassies, consulates, foreign NTOs and LTOs, and to the Swiss associations abroad ("Schweizer-Vereine im Ausland").⁶²⁰ It thereby embodied in fact a national association which cared about the promotion of Switzerland abroad. Yet, it rather aimed at supporting the Swiss LTOs than promoting Switzerland. It functioned as a supporter for the numerous, single LTOs which would not have had enough resources to send their promotional material so far away as to Japan, Java or

⁶¹⁶ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_052_02, 1905: Letter by Ramsauer to the Directorate-General of the SBB, Luzern, 21.9.1905.

⁶¹⁷ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_051_02, 1903-1905: Letter by the Directorate-General of the SBB to Armbruster, Bern, 4.8.1905.

⁶¹⁸ Humair; Narindal, *L'encouragement*, 2014, p. 417-433.

⁶¹⁹ Lehmann, R., *Gedenkschrift zum Jubiläum des 25jährigen Bestehens des Verbandes schweizer. Verkehrsvereine 1893-1918*, Genf: Buchdruckerei Atar, 1918, p. 50.

⁶²⁰ Lehmann, *Gedenkschrift*, 1918, p. 49-50.

Australia.⁶²¹ Concentration in order to rise the effectiveness, was the aim.⁶²² Its participation in Switzerland's touristic promotion, where many different agents and institutions tried to advertise on their own, let the VSV call for a national central institution which would coordinate Switzerland's touristic marketing.⁶²³ It accordingly belonged to the initiators of the SVZ and was a member of the Beratende Kommission für den Publizitätsdienst der SBB right from the beginning.⁶²⁴ Holzach, the VSV's president between 1901 and 1907,⁶²⁵ even became a member of the first board of management of the SVZ in 1918.

The Beratende Kommission für den Publizitätsdienst der SBB obviously brought together experts of the Swiss touristic-political scene. For the later, the participation in this consultative commission guaranteed a contact with the crucial national touristic marketer at that time: the Publizitätsdienst der SBB. The Beratende Kommission für den Publizitätsdienst der SBB existed between 1904 and 1914 and 1926 and 1940.⁶²⁶ The commission suspended its activity during the First World War and was not re-activated immediately after the war because its necessity was disputed. With the SVZ taking shape slowly, however, the Publizitätsdienst der SBB revived the commission in 1926, until the reorganization of the SVZ made the commission unnecessary after 1939.

3.3.2 The branch offices of the Publizitätsdienst der SBB

When the JS' Service de publicité was transferred to the SBB in 1903, its branch office in London equally changed ownership. Although the SBB intended to start something new in terms of marketing, this agency of the JS in London turned out to be a precious asset. By means of this first outpost of Swiss touristic marketing abroad Switzerland adapted to the international experience of establishing branch offices in foreign countries in order to attract people on the spot – a competitive necessity in that time. The SBB opened further branch offices in Paris in 1903, in Berlin and New York in 1908 as well as in Vienna in 1924.⁶²⁷ In a second phase, in

⁶²¹ Lehmann, Gedenkschrift, 1918, p. 50.

⁶²² Lehmann, Gedenkschrift, 1918, p. 91.

⁶²³ Lehmann, Gedenkschrift, 1918, p. 91.

⁶²⁴ Lehmann, Gedenkschrift, 1918, p. 74.

⁶²⁵ Lehmann, Gedenkschrift, 1918, p. XII.

⁶²⁶ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/86, 18, 1935-1953: "Protokoll der 47. und letzten Sitzung der Beratenden Kommission für den Publizitätsdienst der Schweizerischen Bundesbahnen vom 18. Dezember 1940 [...]", Bern, 18.12.1940, p. 1, 2, 4.

⁶²⁷ Delley, pays de vacances des peuples, 2005, p. 22.

collaboration with and under the name of the NTO, other outposts were established in Milano (1934), Amsterdam and Kairo (1935), and Prague, Stockholm and Brussels (1938).⁶²⁸ The central role of all of these branch offices was mirrored in a 20 years long quarrel between the Publizitätsdienst der SBB and the SVZ about their ownership (see following chapters). After having refused it successfully for two decades, the SBB were finally forced to transfer their agencies to the Schweizerische Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung (SZV), the relabeled legal successor of the first NTO, by a federal decree in 1939.⁶²⁹ As will be shown, the SBB had been resisting to the transfer for such a long time because they did not want to relinquish the selling of tickets in the branch offices (see chapter 5.6.3 *The SBB's giving way*). In the beginning, however, the crucial role of the branch offices was not obvious: Discussions in the fifth meeting of the Beratende Kommission für den Publizitätsdienst der SBB reveal that the SBB were open to co-financing with the hoteliers (in New York), for instance, or ready to consider the outsourcing of the marketing to commercial agencies (in Germany).⁶³⁰ The solution of a branch office fully owned by the SBB gained, however, the broadest acceptance – probably because of the question of the selling of tickets. As much as the Publizitätsdienst der SBB profited from the selling of tickets in the branch offices, as much profited Switzerland from its presence in foreign countries. Delley confirms them not only a very active role with respect to the marketing, but also a diplomatic function as they represented the SBB so that a status of "officialité", credibility and reliability was inherent in them.⁶³¹ Seated in the main capitals at central places and boulevards, the branch offices were well visible and easily accessible. They exploited their position with huge shop windows in which they displayed seasonal posters and other publications of different regions in Switzerland.⁶³² The branch offices benefited from a relative autonomy, although they regularly had to report to the central office in Berne. Consequently, they adjusted their campaigns to the characteristics and the economic and political situation of their host countries.⁶³³ Delley shows how the agencies used

⁶²⁸ Delley, *pays de vacances des peuples*, 2005, p. 22.

⁶²⁹ Delley, *pays de vacances des peuples*, 2005, p. 22.

⁶³⁰ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_006_01, 1904-1914: "PROTOKOLL der fünften Sitzung der beratenden Kommission für den Publizitätsdienst der Schweizerischen Bundesbahnen", Bern, 20.9.1906, p. 16, 19.

⁶³¹ Delley, *pays de vacances des peuples*, 2005, p. 23.

⁶³² Delley, *pays de vacances des peuples*, 2005, p. 23.

⁶³³ Delley, *pays de vacances des peuples*, 2005, p. 23-24.

different means of marketing – publications, events, advertisements, newspaper articles, etc – strategically.⁶³⁴

3.4 Preliminary results

It is noteworthy that the efforts made for a joint tourism advertising began on a very modest scale, on a temporary base in the beginning and by modest means – be it in Lausanne with the Syndicat or in Berne with the Publizitätsdienst der SBB. The initiators of the Syndicat, however, were up-to-date with reference to the international interconnectedness of Switzerland at that time: They opened a first travel agency for the French-speaking part of Switzerland in the capital of Switzerland's main touristic market England in 1893 in the most luxurious hotel at that time – the Savoy Hotel – which belonged to Ritz' hotel chain. In doing so, the Syndicat – and the JS from 1894 onwards – followed the strategy of cooperation in order to fight the effects of the competition, which suddenly had grown with the opening of the St. Gotthard tunnel. While the JS' publicity service, which had taken over the Syndicat's tasks, remained a modest affair, the SBB, at the occasion of the JS' incorporation into the SBB, wanted to establish a service which the SBB were worth of. With the Beratende Kommission für den Publizitätsdienst der SBB, the SBB opened up a platform for discussion and exchange for the touristic scene of Switzerland. This was a novelty insofar as it institutionally brought together representatives of the hoteliers, LTOs and private transport companies with the SBB in order to discuss tourism advertising for the first time. While the SBB maintained their hold on power, the national associations of the hoteliers or the LTOs, both represented in the Beratende Kommission, were reluctant concerning far going financial engagements in collaboration with the other touristic agents. The willingness to collaborate was most of the time paralyzed by fears of losing the own interests and the – seemingly? – limited financial resources. Nevertheless, the Hotelierverein and the Verband Schweizerischer Verkehrsvereine, suggested a central organization ("Propagandacentrale") as early as 1905 in order to coordinate the marketing efforts by them and the SBB. The two associations were finally interested in the collaboration with the Publizitätsdienst der SBB, because the latter disposed of credibility, officiality and an excellent system for the distribution of publications by

⁶³⁴ Delley, pays de vacances des peuples, 2005, p. "deuxième section" and "troisième section".

means of its important branch offices while the two associations considered themselves as more experienced and less bureaucratic than the Publizitätsdienst der SBB. The limited effects of the JS' publicity department as well as the ambiguity, with which the SHV and the VSV perceived the Publizitätsdienst der SBB, show, that limited cooperation basing on individual interests in tourism promotion already – as Humair/Narindal show for the Interwar Period – already appeared in the Belle Epoque.⁶³⁵

⁶³⁵ Humair; Narindal, L'encouragement, 2014, p. 417-433.

4 Establishment of the SVZ (1911 – 1917)

In the form of the Publizitätsdienst der SBB, Switzerland had an institution for its marketing abroad at its disposal. The Beratende Kommission guaranteed the other touristic agents like hoteliers, LTOs, private transport companies or educating institutes to be involved, yet not to decide about the final campaigns. Therefore, these agents continued to promote themselves on their own, although, sometimes, a collaboration with the Publizitätsdienst der SBB took place. Such a parallel touristic marketing did not satisfy the private touristic agents who tried to create a central institution. Inspired – or forced – by the establishment of a NTO in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and France, the Swiss touristic agents started the preparations for a similar institution in Switzerland, too. Between 1911 and 1914, the preparatory activities advanced well, and then the First World War delayed the process. Nevertheless, the first Swiss NTO, the SVZ, came into existence in 1917 – that is during the First World War! This year of foundation is noteworthy in two respects: On the one hand, the establishment of a touristic national marketing organization, seen as a bundling of the interests of an economic sector, took place later than in other economic sectors like the industry, the trade, or the agriculture in Switzerland. The question might equally interest on the European level, because, in the leading economic nations of Europe and the USA, the cooperation of enterprises in the form of associations or cartels increased parallel to the spread of competition as the leading form of market regulation during the industrialization of the 19th century.⁶³⁶ Yet, this international dimension must be treated in a proper thesis and is beyond the limits of this study. At least, we can add that Switzerland was among the first countries to witness the foundation of a NTO, as chapter 2 *The development of NTOs worldwide: An alpine model? (19th-20th century)* showed. On the other hand, the SVZ was founded in the fourth year of the First World War, a year, in which the energetic and nutritional provision of the Swiss population became endangered.⁶³⁷

⁶³⁶ Müller, Margrit; Schmidt, Heinrich R.; Tissot, Laurent, "Einleitung", in Müller, Margrit; Schmidt, Heinrich R.; Tissot, Laurent (ed.), *Regulierte Märkte: Zünfte und Kartelle. Marchés régulés: Corporations et cartels*, Zürich: Chronos Verlag, 2011, p. 9-22, here 12.

⁶³⁷ Pfister, Christian, "Frieren, kalt essen und zu Fuss gehen. Die Energiekrise 1917-1919 in der Schweiz", in Krämer, Daniel; Pfister, Christian; Segesser, Daniel Marc (ed.), *"Woche für Woche neue Preisaufschläge": Nahrungsmittel-, Energie- und Ressourcenkonflikte in der Schweiz des Ersten Weltkrieges*, Basel: Schwabe Verlag, 2016 (forthcoming); Pfister, Christian, "Auf der Kippe: Regen, Kälte und schwindende Importe stürzten die Schweiz 1916-1918 in den Nahrungsengpass", in

Why did the confederation invest in a touristic marketing organization exactly in this time, all the more as the numbers of tourists had plummeted since the outbreak of the First World War? The leading question for this chapter is therefore, why the SVZ was founded later than the interest associations in other economic sectors of Switzerland and why it was founded in a time, when the confederation was busy with satisfying the Swiss population's basic needs.

One of the key documents for the foundation of the SVZ is the Federal Councilor's message to the parliament of 1917.⁶³⁸ It summarizes the parliamentary discussion as well as the preparatory works inside the administration and the respective contributions of the initiating associations. In order to understand the circumstances which finally led to the NTO and its peculiar date of foundation, selected sources of the EDI were included, too. The chapter therefore scrutinizes the process of the SVZ' establishment by highlighting the chronological development, but also the federal administration's as well as the initiating association's propositions and behaviour. The result, the acceptance of the articles of association by the constitutive assembly, finally instituted Switzerland's first tourist office in November 1917. Summarizing this process, the preliminary results propose some reasons for the SVZ' delay on other Swiss national associations.

4.1 Context of the SVZ' origins

The following subsections broadly include the period 1848-1917. Thus, some information could have introduced chapter 3 *Past History of the Swiss National Tourist Office (1893 – 1911)*. We mention it here, however, because we do not want to stress the SVZ' past history too much. Rather, *it is in the present chapter* that the SVZ' establishment is shown, that its establishment is linked with the federal administration's history and that the SVZ' purpose – marketing Switzerland – is read against the history of marketing.

Krämer, Daniel; Pfister, Christian; Segesser, Daniel Marc (ed.), *"Woche für Woche neue Preisaufschläge": Nahrungsmittel-, Energie- und Ressourcenkonflikte in der Schweiz des Ersten Weltkrieges*, Basel: Schwabe Verlag, 2016, (forthcoming).

⁶³⁸ "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung betreffend die Beteiligung des Bundes an der Errichtung eines Schweizerischen Verkehrsamtes. (Vom 16. März 1917.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 12, 1917, p. 375-404.

4.1.1 The economic development in Switzerland prior to and in the First World War

In which context did the establishment of the SVZ take place? Which were the socio-economic conditions which accompanied and influenced it? How did tourism in Switzerland develop prior to the year 1911 when the motion for the SVZ was submitted, and prior to 1917 when the SVZ was finally founded?

A characterization of tourism in Switzerland prior to the First World War fights with a fragmentary base of statistical data. Nevertheless, Tissot⁶³⁹ and Humair⁶⁴⁰ have recently collected those data which allow the most up-to-date characterization of tourism in Switzerland. Tourism in Switzerland prior to the First World War meant luxury tourism in principle. This implied that the guests mainly stayed in hotels, not in guestrooms provided by private persons as it was increasingly (particularly after the First World War) the case in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.⁶⁴¹ Between 1894 and 1912, the guests belonged to the well-to-do bourgeoisie of Germany, Switzerland, Great Britain, France and the USA – the order of these countries mirrors their importance as countries of origin, Germany thereby being the country of origin where most of the guests originated from.⁶⁴² Between 1895 and 1900, the nominal added value generated in the catering services started to increase heavily, resulting in a peak of nearly five percent of the GDP around 1910. Between 1880 and 1913, the hotel industry reached similar heights in creating added value rates – around 4-5 percent – like the Swiss metal and machine industry, which therewith all topped the traditional export industries like cotton, silk, stitchery and watch industry!⁶⁴³ In other words: At the eve of the First World War, tourism contributed to the gross domestic product (GDP) considerably and thereby represented an economic leading sector, which registered an outstanding growth!⁶⁴⁴ Until the end of the war, however, the nominal added value in the catering services plummeted to some 1,6 percent of the

⁶³⁹ Tissot; Moser, *Binnenwirtschaft, Tourismus und Landwirtschaft*, 2012, p. 519-628.

⁶⁴⁰ Humair, *Le tourisme comme moteur*, 2011, p. 9-54.

⁶⁴¹ Tissot; Moser, *Binnenwirtschaft, Tourismus und Landwirtschaft*, 2012, p. 560-561.

⁶⁴² Tissot; Moser, *Binnenwirtschaft, Tourismus und Landwirtschaft*, 2012, p. 559, 561. Humair, *Le tourisme comme moteur*, 2011, p. 45, presented a slightly different order of the countries of origin, namely: Germany, England, France, Switzerland. The difference may base on the different sources used by Tissot; Moser (Bundesamt für Statistik, *Statistik und Geschichte. Historische statistische Tabellen der Schweiz. Touristische Infrastruktur*, online <http://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/portal/de/index/dienstleistungen/history/01/00/10/02.html> (accessed 31.1.2014), Tab. 10.2.1.6 "Hotelbetriebe: Ankünfte nach den Herkunftsländern der Gäste") and Humair (Siegenthaler; Ritzmann-Blickenstorfer (ed.), *Historische Statistik*, 1996, p. 740-742).

⁶⁴³ Püntener, *Beitrag des Fremdenverkehrs*, 1994, p. 56.

⁶⁴⁴ Püntener, *Beitrag des Fremdenverkehrs*, 1994, p. 56.

GDP.⁶⁴⁵ Similarly, the employment in the catering services in percent of the total labour force reached its highest value – roughly 15 percent – in 1910.⁶⁴⁶ After this year, this variable never reached this height again in the 20th century.⁶⁴⁷ With the catering services being the most important services,⁶⁴⁸ their influence on the touristic added value cannot be denied. The touristic added value must have experienced a downward trend, or at least a stagnating effect, around 1910. Consequently, a domestic pressure for a Swiss NTO must have existed from this year on, as the first signs of crisis appeared in 1910.⁶⁴⁹ As chapter 3.1.1 *From boom to overheating: the economic development* has shown, on the eve of the First World War, the touristic sector in Switzerland was overheated, so that it became all the more prone to the slightest incidents.⁶⁵⁰ Tourism had, however, shown a vivid development and considerable fluctuations since 1890. The overnight stays, for instance, doubled between 1890 and 1913, yet experienced repeated peaks and sharp falls.⁶⁵¹ Meanwhile, the available bed capacity rose steadily from some 103'200 beds in 1890 to some 217'700 beds in 1913.⁶⁵² As the occupation rate only fell after 1912, it is probable, that the demand may have met the supply until this year. Locally, as for instance in the Bernese Oberland, the bed capacity reached a level which must be termed surplus.⁶⁵³ While some indicators like the added value suggest a downward turn around 1910, other data like the numbers of beds available, the occupation rate of beds in hotels, or the overnight stays did not plummet until 1912.

The drops in 1914, in contrast, did not leave anybody in doubt: The First World War devastated the Swiss tourism sector.⁶⁵⁴ Within weeks, the destinations emptied and were abandoned:

"Leere Hotels, verlassene Berge, stillstehende Seilbahnen, ratlose Bauunternehmer, stillgelegte Baustellen, geschlossene Kasinos, schweigende Musikpavillons: Die

⁶⁴⁵ Tissot; Moser, *Binnenwirtschaft, Tourismus und Landwirtschaft*, 2012, p. 555.

⁶⁴⁶ Tissot; Moser, *Binnenwirtschaft, Tourismus und Landwirtschaft*, 2012, p. 555.

⁶⁴⁷ Tissot; Moser, *Binnenwirtschaft, Tourismus und Landwirtschaft*, 2012, p. 555.

⁶⁴⁸ According to Tissot; Moser, *Binnenwirtschaft, Tourismus und Landwirtschaft*, 2012, p. 554, in 2005, one third of the touristic added value arose from the catering industry, one fourth from transport, travel agencies and local tourist offices, the rest from different other services.

⁶⁴⁹ Senn, Henri-Georges, *La suisse et le tourisme*, Lausanne: Payot, 1918, p. 78, and Gölden, *Strukturwandlungen*, 1939, p. 28-32, both cited in Humair, *Le tourisme comme moteur*, 2011, p. 21.

⁶⁵⁰ Tissot; Moser, *Binnenwirtschaft, Tourismus und Landwirtschaft*, 2012, p. 556.

⁶⁵¹ Müller; Amacher Hoppler, *neutral country*, 2013, p. 108.

⁶⁵² Müller; Amacher Hoppler, *neutral country*, 2013, p. 110.

⁶⁵³ Pfister, Christian, *Im Strom der Modernisierung. Bevölkerung, Wirtschaft und Umwelt, 1700-1914 (Geschichte des Kantons Bern seit 1798, Vol. IV)*, Bern: Haupt Verlag, 1995, p. 284.

⁶⁵⁴ Tissot; Moser, *Binnenwirtschaft, Tourismus und Landwirtschaft*, 2012, p. 556.

Schauplätze des Tourismus zeugten eine Zeitlang nur noch von den Erinnerungen an ein vergangenes Paradies.⁶⁵⁵

The devastation led to a huge indebtedness of large parts of the Swiss hotel industry, resulting in a suspension of hotel building works in 1915 for the first time.⁶⁵⁶ Apart from this suspension the Swiss touristic suppliers set off further measures against the crisis: price controls among the hoteliers,⁶⁵⁷ the socialization of the losses,⁶⁵⁸ and marketing, as will be shown in chapter 4.2.3.1 *Motives*, the scientific underpinning of tourism.

Although the devastating effect of the First World War on the Swiss tourism industry – and European tourism in general⁶⁵⁹ – is widely repeated,⁶⁶⁰ there is no deep analysis of how the Swiss tourism industry behaved. At least, recent research enlightens the behaviour of Swiss enterprises of the textile, machine, electrical, watches, metal, defense, chemical, pharmaceutical, food and luxury food industry as well as from the banking and insurance sector.⁶⁶¹ Alas, tourism is not mentioned. Basically, wars can affect tourism negatively and positively, as Walton shows, but the relation war-tourism deserves a very high alertness, because "[o]nly in the extreme cases [...] there [are] obvious simple answers."⁶⁶² In fact, the numbers of the arrivals halved between 1913 and 1915.⁶⁶³ Afterwards, however, they revitalised smoothly reaching approximately two third of the pre-war level in 1918, and a perceptible growth until the pre-war level only appeared some years after the war.⁶⁶⁴

⁶⁵⁵ Tissot; Moser, *Binnenwirtschaft, Tourismus und Landwirtschaft*, 2012, p. 556.

⁶⁵⁶ Schumacher, Beatrice, "Krise im Reiseland par excellence. Zum Umgang mit Krisen von Hotellerie und Fremdenverkehr in der Schweiz", in *Traverse - Zeitschrift für Geschichte*, Vol. 1, 1997, p. 81-96, here 85.

⁶⁵⁷ Schumacher, *Krise*, 1997, p. 83-84.

⁶⁵⁸ Silberroth, M., "25 Jahre Schweizerische Hotel- Treuhandgesellschaft oder die Sozialisierung der Verluste", in *Rote Revue: sozialistische Monatsschrift*, Vol. 27, Issue 12, 1948, p. 457-468.

⁶⁵⁹ Visentin, *Per una storia dei viaggi organizzati*, 2002, p. 88.

⁶⁶⁰ See for example Tissot, *Alpen, Tourismus, Fremdenverkehr*, 2014, p. 484; Tissot; Moser, *Binnenwirtschaft, Tourismus und Landwirtschaft*, 2012, p. 556.

⁶⁶¹ Rossfeld, Roman; Straumann, Tobias (ed.), *Der vergessene Wirtschaftskrieg. Schweizer Unternehmen im Ersten Weltkrieg*, Zürich: Chronos Verlag, 2008.

⁶⁶² Walton, John K., "War and tourism. The nineteenth and twentieth centuries", in Butler, Richard; Sunkul, Wantanee (eds.), *Tourism and War*, London: Routledge, 2013, p. 64-74, here 72.

⁶⁶³ Müller; Amacher Hoppler, *neutral country*, 2013, p. 109.

⁶⁶⁴ Müller; Amacher Hoppler, *neutral country*, 2013, p. 109.

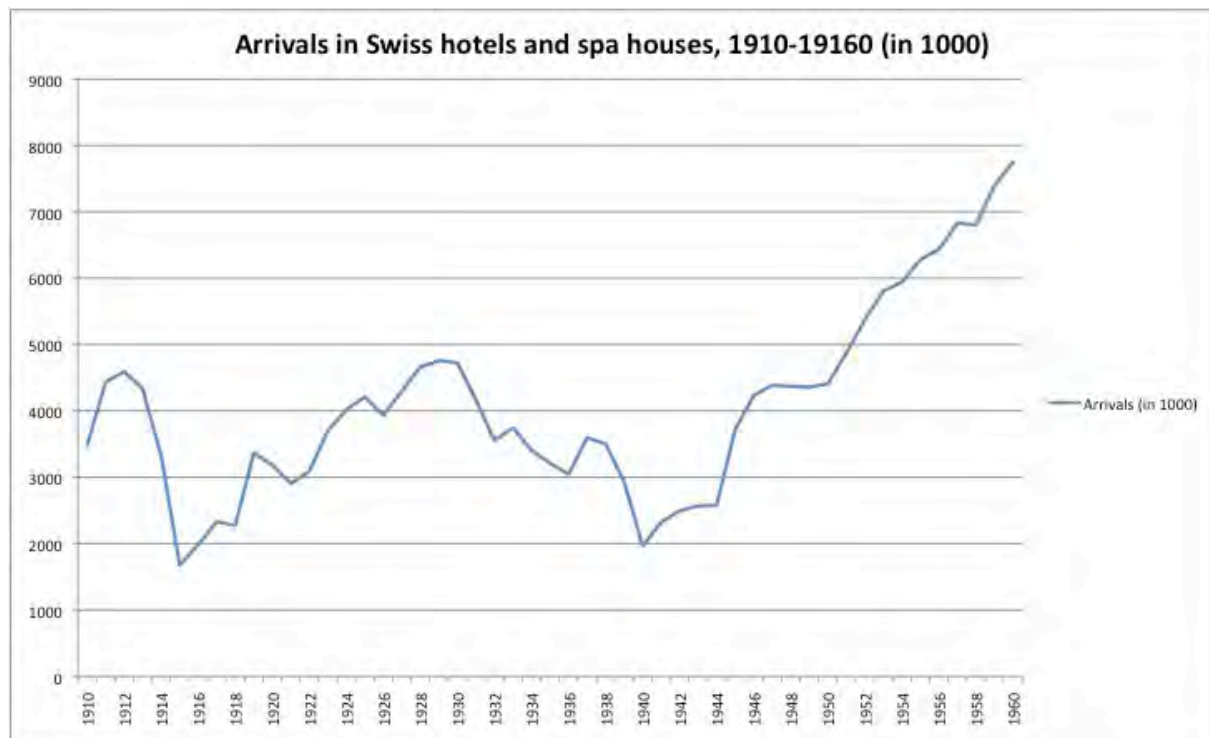


Fig. 8: The numbers of arrivals revitalized smoothly after 1915.

Source: Müller; Amacher Hoppler, neutral country, 2012, p. 109.

This smooth revitalization arises some questions: Who were those people living in the hotels during the First World War? While some guests who did not (manage to) go home after the outbreak of the war, were forced to stay in the hotel, hotels were easily turned into hospitals or military control centers due to their good communication facilities (telephones, electricity, gas, etc.).⁶⁶⁵ In Italy and Switzerland, hotels served as places for (peace) negotiations, which may have heightened the numbers of arrivals.⁶⁶⁶ From point of view of the countries of origin, the sharp fall and relative relaxation after 1915 did not change the importance of a given country of origin: the arrivals of the Germans, Britons, North Americans and the French equally fell and revitalized smoothly afterwards.⁶⁶⁷ Moreover, the Swiss became the largest

⁶⁶⁵ Barth-Scalmani, Gunda, "Tourismus und Krieg: ein neues Themenfeld der Weltkriegshistoriographie?", in Gasser, Patrick; Leonardi, Andrea; Barth-Scalmani, Gunda (eds.), *Krieg und Tourismus im Spannungsfeld des Ersten Weltkrieges (Studienreihe des Touriseum, Vol. 5)*, Innsbruck/Wien/Bozen: StudienVerlag, 2014, p. 27-56, here 39.

⁶⁶⁶ Müller; Amacher Hoppler, neutral country, 2013, p. 116; Zanini, Andrea, "Verso una politica turistica nazionale. Gli albergatori italiani di fronte alla prima guerra mondiale", in Gasser, Patrick; Leonardi, Andrea; Barth-Scalmani, Gunda (eds.), *Krieg und Tourismus im Spannungsfeld des Ersten Weltkrieges (Studienreihe des Touriseum, Vol. 5)*, Innsbruck/Wien/Bozen: StudienVerlag, 2014, p. 313-331, here 319-320.

⁶⁶⁷ Tissot; Moser, Binnenwirtschaft, Tourismus und Landwirtschaft, 2012, p. 559.

group of guests in 1914, and have been holding this position ever since.⁶⁶⁸ It is highly probable therefore, that those tourists who arrived in the Swiss hotels during the First World War, stemmed from Switzerland itself. To which extent they belonged to the army waits for further clarification. Tourism suffered not only from the modest demand, but also from the restrictions on fuels and food.⁶⁶⁹ The food and energetic situation of Switzerland worsened in 1917 notably, when several factors coincided: the below average potato harvest of 1916, the qualitatively and quantitatively bad grass for feeding the livestock, and the falling cereals stocks which based on a crop failure in 1916 and the English blockade (see chapter 4.1.2.2 *The Swiss system of interest associations, cartelization, state interference*).⁶⁷⁰ Due to their economic importance, a lot of industries were taken under control by the national government during the First World War. The result, the so called "Vollmachtenregime" (powers) – which found a specification in the clearing system of the 1930s –, led to a considerable extension of the federal administration.

4.1.2 The development of the federal administration and the Swiss system of interest associations

The coming into existence of the SVZ – and partially its predecessors – showed very much the same characteristics which coined the coming into existence of specific parts of the federal administration or the interest associations. Therefore, we elaborate on those characteristics of the system of interest associations and its link to the federal administration extensively in the following. In doing so, we follow the thesis, according to which the SVZ fits into the Swiss experience of being something similar to a national interest association (establishment in times of crisis, weak confederation, taking over state tasks), and of having made the same experience as parts of the federal administration at the moment of their establishment, for instance the Federal Office of Statistics (private initiatives, heavy dependence from individuals, international influence, and national implementation). This thesis basis on two remarks:

⁶⁶⁸ Tissot; Moser, *Binnenwirtschaft, Tourismus und Landwirtschaft*, 2012, p. 559; Bundesamt für Statistik, *Historische statistische Tabellen*, online, Tab. 10.2.1.6.

⁶⁶⁹ Zanini, *Verso una politica turistica nazionale*, 2014, p. 330.

⁶⁷⁰ Pfister, *Nahrungsengpass*, 2016, (forthcoming).

Firstly, we consider the SVZ as something similar to a peak association, although the SVZ has never been mentioned as a peak association.⁶⁷¹ It is therefore a legitimate question if it took on some similar functions as the peak associations. Several characteristics suggest a labeling of the SVZ as a peak association, others do not. Basically, Kriesi makes a difference between the peak associations and professional and trade associations which existed (and still exist) in great numbers (1935: 728, 1940: 794; 1945: 878).⁶⁷² Applying these criteria on the SVZ we can characterize it as a national association which consisted of travel consultants ("Touristiker"), travel agents, CEOs of touristic transport companies, hotels, local tourist associations as well as it consisted of official authorities like a cantonal or municipal government. The myriad of professions represented hinders a clear labeling as a professional association. Secondly, the SVZ undertook similar tasks as the interest associations and maintained a similarly tight relationship with the federal administration as the following lines show.

After the Schweizerische Handels- und Industrieverein (SHIV) was founded in 1870, the Schweizerische Gewerbeverband (SGV) followed in 1879, the Schweizerische Bauernverband (SBV) in 1897 and the Schweizerische Gewerkschaftsbund (SGB) in 1918 after internal conflicts about competences and strategies had paralyzed its predecessors from the 1880s onwards.⁶⁷³ The associations have played a crucial role in the building of the Swiss nation state (see chapter 4.1.2.2 *The Swiss system of interest associations, cartelization, state interference*). Coined by a traditional, distinctive federalism which based on the sovereignty of the cantons, the confederation and its administration of 1848 was weak in the beginning. With the intensification of the economic life (industrialization, railways, electricity) in the last third of the 19th century, the central state intervened in more and more fields such as the customs tariffs, the social insurances, subsidies, or the railways.⁶⁷⁴ Yet, a lot of fields remained outside the central state's sphere of interference where self-regulation had to rule due to the central state's institutional weakness.⁶⁷⁵ Accordingly, the federal administration did not have the needed means

⁶⁷¹ Degen, Verbände, 2012.

⁶⁷² Kriesi, Hanspeter, *Entscheidungsstrukturen und Entscheidungsprozesse in der Schweizer Politik*, Frankfurt, Zürich: Campus Verlag, 1980, p. 46, as peak associations he listed: Vorort des Schweiz. Handels- und Industrie Vereins, founded in 1870, Schweiz. Gewerbeverband 1879, Schweiz. Gewerkschaftsbund 1881, Schweiz. Bauernverband 1897, Zentralverband der Arbeitgeber 1908.

⁶⁷³ Degen, Verbände, 2012.

⁶⁷⁴ Degen, Verbände, 2012.

⁶⁷⁵ Degen, Verbände, 2012.

at its disposal to fulfill the tasks which it was supposed to do. In this situation, the associations filled the gap: The administration outsourced some tasks like information gathering or expert's reports to the interest associations. In return, the interest associations received a subsidy for a permanent secretary, a model which was firstly applied to the SHIV in 1883, but found many followers.⁶⁷⁶ Degen attaches particular importance to these paid secretaries which documented the weak federal administration for the formulation of policies and defines the four peak associations SHIV, SGV, SBV and SGB as the "the backbone of the association system".⁶⁷⁷ Apart from these umbrella organizations, smaller, but more specialized associations were founded on the same time. Roughly within a decade, two touristic-political interest associations were established: the SHV in 1882⁶⁷⁸ and the VSV in 1893.⁶⁷⁹ In particular the SHV collected statistical data (size, structure, exploitation, and financial data) for the federal administration and worked hard for the education of people working in the hotel industry.⁶⁸⁰ Thus, the interest associations represented institutions in which individuals, enterprises or subordinated organizations (e.g. local associations) of similar interests and working fields joined in order to forward their interests. Coordination, education and the lobbying were further characteristics which the associations as well as the SVZ aimed at.

4.1.2.1 The development of the federal administration (1848-1918)

There is a long continuity in the organization of the federal administration which was and still is coined by seven departments, although several rearrangements within these seven departments have taken place since then.⁶⁸¹ Some reforms of the federal administration, like those in 1878, 1887, 1895/97 and 1914, had profound effects.⁶⁸² This continuity is noteworthy insofar as the federal administration grew considerably in the first century of its existence. In the years following 1848, the

⁶⁷⁶ Degen, Verbände, 2012.

⁶⁷⁷ Degen, Verbände, 2012. Translation by AAH of "das Rückgrat des Verbandssystems".

⁶⁷⁸ Reichen, Quirinus, "Gastgewerbe", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2006, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D14071.php> (accessed 2.8.2012).

⁶⁷⁹ Tissot, Offices du tourisme, 2008; Rathgeb, Hans, *Die Schweiz als Ferienland und Lebensraum. 100 Jahre im Dienste des Tourismus und der Einwohner. Jubiläumsschrift des Verbandes Schweizerischer Verkehrsvereine 1893-1993*, [Brugg]: Verband Schweizerischer Verkehrsvereine, 1993, p. 28.

⁶⁸⁰ Krapf, Kurt, "75 Jahre Schweizer Hotelier-Verein im Lichte der Entwicklung des Fremdenverkehrs", in [Schweizer Hotelier-Verein] (ed.), *75 Jahre. Jubiläum Schweizer Hotelier-Verein. Geschäfts-Bericht 1956*, Basel: Boehm & Co., [1957], p. 5-19, here 6.

⁶⁸¹ Altermatt, Departemente der Bundesverwaltung, 1991, p. 292.

⁶⁸² Altermatt, Departemente der Bundesverwaltung, 1991, p. 292.

federal state was weak. This found expression in a relatively weak federal administration. The administration's power was enlarged in the following decades as the tasks which it should fulfill increased, although the cantons – that is the subordinated level of state organization – continued to wield authority over many of their traditional fields of regulation. The weakness of the confederation was paralleled by the increase of private institutions, in particular interest associations, which took over state tasks – the collection of statistical data, support and formulation of their branch's topic –, over time. The interest associations thereby gained state protection and support, for instance for a permanent secretary. The public opinion about state intervention turned from rejection to a more and more warmly welcome so that in the 1930s, state intervention was considered as crucial for the further existing of the nation state. It is in this decade that the means of state intervention increased not only in quantitative, but also in qualitative terms. The emergency legislation which circumvented the parliamentary approval – see the democratic control – was accompanied by the "Allgemeinverbindlicherklärung von Verbandsbeschlüssen" (declaration of general application of a collective agreement) which cemented the interest associations' power. With the fixation of these instruments in the "Wirtschaftsartikel" of 1947, the Swiss system of interest associations had received highest, constitutional recognition. It had characterized the Swiss economic policy since the first decades of the modern nation state and can therefore be considered as an extraordinary characteristic of modern Switzerland. It also represented a defining feature for the history of the federal administration as it was heavily intertwined with the federal administration. Or put differently: The history of the federal administration can not be told without the inclusion of the system of interest associations. This becomes visible when we have a look on the quantitative development of the federal administration. Forced to start from the scratch, some 489 persons served the federal administration ("Allgemeine Bundesverwaltung", that is the personnel of the state-owned enterprises like the SBB or the Post is not included) in 1849.⁶⁸³ Although their number quadrupled between 1875 and 1900 from some 1'093 to some 4'684 persons,⁶⁸⁴ their increase did not correspond with the increase in tasks in the course of state intervention "à contre-coeur". That the owners of big capitals invested started to organize themselves ("capitalisme organisé") does

⁶⁸³ Germann, Raimund G., "Bundesverwaltung", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2012, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D10343.php> (accessed 5.11.2012).

⁶⁸⁴ Germann, Bundesverwaltung, 2012.

therefore not astonish. According to Germann, the main increases in the federal administration's personnel took place during the two World Wars, while it was reduced in the Interwar Period, at least in the 1920s.⁶⁸⁵ A new extension of the personnel started between 1930 and 1935 resulting in a tripling between 1935 and 1945 (some 9'437 to 29'630 persons).⁶⁸⁶ Considering the personnel of the state-owned enterprises like the SBB or the Post, too, the reduction of the personnel even lasted until 1935 (and not only until 1930).⁶⁸⁷ It therefore seems quite probable that the interest organizations extended their power in the 1930s. The federal administration could not meet the increase in tasks with a (former) reduction of the personnel.

Quantitatively, the federal administration's number of personnel developed as shown in figure 9:

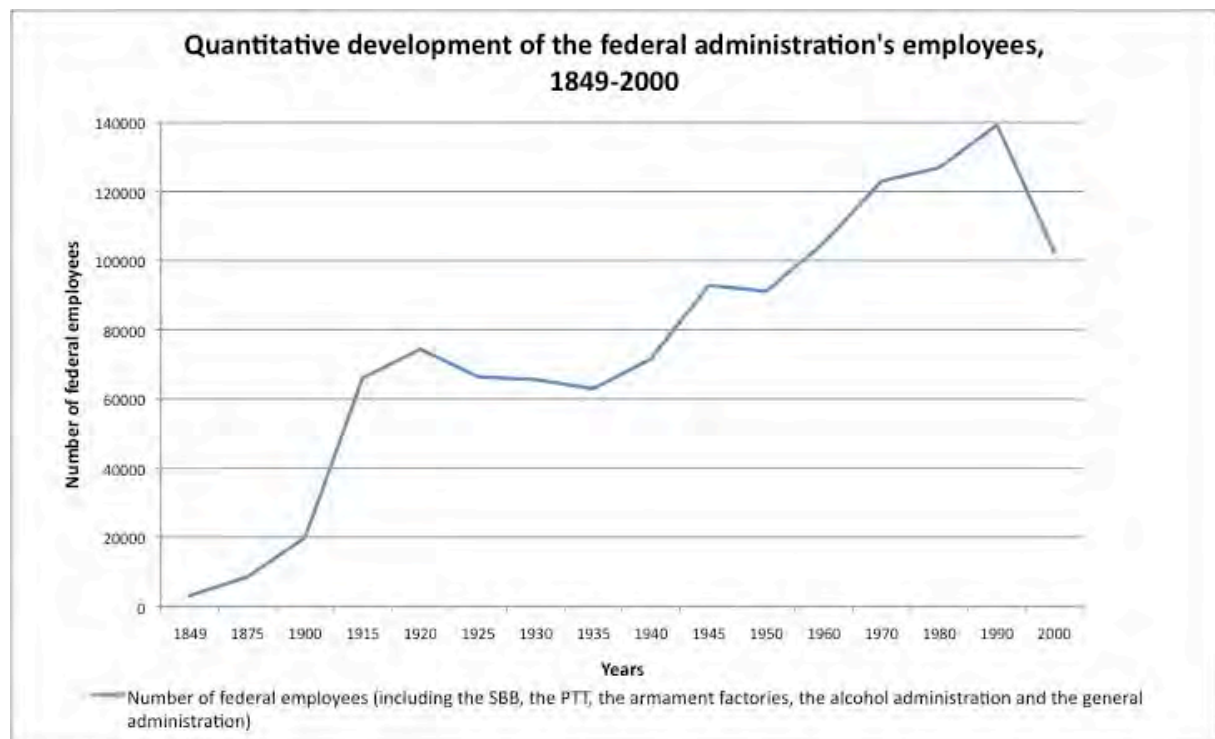


Fig. 9: The number of the employees of the federal administration grew notably prior and during the two World Wars and between 1950 and 1970.

Source: Germann, Raimund G., "Bundesverwaltung", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2012, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D10343.php> (accessed 5.11.2012).

Considerable extensions of the federal administration's number of personnel took place in both World Wars and in the second half of the 20th century. With respect to the First World War, the following points are noteworthy: Firstly, the striking increase

⁶⁸⁵ Germann, Bundesverwaltung, 2012.

⁶⁸⁶ Germann, Bundesverwaltung, 2012.

⁶⁸⁷ Germann, Bundesverwaltung, 2012.

between 1900 and 1915 based mainly on the inclusion of the personnel of the SBB, which, in 1900, was not included yet. Additionally, the PTT's personnel grew to the amount of one third in the same period.⁶⁸⁸ Thus, the federation's two transport enterprises heavily increased their numbers of personnel, which explains why the most prominent increase took place *prior to* the First World War! Secondly, the establishment of new institutions also fell in the mentioned period.⁶⁸⁹ The result was, according to Straumann, an increase in bureaucracy and centralization, the establishment of new institutions and an extension of the personnel.⁶⁹⁰

The legislation in favour of the federal administration's personnel developed smoothly. The first law in the field foresaw that the public officials were responsible in case of a damage created by the administration in 1850, and three years later the "'bleibenden eidg. Beamungen'" were fixed in a law for the first time.⁶⁹¹ These "Beamungen" were extended to a list of functions known as the "Ämterverzeichnis" which encompassed all positions which a person had to be appointed for (formal public official).⁶⁹² If a person served, was subordinated to and paid by the federal administration it became a public official in material terms.⁶⁹³ Varying from department to department and from field of activity to field of activity, the salaries and conditions of employment differed, until some first salary regulations homogenized them in 1897.⁶⁹⁴ The "Beamtengesetz" (civil service law) of 1927 stipulated a duty for loyalty, restrictions on political activities of public officials and forbade to strike.⁶⁹⁵ In the 1930s, the Swiss people twice rejected a (up- and downward) change in the payment regulations of the public officials.⁶⁹⁶ Until the Second World War, the level of salaries in the federal administration was not high. Legend has it that even the Federal Councilors Motta and Etter, both fathers of ten children, were forced to

⁶⁸⁸ Germann, Bundesverwaltung, 2012.

⁶⁸⁹ Ochsenbein, Heinz, *Die verlorene Wirtschaftsfreiheit 1914-1918. Methoden ausländischer Wirtschaftskontrollen über die Schweiz*, Bern: Verlag Stämpfli & Cie AG, 1971, p. 201; Degen, Bernard, "Société suisse de surveillance économique (SSS)", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2010, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.chD13785.php> (accessed 8.9.2015); Degen, Bernard, "Schweizerische Treuhandstelle für Überwachung des Warenverkehrs", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2013, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.chD13784.php> (accessed 8.9.2015).

⁶⁹⁰ Rossfeld, Roman; Straumann, Tobias, "Zwischen den Fronten oder an allen Fronten? Eine Einführung", in Rossfeld; Straumann, *Der vergessene Wirtschaftskrieg*, 2008, p. 11-59, here 36.

⁶⁹¹ Germann, Beamte, 2011.

⁶⁹² Germann, Beamte, 2011.

⁶⁹³ Germann, Beamte, 2011.

⁶⁹⁴ Germann, Beamte, 2011.

⁶⁹⁵ Germann, Beamte, 2011.

⁶⁹⁶ Germann, Beamte, 2011.

calculate exactly in order to support their families.⁶⁹⁷ The "Beamten-gesetz" (civil service law) of 1927 was hotly debated as the personnel had come in need during the First World War and consequently demanded a cost-of-living allowance.⁶⁹⁸ Those allowances which were finally paid out never equaled the rise in the costs of living. According to Böschenstein, the Bundesamt für Industrie, Gewerbe und Arbeit (BIGA)⁶⁹⁹ calculated ex-post a price rise in the course of the war of some 204 percent in 1918 and some 224 percent in 1920.⁷⁰⁰ The levels of and the rules concerning the salaries ("Besoldungsstufen") were therefore subject to discussions. The socio-economic composition of the personnel of the federal administration has not changed considerably since 1938: Two third originate from the middle and upper classes, the liberals enjoyed the highest affiliation, and the linguistic representation roughly equals the distribution of the languages in society.⁷⁰¹ In contrast to other countries, the selection of the officials did not base on the completion of some specific administrative training centers, but rather grounded on the education and the professional career of an official.⁷⁰² According to Rebmann who analyzed the education and professional career of "senior officials" ("hauts fonctionnaires") in the Swiss administration, these two indicators of socialization are all the more important as, "il n'existe pas en Suisse, à l'inverse de certains pays, de filières de sélection officielle des hauts fonctionnaires (écoles de fonctionnaires, concours d'entrée et caetera)."⁷⁰³

Political scientists term this interconnection between the federal administration and the interest associations "imbrication public/privé" (public/private integration),⁷⁰⁴ which, however, differs gradually. Varone's model of four concentric circles shows

⁶⁹⁷ Böschenstein, Hermann, *Die Entwicklung der Bundesverwaltung seit 1848. Separatdruck aus Nr. 18 vom 11. September 1980 der Schweizerischen Beamten-Zeitung, verfasst aus Anlass der 27. Delegiertenversammlung des Personalverbandes der allgemeinen Bundesverwaltung*, [s.l.]: [s.n.], 1980, p. 24.

⁶⁹⁸ Böschenstein, *Entwicklung der Bundesverwaltung seit 1848*, 1980, p. 20.

⁶⁹⁹ Translated in the general sense: Federal Office for Economic Development and Labour (OEDL).

⁷⁰⁰ Böschenstein, *Entwicklung der Bundesverwaltung seit 1848*, 1980, p. 22.

⁷⁰¹ Germann, *Beamte*, 2011.

⁷⁰² Rebmann, Frédéric, "Parachutés ou montagnards? Formation et trajectoires professionnelles des hauts fonctionnaires de la Confédération (1910-2000)", in *Traverse - Zeitschrift für Geschichte*, Vol. 2, 2011, p. 100-113, here 100-101.

⁷⁰³ Rebmann, *Parachutés ou montagnards?*, 2011, p. 100-101.

⁷⁰⁴ Mach, André, "Associations d'intérêts", in Klöti, Ulrich; Knoepfl, Peter; Kriesi, Hanspeter; Linder, Wolf; Papadopoulos, Yannis; Sciarini, Pascal, *Handbuch der Schweizer Politik. Manuel de la politique suisse*, 4., vollständig überarbeitete Auflage, Zürich: Verlag Neue Zürcher Zeitung 2006, p. 369-391, here 374, 378.

this gradual differentiation. Starting from a center of real state institutions like offices or general secretaries, the second circle encompasses institutions which are administered by "Leistungsauftrag und Globalbudget", followed by institutions under public law and fully belong to the confederation and, in the outermost circle of institutions of private law which partially belong to the confederation.⁷⁰⁵ "La logique qui sous-tend cette vision stipule que plus on s'éloigne du centre, où la politique prédomine clairement, plus les règles du marché privé interviennent dans la conduite de l'action administrative."⁷⁰⁶ Varone's model de facto describes the decentralized structure of the Swiss administration, which also characterizes it.⁷⁰⁷ The increased state interference, particularly in the 1930s, let the term "corporatism" appear. In the 1970s and 1980s, political scientists discussed if Switzerland was therefore a neo-corporatism state.⁷⁰⁸ Without joining the debates about the question if this term appropriately describes the Swiss case,⁷⁰⁹ the terms "private" and "public" imply further categories which characterize the history of the federal administration.

4.1.2.2 The Swiss system of interest associations, cartelization, state interference

In 1964, Gruner published an article on the economic policy of Switzerland between 1848 and 1964 in which he exactly explained and derived the power and function of the peak association ("Spitzenverbände").⁷¹⁰ With reference to the poor state of the history of the federal administration – although there are "[b]ruchstückhafte Ausführungen zur Bundesverwaltung [...], von einem ergiebigen Forschungsstand, der über deskriptive Fakten hinausgeht, kann [...] keine Rede sein [sic!]"⁷¹¹ –, we follow Gruner's reasoning, but complement it when necessary. This counts for the period of the First World War in particular.

The Swiss interest associations represented the means for state interference which Gruner divides in four phases: 1848 to 1878, 1880s and 1890s, 1900 to 1930

⁷⁰⁵ Varone, Frédéric, "L'administration fédérale", in Klöti; Knoepfl; Kriesi; Linder; Papadopoulos; Sciarini, *Handbuch der Schweizer Politik*, 2006, p. 289-316, here 291-292.

⁷⁰⁶ Varone, *L'administration fédérale*, 2006, p. 291.

⁷⁰⁷ Varone, *L'administration fédérale*, 2006, p. 291.

⁷⁰⁸ Mach, *Associations d'intérêts*, 2006, p. 374, 378.

⁷⁰⁹ Mach, *Associations d'intérêts*, 2006, p. 378-381.

⁷¹⁰ Gruner, Erich, "100 Jahre Wirtschaftspolitik. Etappen des Interventionismus in der Schweiz", in *Revue suisse d'économie politique et de statistique (Swiss Journal of Economics and Statistics)*, Vol. 100, Issue I/II, 1964, p. 35-70.

⁷¹¹ Dahinden, *Bürokratiekritik*, 2008, p. 19.

approximately, and 1945 to 1964.⁷¹² In the first phase, the "Gründerzeit", state intervention was weak and "democratic", because it broadly aimed at securing the middle class against a social descent down the social ladder, so that a wider range of societal spheres profited from the new national laws: Apart from harmonizing tax and fiscal politics (introduction of a tax progression, a tax free minimum, inheritance tax, decrease of the salt price, free primary school and military equipping), cantonal banks and a cheap popular credit, which was demanded because the railway companies and the industries required a lot of money, the freedom of trade became a fundamental right in 1874 at the occasion of the revision of the constitution.⁷¹³ In the second phase, a credit and trade crisis at the end of the 1870s provoked a state intervention which was destined for selected branches of the economy for the first time, particularly the railways and the export industries.⁷¹⁴ The beneficiaries, however, most of them convinced Manchester liberals, faced a real ideological paradox as they had hitherto rejected state intervention from an ideological point of view.⁷¹⁵ Yet, their strategy to solve their moral problem laid the foundation for the Swiss system of interest associations: As those (former) Manchester liberals could not demand state intervention, in particular protection in tariff matters, without losing their face, they invented a semi-official interest representation which should keep in contact with the state in a way which was advantageous for them: an interest association.⁷¹⁶ The export and trade industries thereby gained protection without being forced to bear witness to state intervention.⁷¹⁷ Gruner accordingly labeled this kind of intervention "à contre-coeur",⁷¹⁸ Humair "capitalisme organisé".⁷¹⁹ In fact, the former Manchester liberal advocates of the "laisser-faire" broadly used the new possibility of state intervention: the numbers of interest associations steadily grew in the decades prior to and especially after the First World War.⁷²⁰ Thus, the interest associations overcame and helped to solve the consequences of the Great

⁷¹² Gruner, *Etappen des Interventionismus*, 1964, p. 35-70.

⁷¹³ Gruner, *Etappen des Interventionismus*, 1964, p. 41-42.

⁷¹⁴ Gruner, *Etappen des Interventionismus*, 1964, p. 44.

⁷¹⁵ Gruner, *Etappen des Interventionismus*, 1964, p. 45.

⁷¹⁶ Gruner, *Etappen des Interventionismus*, 1964, p. 45.

⁷¹⁷ Gruner, *Etappen des Interventionismus*, 1964, p. 46.

⁷¹⁸ Gruner, *Etappen des Interventionismus*, 1964, p. 43.

⁷¹⁹ Humair, *The Long Depression and its impact on Swiss tourism*, [2011], p. 13.

⁷²⁰ For the touristic sector prior to the First World War, see Humair, *The Long Depression and its impact on Swiss tourism*, [2011], p. 5-11; for the cartelization of the Swiss economy after the First World War, see Humair, Cédric, "Douanes et cartels nationaux: aux sources de l'organisation de l'industrie suisse des semi-fabriqués en coton (1877-1914)", in: Cortat, Alain (ed.), *Contribution à une histoire des cartels en Suisse*, Neuchâtel: Éditions Alphil-Presses universitaires suisses, 2010, p. 45-63, here 62.

Depression in the 1870/80s and meant a step away from the hitherto reigning Manchester liberalism as the economic-political concept.⁷²¹ Industry-friendly and preserving in structural terms, this intervention resulted in the establishment of the first peak association in 1869 – that is even prior to the acute crisis! –, the Schweizerischer Handels- und Industrieverein (SHIV).⁷²² This new institution coincided with an increase in tasks (in the course of increased state interference) which the federal administration should fulfill, but did not have the personnel for.⁷²³ The confederation consequently paid the SHIV a permanent secretary which in turn collected economic data, consulted the confederation in factual questions, drafted politics and sent it to the administration.⁷²⁴ The SHIV made an example out of it as other industries soon followed this model: the Schweizerischer Gewerbeverband (SGV) followed in 1879,⁷²⁵ the Schweizerischer Bauernverband (SBV) in 1897.⁷²⁶ The outsourcing of federal tasks to semi-official associations and the way of its compensation complemented the traditional means of a state subsidy which the economic-political importance increased of: 4,4 percent of state expenditures were generated by means of a subsidy in 1870, 24 percent in 1913.⁷²⁷ The outsourcing met the need of the federal administration all the more as the lack of personnel in the federal administration could not be undone easily.⁷²⁸ In 1879, a decision stipulated that new governmental offices were to be established by the means of a federal law only.⁷²⁹ Paying a permanent secretary of a national interest association could be resolved by a simple federal decree which was a much easier way to install a branch of the federal administration.⁷³⁰ The system of interest association also implied a cartelization in the sense of organizing an economic sector. According to Schröter,

⁷²¹ Humair, *The Long Depression and its impact on Swiss tourism*, [2011], p. 13.

⁷²² Gruner, *Etappen des Interventionismus*, 1964, p. 45. According to Nerlich, Daniel; Hofstetter, Philipp, "Schweizerischer Handels- und Industrieverein (SHIV)", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2012, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D16467.php> (accessed 2.11.2012), the SHIV was founded in 1870, when different cantonal associations united themselves in a national association. Translated in the general sense, the SHIV reads: Swiss Commerce and Industry Association.

⁷²³ Gruner, *Etappen des Interventionismus*, 1964, p. 48-49.

⁷²⁴ Nerlich; Hofstetter, *Handels- und Industrieverein*, 2012.

⁷²⁵ Degen, Bernard, "Schweizerischer Gewerbeverband", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2012, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D16466.php> (accessed 2.11.2012). Translated in the general sense, the SGV reads: Swiss Union of Commerce.

⁷²⁶ Baumann, Werner, "Schweizerischer Bauernverband (SBV)", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2011, <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D16463.php> (accessed 2.11.2012). Translated in the general sense, the SBV reads: Swiss Farmers Union.

⁷²⁷ Gruner, *Etappen des Interventionismus*, 1964, p. 48.

⁷²⁸ Gruner, *Etappen des Interventionismus*, 1964, p. 49.

⁷²⁹ Gruner, *Etappen des Interventionismus*, 1964, p. 49-50.

⁷³⁰ Gruner, *Etappen des Interventionismus*, 1964, p. 50.

the "Kartellierung ging, von den Zeitgenossen nahezu unbemerkt, mit der zunehmenden Verbandsbildung einher."⁷³¹ The distinction between an interest association and a cartel is, in fact, fluctuating. While, essentially, a cartel represented a going-together of producers,⁷³² which tried to fix prices, to limit the output or to hinder new producers to enter the sector, in short: to regulate the concurrence, to limit competition and to achieve favorable economic-political conditions for the economic sector,⁷³³ the interest associations mainly aimed at a political lobbying in favour of their economic sector. Yet, among the aims of the cartels also appeared the protection in tariff matters⁷³⁴ – an obvious political task, which the interest associations were busy with, too (see above). It is due to this protection in tariff matters, that the cartelization in Switzerland was labeled tardy.⁷³⁵ Yet, prior to the First World War, the producers of several industries profited from favorable tariffs.⁷³⁶ As a consequence,

"[l]'image d'une Suisse libre-échangiste et faiblement cartellisée ne correspond toutefois pas pleinement à la réalité économique et politique de la période d'avant-guerre. En instaurant un protectionisme sélectif au profit de certaines branches orientées vers le marché intérieur, la Confédération a favorisé la cartellisation précoce de ces industries."⁷³⁷

Basically, the market participants thought that they were in a liberal economy (free market), but in fact, the sector was regulated – an ambiguous situation. Accordingly, several attempts of collective action and of organizing an economic sector, for instance the touristic sector, failed: "[T]he beginnings of the process of organization were [...] somewhat anarchic. Societies were quickly formed and just as quickly dismantled."⁷³⁸ Yet, when the pressure increased in the course of the economic crisis of the late 1870s, which was acutely felt in the Lake Geneva Region for instance, the organization succeeded.⁷³⁹ The state intervention ranged from direct financial

⁷³¹ Schröter, Harm G., "Kartelle", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2014, <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D13734.php> (accessed 31.8.2015).

⁷³² Humair, *Douanes et cartels nationaux*, 2010, p. 46.

⁷³³ Humair, *Douanes et cartels nationaux*, 2010, p. 46.

⁷³⁴ Humair, *Douanes et cartels nationaux*, 2010, p. 46.

⁷³⁵ Humair, *Douanes et cartels nationaux*, 2010, p. 46.

⁷³⁶ According to Humair, *Douanes et cartels nationaux*, 2010, p. 62, the producers of the following products had united themselves in cartels prior to the First World War: flavour, chocolat, beer, paper, cardboard, furniture, brick, cement, and chalk.

⁷³⁷ Humair, *Douanes et cartels nationaux*, 2010, p. 61-62.

⁷³⁸ Humair, *The Long Depression and its impact on Swiss tourism*, [2011], p. 3.

⁷³⁹ Humair, *The Long Depression and its impact on Swiss tourism*, [2011], p. 3.

involvement in the local tourist associations to the provision of the touristic infrastructure, tax regulations for long-term tourists, and the installing of traffic signs for the automobile tourism.⁷⁴⁰ Although the efforts by the hoteliers' associations and the local tourist offices represented collective actions, called "the first steps towards a cartelization of the sector",⁷⁴¹ the image of a fully cartelized sector would be wrong. Certainly, the SHV prescribed minimal prices, but they only were controlled from 1910 onwards as a consequence of the increased competition,⁷⁴² which lead to the establishment of the SVZ. The believe in liberal individualism as well as interregional competition inside Switzerland prevented a powerful collaboration of the touristic agents in Switzerland for a long time.⁷⁴³ Rather, the less binding collaboration in an interest association prevailed in the touristic sector.

Two reorganizations of the federal administration in the next decade supplemented the system and strengthened the system of interest associations. As a consequence of the reorganization of 1895, a federal decree of 1897 empowered the three heads of the trade-, the industry- and the agricultural departments to independently deal with all matters not of fundamental nature and to deal with the outposts of the administration, which is with the interest associations.⁷⁴⁴ Gruner considered this result of the reorganization of 1895 as the most crucial change for the federal administration.⁷⁴⁵ Haas/Pfister therefore derived that, in the long run, the federal administration developed an institutional communication which differentiated more and more and that this enabled the federal administration to systematically structure more and more parts of the society's daily life.⁷⁴⁶ Yet, this did not forcibly shift the personal communication to formal structures and systems, because new structures in the administration also generated new personal networks, which lead to the "Einbettung von Verwaltungsleistungen in einen 'bürokratischen Klientelismus'".⁷⁴⁷ This last point is relevant for the development of the national tourist office since the personal network inside the touristic sphere of Switzerland remained very important for the officials inside the federal administration with every

⁷⁴⁰ Humair, *The Long Depression and its impact on Swiss tourism*, [2011], p. 11-13.

⁷⁴¹ Humair, *The Long Depression and its impact on Swiss tourism*, [2011], p. 2.

⁷⁴² Humair, *The Long Depression and its impact on Swiss tourism*, [2011], p. 6.

⁷⁴³ Humair, *The Long Depression and its impact on Swiss tourism*, [2011], p. 3-4.

⁷⁴⁴ "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung betreffend Organisation und Geschäftsgang des Bundesrates. (Vom 4. Juni 1894)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 2, No. 23, 1894, p. 766-819, here 792, 802, cited in Gruner, *Etappen des Interventionismus*, 1964, p. 50, footnote 1.

⁷⁴⁵ Gruner, *Etappen des Interventionismus*, 1964, p. 50.

⁷⁴⁶ Haas; Pfister, *einleitende Perspektive*, 1999, p. 25.

⁷⁴⁷ Haas; Pfister, *einleitende Perspektive*, 1999, p. 26.

step which the SVZ came nearer to the federal administration until it became a corporation under public law.

Similar networks laid the basis for the third phase which roughly encompassed the years between 1900 and 1930 and was coined by a "frohgemuter Interventionismus" which supported specific economic sectors in need, saw nationalizations, in particular of the railway companies and in the electricity sector, and accepted state intervention as the reigning economic-political concept.⁷⁴⁸ As more and more people profited from it, the state intervention was welcomed by a broad alliance of citizens.⁷⁴⁹

Interestingly, Gruner fully ignores the role of the First World War in the development of state intervention. Recent research has shown that the federal administration witnessed a considerable extension of the number of personnel as well as of the tasks which the administration was in charge of during the First World War.⁷⁵⁰ Apart from the the Schweizerische Treuhandstelle für Überwachung des Warenverkehrs (Treuhandstelle Zürich) and the Société Suisse de Surveillance économique (SSS), which came into being in July and November 1915, and which controlled the trade with the Entente Powers and the Central Powers,⁷⁵¹ numerous other offices and outposts of the federal administration were founded. In August 1916, a Zentralstelle für Kartoffelversorgung was founded, because the potato harvest of this year only reached two third of the normal quantity and was qualitatively worse due to a cold and wet summer.⁷⁵² Yet, the real war-driven interventionist measures did not came into effect prior to 1917, because the energy and food supply for the Swiss population was not terrifying until then.⁷⁵³ In 1917, however, the lack of German coal became urgent, a fact which weighed all the more as the period from January to April 1917 was extremely cold.⁷⁵⁴ The stocks of cereals quickly decreased due to a harvest below average and the English blockade in 1917 and the production of milk fell to the amount of some dramatic 60 percent in April 1917 (compared to April 1916)!⁷⁵⁵ The Swiss government therefore rationed and

⁷⁴⁸ Gruner, *Etappen des Interventionismus*, 1964, p. 50-52, 56.

⁷⁴⁹ Gruner, *Etappen des Interventionismus*, 1964, p. 50-51.

⁷⁵⁰ Rossfeld; Straumann; *Zwischen den Fronten*, 2008, p. 36.

⁷⁵¹ Ochsenbein, *verlorene Wirtschaftsfreiheit*, 1971, p. 201; Degen, *SSS*, 2010; Degen, *Treuhandstelle*, 2013.

⁷⁵² Pfister, *Nahrungsengpass*, 2016, (forthcoming).

⁷⁵³ Pfister, *Nahrungsengpass*, 2016, (forthcoming); Pfister, *Energiekrise*, 2016, (forthcoming).

⁷⁵⁴ Pfister, *Energiekrise*, 2016, (forthcoming).

⁷⁵⁵ Pfister, *Nahrungsengpass*, 2016, (forthcoming).

reduced the prices of coal, gas, etc. and reduced the prices of food for the needy persons.⁷⁵⁶ Similar controlling measures appeared in other fields of daily life, resulting in new central control offices like the federal alien's branch of the police (see chapter 5.4 *Rebellious tourism industry: Questions of the alien's branch of the police*), the federal employment office, the cotton as well as the iron central office, a central office for im- and export, the Abteilung für industrielle Kriegswirtschaft or the Schweizerische Finanzgesellschaft für auswärtige Anleihen AG.⁷⁵⁷ All of these offices fulfilled, obviously, a new task. The extension of the federal administration was therefore of qualitative nature as well. Gruner's "frohgemuter Interventionismus" uttered itself in new federal taxes and new federal expenditures. Two war-taxes, a tax on the profits generated due to the war and a stamp duty should accumulate the financial means which were needed for paying the new expenditures: the costs of the mobilization of the army or of the price reduction of the food prices for the needy persons.⁷⁵⁸ For the support of the needy persons the confederation spent some seven billion Swiss Francs (of 2009)!⁷⁵⁹ Additionally, the Parliament entitled the Federal Council with extraordinary powers right at the beginning of the First World War, so that a real regime, the so called "Vollmachtenregime", was created (see chapter 5.5.1 *The "Vollmachtenregime", 1915-1939*).

4.1.2.3 Further characteristics of the federal administration

Private initiative and the role of individuals

The system of interest associations represented a system which originated in private initiatives but soon became interconnected with and later even part of the federal administration. The private initiative seems to be another characteristic feature for the history of the federal administration. The Swiss Bundesamt für Statistik (BFS), at least, made similar experiences. After the first Federal Councilor in charge, Stefano Franscini (1796-1857), had handled the national statistics as a personal affair, albeit with great enthusiasm, and not let an institution or even a project of behind, his

⁷⁵⁶ Pfister, Energiekrise, 2016, (forthcoming); Pfister, Nahrungsengpass, 2016, (forthcoming).

⁷⁵⁷ Rossfeld; Straumann; Zwischen den Fronten, 2008, p. 39. For the central offices in the field of the daily needed items, see: Cottier, Maurice, *Liberalismus oder Staatsintervention. Die Geschichte der Versorgungspolitik im Schweizer Bundesstaat*, Zürich: Verlag Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 2014, p. 70-74.

⁷⁵⁸ Guex, Sébastien, "Öffentliche Finanzen und Finanzpolitik", in Halbeisen; Müller; Veyrassat, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Schweiz im 20. Jahrhundert*, 2012, p. 1077-1129, here 1092, 1096; Pfister, *Nahrungsengpass*, 2016, (forthcoming); Pfister, *Energiekrise*, 2016, (forthcoming).

⁷⁵⁹ Pfister, *Nahrungsengpass*, 2016, (forthcoming).

successor, Giovan Battista Pioda (1808-1882) had practically to start again from scratch.⁷⁶⁰ The question how a national statistics should be organized was answered by different private institutions (e.g. the "Société suisse d'histoire naturelle"): "Cette initiative privée [by the Société suisse d'histoire naturelle. AAH] ne fut pas la seule à réclamer la mise sur pied d'une organisation ou d'un concept statistiques."⁷⁶¹ Even the National Council as well as the Federal Council proposed to establish a national statistics in 1859 and 1860 respectively, which finally led to the "loi fédéral concernant la création d'un bureau de statistique", adopted on 21st January 1860.⁷⁶² Thereby, Switzerland saw the establishment of its statistical office later than its European counterparts. The fact, that an institution for a national statistics originated in private initiatives, however, seemed to be an international experience. According to Busset, private statistical associations, which took care of some aspects of national statistics, came into being in the course of the 19th century (France 1803, Great Britain 1833, USA 1839), after former offices had disappeared after some years of existence.⁷⁶³ The private initiative as motor for the establishment of parts of the federal administration was closely linked to the role of individuals. As will be shown below, this also was the case with the SVZ.

The role of individuals

In the context of the creation of the SVZ, the role and importance of some singular people – officials, lobbyists, initiators – will be highlighted several times. The key point here is, that these people were not (considered as) extraordinary, but they did a good deal of the crucial work. For instance, there were only a few people who were regularly involved with the elaboration of the first articles of association of the SVZ: On the part of the EDI, the official in charge was Dr. Contat, secretary of the EDI,⁷⁶⁴ while the Federal Council Felix Calonder (1863-1952)⁷⁶⁵ presided the meetings of the initiating associations. On the part of the initiating associations, Paul Trachsel,

⁷⁶⁰ Busset, Bureau fédéral de statistique, 1995, p. 8.

⁷⁶¹ Busset, Bureau fédéral de statistique, 1995, p. 9.

⁷⁶² Busset, Bureau fédéral de statistique, 1995, p. 13, 15.

⁷⁶³ Dupâquier, Jacques; Dupâquier, Michel, *Histoire de la démographie*, Paris: Perrin, 1985, p. 299-304, and Henninger, Wilhelm, "Die nationalen Statistischen Gesellschaften", in *Allgemeines Statistisches Archiv*, Vol. 24, 1934/35, p. 185-207, both cited in Busset, Bureau fédéral de statistique, 1995, p. 9.

⁷⁶⁴ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "PROCES VERBAL de la Conférence des délégués des Associations promotrices de l'Association nationale pour l'Office suisse du Tourisme, tenu le JEUDI 11 OCTOBRE 1917, [...]", Berne, 11.10.1917.

⁷⁶⁵ Simonett, Jürg, "Calonder, Felix", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2005, <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D3562.php> (accessed 25.6.2009).

secretary of the VSV, usually took the minutes of the meetings of the initiating associations.⁷⁶⁶ Contat as Trachsel thereby took on quite important roles as it was up to them to really know the implication of the articles of association. As they appeared regularly in the sources as an author of minutes of a meeting or of an internal report a close look on them seems to be worthwhile. Why? Because their interaction, their work, their intentions were finally crucial for the SVZ' relation to the confederation. Thus, what was their impact, their importance? Why did they engage in this matter? Only by chance and due to their official duty? Or because they pursued higher goals? Was there a personal intention behind their engagement? Which was their responsibility, their weight?⁷⁶⁷ Obviously, the role of infamous persons, officials, lobbyists interests here.

The history of administration, however, does not deal much with individual, unknown officials. Most of the time, an office or its personnel in its entirety are in the center of attention, except a minister has coined a ministry for a long time. The recently published biographies of Helmut Kohl,⁷⁶⁸ Jean Hotz⁷⁶⁹ or Walter Stucki,⁷⁷⁰ show that biographies are not out of fashion, although mostly overseen by historical compendia but successful on the market.⁷⁷¹ But to focus the ministry and not only the minister is something different – and by no means less interesting or controversial as the publication of the history of the German Federal Foreign Office has shown.⁷⁷² In the

⁷⁶⁶ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "PROCES VERBAL de la Conférence des délégués des Associations promotrices de l'Association nationale pour l'Office suisse du Tourisme, tenu le MERCREDI 12 SEPTEMBRE 1917, [...]", Berne, 12.9.1917, p. 2.

⁷⁶⁷ Monnier, François; Thuillier, Guy, "Le rôle des personnalités dans l'administration", in *Jahrbuch für europäische Verwaltungsgeschichte (JEV)*, Vol. 17, 2005, p. 263-280, here 277.

⁷⁶⁸ Taus, Wolfgang, "Der Riese im Kanzleramt", in *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 26.9.2012, URL: <http://www.nzz.ch/aktuell/international/uebersicht/der-riese-im-kanzleramt-1.17642467> (accessed 12.9.2014), about Schwarz, Hans-Peter, *Helmut Kohl – Eine politische Biographie*, München: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 2012.

⁷⁶⁹ Bondt, René, *Der Minister aus dem Bauernhaus. Handelsdiplomat Jean Hotz und seine turbulente Zeit*, Zürich: Verlag Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 2010; see also Fritschi, Oscar, Review of "Bondt, René, Der Minister aus dem Bauernhaus. Handelsdiplomat Jean Hotz und seine turbulente Zeit, Zürich: Verlag Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 2010", in *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte*, Vol. 61, No. 4, 2011, p. 492-494.

⁷⁷⁰ Stamm, Konrad, *Der "grosse Stucki". Eine schweizerische Karriere von weltmännischem Format. Minister Walter Stucki (1888–1963)*, Zürich: NZZ Libro, 2013, see also Wehrli, Christoph, "Biografie von Walter Stucki. Ein aussergewöhnlicher Diplomat", in *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 20.3.2013, URL: <http://www.nzz.ch/aktuell/startseite/ein-aussergewoehnlicher-diplomat-1.18049914> (accessed 17.11.2014) on Stamm. Another biography of a Swiss diplomat has been published recently: Widmer, Paul, *Minister Hans Frölicher. Der umstrittenste Schweizer Diplomat*, Zürich: NZZ-Libro, 2012.

⁷⁷¹ Kraus, Hans-Christof, "Geschichte als Lebensgeschichte. Gegenwart und Zukunft der politischen Biographie", in Kraus; Nicklas, *Geschichte der Politik*, 2007, p. 311-332, here 318.

⁷⁷² Vagts, Detlev F., "Review of 'Das Amt und die Vergangenheit: Deutsche Diplomaten im Dritten Reich und in der Bundesrepublik. By Eckart Conze, Norbert Frei, Peter Hayes, and Moshe

case of the SVZ, some well-known persons like Alexander Seiler, Alexandre Emery, or Armin Meili were involved, but the backbreaking work was done by less-known people who, in the best case, had a certain reputation in the touristic scene of Switzerland: functionaries of the national associations or interest-groups and civil servants who were in charge of the matter ex officio. It is therefore worth focusing them, because their contributions to the creation of the SVZ were sometimes crucial. Yet, such a focusing needs some methodological considerations.

At first sight, a biographical approach seems to suggest itself. There are, however, several obstacles to it. Firstly, it is not a person's whole life which is in the center of attention, but the person's contribution to the SVZ.⁷⁷³ Certainly, the person's attitude towards its job, its responsibility, tactics, aims, behaviour, its religious, ideological or philosophical experience and ways of thinking undoubtedly influence this contribution, so that its life must be considered as well. But, such considerations do not allow us to speak of a biographical approach. Secondly, since less-known persons do usually not leave their marks in a variety of sources, the base for information about these persons tends to be small and incomplete.⁷⁷⁴ This results in a probabilistic world at best where nothing is sure, rather unsure, plausible and more or less probable.⁷⁷⁵ But as easiness should not guide the historian's steps, Monnier and Thuillier plead for the inclusion of subordinate officials in administrative history.⁷⁷⁶ According to them, it is not possible to write a history of an administration, a ministry or a prefecture without taking into consideration those people who populate it, although the historian is hardly able to find satisfying results.⁷⁷⁷ It is never possible to know everything about a person,⁷⁷⁸ in particular not about subordinate persons, and the lack of good sources rather complicates than facilitates the tasks. The fact that the inclusion of subordinate persons leads the historian away from the formal level of laws, rules and hierarchies, to the informal level of coalitions, doctrines, and tactics, challenges the historians further. Which was the real responsibility, the weight, the authority, the influence of the person? Can we decode

Zimmermann. Munich: Karl Blessing Verlag, 2012, Pp. 879. Euro 34.95", in *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 105, No. 3 (July 2011), p. 622-625, here p. 622.

⁷⁷³ Monnier; Thuillier, *Le rôle des personnalités*, 2005, p. 272.

⁷⁷⁴ Monnier; Thuillier, *Le rôle des personnalités*, 2005, p. 278.

⁷⁷⁵ Monnier; Thuillier, *Le rôle des personnalités*, 2005, p. 277.

⁷⁷⁶ Monnier; Thuillier, *Le rôle des personnalités*, 2005, p. 269.

⁷⁷⁷ Monnier; Thuillier, *Le rôle des personnalités*, 2005, p. 279.

⁷⁷⁸ Monnier; Thuillier, *Le rôle des personnalités*, 2005, p. 278.

her logic, tactics, and strategy? Which aim did she want to achieve? Did she innovate anything? Did she publish? What did she intend with the publications? Who were her enemies? Which were her failures? Did she have collaborators who followed her doctrine? Was there a legend around her? Which was the function of this legend?⁷⁷⁹ In addition, some questions reveal the shady zones of a person: Which part in her administrative life was imagined? Which were the person's secrets, dreams, vanity and pride?⁷⁸⁰

Monnier's and Thuillier's reflections show first and foremost, that we move from the formal to the informal level when focusing subordinate people. On the informal level, not rules and laws dominate, but the "Macht des Faktischen" ("power of tradition"), personal affinities, friendship and animosity. It implies that we try to read between the lines, and to decipher what people did not say, but thought, or did not dare to do so.⁷⁸¹ Accordingly, this study focuses on the informal settings which eased or hindered the negotiations about the SVZ. In order to back up the behaviour of – in many cases – subordinate officials, "objective" data was collected and summarized in short biographies in the appendix. In contrast, the way the persons behave, acted and reacted on the events is shown in the text. Thus, we fit in with some current suggestions of the research on administrative elites,⁷⁸² although only some persons presented may be part of an "administrative elite" of Switzerland. Rebsamen, who is working on a project about Swiss elites in the 20th century, includes the general secretaries of all seven federal departments, the managers (directors, "directeurs") of the federal offices, the chancellors and vice-chancellors of the confederation as well as the management of the National Bank of Switzerland.⁷⁸³ Most of the time, the SVZ and its initiating associations were in contact with officials subordinated to these elite functions, although the managers or general secretaries sometimes appear in the sources.

International influence and national implementation

The international influence was a further characteristic feature in the development of the federal administration. The development of a national administration did,

⁷⁷⁹ All questions mentioned here according to Monnier; Thuillier, *Le rôle des personnalités*, 2005, p. 277.

⁷⁸⁰ Monnier; Thuillier, *Le rôle des personnalités*, 2005, p. 273.

⁷⁸¹ Monnier; Thuillier, *Le rôle des personnalités*, 2005, p. 273.

⁷⁸² Monnier; Thuillier, *Le rôle des personnalités*, 2005, p. 279.

⁷⁸³ Rebsamen, *Parachutés ou montagnards?*, 2011, p. 101.

obviously, not only busy Switzerland in the 19th century, but also most of the European countries. A certain exchange of experiences did therefore not astonish, although the practical implementation was shaped by national peculiarities. On the one hand, for instance, the BFS following the example set by the German model was attached to the EDI, while the French and English model would have suggested an attachment to the economic department.⁷⁸⁴ The fact that the office could, if necessary, call some experts, however, mirrored the French example.⁷⁸⁵ On the other hand, methods and working tools for the administration were exchanged and discussed on an international level: the "Congrès international de statistique", founded in Brussels in 1853 aimed at, albeit unsuccessfully, the standardization of national statistics (in order to reach an international one).⁷⁸⁶ Some of the Swiss jurists ideologically originated from the German "Staatswissenschaften",⁷⁸⁷ but adapted the German model on Switzerland in a Swiss style. In the case of tourism, the urge for a touristic-political institution on the national level based on a comparison with foreign countries, particularly France and the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Thus, a certain international experience seems to have influenced the creation and development of the Swiss federal administration, be it a federal office like the BFS, or be it an institution of private law with more or less loose relations to the federal administration like the SVZ (see chapter 4.2.2.3 *The motion of 1911*).

4.1.3 A short history of advertising and marketing

As chapter 4.2.3.1 *Motives* reveals, the scientific underpinning of tourism in Switzerland should help to improve the marketing of Switzerland. Both initiating associations, the SHV and the VSV, insisted on the necessity of a scientific underpinning of tourism. Why was the scientific, statistical work stressed so much? Why did the two associations want to improve their methods which they had hitherto applied?

Consciously or not, the SHV and the VSV made allusion to a new science which began around the turn of the century and became fully developed and applied in the USA in the 1920s: the science of selling, in today's words, marketing. Basing on the mecanization, urbanization, immigration and a strong economic increase,

⁷⁸⁴ Busset, Bureau fédéral de statistique, 1995, p. 16.

⁷⁸⁵ Busset, Bureau fédéral de statistique, 1995, p. 27.

⁷⁸⁶ Busset, Bureau fédéral de statistique, 1995, p. 11.

⁷⁸⁷ Busset, Bureau fédéral de statistique, 1995, p. 11.

which lead to a geographically enormous market and a middle class, the USA witnessed the take-off of the development towards a society of mass consumption at the end of the 19th century.⁷⁸⁸ In the course of the 20th century, when the mass production and consumption spread over the world, marketing developed from a means of selling ("Absatzinstrument"), into a management philosophy and, finally, into social engineering which serves the systematical influence of human behaviour, in order to link the world of production and the world of consumption.⁷⁸⁹ Its methods help to analyze and segment the market, to define customers and to position the own product in comparison to the competitors by differentiating the products according to the market segments.⁷⁹⁰ The development of marketing is mainly connoted with the Anglo-Saxon era, in particular the USA around the beginnings of the 20th century, although its periodization is disputed.⁷⁹¹ Yet, firms such as Suchard in Switzerland, Bayer and Hohner in Germany, Wedgewood in Great Britain or Bon Marché in France applied marketing methods prior to or around 1900, which resemble the marketing techniques which appeared in the USA in the 20th century, but most of the time the efforts in Europe were not called accordingly.⁷⁹² The firms' knowledge about their markets based on comments by their representatives, their customers and on the discussion of their sales statistics in the 19th century – in short: on empirical experience.⁷⁹³ At the same time, the North American firms earned money due to high margins but produced a relatively low volume of their products prior to the 1880s.⁷⁹⁴ Afterwards, basing on the production of mass products, the margins were low, but the produced volume had increased to a high level.⁷⁹⁵ Reaching the customers in a

⁷⁸⁸ Chessel, Marie-Emmanuelle, *Histoire de la consommation*, Paris: Éditions La Découverte, 2012, p. 21.

⁷⁸⁹ Berghoff, Hartmut, "Marketing im 20. Jahrhundert. Absatzinstrument – Managementphilosophie – universelle Sozialtechnik", in Berghoff, Hartmut (ed.), *Marketinggeschichte. Die Genese einer modernen Sozialtechnik*, Frankfurt/New York: Campus Verlag, 2007, p. 11-58, here p. 11-12.

⁷⁹⁰ Leimgruber, Matthieu, "Marketing", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2009, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D14187.php> (accessed 14.8.2012); Berghoff, Marketing im 20. Jahrhundert, 2007, p. 21.

⁷⁹¹ Berghoff, Hartmut; Scranton, Philip; Spiekermann, Uwe, "The Origins of Marketing and Market Research: Information, Institutions, and Markets", in Berghoff, Hartmut; Scranton, Philip; Spiekermann, Uwe (eds.), *The Rise of Marketing and Market Research*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, p. 1-26, here 2-3.

⁷⁹² Berghoff, Marketing im 20. Jahrhundert, 2007, p. 19-21, 24; Chessel, consommation, 2012, p. 15-18; Arvidsson, Adam, *Marketing Modernity. Italian advertising from Fascism to postmodernity*, London: Routledge, 2003, p. 46. For examples all over the world and in different periods, see the different contributions in Berghoff; Scranton; Spiekermann, Marketing and Market Research, 2012.

⁷⁹³ Berghoff, Marketing im 20. Jahrhundert, 2007, p. 20, 23, 36.

⁷⁹⁴ Tedlow, Richard S., *New and improved. The Story of Mass Marketing in America*, Boston: Harvard Business School Press, 1996, p. xxii.

⁷⁹⁵ Tedlow, New and improved, 1996, p. xxii.

mass market necessitated new ways of getting into contact with the customers. Additionally, marketing suggested itself with the production of mass products because there was no market for them. Instead, the market had to be created first: "Many of the consumer products [...] such as automobiles and household mechanical refrigerator, did not exist prior to the twentieth century. For these products especially, the firm had to organize and educate a mass market."⁷⁹⁶ For the organization of a market for mass products, the masses of customers could not be asked individually anymore. Rather, a systematic analysis was needed, so that a characteristic feature of marketing was its methodological approach. The establishment of marketing as a science followed soon, in the USA from the 1890s onwards.⁷⁹⁷ Thereby, the application of scientific methods was a novelty basing on the scientific management of enterprises according to Frederick Winslow Taylor (Taylorism).⁷⁹⁸ In Switzerland, these new methods and approaches were heavily absorbed in the 1920s and quickly lead to a professional handling of it in newly founded business institutes at colleges and universities (e.g. Zurich 1929).⁷⁹⁹ Recent research suggests, that marketing should not be reduced to industrial products, but enlarged on services as well. In Britain, "market and consumer research methods developed in the realm of state and public administration" in the Interwar Period.⁸⁰⁰ The similarity with the SVZ in Switzerland is interesting insofar as the British public bodies, governmental departments and quasi-autonomous nongovernmental organizations, a lot of which saw their ascent in the Interwar Period, heavily stressed the collection of data and the statistical analysis.⁸⁰¹

The implementation of marketing contributed to the turn of the Western industrial society into a consumer society. Although the term "consumer society" and its periodization are disputed, the researchers agree on the fact that it based on a relatively high purchasing power of the majority.⁸⁰² As a consequence, the American

⁷⁹⁶ Tedlow, New and improved, 1996, p. 6.

⁷⁹⁷ Berghoff, Marketing im 20. Jahrhundert, 2007, p. 37.

⁷⁹⁸ Fasel, Andreas, "Taylorismus", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2012, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D13883.php> (accessed 14.8.2012).

⁷⁹⁹ Leimgruber, Matthieu, "Management", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2009, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D14183.php> (accessed 14.8.2012).

⁸⁰⁰ Schwarzkopf, Stefan, "Markets, Consumers, and the State: The Uses of Market Research in Government and the Public Sector in Britain, 1925-1955", in Berghoff; Scranton; Spiekermann, Marketing and Market Research, 2012, p. 171-192, here 171.

⁸⁰¹ Schwarzkopf, Market Research in Government, 2012, p. 172, 175.

⁸⁰² Pfister, Christian, "Bilderwelt der Konsumgesellschaft. Werbung in ihrem ökonomischen und kulturellen Umfeld. Einleitung (1)", in Falco; Bär; Pfister, Bilder vom besseren Leben, 2002, p. 9-15, here 13; Chessel, consommation, 2012, p. 4.

and the European "model" of entering the state of a consumer society differ: While the Interwar Period saw the ascent of the consumer society in the USA, the mass consumption did not materialize in Europe prior to the end of the 1950s.⁸⁰³ The breakthrough of the European consumer society based on the relative reduction of the price of oil from the late 1950s onwards.⁸⁰⁴ For Switzerland, a visible and broad economic prosperity only appeared from the middle of the 1960s onwards!⁸⁰⁵ In France, "la hausse des dépenses de consommation des ménages français est quasi continue, de l'ordre de 3 % par an" between 1960 and 2010.⁸⁰⁶ Prior to the economic miracle, that is the late 1950s, the "overall poverty of Italian consumers" – see the missing purchasing power – prevented Italy from possessing "the prerequisites for becoming a consumer society where the function of marketing or advertising was comparable to the American case."⁸⁰⁷ In addition to these temporary differences to the USA, the European countries did not simply copy the marketing theories and knowledge developed in the USA, they sometimes developed own approaches.⁸⁰⁸ Yet, the education and the further training of European advertiser and business persons in the USA and their reception of the American marketing ideas cannot be denied.⁸⁰⁹ It makes clear, however, that the history of marketing is far from resulting in a "master narrative that permitted us to describe how modern marketing and market research developed over roughly the last 200 years."⁸¹⁰

The history of advertising goes back further in time. After advertising for books and medicine had started in the 17th century⁸¹¹ and the 18th century had witnessed

⁸⁰³ Chessel, consommation, 2012, p. 4.

⁸⁰⁴ Pfister, Christian, "Das '1950er Syndrom' – die umweltgeschichtliche Epochenschwelle zwischen Industriegesellschaft und Konsumgesellschaft", in Pfister, Christian (ed.), *Das 1950er Syndrom. Der Weg in die Konsumgesellschaft*, 2., unveränderte Auflage, Bern: Verlag Paul Haupt, 1995, p. 51-95, here 69.

⁸⁰⁵ Brändli, Sibylle, *Der Supermarkt im Kopf. Konsumkultur und Wohlstand in der Schweiz nach 1945*, Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2000, p. 12.

⁸⁰⁶ INSEE (Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques), *Cinquante Ans de consommation en France*, Paris: INSEE, 2009, cited in Chessel, consommation, 2012, p. 4.

⁸⁰⁷ Arvidsson, Italian advertising, 2003, p. 8, 43.

⁸⁰⁸ Berghoff, Marketing im 20. Jahrhundert, 2007, p. 32; Chessel, consommation, 2012, p. 24, 48.

⁸⁰⁹ Chessel, consommation, 2012, p. 45-55.

⁸¹⁰ Berghoff/Scranton/Spiekermann, *Origins of Marketing and Market Research*, 2012, p. 2. On the importance of marketing in the (modern) enterprise, see: Church, Roy; Godley, Andrew, "The Emergence Of Modern Marketing: International Dimensions", in *Business History*, Vol. 45, No. 1, 2003, p. 1-5, here 2, DOI: 10.1080/713999301; Rossfeld, Roman, "Unternehmensgeschichte als Marketinggeschichte. Zu einer Erweiterung traditioneller Ansätze in der Unternehmensgeschichtsschreibung", in Kleinschmidt, Christian; Triebel, Florian (ed.), *Marketing. Historische Aspekte der Wettbewerbs- und Absatzpolitik*, Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2004, p. 17-39.

⁸¹¹ Altorfer, Stefan, "Werbung", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2011, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D14058.php> (accessed 13.8.2012).

hostilities against and prohibition of advertising practices,⁸¹² a respectable advertising activity unleashed in the late 19th century with the transition from an industrial to a consumer society in Europe.⁸¹³ As a notable purchasing power was not widespread in Europe in the Interwar Period, advertising rather set the trend for a small, wealthy middle- and upper class in this time.⁸¹⁴ During the transition to a consumer society, the means of advertising changed: from the newspaper advertisement and advertising columns in the 1850s, shop windows and advertisements (announcements) in the 1870s, the object posters around the turn of the century, advertisement (announcement) series und commercial art in the 1920s, advertising films and neon signs in the 1930s, to the radios and televisions after the Second World War.⁸¹⁵ As there already exists a well-developed field of research about the history of advertising which cannot be summarized in this study, we content ourselves with noting that the initiating associations wanted to adapt to the contemporary trends in advertising. The scientific methods applied more and more for the management of (industrial) enterprises served as a point of reference and should be the key for an efficient marketing of Switzerland in the world. Thereby, it is noteworthy, that the initiating associations considered a state institution to be the best solution for this!

4.2 The preparation stage

4.2.1 First, unsuccessful attempts?

The first attempts for a Swiss NTO fell in this time period of increasing key data and first signs of crisis that is in the years between 1900 and 1910. Or rather: seemingly fall. The crux with these first attempts is that they cannot be fully proven by means of the sources.

The first indication stems from a liable source: According to an overview about the history of organizations which had promoted Switzerland abroad until 1929, the

⁸¹² Borscheid, Peter, "Am Anfang war das Wort. Die Wirtschaftswerbung beginnt mit der Zeitungsannonce", in Borscheid, Peter; Wischermann, Clemens (ed.), *Bilderwelt des Alltags. Werbung in der Konsumgesellschaft des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts. Festschrift für Hans Jürgen Teuteberg*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1995, p. 20-43, here 21.

⁸¹³ Altorfer, Werbung, 2011.

⁸¹⁴ Pfister, *Bilderwelt der Konsumgesellschaft*, 2002, p. 13.

⁸¹⁵ Reinhardt, Dirk, "Vom Intelligenzblatt zum Satellitenfernsehen: Stufen der Werbung als Stufen der Gesellschaft", in Borscheid, Peter; Wischermann, Clemens (ed.), *Bilderwelt des Alltags. Werbung in der Konsumgesellschaft des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts. Festschrift für Hans Jürgen Teuteberg*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1995, p. 44-63, here 44-58.

VSV had thought about incorporating the Publizitätsdienst der SBB in their permanent secretary which the society was about to establish in 1902 and 1903. The Bernese section of the VSV had also proposed to create a "Office centrale du tourisme et de l'industrie hôtelière", so that the hoteliers' association, the SHV, took the same line when calling for a mutual project for a "Bureau général suisse de tourisme" in 1905. Then, the VSV had supported the submission of the "Motion Seiler" after 1911.⁸¹⁶

The second indication could not be verified. According to Seger, the National Councilor Alexander Seiler should have submitted a motion with exactly the same wording as the motion of 1911 on 6th April 1906.⁸¹⁷ This motion, however, could not be found, neither in the Federal Assembly's Official Gazette of 1906 or 1907,⁸¹⁸ nor in the one of 1911 when Seiler's and Emery's motion was discussed,⁸¹⁹ nor in the Federal Council's message to the parliament of 1917 which summarized the different attempts affecting the federal administration in one way or the other.⁸²⁰ This may, however, be based on the fact, that from 1891 until 1921, only debates in the plenary meetings about decrees, which had to be decided in a referendum, were written down word for word and published.⁸²¹ The question, when the first motion calling for a NTO was submitted, must therefore be answered with 1911.

4.2.2 Tight collaboration between private organizations and the federal administration (1911)

On 4th April 1911, the National Councilors Alexander Seiler (1864-1920)⁸²² and Alexandre Emery (1850-1931)⁸²³ submitted a motion concerning the foundation of a

⁸¹⁶ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_004_01, 1927-1931: "RATIONALISATION ET UNIFICATION DE LA PROPAGANDE EN FAVEUR DU MOUVEMENT DES ETRANGERS EN SUISSE", document attached to Junod's letter [to the members of the Zentralkommission], Zürich, 17.9.1929, p. 1.

⁸¹⁷ Seger, *Administratives zu Plakativen*, 1997, p. 44.

⁸¹⁸ *Amtliches stenographisches Bulletin der schweizerischen Bundesversammlung, Nationalrat*, Jg. XVI, Bern: Buchdruckerei H. Jent, 1906; *Amtliches stenographisches Bulletin der schweizerischen Bundesversammlung*, Jg. XVII, Bern: Buchdruckerei H. Jent, 1907.

⁸¹⁹ "Motion von Herrn Nationalrat Seiler und Mitunterzeichnern, vom 4. April 1911", in *Amtliches stenographisches Bulletin der schweizerischen Bundesversammlung, Nationalrat*, Freitag, 6. Oktober 1911, Jg. XXI, Bern: Schweizerische Bundeskanzlei, 1911, p. 319-325.

⁸²⁰ "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung betreffend die Beteiligung des Bundes an der Errichtung eines Schweizerischen Verkehrsamtes. (Vom 16. März 1917.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 12, 1917, p. 375-404,

⁸²¹ Comment, François, *Ein Blick in die Geschichte des Amtlichen Bulletins von 1848 bis heute*, Bern: Parlamentsdienste, Dienst für das Amtliche Bulletin der Bundesversammlung, 2001, p. 2, online: URL: http://www.parlament.ch/dL/D/aml_Bulletin/geschichte_AB.htm (accessed 21.12.2012).

⁸²² Truffer, Bernard, "Seiler, Alexander", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2011, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D4133.php> (accessed 21.1.2013).

Swiss touristic-political institution in the National Council. Both of them were influential business persons and representatives of interest groups, namely of the SHV and of the VSV. With reference to the development of the federal administration, the initiative of these two interest associations deserves mention in two respects.

Firstly, the initiative for a Swiss NTO was of private nature. It thereby mirrored a development which had coined the establishment of national statistical offices, for instance (see chapter 4.1.2.3 *Further characteristics of the federal administration*). Thus, the Swiss NTO made a same experience as a part of the federal administration, in particular the Federal Office of Statistics.

Secondly, with their motion for a Swiss NTO, the VSV and the SHV called for state support, as the industry, the agriculture and the trade had done prior to 1900: establishing a central lobbying organization at the national level, see an interest association (see chapter 4.1.2.2 *The Swiss system of interest associations, cartelization, state interference*). It is here that the delay in comparison with those economic sectors becomes apparent. All the more, it is interesting to note, that in 1911, the Swiss hotel industry felt the first negative signs (see chapter 4.1.1 *The economic development in Switzerland prior to and in the First World War*). We stress this, because the foundations of – or the initiatives for – the SHV, SBV, and SGV also fell in times of crisis (see chapter 4.1.2.2 *The Swiss system of interest associations, cartelization, state interference*), so that another similarity between Swiss interest associations and the future SVZ is proven.

4.2.2.1 The Schweizerischer Hotelier-Verein (SHV)

Founded in 1882 in order to make visible the hospitality industry at the national exhibition in Zürich of 1883,⁸²⁴ the SHV quickly developed from a professional association into the hoteliers' lobby organization.⁸²⁵ It united the hotels in the medium and high price segments and considered itself as the representative of a qualitatively high hospitality industry mostly destined at foreigners.⁸²⁶ However, it never covered the whole Swiss hospitality industry, neither in terms of the number of hotels being a

⁸²³ Marion, Gilbert, "Emery, Alexandre", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2005, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D4316.php> (accessed 25.04.2008).

⁸²⁴ Krapf, 75 Jare Schweizer Hotelier-Verein, 1957, p. 5.

⁸²⁵ Krapf, 75 Jare Schweizer Hotelier-Verein, 1957, p. 5, 11.

⁸²⁶ Schumacher, Krise, 1997, p. 84.

member nor in terms of beds offered.⁸²⁷ After the First World War, in which the prices had collapsed, the SHV aimed at securing the quality by controlling the prices among the hoteliers.⁸²⁸ The association had been heavily engaged in the education of hotel employees – one of his members founded the Ecole hôtelière de Lausanne, the first college for hospitality education in the world⁸²⁹ –, as well as in the social policies of the hotels (e.g. collective agreements with the unions⁸³⁰) and has published the *Hotel-Revue* ever since.⁸³¹ Although Degen does not call the SHV a peak association,⁸³² the SHV has been the hospitality industry's lobby organization since 1882.

4.2.2.2 The Verband Schweizerischer Verkehrsvereine (VSV)

In 1893,⁸³³ the VSV was founded in order to boost the general questions of transport and tourism as well as its members' interest and to unite the LTOs in their contact with the foreign countries, the domestic population, the administrations, organs and transport companies.⁸³⁴ These aims were put into practice pragmatically as the VSV contacted the Swiss railway companies in order to improve the transport of sick persons, the sanitary infrastructure in the coaches as well as at the stations, the selling of tickets and the customs clearance in its first years of existence.⁸³⁵ The VSV existed until 1928 when he was transferred into the "Verband Schweizerischer Kur- und Verkehrsdirektoren (VSKVD)", which was relabeled into Verband Schweizer Tourismusmanager (VSTM) in 2003.⁸³⁶ It functioned as a professional association, which, however, never developed any union-like activities.⁸³⁷ Advertising figured among the main activities of the VSV in the beginning as the association collected the advertising of the different LTOs and sent the materials to Swiss embassies, consulates, foreign NTOs and LTOs, and to the associations of Swiss citizens abroad

⁸²⁷ Schumacher, *Krise*, 1997, p. 84.

⁸²⁸ Schumacher, *Krise*, 1997, p. 84; Streiff, *Preisnormierung*, 1957, p. 22-27.

⁸²⁹ Ecole hôtelière de Lausanne, *History*, 2013, URL: <http://www.ehl.edu/eng/About-us/Overview> (accessed 4.11.2014).

⁸³⁰ Budliger, Max, "Nachwuchs, Personalfragen und Sozialpolitik", in [Schweizer Hotelier-Verein] (ed.), *75 Jahre. Jubiläum Schweizer Hotelier-Verein. Geschäfts-Bericht 1956*, Basel: Boehm & Co., 1957, p. 36-39, here 37.

⁸³¹ Pfister, *Hotel-Revue*, 1957, p. 57-64.

⁸³² Degen, *Verbände*, 2012.

⁸³³ Rathgeb, *Die Schweiz als Ferienland*, 1993, p. 28.

⁸³⁴ Rathgeb, *Die Schweiz als Ferienland*, 1993, p. 28.

⁸³⁵ Rathgeb, *Die Schweiz als Ferienland*, 1993, p. 28.

⁸³⁶ Verband Schweizer Tourismusmanager, *Geschichte*, [s.d.], URL: <http://www.vstm.ch/verbandsportrait.html> (accessed 4.11.2014).

⁸³⁷ Verband Schweizer Tourismusmanager, *Geschichte*, [s.d.].

("Schweizer-Vereine im Ausland").⁸³⁸ The establishment of the SVZ made this activity unnecessary so that the VSV drifted into unimportance after 1917.⁸³⁹

Although the VSV was hardly a lobby organization, it published its opinion on chosen political questions.⁸⁴⁰

4.2.2.3 The motion of 1911

The motion⁸⁴¹ which Emery and Seiler submitted in 1911 asked for the following:

"Der Bundesrat wird eingeladen, die Errichtung einer Zentralstelle behufs Förderung des Fremdenverkehrs in der Schweiz zu prüfen und hierüber Bericht und Antrag zu stellen."⁸⁴²

When Seiler and Emery presented their motion in the National Council in October 1911, they put a lot of energy into justifying their demand. Basically, they put their demand down to four reasons: Firstly, according to Seiler, Switzerland had to fight different forms of competition. He identified, on the one hand, an increasing competition with foreign countries, particularly the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and France, and on the other hand, heavy domestic competitions among the Swiss transport companies and hotels.⁸⁴³ As chapter 2.1 *Overview* has shown, this international pressure was obvious with the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and France having founded a NTO in 1908 and 1910 respectively. Secondly, the Swiss hotel industry and the Swiss transport sector faced decreasing returns on investments, although the amount of the value invested steadily grew.⁸⁴⁴ Thirdly, the traditional marketing efforts made in Switzerland, in particular those by the Publizitätsdienst der SBB, did not satisfy because the SBB did not make available enough money for all

⁸³⁸ Lehmann, Gedenkschrift, 1918, p. 49-50.

⁸³⁹ Hunziker, Fremdenverkehr, 1939, p. 41.

⁸⁴⁰ See, for instance, Verband Schweizerischer Verkehrsvereine, *Memorial an das Schweizerische Justiz- und Polizeidepartement eingereicht vom Verband Schweizerischer Verkehrsvereine betreffend Gesetzgebung über den Automobilverkehr in der Schweiz*, Luzern: [s.n.], 1916.

⁸⁴¹ A "motion" ("Motion") is one of four possibilities for Swiss parliamentarians to make their matters a subject of discussion in the parliament. The others are: Postulate, Interpellation and Question.

⁸⁴² "Motion von Herrn Nationalrat Seiler und Mitunterzeichnern, vom 4. April 1911", in *Amtliches stenographisches Bulletin der schweizerischen Bundesversammlung, Nationalrat*, Freitag, 6. Oktober 1911, Jg. XXI, Bern: Schweizerische Bundeskanzlei, 1911, p. 319.

⁸⁴³ "Motion von Herrn Nationalrat Seiler und Mitunterzeichnern, vom 4. April 1911", in *Amtliches stenographisches Bulletin der schweizerischen Bundesversammlung, Nationalrat*, Freitag, 6. Oktober 1911, Jg. XXI, Bern: Schweizerische Bundeskanzlei, 1911, p. 320-322.

⁸⁴⁴ "Motion von Herrn Nationalrat Seiler und Mitunterzeichnern, vom 4. April 1911", in *Amtliches stenographisches Bulletin der schweizerischen Bundesversammlung, Nationalrat*, Freitag, 6. Oktober 1911, Jg. XXI, Bern: Schweizerische Bundeskanzlei, 1911, p. 320.

tasks and did not employ enough human resources.⁸⁴⁵ Fourthly, tourism implied a vivid importance for other economic sectors like the construction industry, furniture industry, food industry, machine industry and, mainly, agriculture.⁸⁴⁶ Given these reasons, Seiler concluded that it would only be fair if the state took notice of tourism and did not show less commitment than the foreign countries in his care for tourism.⁸⁴⁷

Meanwhile, Seiler's and Emery's ideas about the legal form of the NTO remained unspecified in some respects. What exactly did they have in mind? According to their speech in the National Council, they envisaged a center which was not part of, but still in close contact with the federal administration, since one of the most important tasks – Seiler mentioned it as the first one –, should be to get in contact with different departments of the federal administration and with the cantons in order to protect tourism's interests in relevant decrees.⁸⁴⁸ Thereby, the interest groups and what they had created so far should be included.⁸⁴⁹ What he meant with "what they had created so far" was not specified. From an organizational perspective, they proposed a board of directors or a "Fremdenverkehrskommission" (Committee for tourism) which would consist of 21 to 25 members representing the Federal Council, the federal administration, the SBB, the private transport companies, the LTOs, the hoteliers, the Alpine Club and the trade- and industry association.⁸⁵⁰ A leading committee of five to seven members and a general secretary would support this board of directors which should accomplish the following tasks:

⁸⁴⁵ "Motion von Herrn Nationalrat Seiler und Mitunterzeichnern, vom 4. April 1911", in *Amtliches stenographisches Bulletin der schweizerischen Bundesversammlung, Nationalrat*, Freitag, 6. Oktober 1911, Jg. XXI, Bern: Schweizerische Bundeskanzlei, 1911, p. 320-321.

⁸⁴⁶ "Motion von Herrn Nationalrat Seiler und Mitunterzeichnern, vom 4. April 1911", in *Amtliches stenographisches Bulletin der schweizerischen Bundesversammlung, Nationalrat*, Freitag, 6. Oktober 1911, Jg. XXI, Bern: Schweizerische Bundeskanzlei, 1911, p. 321.

⁸⁴⁷ "Motion von Herrn Nationalrat Seiler und Mitunterzeichnern, vom 4. April 1911", in *Amtliches stenographisches Bulletin der schweizerischen Bundesversammlung, Nationalrat*, Freitag, 6. Oktober 1911, Jg. XXI, Bern: Schweizerische Bundeskanzlei, 1911, p. 321.

⁸⁴⁸ "Motion von Herrn Nationalrat Seiler und Mitunterzeichnern, vom 4. April 1911", in *Amtliches stenographisches Bulletin der schweizerischen Bundesversammlung, Nationalrat*, Freitag, 6. Oktober 1911, Jg. XXI, Bern: Schweizerische Bundeskanzlei, 1911, p. 322.

⁸⁴⁹ "Motion von Herrn Nationalrat Seiler und Mitunterzeichnern, vom 4. April 1911", in *Amtliches stenographisches Bulletin der schweizerischen Bundesversammlung, Nationalrat*, Freitag, 6. Oktober 1911, Jg. XXI, Bern: Schweizerische Bundeskanzlei, 1911, p. 322.

⁸⁵⁰ "Motion von Herrn Nationalrat Seiler und Mitunterzeichnern, vom 4. April 1911", in *Amtliches stenographisches Bulletin der schweizerischen Bundesversammlung, Nationalrat*, Freitag, 6. Oktober 1911, Jg. XXI, Bern: Schweizerische Bundeskanzlei, 1911, p. 322.

1. Getting in contact with different departments of the federal administration and the cantons, in order to protect tourism's interests in relevant decrees.
2. Collection of executive orders and laws concerning economics and literature concerning Switzerland from Switzerland and abroad.
3. Study and treatment of the national economic base and tourism's implication for the balance of trade.
4. Organization and standardization of the advertising abroad through the concentration of all means currently split up.
5. Organization of international events.
6. Organization of the Swiss tourist offices and agencies abroad.
7. Study and treatment of the question of the automobile.⁸⁵¹

Given these ideas, Emery stressed the fact that he and Seiler did not want the NTO to compete the existing organizations, in particular the Publizitätsdienst der SBB, the SHV, and the LTOs, but to help them by centralizing their efforts.⁸⁵² The explicit mentioning of the "question of the automobile" (see chapter 5.1.3 *Transport: the automobilists' conquest of the public*), however, made allusion to the fact that the NTO also should take care about a means of transport other than the railways. Yet, for the time being, the Federal Councilor who finally accepted the motion, Josef Anton Schobinger (1849-1911),⁸⁵³ hint that he agreed on the idea of a center in loose contact with the administration and parallel to the Publizitätsdienst der SBB.⁸⁵⁴

While the height of the federal subsidy for the center as well as the financial engagement of the other envisaged members remained open, the line between the state and the private sphere allowed much room for manoeuvre. Put differently, there was room for the administration to make proposals. Accordingly, the motion, which came to be known as "Motion Seiler", triggered off preparatory work inside the EDI.

⁸⁵¹ "Motion von Herrn Nationalrat Seiler und Mitunterzeichnern, vom 4. April 1911", in *Amtliches stenographisches Bulletin der schweizerischen Bundesversammlung, Nationalrat*, Freitag, 6. Oktober 1911, Jg. XXI, Bern: Schweizerische Bundeskanzlei, 1911, p. 322-323.

⁸⁵² "Motion von Herrn Nationalrat Seiler und Mitunterzeichnern, vom 4. April 1911", in *Amtliches stenographisches Bulletin der schweizerischen Bundesversammlung, Nationalrat*, Freitag, 6. Oktober 1911, Jg. XXI, Bern: Schweizerische Bundeskanzlei, 1911, p. 323.

⁸⁵³ Steiner, Alois, "Schobinger, Josef Anton", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2011, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D4200.php> (accessed 21.12.2012).

⁸⁵⁴ "Motion von Herrn Nationalrat Seiler und Mitunterzeichnern, vom 4. April 1911", in *Amtliches stenographisches Bulletin der schweizerischen Bundesversammlung, Nationalrat*, Freitag, 6. Oktober 1911, Jg. XXI, Bern: Schweizerische Bundeskanzlei, 1911, p. 325.

Shortly after the submission, the EDI asked the general management of the SBB about their opinion on the envisaged NTO. The general management of the SBB answered on 2nd June 1911: Since the motion did not specify the legal form of the planned NTO, the general management of the SBB supposed that a new institution inside the federal administration should be created which would not make sense in the face of the Publizitätsdienst der SBB.⁸⁵⁵ Rather, the expenditures dedicated to the planned NTO should be given to the Publizitätsdienst der SBB, because this was already a part of the federal administration.⁸⁵⁶ Finally, the SBB played the decisive trump card: On the one hand, they already disposed of agencies in London, Paris and New York, and on the other hand, these agencies sold tickets for about 98 million Swiss Francs (of 2009).⁸⁵⁷ Both facts were real assets which the SBB were not willing to relinquish easily.

4.2.3 First draft of the articles of association: motives and propositions (1913)

With this statement in mind, the EDI asked the SHV and the VSV to work out a first draft of the articles of association which the two associations elaborated, explained and gave reasons for in a corresponding memorandum on 11th October 1913. The memorandum envisioned an institution called "Schweizerisches Verkehrsamt" (Swiss Traffic Department). The term "Amt" made allusion to the federal administration because the federal departments were and still are subdivided in "Ämter" (Departments), that is "Bundesämter" (Federal Departments) (e.g. "Bundesamt für Statistik"), or state secretaries (e.g. "Staatssekretariat für Wirtschaft", in English "State Secretariat for Economic Affairs SECO"). All the preparations for a Swiss NTO in the following years were summarized under the notion "Verkehrsamt" (Traffic Department). Accordingly, this term will be used in correspondence with the sources. With the works on the content of the articles of association, the title and the name of the NTO changed, which this study will adapt to.

⁸⁵⁵ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/86, 13, 1914-1955: "PROCES-VERBAL de la conférence tenue le 9 mars 1914, à Berne pour l'OFFICE SUISSE DU TOURISME", by Contat, secretary of the EDI, [Berne], 9.3.1914, p. 3.

⁸⁵⁶ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/86, 13, 1914-1955: "PROCES-VERBAL de la conférence tenue le 9 mars 1914, à Berne pour l'OFFICE SUISSE DU TOURISME", by Contat, secretary of the EDI, [Berne], 9.3.1914, p. 3.

⁸⁵⁷ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/86, 13, 1914-1955: "PROCES-VERBAL de la conférence tenue le 9 mars 1914, à Berne pour l'OFFICE SUISSE DU TOURISME", by Contat, secretary of the EDI, [Berne], 9.3.1914, p. 3. According to Pfister; Studer, Swistoval, [s.d.] (accessed 10.3.2015), three million Swiss Francs in 1914 equaled roughly 98 million Swiss Francs in 2009 (deflator: historical wage index).

4.2.3.1 Motives

On the first three pages, the memorandum revealed the two signing associations' motives for the proposed "Verkehrsamt". First and foremost, they hoped that the "Verkehrsamt" would unite and boost interests which could be found in all parts of the country but which were not equally distributed among them. In short: A NTO should ease the domestic competition between the different regions in the country, all the more as the confederation was considered to be the only unifier ("Einiger").⁸⁵⁸ The term "Patronat der Eidgenossenschaft"⁸⁵⁹ (the confederation's patronage) was obviously to be taken literally. The Swiss nation state should not only financially contribute to the "Verkehrsamt", but also operate and mediate as a patron. Secondly, an intervention by the confederation was needed because the tourism industry in Switzerland was, according to the signing associations, threatened in many ways.⁸⁶⁰ This threat was a national cause as no other business, except agriculture, comprised an equally huge part of the national asset ("Nationalvermögen") and played a decisive role for the well-being of the SBB.⁸⁶¹ The comparison with other economic sectors was developed, thirdly, insofar as all other economic factors of the country would be supported: industry and agriculture would profit from the services and the research of schools, high schools and universities, while the hotel industry did not witness any successful support.⁸⁶² As the conclusive evidence for the dangerous situation the hotel industry found itself in, the memorandum offered the simple fact that there did not exist any literature on the hotel industry.⁸⁶³

The lack of scientific literature about the Swiss hotel industry (and tourism in Switzerland in general) is, in fact, the decisive, original reason for the establishment

⁸⁵⁸ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 67, 1913-1967: "MEMORIAL und STATUTEN des Schweizerischen Verkehrsamtes", by Ducloux, president, and Lehmann, secretary of the VSV, as well as Hauser, president, and Stigeler, secretary, of the SHV, Luzern, Basel, 11.10.1913, p. 1.

⁸⁵⁹ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 67, 1913-1967: "MEMORIAL und STATUTEN des Schweizerischen Verkehrsamtes", by Ducloux, president, and Lehmann, secretary of the VSV, as well as Hauser, president, and Stigeler, secretary, of the SHV, Luzern, Basel, 11.10.1913, p. 1.

⁸⁶⁰ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 67, 1913-1967: "MEMORIAL und STATUTEN des Schweizerischen Verkehrsamtes", by Ducloux, president, and Lehmann, secretary of the VSV, as well as Hauser, president, and Stigeler, secretary, of the SHV, Luzern, Basel, 11.10.1913, p. 1-2.

⁸⁶¹ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 67, 1913-1967: "MEMORIAL und STATUTEN des Schweizerischen Verkehrsamtes", by Ducloux, president, and Lehmann, secretary of the VSV, as well as Hauser, president, and Stigeler, secretary, of the SHV, Luzern, Basel, 11.10.1913, p. 2.

⁸⁶² BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 67, 1913-1967: "MEMORIAL und STATUTEN des Schweizerischen Verkehrsamtes", by Ducloux, president, and Lehmann, secretary of the VSV, as well as Hauser, president, and Stigeler, secretary, of the SHV, Luzern, Basel, 11.10.1913, p. 2.

⁸⁶³ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 67, 1913-1967: "MEMORIAL und STATUTEN des Schweizerischen Verkehrsamtes", by Ducloux, president, and Lehmann, secretary of the VSV, as well as Hauser, president, and Stigeler, secretary, of the SHV, Luzern, Basel, 11.10.1913, p. 2.

of a Swiss NTO. It is striking that the memorandum did not foresee the expansion of the advertising as the first and foremost task of the "Verkehrsamt", but the *scientific underpinning of tourism*, in particular the hotel industry.⁸⁶⁴ Accordingly, the NTO's first tasks should be statistical-economic works, in particular the study and handling of the scientific basis of those industries which tourism rely upon and of those factors relevant to traffic.⁸⁶⁵ Moreover, the reorganization of the advertising and the professional consulting should only be tackled when the lack of scientific literature about the Swiss hotel and tourism industry would be undone:

Diese Lücken zu füllen, wird die erste Aufgabe des Schweiz. Verkehrsamtes sein und erst auf dem so gewonnenen Boden tiefer und sicherer Erkenntnis, die eine ausserordentliche Ueberlegenheit geben wird, werden die Verkehrskommissäre (§ 21 des Statutenentwurfs) daran gehen können, schöpferische Aufgaben in einer der heutigen Praxis *überlegenen* Weise zu lösen; erst dann wird von einer Reorganisation der Reklame, von einer Beratung der Berufsstände die Rede sein können.⁸⁶⁶ (In italics according to the memorandum)

This citation gives reason to the question why the scientific underpinning of tourism should be the first and foremost task of the "Verkehrsamt". It would allow the responsables to reach an extraordinary superiority in solving creative tasks and thereby, their working methods would be superior to the traditional ones. What did this attitude imply? The Swiss touristic scene thereby took up the new technique of marketing which revolutionized selling in the USA at that time and which was – albeit sometimes critically⁸⁶⁷ – absorbed in Europe (see chapter 4.1.3 *A short history of advertising and marketing*). With this predominance of the scientific method, the motivation for a Swiss NTO was not singular. Rather, the reasons resembled those for the French and Italian NTOs or the LTO of Lucerne.⁸⁶⁸ In the case of France, one

⁸⁶⁴ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 67, 1913-1967: "MEMORIAL und STATUTEN des Schweizerischen Verkehrsamtes", by Ducloux, president, and Lehmann, secretary of the VSV, as well as Hauser, president, and Stigeler, secretary, of the SHV, Luzern, Basel, 11.10.1913, p. 4.

⁸⁶⁵ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 67, 1913-1967: "MEMORIAL und STATUTEN des Schweizerischen Verkehrsamtes", by Ducloux, president, and Lehmann, secretary of the VSV, as well as Hauser, president, and Stigeler, secretary, of the SHV, Luzern, Basel, 11.10.1913, p. 13.

⁸⁶⁶ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 67, 1913-1967: "MEMORIAL und STATUTEN des Schweizerischen Verkehrsamtes", by Ducloux, president, and Lehmann, secretary of the VSV, as well as Hauser, president, and Stigeler, secretary, of the SHV, Luzern, Basel, 11.10.1913, p. 4.

⁸⁶⁷ Berghoff, *Marketing im 20. Jahrhundert*, 2007, p. 35.

⁸⁶⁸ Huber, Paul, *Luzern wird Fremdenstadt. Veränderungen der städtischen Wirtschaftsstruktur. 1850-1914*, Luzern: Kommissionsverlag Keller & Co AG, 1986, p. 207; Larique, *débuts et déboires*, 2007, p. 76-77. In the Italian case, the scientific underpinning of tourism can at least be guessed, as the main tasks of the ENIT were a efficient coordination of the touristic sector and the promotion of Italy abroad, according to Visentin, *Per una storia dei viaggi organizzati*, 2002, p. 90.

of the first tasks to be fulfilled by the NTO was to conduct a survey on the touristic destinations of France and to define the hotel industry's financial need.⁸⁶⁹ Obviously, Switzerland and France considered it important to be at the top of the latest trends in business and marketing. How did Switzerland apply this insight in practice?

4.2.3.2 Propositions⁸⁷⁰

The exact wording of the first draft was accompanied by the memorandum which summarized it and revealed the motives for the proposed solutions. The draft gave a legal form to what Seiler and Emery had outlined in the National Council. Basically, the draft of the articles of association proposed a non-profit association according to Civil Code, article 60. This association, called "Schweiz. Verkehrsamt, Office Suisse du Tourisme, Ufficio Svizzero del Turismo", would have the only specific aim of maintaining a permanent organization which would boost the interests of the Swiss traffic (article 1). Swiss nationals, corporations under private or public law in Switzerland or founded by Swiss nationals in foreign countries were allowed to become a member (article 2) who were obliged to pay an annual contribution of some 33'000 Swiss Francs (of 2009) (article 5).⁸⁷¹ It is noteworthy that the confederation was, in this first version of the articles of association, considered to become a normal member of the association! The association's organs would be: the general assembly, a traffic council ("Verkehrskollegium"), the management, and the "Verkehrsamt" (article 6). A contribution of some 33'000 Swiss Francs (of 2009) entitled the members to one vote at the general assembly (article 9). The confederation's and the federal enterprises' votes, however, were limited to some 20 delegates and to one third of all rights to vote (article 10). The "Schweizerische Verkehrskollegium" ("traffic council") would consist of 21 to 25 members, elected for a period of three years and eligible unlimitedly (article 12). The confederation was about to designate six delegates freely and four delegates from the Swiss universities, the Swiss Alpine Club, the "Bund Schweizerischer Architekten"⁸⁷² and the Swiss chamber of commerce (article 13). The rest should be elected by the

⁸⁶⁹ Larique, *débuts et déboires*, 2007, p. 76-77.

⁸⁷⁰ If not indicated otherwise, this section about the exact content of the first draft of the articles of association relate to: BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 67, 1913-1967: "MEMORIAL und STATUTEN des Schweizerischen Verkehrsamtes", by Ducloux, president, and Lehmann, secretary of the VSV, as well as Hauser, president, and Stigeler, secretary, of the SHV, Luzern, Basel, 11.10.1913, p. 9-15.

⁸⁷¹ According to Pfister; Studer, Swistoval, [s.d.] (accessed 9.9.2015), 1'000 Swiss Francs in 1913 equalled roughly some 33'000 Swiss Francs in 2009 (deflator: historical wage index).

⁸⁷² Translated in the general sense: Association of Swiss Architects.

general assembly (article 13). This traffic council functioned like the legislative power as its tasks encompassed the election of the management and the commissioners of the "Verkehrsamt", the fixing of the budget, the regulations and the work schedule of the year as well as the decision about the acceptance and exclusion of some members (article 14). It is this organ which was given the task of formulating or approving expert's reports on questions relevant to traffic (article 15).

The management, elected out of the traffic council's midst, was considered to be responsible for the external affairs, the lead of the "Verkehrsamt", the internal activities and the organization and preparation of the meetings of the traffic council and the general assembly (article 18). It functioned as the executive organ which, however, would work daily for the "Verkehrsamt".

The "Verkehrsamt" finally would consist of commissioners and correspondents (article 13). While the commissioners, as authorized agents, should lead the economic-statistical and the practical bureau (article 21 and 22), the correspondents, located in all important places in the world as well as in Switzerland, were considered to inform the commissioners in all questions relevant to traffic, and to get in contact personally in case of their – temporary or permanent – return to Switzerland (article 24). Obviously, a net of correspondents should be built all over the world, feeding the Swiss NTO with useful information about the prospective guests. Information seemed to be the predominant purpose of the "Verkehrsamt". The list with the tasks of the commissioners named the following: In the economic-statistical bureau:

- Study and treatment of the national economic base of the industries and all other factors relevant to tourism.
- Bibliography: Collection of literature on tourism and construction of a sample collection of leaflets, brochures, advertisements, as well as of executive orders and laws concerning traffic (tourism).
- Formulation of an annual report on the development of traffic and tourism and their feeding industries.

In the practical bureau:

- Standardization of the advertising abroad through the concentration of the financial means split up.
- Good design of the advertising with respect to the external form and the texts.
- Organization of Swiss tourist offices and agencies abroad.

- Preparation and drafts of legal decrees and executive orders which relate to traffic.
- Giving information to Swiss transport companies, hotel owners etc., similar to the Swiss chamber of commerce.
- Conducting of fusion and founding projects in the fields of railways, common infrastructure, roads, etc. (article 23).

In contrast to Seiler's and Emery's speech in the National Council, the task "Standardization of the advertising abroad" came in first for the practical bureau. The organization of Swiss tourism offices and agencies abroad, however, remained on the third place. This makes clear, that the institutional arrangement of tourism advertising in Switzerland, which came to dominate the following decades, were not intended to be of considerable importance. Rather, a homogeneous outlook which was worth of its costs was envisaged.

In a special section, the draft of the articles of association defined the relationship between the association and the Swiss confederation. Principally, a normal membership was foreseen for the confederation and the federal enterprises. Yet, there were some special conditions. Article 26 specified the relation to the confederation. It stated:

Die Eidgenossenschaft und ihre Betriebe nehmen, mit den in diesen Statuten enthaltenen Einschränkungen und Besonderheiten, die Stellung des Vereinsmitgliedes ein.

Bezüglich der Verpflichtung zur Zahlung des Beitrags (Subvention) durch die Eidgenossenschaft und die Staatsbetriebe bleiben die besonderen staatsrechtlichen Verhältnisse vorbehalten.⁸⁷³

The rule that the confederation would be a normal member of the association, but equipped with special conditions urged the authors to explain themselves:

Wir halten diese Lösung für richtig und modern. Sie entspricht dem wirtschaftlichen Gedanke derjenigen Betriebsform, welche vielleicht berufen ist, die reinen Staatsbetriebe

⁸⁷³ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 67, 1913-1967: "MEMORIAL und STATUTEN des Schweizerischen Verkehrsamtes", by Ducloux, president, and Lehmann, secretary of the VSV, as well as Hauser, president, and Stigeler, secretary, of the SHV, Luzern, Basel, 11.10.1913, p. 14.

zu ersetzen; nämlich der Zusammenarbeit von Staatsbeamten und unbeamteten Bürgern im Rahmen der privatrechtlichen Korporation, deren mächtigstes Mitglied der Staat ist.⁸⁷⁴

The authors' justification is interesting insofar as they expressively attributed a collaborative role to the nation state. A state intervention was obviously accepted, not to say wished. The explanation followed soon: The proposed organization should above all solve the most difficult problem the new institution would be faced with: to guarantee "absolute" confidence of the French-speaking part of Switzerland to the "Verkehrsamt", because, traditionally, there were more representatives of the German-speaking part of Switzerland in such groups than French-speaking ones.⁸⁷⁵ The Italian-speaking part of Switzerland was not mentioned at all. The regional tensions should be mediated and eased by the confederation in order to achieve a central institution which would lay the statistical – see scientific – basis for an efficient advertising of Switzerland.

A lot of questions remained open or were to be defined in the regulations. Nevertheless, basing on this draft, the EDI and the SHV and the VSV respectively, agreed upon some guidelines which the future work should base on. The Federal Council passed them on 1st December 1913, stating that an institution of private law, under the supervision of and with an annual subsidy of maximum 20'000 Swiss Francs – that were approximately 655'000 Swiss Francs in 2009⁸⁷⁶ – by the confederation should be created, and that the confederation should examine and approve its articles of association.⁸⁷⁷

⁸⁷⁴ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 67, 1913-1967: "MEMORIAL und STATUTEN des Schweizerischen Verkehrsamtes", by Ducloux, president, and Lehmann, secretary of the VSV, as well as Hauser, president, and Stigeler, secretary, of the SHV, Luzern, Basel, 11.10.1913, p. 5. Translation by AAH: "We think this solution is right and modern. It corresponds with the economic thought of the enterprise, that is, maybe, destined for replacing the old state-owned enterprises; namely the collaboration of state officials and citizens in the framework of corporations of private law, which the state is their most powerfull member of."

⁸⁷⁵ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 67, 1913-1967: "MEMORIAL und STATUTEN des Schweizerischen Verkehrsamtes", by Ducloux, president, and Lehmann, secretary of the VSV, as well as Hauser, president, and Stigeler, secretary, of the SHV, Luzern, Basel, 11.10.1913, p. 5.

⁸⁷⁶ According to Pfister; Studer, Swistoval, [s.d.] (accessed 9.9.2015), 20'000 Swiss Francs in 1914 equaled some 655'000 Swiss Francs in 2009 approximately (deflator: historical wage index).

⁸⁷⁷ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/86, 13, 1914-1955: Letter by the EDI to the EPED, Berne, 7.2.1914; see also BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/86, 13, 1914-1955: "PROCES-VERBAL de la conférence tenue le 9 mars 1914, à Berne pour l'OFFICE SUISSE DU TOURISME", by Contat, secretary of the EDI, [Berne], 9.3.1914, p. 4.

4.2.3.3 In search of the administration's opinion (1914)

Often, the role of personalities in administrations is ignored (see chapter 4.1.2.3 *Further characteristics of the federal administration*).⁸⁷⁸ Recently, however, some calls for the inclusion of personalities in the analysis of administrations have been made.⁸⁷⁹ Monnier and Thuillier make clear, that the consideration not only of the high-ranking officials, but also – or rather: particularly – of "minores" and "minimi", see subordinated, inferior officials, makes sense:

[...]; il faut même accorder une attention particulière à leur résurrection, car peut-être ont-ils joué un rôle, qui a pu être essentiel, dans les mutations administratives, apporté des idées neuves, pris des initiatives que l'on ne soupçonne pas, appliqué avec rigueur une théorie ou une doctrine.⁸⁸⁰

Although the role of the high-ranking officials is not underestimated, it is often due to the work of inferior officials that a matter keeps going. Having an eye on them enables us to identify their room for manoeuvre, which, in turn, shows us how personalities create the administration's outcome and which outcome, possibly, could have been an alternative. In accordance to these theoretical considerations, the creation of the SVZ can be described as a process which was not fixed right from the beginning. It highly depended on the attitudes of the officials in charge, their formal guidelines which they had to follow, but also their personal goodwill which may have supported or hindered their carrying out of these guidelines. The administration's role, which was foreseen in and for the SVZ, implied that the federal administration was faced with the question how to position itself in relation to this planned institution. The opinion of the different departments mostly affected by the NTO was therefore crucial.

In 1914, the different departments of the federal administration together with the SBB met in order to find an opinion with respect to the planned central touristic-political institution. Headed by the Federal Councilor Felix Calonder (1863-1952),⁸⁸¹ responsible for the EDI, the participants tried to reach a *unité de doctrine* of the federal administration. Thereby, the obvious question about the future of the

⁸⁷⁸ Monnier; Thuillier, *Le rôle des personnalités*, 2005, p. 269.

⁸⁷⁹ Monnier; Thuillier, *Le rôle des personnalités*, 2005, p. 279.

⁸⁸⁰ Monnier; Thuillier, *Le rôle des personnalités*, 2005, p. 266.

⁸⁸¹ Simonett, Calonder, 2005.

Publizitätsdienst der SBB (faced with the planned NTO) was the central subject to discussion. The SBB's opinion was crucial in this respect. Accordingly, E[mile] Colomb (1845–1927),⁸⁸² CEO of the SBB, offensively treated it: the SBB's management doubted a NTO's utility, because it would only increase the numbers of organizations marketing Switzerland abroad, and considered the Publizitätsdienst der SBB better organized in terms of branch offices in foreign countries as well as of being entitled to sell tickets.⁸⁸³ He fully admitted that the Publizitätsdienst der SBB was still in its infancy but rejected a transfer of the Publizitätsdienst der SBB into the planned NTO, as it was suggested, because the SBB simply did not want to give up their advertising.⁸⁸⁴ In the end, however, he assumed that a NTO and the Publizitätsdienst der SBB could get along well with each other, since conflicts and parallels should be blocked.⁸⁸⁵ The financial department "envisage sans enthousiasme la création projetée", insisted on the maximum subsidy proposed by the Federal Councilor in 1913 and thought that a fusion of the Publizitätsdienst der SBB and a NTO should be reconsidered.⁸⁸⁶ In contrast, the Department of Transport supported the Federal Councilor's proposition of two parallel institutions because their aims and means differed.⁸⁸⁷ This was supported by Dr. Keller-Huguenin, a lawyer from Zurich and engaged as an expert without any mandate from any organization, who mainly stressed the fact that the planned office should not only take care about the advertising, but first and foremost, be a scientific center of economic and statistical study and research.⁸⁸⁸ This task was not covered by the

⁸⁸² *Diplomatische Dokumente der Schweiz, 1848 ff.*, Online Datenbank Dodis: dodis.ch, Permalink: <http://dodis.ch/P28762> (accessed 31.10.2014); Bonard, Arnold, "Colomb, Collomb, Collon – Kanton Waadt", in Türlér; Godet; Attinger, *Historisch-biographisches Lexikon*, 1929, p. 604.

⁸⁸³ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/86, 13, 1914-1955: "PROCES-VERBAL de la conférence tenue le 9 mars 1914, à Berne pour l'OFFICE SUISSE DU TOURISME", by Contat, secretary of the EDI, [Berne], 9.3.1914, p. 3-4.

⁸⁸⁴ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/86, 13, 1914-1955: "PROCES-VERBAL de la conférence tenue le 9 mars 1914, à Berne pour l'OFFICE SUISSE DU TOURISME", by Contat, secretary of the EDI, [Berne], 9.3.1914, p. . 4.

⁸⁸⁵ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/86, 13, 1914-1955: "PROCES-VERBAL de la conférence tenue le 9 mars 1914, à Berne pour l'OFFICE SUISSE DU TOURISME", by Contat, secretary of the EDI, [Berne], 9.3.1914, p. 4.

⁸⁸⁶ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/86, 13, 1914-1955: "PROCES-VERBAL de la conférence tenue le 9 mars 1914, à Berne pour l'OFFICE SUISSE DU TOURISME", by Contat, secretary of the EDI, [Berne], 9.3.1914, p. 5.

⁸⁸⁷ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/86, 13, 1914-1955: "PROCES-VERBAL de la conférence tenue le 9 mars 1914, à Berne pour l'OFFICE SUISSE DU TOURISME", by Contat, secretary of the EDI, [Berne], 9.3.1914, p. 6-7.

⁸⁸⁸ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/86, 13, 1914-1955: "PROCES-VERBAL de la conférence tenue le 9 mars 1914, à Berne pour l'OFFICE SUISSE DU TOURISME", by Contat, secretary of the EDI, [Berne], 9.3.1914, p. 5-6.

Publizitätsdienst der SBB, but considered as crucial in order to get a reliable base for the development of touristic marketing.

After the discussion of the relationship between the Publizitätsdienst der SBB and the planned "Verkehrsamt", the proposed articles of association were discussed article by article. Keller-Huguenin had obviously participated in drafting the first version of the articles of association,⁸⁸⁹ since he defended and gave reasons for the chosen solutions written down in the first draft. As the memorandum had stressed the term "Amt", the discussion turned exactly around this term. Rothpletz, secretary from the commercial register, explained that the term "Amt" made an allusion to the state, although the "Verkehrsamt" would be an institution of private law.⁸⁹⁰ Among others, he proposed the notion "Verkehrszentrale" as a solution for the German title of the planned NTO – the French "Office" and Italian "Ufficio" could remain as they did not evoke so strongly the idea of a state institution.⁸⁹¹ In France, the same title was taken for the country's NTO, because it guaranteed a certain autonomy and an open contact with the civil society.⁸⁹² Another point of discussion was the term "Verkehr" which Winkler, head of the technical service of the EPED, wanted to state more precisely with the term "Reiseverkehr".⁸⁹³ Yet, Keller-Huguenin explained that the term "Verkehr" had been chosen intentionally since the authors of the articles of association wanted to keep the working field of the "Verkehrsamt" open, so that it could become active in the fields of taxes, the vice squad or sanitary measures.⁸⁹⁴ Thirdly, the participants objected the number of organs which they wished to be

⁸⁸⁹ "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung betreffend die Beteiligung des Bundes an der Errichtung eines Schweizerischen Verkehrsamtes. (Vom 16. März 1917.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 12, 1917, p. 385.

⁸⁹⁰ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/86, 13, 1914-1955: "PROCES-VERBAL de la conférence tenue le 9 mars 1914, à Berne pour l'OFFICE SUISSE DU TOURISME", by Contat, secretary of the EDI, [Berne], 9.3.1914, p. 8.

⁸⁹¹ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/86, 13, 1914-1955: "PROCES-VERBAL de la conférence tenue le 9 mars 1914, à Berne pour l'OFFICE SUISSE DU TOURISME", by Contat, secretary of the EDI, [Berne], 9.3.1914, p. 8.

⁸⁹² Larique, *débuts et déboires*, 2007, p. 75.

⁸⁹³ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/86, 13, 1914-1955: "PROCES-VERBAL de la conférence tenue le 9 mars 1914, à Berne pour l'OFFICE SUISSE DU TOURISME", by Contat, secretary of the EDI, [Berne], 9.3.1914, p. 8.

⁸⁹⁴ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/86, 13, 1914-1955: "PROCES-VERBAL de la conférence tenue le 9 mars 1914, à Berne pour l'OFFICE SUISSE DU TOURISME", by Contat, secretary of the EDI, [Berne], 9.3.1914, p. 8.

reduced.⁸⁹⁵ Finally, the federal administration's quality as a member of the association was disapproved heavily.⁸⁹⁶

In summary, a parallel existence of the planned office and the Publizitätsdienst der SBB was approved by the majority of the federal departments and institutions, albeit without great enthusiasm. The financial department and the SBB objected such a parallel mostly and had some reservations. For the SBB only counted that their Publizitätsdienst der SBB continued to exist. To speak of a *unité de doctrine* seems to be exaggerated. All the more, it is important to note that, at least, the EDI, the department in charge, welcomed the planned NTO slightly. In its opinion, the Publizitätsdienst der SBB and the planned NTO could co-exist, although the parallel was obvious. One difference between them, however, was identified: the statistical work. The Publizitätsdienst der SBB did not dispose of personal resources enough to cover this field. All the more, the initiators of the planned NTO and their lobbyist in the meeting in March 1914, Keller-Huguenin, positioned the statistical work as the first and foremost task of the planned NTO. If this happened by chance or out of strategic considerations is hard to judge. At least, the tasks foreseen for the NTO were not the main reasons for the heavy critiques and rejection of the articles of association.

Most of the federal departments present at this search for a common opinion of the federal administration were represented by middle-ranking officials. The EJPD sent its secretary from the commercial register and the Eidgenössisches Finanz- und Zolldepartement (EFZD)⁸⁹⁷ its head of the finance office as well as a low-ranking civil servant. The EPED, whose Publizitätsdienst der SBB was subject to discussion, was represented by more powerful officials: the secretary of the railway division, the CEOs of the technical and the administrative services, one of the SBB's general directors, and a head of an inspectorate in the Directorate-General of the postal services. Yet, the second vice-chancellor of the Confederation was also present in his capacity as an expert, as was a private lawyer, Keller-Huguenin, who, seemingly,

⁸⁹⁵ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/86, 13, 1914-1955: "PROCES-VERBAL de la conférence tenue le 9 mars 1914, à Berne pour l'OFFICE SUISSE DU TOURISME", by Contat, secretary of the EDI, [Berne], 9.3.1914, p. 9-10.

⁸⁹⁶ "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung betreffend die Beteiligung des Bundes an der Errichtung eines Schweizerischen Verkehrsamtes. (Vom 16. März 1917.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 12, 1917, p. 385.

⁸⁹⁷ Today, the EFZD is called Federal Department of Finance (FDF).

had the largest knowledge on the works done until this date and obviously with a clear preference. His argument for the proposed NTO was the lack of a reliable scientific economic and statistical base. It is interesting that it was already mentioned in this meeting of 1914 because the missing statistical data were a huge hindrance to favorable clearing-negotiations with Germany and urged Switzerland to start a national tourism statistics in 1934. The perception of a crisis in tourism, which reigned among the Swiss touristic agents, similarly suggested the development of a "tourism science" ("Fremdenverkehrswissenschaft") in Switzerland: more scientific knowledge and a better understanding of the reasons for the crisis were considered to help to monitor the crisis.⁸⁹⁸ Finally, the second secretary of the EDI, Contat, took the minutes.

With reference to the literature on the role of individuals in chapter 4.1.2.3 *Further characteristics of the federal administration*, which suggests focusing subordinate officials, it becomes clear that the Swiss NTO was created due to the work by middle-ranking officials on the one hand. But on the other hand, high-ranking officials were always present. In particular, when it was important for them. Thus, the SBB sent one of their CEOs, Emile Colomb, to the meeting at the occasion of which the federal administration tried to reach a common opinion. This difference in the participants' ranking may have prevented that a *unité de doctrine* was not really achieved.

After the meeting in March 1914, the EDI transmitted the critique to the VSV and the SHV and demanded a second version of the articles of association which considered the critique.⁸⁹⁹ At this point of time, the national and international events prevented a smooth further development of the preparations for a Swiss "Verkehrsamt". On the one hand, the CEOs of both, the VSV and the SHV, were engaged in the preparations for the national exhibition of 1914, on the other hand, the First World War let the "Verkehrsamt" fade into the background.⁹⁰⁰ Bilateral negotiations between the VSV, the SHV and the EDI endured more than a year (1915), and did

⁸⁹⁸ Schumacher, *Krise*, 1997, p. 81, 89.

⁸⁹⁹ "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung betreffend die Beteiligung des Bundes an der Errichtung eines Schweizerischen Verkehrsamtes. (Vom 16. März 1917.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 12, 1917, p. 385.

⁹⁰⁰ "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung betreffend die Beteiligung des Bundes an der Errichtung eines Schweizerischen Verkehrsamtes. (Vom 16. März 1917.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 12, 1917, p. 385.

not only lead to reviewed articles of associations, but to a reinforcement of the initiating associations.

4.3 Nationale Vereinigung für das Schweizerische Verkehrsamt (1916)

With the articles of association in revision, the "Verkehrsamt" took shape, but its financing remained open. A provisional compilation listed the four initiating associations, the SBB, private transport enterprises, cantons, cities and tourist destinations, chambers of commerce and different associations, banks, industrial enterprises, as well as insurances, trade associations and privates and the confederation.⁹⁰¹ In order to find more private capital, the VSV and the SHV decided to found an organization which purely aimed at the establishment and exploitation of a "Verkehrsamt". They had been joined by two organizations called "Pro Sempione" and "Neue Gotthardvereinigung",⁹⁰² and on 26th July 1916 these four associations founded the "Nationale Vereinigung für das Schweizerische Verkehrsamt".⁹⁰³ The SBB promised their collaboration,⁹⁰⁴ which remained unspecified for the time being. Who and what were these initiating associations?

4.3.1 Pro Sempione

This non-profit organization ("Verein"⁹⁰⁵), subtitled "Verein zur Förderung von Handel und Industrie sowie des Fremdenverkehrs im Gebiete der Simplonbahn",⁹⁰⁶ and seated in Lausanne, aimed at the promotion of trade, industry and tourism in the area of the Simplon railway, that is the JS. Between 1914 and 1922 it edited maps for automobilists about the access roads of the Simplon ("Sempione" in Italian) in

⁹⁰¹ "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung betreffend die Beteiligung des Bundes an der Errichtung eines Schweizerischen Verkehrsamtes. (Vom 16. März 1917.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 12, 1917, p. 402, 404.

⁹⁰² "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung betreffend die Beteiligung des Bundes an der Errichtung eines Schweizerischen Verkehrsamtes. (Vom 16. März 1917.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 12, 1917, p. 385.

⁹⁰³ Translated in the general sense: National Reunion for the Swiss Traffic Department.

⁹⁰⁴ "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung betreffend die Beteiligung des Bundes an der Errichtung eines Schweizerischen Verkehrsamtes. (Vom 16. März 1917.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 12, 1917, p. 385-386.

⁹⁰⁵ According to the National library catalogue (Helveticat), a "*Verein Pro Sempione*" [in italics by AAH] published Platzhoff-Lejeune, Eduard; Behrmann, Hermann; Courthion, Louis, *Der Simplon und seine Zufahrtsstrassen, internationale Linie : Deutschland – Schweiz – Italien. Die französische Schweiz*, Lausanne: Verein Pro Sempione, 1916.

⁹⁰⁶ SWA, Bv L IX 74: Pro Sempione (Verein zur Förderung von Handel und Industrie sowie des Fremdenverkehrs im Gebiete der Simplonbahn) – Lausanne. [Var.loc.] 1912-1955, 1 folder.

French, Italian, German, English, Dutch, Spanish and Russian.⁹⁰⁷ Its members and managers belonged to the political and economic elite in the cantons of Berne, Vaud and Valais which became clear when the organization sent a top-flight delegation to a meeting of the initiating associations of the "Verkehrsamt" on 12th September 1917: the organization was represented by Kunz,⁹⁰⁸ Maillefer⁹⁰⁹ and Junod.⁹¹⁰

Paul Maillefer (1862-1929) devoted himself to the radical-democratic cause in his municipality – he was mayor of Lausanne between 1910 and 1921 – and on the national level as National Councilor of the canton of Vaud between 1911 and 1929 on the one hand.⁹¹¹ On the other hand, he followed his profession as a historian, edited the "Revue historique vaudoise", a scientific journal, but renounced the professorship in 1911.⁹¹² Finally, he held the function as a vice-president of the NTO, which he was a co-founder of the board of management for, and was a member of the "Aéro-Club suisse".⁹¹³

Gottfried Kunz (1859-1930) was a liberal Councilor of State of the canton of Berne between 1907 and 1919,⁹¹⁴ hold different leading positions (board of management / manager / member of the general management) in numerous (mountain) railway companies in the cantons of Berne, Vaud and Valais, among others the Bernese cantonal railway Bern-Lötschberg-Simplon (BLS) and the Bernese cantonal electricity industry.⁹¹⁵ As a vibrant and well-connected booster of the railway, in particular in his function as member of the cantonal government, he

⁹⁰⁷ Platzhoff-Lejeune, Eduard; Behrmann, Herman; Courthion, Louis; Pro Sempione, *Le simplon. Ligne internationale et ses voies d'accès*, Sécheron-Genève: Sadag, 1914; Platzhoff-Lejeune, Eduard; Behrmann, Hermann; Courthion, Louis; Pro Sempione, *The Simplon Railway and its connected lines international railroad: England–Switzerland–Italy*, Geneva: Sadag, 1915; Platzhoff-Lejeune; Behrmann; Courthion, *Der Simplon und seine Zufahrtsstrassen*, 1916; Pro Sempione, *Il sempione (ferrovia internazionale) e le sue linee d'accesso: Italia – Svizzera – Francia*, Ginevra: Helio-Sadag, 1916; Pro Sempione, *El simplón, línea internacional, y sus vías de acceso: Suiza, Ginebra: Helio-Sadag*, 1917; Vereeniging Pro Sempione, *De simplon (internationale lijn) en zijn toegangswegen: Holland–Zwitserland–Italië*, Genève: Helio-Sadag, 1917; Pro Sempione, *Švejcarija: Simplon" (meždunarodna željeznodorožna linija) i primykajušćie k" nemu puti*, Lozanna: Izdanie Pravlenija Sojuza "Pro Sempione", 1918; Pro Sempione, *Carte de l'automobiliste: France-Suisse-Italie*, Berne: Kümmerly & Frey, 1922.

⁹⁰⁸ Stettler, Peter, "Kunz, Gottfried", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2008, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D4577.php> (accessed 31.10.2014).

⁹⁰⁹ Leonardis, Patrick de, "Maillefer, Paul", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2011, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D4336.php> (accessed 31.10.2014).

⁹¹⁰ Tissot, Laurent, "Junod, Albert", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2005, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D30769.php> (accessed 26.3.2010).

⁹¹¹ Gruner, Erich; Frei, Karl, *Die Schweizerische Bundesversammlung 1848-1920*, Bern: Francke Verlag, 1966, p. 1003.

⁹¹² Gruner; Frei, *Bundesversammlung 1848-1920*, 1966, p. 822.

⁹¹³ Gruner; Frei, *Bundesversammlung 1848-1920*, 1966, p. 822.

⁹¹⁴ Gruner; Frei, *Bundesversammlung 1848-1920*, 1966, p. 1002.

⁹¹⁵ Gruner; Frei, *Bundesversammlung 1848-1920*, 1966, p. 190.

became very active in favour of tourism in Switzerland, which resulted in his membership and presidency of the Schweizerischer Verkehrsrat.⁹¹⁶

Albert Junod (1865–1951) was the general manager of Pro Sempione between 1914 and 1918 and of the NTO between 1918 and 1933. Multiple experiences as a teacher in Italy, Russia and Switzerland before had enabled him to work as an inspector for the commercial educational system in Switzerland on behalf of the Eidgenössisches Volkswirtschaftsdepartement (EVD).⁹¹⁷ Diplomatic services for Switzerland in Russia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, England and Italy followed the First World War.⁹¹⁸ With respect to tourism, it is remarkable that he was a member of the "Touring Club der Schweiz", a lobby organization for the car, and authored a publication on winter sports in Switzerland.⁹¹⁹

Considering the fields in which these three representatives were active in, it becomes clear, that "Pro Sempione" was a liberal lobby organization originating from the cantons adjacent to the Simplon railway (Berne, Vaud, Valais). Leading members of the organization hold functions in communal or cantonal governments and the national parliament or the federal administration. Apart from their main fields of activity like transport policy (mainly in favour of the railways) or education, all of the members mentioned above were engaged in tourism whereby they brought in the new means of transport like the car and the plane.

4.3.2 Pro Gottardo (Neue Gotthardvereinigung)

Pro Sempione found its parallel in "Pro Gottardo", a similar non-profit organization in favour of the general and economic interests of the Gotthard region, literally called "Förderverein für allgemeine und wirtschaftliche Interessen des Verkehrsgebietes der Gotthardroute".⁹²⁰ There is not much information about this organization, apart from

⁹¹⁶ Gruner; Frei, Bundesversammlung 1848-1920, 1966, p. 191.

⁹¹⁷ Tissot, Junod, Albert, 2005. Translated in the general sense, the "EVD" reads: Federal Department of Economic Affairs, today it is called Federal Department of Economic Affairs, Education and Research.

⁹¹⁸ Tissot, Junod, Albert, 2005.

⁹¹⁹ Aellen, Hermann, Schweizerisches Zeitgenossen-Lexikon, 2. Ausgabe, Bern, Leipzig: Gotthelf-Verlag, 1932, p. 348.

⁹²⁰ SWA, Bv L IV 10: [Neue Gotthardvereinigung (Förderverein für allgemeine und wirtschaftliche Interessen des Verkehrsgebietes der Gotthardroute) – Luzern. Dokumentensammlung. [s.l.] 1913-1923, 2 boxes.

the fact that its secretary, Willy Miller,⁹²¹ distributed written polemic about the track gauge of local railways (e.g. of the Brunig line) which was not agreed upon by everyone.⁹²² In 1916, he had held a speech at the organization's assembly in which he had elaborated on the planned "Verkehrsamt": Energetically, he spoke in favour of such a "Verkehrsamt", lauded it as an act of resistance to the foreign countries' advertising efforts and blamed the critics for their "Bankrotterklärung schweizerische[n] Unternehmergeistes überhaupt".⁹²³ Although he was fully aware that the standardization of the different Swiss touristic destinations was impossible, he pleaded for it as a means of mediation.⁹²⁴ He adapted the general meaning when he stated:

Es kann wohl nicht in Zweifel gezogen werden, dass heute mit den vorhandenen Mitteln nicht das erreichbare Maximum positiver Arbeit mit entsprechendem Erfolg geleistet wird. Das ist überhaupt unmöglich, solange nicht eine *vermittelnde Instanz* die Gegensätze zwischen den vorhandenen Verkehrsgruppen [Bundesbahnen, Privatbahnen, Hoteliers. AAH] ausgleicht. Mit diesem Satze habe ich zugleich die Auffassung bekundet, dass das angestrebte schweizerische Verkehrsamt im internen Verhältnis dieser Gruppen unter sich eine vermittelnde Rolle – als Kitt, als Nerven – zu übernehmen hätte, nicht aber als Endziel deren Absorbierung in sich schliesst; auch von einer *restlosen Arbeitsteilung* kann nicht die Rede sein.⁹²⁵ [In italics according to Miller]

With respect to advertising, Miller posed the traditional methods as problematical: For the "Erforschung des Geschmacks", a collaboration seemed imperative because it could not be financed otherwise; for bringing tourists to Switzerland the slogan "Switzerland" was more compelling than the slogan of a single destination; and, finally, the internal competition which seemingly had resulted in a reduction of the competitor in the advertising, would do harm to all competitors.⁹²⁶ After Miller had commented on the SHV's and VSV's memorandum, he took a stand on the attitude of the Neue Gotthardvereinigung to the planned "Verkehrsamt": If the proposed *national* nature of the "Verkehrsamt" and a sufficient financing could be guaranteed,

⁹²¹ Miller, Willy, *Das schweiz. Verkehrsamt. Referat, gehalten an der Vereinsversammlung der "N.[eu]en G.[otthard] V.[ereinigung]"*, am 20. Mai 1916 in Luzern, Basel: Buchdruckerei Werner-Riehm, 1916.

⁹²² Miller, Willy, *Umbau der Brüniglinie auf eine elektrifizierte normalspurige Adhäsionsbahn. Antwort des Aktionskomitee auf die Eingabe der Gemeinderäte des Amtes Oberhasli und die Streitschrift des Herrn W. Miller*, Interlaken: Buchdruckerei Ernst Balmer, 1934.

⁹²³ Miller, Referat, 1916, p. 1, 17.

⁹²⁴ Miller, Referat, 1916, p. 8.

⁹²⁵ Miller, Referat, 1916, p. 7-8.

⁹²⁶ Miller, Referat, 1916, p. 8-9.

he considered the "Verkehrsamt" as an appropriate means for the development of touristic advertising in Switzerland.⁹²⁷ He insisted on the fact that the "Verkehrsamt" should be national in nature because regional interests should be mediated by it.⁹²⁸ Patriotically, he let the speech end in the face of the expected hard battle about tourists: "Wir kämpfen ihn [the coming hard battle. AAH] nicht um *Standes-*, sondern um *Landeswohl*. Tua res, Helvetia, agitur!"⁹²⁹ (In italics according to Miller)

In summary, two regional lobby organizations had joined the SHV and the VSV in order to create a Swiss "Verkehrsamt". They mainly consisted of economic and political elites, in particular liberal politicians, railway lobbyists or federal officials. The regional representation, but also the mediation between the different regional interests appeared as a huge issue. The planned "Verkehrsamt" promised neutral ground where the regions – hopefully – could work together instead of competing each other.

4.4 The EDI takes the lead

4.4.1 Revised articles of association (1916) and the SBB's delaying tactics

Shortly after its constitution, the Nationale Vereinigung für das Schweizerische Verkehrsamt submitted the reviewed articles of association and an explaining memorandum to the EDI on 31st August 1916.⁹³⁰ Further works were delayed because of a zig-zag pattern by the SBB.

One of the remaining obstacles in the revised articles of association of 1916 was the problematic relation between the Publizitätsdienst der SBB and the planned

⁹²⁷ Miller, Referat, 1916, p. 16.

⁹²⁸ Literally, Miller, Referat, 1916, p. 16-17, stated: "Wie soll sich nun die 'Neue Gotthardvereinigung' zu dem Vorschlag auf Schaffung eines Schweizerischen Verkehrsamtes stellen? Dient es der Allgemeinheit, sind die erforderlichen Garantien in ausreichendem Masse vorhanden, dass nicht regionale Interessen – verkörpern sie sich nun in einer Verkehrsvereinigung oder in einer Transportanstalt – auf sie bestimmenden Einfluss gewinnen und sie in der Folge ihren eigenen, den allgemeinen entgegengesetzten, Interessen dienstbar machen – sind auch die übrigen Vorbedingungen für eine gedeihliche Arbeit zum Wohle des Ganzen vorhanden, im besondern eine ausreichende Finanzierung –, dann, aber auch *nur* dann, haben wir allen Grund zur Förderung des Gedankens. Er gräbt keineswegs, wie vielfach geglaubt werden mag, unserer eigenen Existenzfähigkeit und Existenzberechtigung den Boden ab – den unsere produktive Tätigkeit erschöpft sich keineswegs in der Herstellung und Verbreitung von Propagandamaterial, ganz abgesehen davon, dass es sich auch hier höchstens um eine Delegation handeln kann." [In italics according to Miller]

⁹²⁹ Miller, Referat, 1916, p. 17.

⁹³⁰ "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung betreffend die Beteiligung des Bundes an der Errichtung eines Schweizerischen Verkehrsamtes. (Vom 16. März 1917.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 12, 1917, p. 385.

"Verkehrsamt". The second memorandum stated that, in contrast to their opinion of 1914, the SBB were now willing to support the "Verkehrsamt" and the working program of the "Verkehrsamt" would be carried out in accordance with the Publizitätsdienst der SBB.⁹³¹ Faced with this changing attitude the EDI asked for clarification. But again, the SBB changed their opinion two times within four months: While in November 1916, its general management let the EDI know, that the SBB would not pay a permanent subsidy to the planned "Verkehrsamt", the general management informed the EDI on 6th February 1917 that it had decided to pay a subsidy of some 635'000 Swiss Francs (of 2009)⁹³² per annum during a period of three years to the "Verkehrsamt" – provided, that the organs of the "Verkehrsamt" would agree with the Publizitätsdienst der SBB on the partitioning of the post-war promotional activities.⁹³³ This promise was a result of another plea by the EDI insisting on a more constructive attitude of the SBB to the NTO. In a letter of 8th January 1917, the EDI had tried to get a clear statement of the SBB in favour of the NTO. Frankly, the EDI explained that it had been approached by the National Councilors Alexandre Emery and Gustave Ador (1845-1928)⁹³⁴, both secretaries of the Pro Sempione and the Neue Gotthardvereinigung, who begged the EDI to urge the SBB to pay a fix annual subsidy to the NTO:

A la demande de ces délégués, *nous n'hésitons pas à appuyer leur requête* et à vous prier d'examiner de nouveau s'il ne serait pas possible à votre direction générale d'assurer à l'office suisse du Tourisme une subvention annuelle fixe.⁹³⁵ [In italics according to AAH]

In fact, the tone of the letter was as unambiguous as the EDI openly sided with the planned NTO. In the winter 1916/17, the EDI increasingly put the heat on the SBB in order to make them pay a permanent subsidy to the planned "Verkehrsamt". Why did

⁹³¹ "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung betreffend die Beteiligung des Bundes an der Errichtung eines Schweizerischen Verkehrsamtes. (Vom 16. März 1917.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 12, 1917, p. 393-394.

⁹³² According to Pfister; Studer, Swistoval, [s.d.] (accessed 9.9.2015), 25'000 Swiss Francs in 1917 equaled roughly 635'000 Swiss Francs in 2009 (deflator: historical wage index).

⁹³³ "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung betreffend die Beteiligung des Bundes an der Errichtung eines Schweizerischen Verkehrsamtes. (Vom 16. März 1917.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 12, 1917, p. 394.

⁹³⁴ According to Gruner; Frei, *Bundesversammlung 1848-1920*, 1966, p. 983, Gustave Ador was National Councilor between 1889 and 1917 and Federal Councilor between 1917 and 1919; he also was engaged in different positions in railway companies (Paris-Lyon-Méditerranée, Suisse occidentale).

⁹³⁵ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: Letter by the EDI to the Directorate-General of the SBB, Berne, 8.1.1917, p. 1.

the EDI stress a permanent subsidy so heavily? The letter of 8th January 1917 revealed, that the EDI also tried to get the best of the matter for the SBB. It argued that a permanent subsidy would guarantee the SBB a permanent seat in the leading organs of the "Verkehrsamt", which it considered to be appropriate to them. In the EDI's opinion, the SBB should have a permanent influence on the NTO because they defended the same interests and, as a consequence, should establish a permanent contact.⁹³⁶ A permanent subsidy by the SBB would guarantee a financial security for the NTO and enable a permanent activity.⁹³⁷ At the end, the EDI saw a permanent subsidy as a moral support to the "Verkehrsamt".⁹³⁸ Obviously, these arguments moved the SBB to pay the rather high sum mentioned above. On 10th February 1917, the EDI had finally achieved its goals. Nevertheless, the SBB's zig-zag pattern had delayed the process inside the federal administration, all the more as they, at last, had reserved the NTO's agreement with respect to the after war distribution of the advertising tasks for themselves.⁹³⁹ With an irritated undertone, the EDI announced the SBB's promise and could proceed with the formal process according to which "le projet de message et d'arrêté fédéral concernant la participation de la Confédération à la création de l'office du Tourisme va être *incessamment* déposé. [...] [in italics according to AAH]". Finally, the EDI's pressure urged the SBB to bring to an end their manoeuvre between indifference and defense of own interests. Yet, the forced collaboration which finally resulted from the EDI's pressure was a collaboration "contre coeur" which delayed the process inside the administration and came to dominate, in fact, the roughly twenty years of co-existence of the Publizitätsdienst der SBB and the NTO.

4.4.2 The message of 16th March 1917: reasons for the confederation's engagement in favour of the SVZ

After the agreement on the SBB's contribution, the second draft was accepted by the EDI as definitive and discussed in the message of the Federal Council to the parliament of 16th March 1917. After the presentation of the parliamentary motion, its

⁹³⁶ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: Letter by the EDI to the Directorate-General of the SBB, Berne, 8.1.1917, p. 2-3.

⁹³⁷ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: Letter by the EDI to the Directorate-General of the SBB, Berne, 8.1.1917, p. 3.

⁹³⁸ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: Letter by the EDI to the Directorate-General of the SBB, Berne, 8.1.1917, p. 4.

⁹³⁹ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: Letter by the EDI to the Union des Sociétés suisses de développement, Berne, 10.2.1917, p. 1.

motives, demands and consequences, the message gave reason for the establishment of a Swiss NTO, which is – formally speaking – for the federal decree at the end of the message. Before, however, it discussed two basic questions, which, however, were answered in the affirmative immediately: Is the planned establishment of a Swiss "Verkehrsamt" useful and necessary for the country? Does the expected benefit justify the considerable financial sacrifices at the expense of the confederation?⁹⁴⁰ As the reasons mainly are of economic nature, let us remember tourism's situation shortly prior to the First World War (see chapter 4.1.1 *The economic development in Switzerland prior to and in the First World War*):

- Tourism was a leading sector.
- Tourism generated an added value of 4-5 percent, representing thereby a leading sector with an outstanding growth.
- Some signs of crisis appeared between 1910 and 1914: The added value started to fall around 1910, the numbers of beds available, the occupation rate of beds in hotels, or the overnight stays turned downwards from 1912 onwards.

This economic importance of tourism as well as its devastation after 1914 were in the minds of those officials who wrote the message for a national NTO. As motives for such a national undertaking the message stated the following reasons:

Tourism's high interconnectedness with other economic branches: There was a threatening devastation of the country's economy basing on a war-driven deterioration of an already menacing situation in tourism and its feeding industries.⁹⁴¹

The confederation particularly recognized tourism's heavy interdependences with other economic branches: a disaster in tourism endangered large parts of the national economy. This urged the message to admit

"dass ein längerer Stillstand oder gar ein dauernder Rückgang des Fremdenverkehrs für die Schweiz eine finanzielle Katastrophe ohnegleichen bedeuten würde."⁹⁴²

⁹⁴⁰ "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung betreffend die Beteiligung des Bundes an der Errichtung eines Schweizerischen Verkehrsamtes. (Vom 16. März 1917.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 12, 1917, p. 394.

⁹⁴¹ "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung betreffend die Beteiligung des Bundes an der Errichtung eines Schweizerischen Verkehrsamtes. (Vom 16. März 1917.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 12, 1917, p. 394-395.

⁹⁴² "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung betreffend die Beteiligung des Bundes an der Errichtung eines Schweizerischen Verkehrsamtes. (Vom 16. März 1917.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 12, 1917, p. 398.

Obviously, the confederation acknowledged tourism to influence the national economy so heavily because tourism had proved its importance prior to the war (see chapter 4.1.1 *The economic development in Switzerland prior to and in the First World War*)! In turn, tourism was also seen capable of helping the country in a – unspecified – post-war time.

Saving the national income and minimizing the damages of the war: Despite of such a gloomy scenario, the NTO's capabilities to counteract all developments affecting tourism were played down in order to not raise the hopes too high.⁹⁴³ Its scientific methods as well as its standardization of Switzerland's advertising abroad would, however, enable the rational development of a "national task", which, in turn, would save a large part of the national income as well as help to minimize the damages of the war.⁹⁴⁴ This reference to the national income cannot be denied. In contrast, in the Lake Geneva Region for instance, the investments in the hotels and the mountain railways led to a very high capitalization of the touristic sector (see chapter 3.1.1 *From boom to overheating: the economic development*).⁹⁴⁵ Thus, tourism was presented as a *danger and a savior for the national economy*, which justified a state intervention in the contemporaries' opinion. The link to the post-war time is interesting insofar, as it referred to the date of establishment. Given the heavy expenditures for the army and the provision for the population, the confederation was hardly interested in further expenditures as a contribution to the SVZ would have been. Seen as an investment for the future, which could help to minimize the damages of the war, however, a contribution to the SVZ became a rational act. Although the opinions on the design differed heavily, the sheer establishment of a national institution was considered as necessary and unanimously supported.⁹⁴⁶ Interestingly, a similar argumentation took place in France in 1916 – that is at the same time –,

⁹⁴³ "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung betreffend die Beteiligung des Bundes an der Errichtung eines Schweizerischen Verkehrsamtes. (Vom 16. März 1917.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 12, 1917, p. 398.

⁹⁴⁴ "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung betreffend die Beteiligung des Bundes an der Errichtung eines Schweizerischen Verkehrsamtes. (Vom 16. März 1917.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 12, 1917, p. 399-400.

⁹⁴⁵ Humair, *Le tourisme comme moteur*, 2011, p. 37-43; Humair; Gigase; Lapointe Guigoz; Sulmoni, *success story*, 2014, p. 16.

⁹⁴⁶ "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung betreffend die Beteiligung des Bundes an der Errichtung eines Schweizerischen Verkehrsamtes. (Vom 16. März 1917.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 12, 1917, p. 395.

when the French NTO experienced a new legitimacy after it had been paralyzed and inactive.⁹⁴⁷ In Italy in 1916, too,

"si registra un importante mutamento di rotta rispetto al periodo precedente, poiché il governo inizia a considerare il turismo in una nuova prospettiva e a prendere in maggiore considerazione le istanze provenienti dagli operatori del settore."⁹⁴⁸

The Swiss government's argumentation in favour of a NTO obviously took the same line as did the allies' in their plans for a conference on the thermal and spa tourism after the war (see chapter 2.1 *Overview*). Tourism was thereby seen as a means for the reconstruction of the national economies after the war. Therefore, the organization of tourism after the war had to be discussed and prepared during the war.

Falling profits in the hotel industry: Switzerland's central position in Europe which made it to a center of international transport, its profile as an eldorado for alpinism and winter sport, its favourable climate and the well-built roads and railway tracks had led to the rise of a luxurious hotel industry which generated a gross yield of roughly some 8,9 billion Swiss Francs (of 2009)⁹⁴⁹ due to the foreign guests (roughly some 12,7 billion Swiss Francs of 2009⁹⁵⁰ due to foreign and Swiss guests together).⁹⁵¹ This gross yield, in turn, covered the trade balance deficit amounting to approximately some 14 billion Swiss Francs (of 2009)⁹⁵² in 1913 to a considerable extent.⁹⁵³ Further incomes for the customs administration, the SBB, the postal, phone and telegraph services, the federal post transport and the private transport companies increased the economic benefit generated by tourists.⁹⁵⁴ But – and this was a crucial point – these incomes did not equal the profits which tended to

⁹⁴⁷ Larique, débuts et déboires, 2007, p. 79.

⁹⁴⁸ Zanini, Verso una politica turistica nazionale, 2014, p. 325.

⁹⁴⁹ According to Pfister; Studer, Swistoval, [s.d.] (accessed 9.9.2015), 500 million Swiss Francs in 1917 equaled roughly 12,7 billion Swiss Francs in 2009 (deflator: historical wage index).

⁹⁵⁰ According to Pfister; Studer, Swistoval, [s.d.] (accessed 9.9.2015), 350 million Swiss Francs in 1917 equaled roughly 8,9 billion Swiss Francs in 2009 (deflator: historical wage index).

⁹⁵¹ "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung betreffend die Beteiligung des Bundes an der Errichtung eines Schweizerischen Verkehrsamtes. (Vom 16. März 1917.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 12, 1917, p. 396.

⁹⁵² According to Pfister; Studer, Swistoval, [s.d.] (accessed 9.9.2015), 550 million Swiss Francs in 1917 equaled roughly 14 billion Swiss Francs in 2009 (deflator: historical wage index).

⁹⁵³ "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung betreffend die Beteiligung des Bundes an der Errichtung eines Schweizerischen Verkehrsamtes. (Vom 16. März 1917.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 12, 1917, p. 396.

⁹⁵⁴ "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung betreffend die Beteiligung des Bundes an der Errichtung eines Schweizerischen Verkehrsamtes. (Vom 16. März 1917.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 12, 1917, p. 396-397.

stagnate or even to decrease.⁹⁵⁵ Thus, the returns on investments in the hotel industry tended to fall. In fact, the average dividend paid by the hotels in the Lake Geneva Region fell from seven percent of the equity capital in 1911 to six percent in 1913.⁹⁵⁶ The local situations differed, however, heavily from each other. While the average dividend paid by the hotels even increased from 1909 onwards in Lausanne (to some 11.5 percent in 1913), it fell from five to 1.5 percent between 1911 and 1913 in Vevey-Montreux, and stagnated in Geneva in the same period.⁹⁵⁷ For Switzerland as a whole, Humair calculated a decrease of the average dividend paid by Swiss hotels quoted on the stock exchange of some 1.5 percent (from six to 4.5 percent roughly) of the share value (equity capital) between 1911 and 1913.⁹⁵⁸ Why? *Too heavy competition – "Missbrauch der inländischen Konkurrenz"*: The falling returns on investment based, according to the contemporaries' perception, on a too powerful domestic competition – the contemporary notion "Missbrauch der inländischen Konkurrenz" covered up the un-nationalistic behaviour.⁹⁵⁹ With labeling tourism as a sector with too heavy competition, the Swiss government de facto acknowledged that the touristic sector had reached the state where a centralization at the national level with state contribution was probable. In other words: an interest association for tourism should help to come to terms with the manifold challenges of the sector (see chapter 4.1.2.2 *The Swiss system of interest associations, cartelization, state interference*).

Finally, the message explained the draft for the federal decree. The relation of the federal to the private members' subsidies was left quite open – it only mentioned an absolute number for the federal subsidy for the first year –, because the confederation wanted to keep room for adjusting the federal subsidy to the NTO's financial needs, the confederation's economic circumstances and financial

⁹⁵⁵ "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung betreffend die Beteiligung des Bundes an der Errichtung eines Schweizerischen Verkehrsamtes. (Vom 16. März 1917.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 12, 1917, p. 398.

⁹⁵⁶ Humair; Gigase; Lapointe Guigoz; Sulmoni, success story, 2014, p. 27.

⁹⁵⁷ Humair; Gigase; Lapointe Guigoz; Sulmoni, success story, 2014, p. 27.

⁹⁵⁸ Humair, *The Long Depression and its impact on Swiss tourism*, [2011], p. 21.

⁹⁵⁹ "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung betreffend die Beteiligung des Bundes an der Errichtung eines Schweizerischen Verkehrsamtes. (Vom 16. März 1917.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 12, 1917, p. 398.

capability.⁹⁶⁰ The confederation refused, at last, to insist on an intensification of the right to supervise and control the NTO because it wanted to keep the NTO as autonomous as possible (article 4).⁹⁶¹ Nevertheless, the message stressed the fact that the confederation was well informed about the activities of the NTO all the time through the reporting of the federal delegates and that it could stop subsidizing the NTO at any time.⁹⁶² This way, the confederation considered itself to be in a position which would enable it to achieve its goals by mediation.⁹⁶³ All in all, the message absorbed the memorandum's argumentation in favour of a "Verkehrsamt" without clearly distinguishing itself from the memorandum. It concluded:

Wenn wir die jenseits unserer Landesgrenzen auf dem Gebiete der Touristik entwickelte Tätigkeit als Ganzes betrachten, drängt sich uns die Überzeugung auf, dass wir in Zukunft nach neuen Prinzipien, auf anderer Grundlage und in geschlossener Front arbeiten müssen.⁹⁶⁴

On 26th and 28th September 1917, the Council of State and the National Council accepted the "Bundesbeschluss betreffend die Beteiligung des Bundes an der nationalen Vereinigung für die Schweizerische Zentralstelle für Reiseverkehr (Verkehrszentrale). (Vom 28. September 1917.)".⁹⁶⁵ With this federal decree, the parliament approved the Swiss NTO and accepted that the confederation would pay a subsidy of roughly 2,2 million Swiss Francs (of 2009)⁹⁶⁶ to, be a member of and supervise the NTO in 1918. The articles of association were finally accepted by the

⁹⁶⁰ "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung betreffend die Beteiligung des Bundes an der Errichtung eines Schweizerischen Verkehrsamtes. (Vom 16. März 1917.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 12, 1917, p. 401.

⁹⁶¹ "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung betreffend die Beteiligung des Bundes an der Errichtung eines Schweizerischen Verkehrsamtes. (Vom 16. März 1917.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 12, 1917, p. 402.

⁹⁶² "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung betreffend die Beteiligung des Bundes an der Errichtung eines Schweizerischen Verkehrsamtes. (Vom 16. März 1917.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 12, 1917, p. 402-403.

⁹⁶³ "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung betreffend die Beteiligung des Bundes an der Errichtung eines Schweizerischen Verkehrsamtes. (Vom 16. März 1917.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 12, 1917, p. 402.

⁹⁶⁴ "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung betreffend die Beteiligung des Bundes an der Errichtung eines Schweizerischen Verkehrsamtes. (Vom 16. März 1917.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 12, 1917, p. 387.

⁹⁶⁵ "Bundesbeschluss betreffend die Beteiligung des Bundes an der nationalen Vereinigung für die Schweizerische Zentralstelle für Reiseverkehr (Verkehrszentrale). (Vom 28. September 1917.)", in *Amtliche Sammlung der Bundesgesetze und Verordnungen der schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft*, Neue Folge, Vol. 33, Bern: Buchdruckerei Stämpfli & Cie., 1918, p. 827.

⁹⁶⁶ According to Pfister; Studer, Swistoval, [s.d.] (accessed 11.9.2015), 120'000 Swiss Francs in 1918 equaled roughly 2,2 million Swiss Francs in 2009 (deflator: historical wage index).

Federal Council on 22nd December 1917,⁹⁶⁷ after the general assembly of the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs⁹⁶⁸ had passed the articles of association and thereby constituted itself on 28th November 1917.⁹⁶⁹

Between the federal decree passed in September 1917 and the general assembly of the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, a solution must be found for some questions, which had remained open in the revised draft of the articles of association. While most of the most criticized points – the terms "Amt" and "Verkehr", the number of the organs and the proposed quality of the confederation as a normal member – had been considered,⁹⁷⁰ the question of the place of the seat and the composition of the Verkehrsrat were still to be defined. This was up to the Nationale Vereinigung für das Schweizerische Verkehrsamt which was finally renamed "Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs" in November 1917. As this "Vereinigung" did not exist formally before this date (November 1917), its initiating associations took care of the preparations. They mainly negotiated the refinement of the articles of association as well as the preparation of the constitutive assembly and the requirements for the city which would become the place of the NTO's seat.

4.4.3 Crucial refinements by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs

A recent trend in the history of administration is to focus on the *implementation* of official decrees, rules and regulations rather than exclusively studying the legal documents themselves. Thereby, historians imitate less the political-scientific research on the implementation which became popular in the 1980s,⁹⁷¹ than it focuses on the "institutionelle Wirklichkeit" ("institutional reality"), that are the informal processes ("Verfahrensprozesse") beyond the norms and the internal mechanisms of

⁹⁶⁷ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: Extract of the minutes of the meeting of the Federal Council, by the Federal Council to the EDI, [Berne], 22.12.1917, p. 1 stated: "Le Conseil fédéral approuve les statuts de l'association nationale pour le développement du tourisme, adoptés par l'assemblée générale constitutive du 28 novembre 1917. [...]".

⁹⁶⁸ Translated in the general sense: National Reunion for the Development of Traffic.

⁹⁶⁹ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "Protokoll der konstituierenden Generalversammlung", by Calonder, president, and Junod, secretary, of the Nationalen Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Bern, 28.11.1917.

⁹⁷⁰ "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung betreffend die Beteiligung des Bundes an der Errichtung eines Schweizerischen Verkehrsamtes. (Vom 16. März 1917.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 12, 1917, p. 402.

⁹⁷¹ Bösigger, Forschungsbericht, 2010, p. 6.

understanding in an administration.⁹⁷² Often, Löffler describes, indications on the institutional reality are missing:

Was sich dagegen *nicht* findet, sind Hinweise auf den *informellen* Verfahrensprozess *jenseits* der Normen und auf die internen Verständigungsmodalitäten, auf die Modifikationen der normativ-rechtlichen oder verwaltungstechnischen Vorgaben im und durch den bürokratisch-politischen Alltag, auf Wirkungen und Wahrnehmungen dieser Vorgaben, auf die Herausbildung der speziellen Eigenarten und verschiedenen 'Organisationskulturen' der Institutionen, auf institutionstypische Mitarbeitermentalitäten und das spezifische Betriebsklima – mit einem absichtlich zugespitzten Wort: auf die institutionelle *Wirklichkeit*!⁹⁷³ [In italics according to Löffler]

Focusing on Löffler's "institutional reality" in the case of the NTO is helpful insofar as it points to the traditional Swiss experience of an efficient collaboration of private agencies and the federal administration. Remembering the development of the Swiss professional associations and national interest groups (SHIV, SGV, SBV, SGB), the making of the Swiss NTO mirrored this experience. In fact, the main parts of some crucial decisions were made by the initiating associations. A relatively small amount of persons discussed the details, proposed it to the Nationale Vereinigung für das Schweizerische Verkehrsamt, and informed the EDI, which – as the department in charge – got in contact with the Federal Council. On the part of the EDI, the official in charge was Dr. Contat, secretary of the EDI,⁹⁷⁴ while the Federal Council Felix Calonder (1863-1952)⁹⁷⁵ presided the meetings of the initiating associations. On the part of the initiating associations, Paul Trachsel, secretary of the VSV, usually took the minutes of the meetings of the initiating associations.⁹⁷⁶ The VSV seemed to have had the lead as it did not only fulfill the secretary but also organized the constitutive assembly. The collaboration went off smoothly, probably basing on the fact that the EDI slightly welcomed the NTO and wanted to advance its creation. That the initiating associations carried out most of the remaining works, may have supported the good atmosphere between them, too.

⁹⁷² Löffler, *Moderne Institutionengeschichte*, 2007, p. 157.

⁹⁷³ Löffler, *Moderne Institutionengeschichte*, 2007, p. 157.

⁹⁷⁴ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "PROCES VERBAL de la Conférence des délégués des Associations promotrices de l'Association nationale pour l'Office suisse du Tourisme, tenu le JEUDI 11 OCTOBRE 1917, [...]", Berne, 11.10.1917.

⁹⁷⁵ Simonett, Calonder, 2005.

⁹⁷⁶ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "PROCES VERBAL de la Conférence des délégués des Associations promotrices de l'Association nationale pour l'Office suisse du Tourisme, tenu le MERCREDI 12 SEPTEMBRE 1917, [...]", Berne, 12.9.1917, p. 2.

The negotiations about the open questions concerning the planned NTO show the usefulness of studying the informal ways of decision-making and the internal mechanisms in an administration. Or more precisely: the way how officials, experts, initiators and politicians fixed those questions which hitherto nobody had wanted to answer to clearly. The relevance of such questions is usually high and affects somebody or something directly. The quarrel about the place of the NTO's main seat, for instance, perfectly exemplifies this. The question was passed from one decision making agent – initiators, administration, Federal Council – to the other, but none wanted to risk a decision which it would be blamed for. Its high relevance became visible when the quarrel escalated and Basel, the city which did not become place of the main seat, accused Zurich, the winning city. The importance of the regional affiliation became apparent violently for the first time.

4.4.3.1 Two commissions for the delicate questions

And indeed, the open questions were of high relevance. Apart from the regional impact, the fundraising among private transport companies, hotels, and interested persons, companies or institutions must be started. The articles of association were revised a third time and the act of constitution at the occasion of the first general assembly had to be prepared. For all this remaining works to be done, the Nationale Vereinigung für das Schweizerische Verkehrsamt established two commissions on 11th May 1917: While the commission A had been asked to refine the articles of association, to propose the act of constitution of the "Verkehrsamt" and to discuss the place of the seat, the commission B had been required to start the fund raising.⁹⁷⁷

Both commissions consisted of some representatives of the initiating associations of the Vereinigung für das Schweizerische Verkehrsamt. Additionally, the initiating associations were reinforced: the local tourist association of Eastern Switzerland, the Swiss Automobile-Club and the SBB had associated themselves with them.

⁹⁷⁷ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "PROCES VERBAL de la Conférence des délégués des Associations promotrices de l'Association nationale pour l'Office suisse du Tourisme, tenu le MERCREDI 12 SEPTEMBRE 1917, [...]", Berne, 12.9.1917, p. 2.

	Commission A	Commission B
Union des Sociétés suisses de développement	M. E. Imer-Schneider, ancien conseiller administratif de la ville de Genève	Paul Trachsel, secrétaire du siège central, Genève
Société suisse des hôteliers	Dr. O. Töndury, président, Coire	Stigeler, secrétaire central, Bâle
Neue Gotthardvereinigung	Dr. G. Keller, conseiller d'Etat, Zurich	Miller, secrétaire, Lucerne
Association Pro Sempione	G. Kunz, conseiller aux Etats Berne	directeur A Junod, Lausanne
Verkehrsverein für Graubünden, für den zu gründenden Ostschweiz. Verkehrsverband	Dr. Keller-Huguenin, Zurich	O. Kesselring, Vorsteher des Verkehrsbureaus Chur
Automobile-Club de Suisse	F. Martin, avocat, Genève	A de Bonstetten, ingénieur, Bern
Chemins de fer fédéraux	Directeur général Colomb, Berne	Geiger, chef du service de publicité, Berne

Tab. 4: *The composition of two commissions of the Nationale Vereinigung für das Schweizerische Verkehrsamt which negotiated the open questions prior to the constitution of the NTO on 28th November 1917.*

Source: BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: Letter by the EDI to the Union des Sociétés suisses de développement, Berne, 22.5.1917, p. 1.

The tasks of the commission A encompassed the following:

1. Refinement of the draft of the articles of association
2. Organization regulations (article 17 of the articles of association)
3. Invitation of the constitutive assembly
4. Agenda of this assembly
5. Organization of the assembly (presidency, tellers, right to vote)
6. Announcement ("avis") for the designation of the delegates of the confederation
7. Propositions for the nomination of the members of the Verkehrsrat
8. Relations between the commissions A and B
9. Report to the assembly about the commission's works
10. Preliminary discussion of the question of the seat.⁹⁷⁸

In order to come to terms with this full work schedule, the commission A formed a sub-commission called A2 which was asked the most delicate questions, that are the nominations for the Verkehrsrat, the federal delegates and the question of the seat

⁹⁷⁸ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: Letter by the president of the commission A to [the members of the commission A], Berne, 21.5.1917, p. 2.

(in correspondence to the points 6, 7 and 10 of the working schedule). Firstly, the composition of the Verkehrsrat was about to be described. The articles of association foresaw 21 members for this organ, from which seven seats were reserved to the confederation, seven to the agriculture, trade, industry, commerce as well as the universities and colleges, and seven to the members.⁹⁷⁹ Accordingly, Immer-Schneider, Keller-Huguenin and Zimmerli proposed a list of persons whose nomination depended on two considerations: On the one hand, the persons in the Verkehrsrat should not be identifiable as representatives of the initiating associations at first sight, on the other hand, the regional point of view was not considered to propose the persons, although the nomination seemed to take into considerations the different destinations of Switzerland equally.⁹⁸⁰ Finally, the city which would become the seat of the NTO was considered to contribute to the costs of it.⁹⁸¹

The main task of the commission B was to carry out the fund-raising. A discussion about the time of the fund-raising – before or after the constitutive assembly of the Nationale Vereinigung für das Schweizerische Verkehrsamt – delayed the process, so that it did not start until late summer 1917.⁹⁸² But the necessary materials had been drafted during summer. The letter to prospective members and "subventionnant[s]" (subsidizing bodies) was a flaming appeal to give financial and moral support to the Nationale Vereinigung für das Schweizerische Verkehrsamt in favour of the country:

nous avons l'honneur de faire un vibrant appel à votre solidarité confédérale et de vous inviter à apporter votre concours financier et moral à l'Association nationale pour l'Office suisse du tourisme, en adhérant à celle-ci en qualité de membre ou de subventionnant. [...] Par cet acte, vous contribuerez à la fondation d'une institution qui sera appelée à exercer un grand rôle dans l'essor économique de notre pays et dont bénéficiera la nation suisse tout entière.⁹⁸³

⁹⁷⁹ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: Letter by Zimmerli to Contat, Lucerne, 23.7.1917, p. 1-2.

⁹⁸⁰ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: Letter by Zimmerli to Contat, Lucerne, 23.7.1917, p. 2.

⁹⁸¹ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: Letter by Zimmerli to Contat, Lucerne, 23.7.1917, p. 3.

⁹⁸² BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: Letter by Junod to Zimmerli and Keller, Lausanne, 3.8.1917, p. 1-3.

⁹⁸³ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "Association nationale pour l'Office suisse du Tourisme. (Schweizerisches Verkehrsamt)", p. 2-3, document attached to a letter by Junod to Contat, Lausanne, 4.6.1917.

Interestingly, Junod, member of the commission B, awaited a change in the federal administration's personnel, which would advance the process of fund-raising.⁹⁸⁴ As there is no name written down, we do not know who Junod had in mind, but it reminds us about the fact that one of the main goals of the study of the personalities' role in the administration is "[l]a capacité créatrice" (the creative capacity) of officials:

car ces personnalités se retrouvent généralement au centre du jeu administratif, même s'il y a parfois des patrons, directeurs d'administrations centrales ou chefs de corps, qui laissent aller les affaires, pensant plus ou moins confusément que les choses dureront bien autant qu'eux.⁹⁸⁵

For this study, it is noteworthy, that at this crucial stage of works, the personality of a federal official in the EDI which was in charge of the development of the NTO, was already of high importance for the advancement of the preparations for it.

4.4.3.2 The commissions' propositions and the automobile lobby's coup

On 12th September 1917, the promoting associations for the Nationale Vereinigung für das Schweizerische Verkehrsamt met in order to discuss the preliminary results of the works of the two commissions. Interestingly, the circle of the "promoting associations" had grown until this date. Apart from the SHV, the VSV, the Pro Sempione and the Pro Gottardo, as well as the SBB and the EDI, the "Automobile Club Suisse (ACS)", the "Ostschweizerische Verkehrsvereinigung" and the "Touring Club Suisse (TCS)" took part, too.

In addition to the Simplon and the Gotthard region, Eastern Switzerland newly disposed of a lobby organization. In fact, the Ostschweizerische Verkehrsvereinigung existed from 1917 to 1935, when it was liquidated.⁹⁸⁶ Due to this date of foundation it is probable that this organization was only established in order to have an appropriate representation of this part of Switzerland in the preparation for the Swiss NTO. It published and edited reports, maps and brochures about Eastern Switzerland in the 1920s.⁹⁸⁷ In the meeting of 12th September 1917, four delegates were present: Neithard, Buser, Keller-Huguenin⁹⁸⁸ and Kesselring.⁹⁸⁹

⁹⁸⁴ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: Letter by Junod to Zimmerli and Keller, Lausanne, 3.8.1917, p. 3.

⁹⁸⁵ Monnier; Thuillier, *Le rôle des personnalités*, 2005, p. 270.

⁹⁸⁶ According to SWA, Bv L IX 26: Bestand: 1917-1933; 1934/35 [Schlussbericht über die Liquidation], the final report of 1934/35 dealt with the liquidation.

⁹⁸⁷ *Ostschweiz*, Chur: Ostschweizerische Verkehrsvereinigung, 1923; *Die Ost-Schweiz*, Chur: Ostschweizerische Verkehrsvereinigung, 1926; Schmid, Hans, *Die Ostschweiz*, Frauenfeld: Huber &

The striking fact, however, was the one-sided enlargement in favour of the car,⁹⁹⁰ although it makes sense in point of view of the contemporary trends in tourism (see chapter 5.1.3 *Transport: the automobilists' conquest of the public*). With respect to the foundation of a Swiss NTO, it is remarkable that they endeavored to be included in the preparations for the "Verkehrsamt". One explanation for their endeavors may lie in the fact that both associations – the ACS as well as the TCS – fought the hostile attitudes of the administrations and the population to the new means of transport and aimed at a popularization of the car.⁹⁹¹ The planned "Verkehrsamt" offered a possibility to collaborate with partners, like the railways, the hoteliers or the LTOs, which possessed a better image than the automobilists. Secondly, and probably most importantly, it was a chance to lobby for the car's cause in a transport political perspective. In point of view of the future development of the automobile, the presence of the automobilists' interests in the future touristic advertising of Switzerland represented an excellent opportunity to improve their image and to generate sympathy.

The meeting of 12th September 1917 showed a high unanimity among the initiating associations. The refined articles of association took into account the EDI's requirements, simplified and clarified as far as possible them and introduced that not only representatives from juridical persons at the general assembly could be elected to the Verkehrsrat, but also representatives from other organs of these juridical persons.⁹⁹² While this proposition by Keller-Huguenin had been adopted, his other proposition was rejected: members and "subventionnants" had a right to one delegate in the Verkehrsrat, but it was reserved to the general assembly to elect him, while the delegates (for the Verkehrsrat) of the Federal Council were elected by the Federal

Co. 1927; *Die Ostschweiz: vom Rheinfall zum Bernina*, Chur: Ostschweizerische Verkehrsvereinigung, [s.d.].

⁹⁸⁸ Keller-Huguenin should not be mistaken for the councilor of state from the canton of Aargau Keller-Feiss, Gottfried (1873-1945) for whom see Gruner; Frei, *Bundesversammlung 1848-1920*, 1966, p. 659.

⁹⁸⁹ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "PROCES VERBAL de la Conférence des délégués des Associations promotrices de l'Association nationale pour l'Office suisse du Tourisme, tenu le MERCREDI 12 SEPTEMBRE 1917, [...]", Berne, 12.9.1917.

⁹⁹⁰ For a comprehensive history of the car and the motorization in the Western hemisphere, see Merki, *Der holprige Siegeszug*, 2002.

⁹⁹¹ Frey, Thomas, "Automobilverbände", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2006, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D16476.php> (accessed 9.8.2012).

⁹⁹² BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "PROCES VERBAL de la Conférence des délégués des Associations promotrices de l'Association nationale pour l'Office suisse du Tourisme, tenu le MERCREDI 12 SEPTEMBRE 1917, [...]", Berne, 12.9.1917, p. 3.

Council. The adoption of these articles of association was as unanimous as was the propositions concerning the constitutive assembly: The VSV would organize it, fix the place, the date, the presidency and the tellers, and all associations and persons who have hitherto enrolled as member or subsidizing bodies should be invited.⁹⁹³ The requirements for the cities which wanted to become the place of the NTO's seat – until September, Zurich, Berne, Lucerne, Basel, Lausanne, and Geneva were interested⁹⁹⁴ – foresaw some 274'000 Swiss Francs (of 2009)⁹⁹⁵ as the annual contribution of the city. If the city would offer the location for the NTO for free, the rental value would be added to the city's financial contribution. If the city wanted to share this sum with the canton, the later was allowed to profit from special conditions (but this did not count for other associations supporting the city).⁹⁹⁶ The EDI was asked to inform the six cities accordingly and to ask about their acceptance in case of their election to the place of the seat.⁹⁹⁷

According to the commission B, responsible for the fund-raising, the letter to prospective members and subsidizing bodies had been successful, so that until 12th September 1917, roughly some three million Swiss Francs (of 2009)⁹⁹⁸ had been subscribed – excluding the initiating associations' contributions.⁹⁹⁹ This amount astonished and exceeded the expectations.¹⁰⁰⁰

⁹⁹³ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "PROCES VERBAL de la Conférence des délégués des Associations promotrices de l'Association nationale pour l'Office suisse du Tourisme, tenu le MERCREDI 12 SEPTEMBRE 1917, [...]", Berne, 12.9.1917, p. 3-4.

⁹⁹⁴ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "PROCES VERBAL de la Conférence des délégués des Associations promotrices de l'Association nationale pour l'Office suisse du Tourisme, tenu le MERCREDI 12 SEPTEMBRE 1917, [...]", Berne, 12.9.1917, p. 4.

⁹⁹⁵ According to Pfister; Studer, Swistoval, [s.d.] (accessed 11.9.2015), 15'000 Swiss Francs in 1918 equaled roughly 274'000 Swiss Francs in 2009 (deflator: historical wage index).

⁹⁹⁶ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "PROCES VERBAL de la Conférence des délégués des Associations promotrices de l'Association nationale pour l'Office suisse du Tourisme, tenu le MERCREDI 12 SEPTEMBRE 1917, [...]", Berne, 12.9.1917, p. 4.

⁹⁹⁷ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "PROCES VERBAL de la Conférence des délégués des Associations promotrices de l'Association nationale pour l'Office suisse du Tourisme, tenu le MERCREDI 12 SEPTEMBRE 1917, [...]", Berne, 12.9.1917, p. 5.

⁹⁹⁸ According to Pfister; Studer, Swistoval, [s.d.] (accessed 11.9.2015), 120'000 Swiss Francs in 1917 equaled roughly three million Swiss Francs in 2009 (deflator: historical wage index).

⁹⁹⁹ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "PROCES VERBAL de la Conférence des délégués des Associations promotrices de l'Association nationale pour l'Office suisse du Tourisme, tenu le MERCREDI 12 SEPTEMBRE 1917, [...]", Berne, 12.9.1917, p. 5.

¹⁰⁰⁰ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "PROCES VERBAL de la Conférence des délégués des Associations promotrices de l'Association nationale pour l'Office suisse du Tourisme, tenu le MERCREDI 12 SEPTEMBRE 1917, [...]", Berne, 12.9.1917, p. 5.

4.4.3.3 Last preparations prior to the constitutive assembly

Another meeting of the initiating associations took place on 11th October 1917 and served for planning the constitutive assembly. While the Federal Council replaced the term "Verkehrsamt" with the new title "Schweizerische Zentralstelle für den Reiseverkehr",¹⁰⁰¹ last wishes were uttered to be included in the articles of association.¹⁰⁰² Mainly the conservative Councilor of States Georges de Montenach¹⁰⁰³ pleaded for the inclusion of so different aspects as the protection and conservation of the sites or the defense of the interests of the hotels' employees. As a result of a long discussion, article 20 B was complemented in this sense.¹⁰⁰⁴ This inclusion mirrored contemporary discussions about, for instance, the preservation of sites and regional traditions ("Heimatschutz"), which considered tourism as a danger for the nature (see chapter 3.1.2 *Transport: the conquest of the mountains by rail*).¹⁰⁰⁵

While the propositions for the election of the Verkehrsrat and the place of the constitutive assembly were fixed, some questions still remained open, in particular the question of the place of the seat. In fact, the initiating associations obviously disagreed for the first time, each association preferring another city.¹⁰⁰⁶ The tensions were not eased by the announcement of the VSV's president, Weber, that "aucune entente amiable [sic!]" had occurred between the six cities running for becoming the place of the seat.¹⁰⁰⁷ In addition, the confederation and the SBB announced that they would abstain from voting,¹⁰⁰⁸ thereby obviously leaving the ground for the regions to find their own solution, see without neutral – which in this case meant national – support. It seemed to, as if all the present representatives suddenly became

¹⁰⁰¹ Translated in the general sense: Swiss Central Office for Traffic.

¹⁰⁰² BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "PROCES VERBAL de la Conférence des délégués des Associations promotrices de l'Association nationale pour l'Office suisse du Tourisme, tenu le JEUDI 11 OCTOBRE 1917, [...]", [Berne], 11.10.1917, p. 2.

¹⁰⁰³ Rolle, Marianne, "Montenach, Georges de", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2008, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D3936.php> (accessed 13.9.2012).

¹⁰⁰⁴ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "PROCES VERBAL de la Conférence des délégués des Associations promotrices de l'Association nationale pour l'Office suisse du Tourisme, tenu le JEUDI 11 OCTOBRE 1917, [...]", [Berne], 11.10.1917, p. 3-4.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Bachmann, Tourismuskritik, 2005, p. 27-28.

¹⁰⁰⁶ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "PROCES VERBAL de la Conférence des délégués des Associations promotrices de l'Association nationale pour l'Office suisse du Tourisme, tenu le JEUDI 11 OCTOBRE 1917, [...]", [Berne], 11.10.1917, p. 4.

¹⁰⁰⁷ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "PROCES VERBAL de la Conférence des délégués des Associations promotrices de l'Association nationale pour l'Office suisse du Tourisme, tenu le JEUDI 11 OCTOBRE 1917, [...]", [Berne], 11.10.1917, p. 4.

¹⁰⁰⁸ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "PROCES VERBAL de la Conférence des délégués des Associations promotrices de l'Association nationale pour l'Office suisse du Tourisme, tenu le JEUDI 11 OCTOBRE 1917, [...]", [Berne], 11.10.1917, p. 5.

defenders of a certain region, once again revealing the regional tensions and thereby showing the real need for a NTO which would mediate between these regions drifting apart.

Last adaptations and changes of the articles of association took place in the two weeks prior to the constitutive assembly. Twice, it was up to the *administration* to utter last wishes: On 13th November 1917, the EDI submitted a request to the Federal Council – which finally had to approve the articles of association – claiming, newly, that all representatives of the federal administration taking part in the general assembly were members of the Verkehrsrat on the same time,¹⁰⁰⁹ and furthermore proposing twelve people as representatives of the federal administration, entitling Contat to elect on behalf of the confederation and allowing him to be elected as a manager of the Verkehrsrat, but forcing him to abstain in the question of the seat and finally fixing some questions of indemnifications.¹⁰¹⁰ The EDI's advance was of tactical nature. Although the Federal Council should approve the articles of association *after* the constitutive assembly, the EDI wanted to secure its provisional approval before the constitutive assembly.¹⁰¹¹ Therefore, the EDI submitted the latest version of the articles of association to the Federal Council and with the idea that the Federal Council "voudra bien l'examiner et se déclarer d'accord, ou bien formuler des observations [...], après quoi l'approbation définitive se réduirait à une simple formalité [...]".¹⁰¹² The articles of association had witnessed some changings since the federal decree of September 1917, which the EDI elaborated on: Most prominently, the title of the office was criticized. In particular the German title posed some problems, as some version of it made allusion to the term "Amt" which the parliament rejected.¹⁰¹³ The French term "office du tourisme", however, did not face

¹⁰⁰⁹ According to BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: Request by the EDI to the Federal Council, Berne, 13.11.1917, p. 4-5, a former version foresaw twelve representatives of the confederation at the general assembly, and seven representatives of the confederation in the Verkehrsrat. Numerous proposals for representatives of the confederation by the different departments of the federal administration urged the EDI to ask for the Federal Council's approval for a reduction from twelve to seven representatives of the confederation (for the general assembly) who, however, should be member of the Verkehrsrat on the same time.

¹⁰¹⁰ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: Request by the EDI to the Federal Council, Berne, 13.11.1917, p. 10-11.

¹⁰¹¹ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: Request by the EDI to the Federal Council, Berne, 13.11.1917, p. 2.

¹⁰¹² BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: Request by the EDI to the Federal Council, Berne, 13.11.1917, p. 2.

¹⁰¹³ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: Request by the EDI to the Federal Council, Berne, 13.11.1917, p. 3.

any critiques.¹⁰¹⁴ The planned office should not be associated too much with the administration, as it was not a federal office in its own right. The title was derived of "Statuten der nationalen Vereinigung für das 'Schweiz. Verkehrsamt' (Statuts de l'association nationale pour l'office suisse du tourisme)" distributed in the parliament on 12th September 1917 and of the designation of the association as "Nationale Vereinigung für die Schweizerische Zentralstelle für Reiseverkehr (Verkehrszentrale)" – the French title remained – used in the federal decree of 28th September 1917.¹⁰¹⁵ As the term "Verkehrsamt" was to avoid according to the parliament, the EDI and the initiating associations replaced it by the term "Schweiz. Verkehrszentrale",¹⁰¹⁶ meanwhile the title of the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs (Association nationale pour le développement du tourisme) did not pose any obstacles.¹⁰¹⁷ Accordingly, the EDI presented a list of some seven names for the confederation's representation in the general assembly and in the Verkehrsrat on 21st November 1917.¹⁰¹⁸ The constitutive assembly elected all of the proposed people into the Verkehrsrat.¹⁰¹⁹ Thus, the following men represented the confederation in the first three-year term of the SVZ.¹⁰²⁰

- "1. Dr. Ant. Contat, Ile secrétaire du département suisse de l'Intérieur.
2. Anton Stäger, directeur général des postes.
3. Rudolf Baumann, secrétaire général de l'Union Helvetia, Lucerne,
4. G. de Montenach, conseiller aux Etats, Fribourg.
5. Alex. Bernoud, ingénieur, président central du Club alpin suisse, Genève.
6. Nicolas Hartmann, architecte, St. Moritz.
7. Quattrini, directeur de la compagnie de navigation du lac de Lugano, Lugano."¹⁰²¹

¹⁰¹⁴ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: Request by the EDI to the Federal Council, Berne, 13.11.1917, p. 3.

¹⁰¹⁵ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: Request by the EDI to the Federal Council, Berne, 13.11.1917, p. 3.

¹⁰¹⁶ Translated in the general sense: Swiss Tourism Association, today called Switzerland Tourism.

¹⁰¹⁷ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: Request by the EDI to the Federal Council, Berne, 13.11.1917, p. 3.

¹⁰¹⁸ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: Report and request by the EDI to the Federal Council, Berne, 21.11.1917, p. 1.

¹⁰¹⁹ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "Protokoll der konstituierenden Generalversammlung", by Calonder, president, and Junod, secretary, of the Nationalen Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Bern, 28.11.1917, p. 13-14.

¹⁰²⁰ According to article 11 of the articles of association, the delegate in the Verkehrsrat was elected for three years: BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "Statuten der nationalen Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs", Bern, 28.11.1917, p. 4.

¹⁰²¹ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: Report and request by the EDI to the Federal Council, Berne, 21.11.1917, p. 1.

The list reveals that the federal representatives were (general) secretaries, members of parliament, presidents or directors, thus of high rank and with societal responsibility. The Italian- and French-speaking parts of Switzerland were taken into consideration as were the social preferences: The Union Helvetia was the leading hotel employees' union,¹⁰²² the Swiss Alpine Club a bourgeois, elitist sport association.¹⁰²³

Although the mentioned adjustments were not of great importance in point of view of content, they are interesting in a theoretical point of view. Some changes – or attempts of changes – in the articles of association were added *after* the parliament had agreed upon. On the one hand, the changes based on some critiques made by a Councilor of States, on the other hand on changes made by the federal administration. The attempt also mirrored the fact that interferences in somebody's interest could take place quite late that is after the matter had passed already the main political instances like the parliament. It also shows the formatting power of the administration and demonstrates the administration's existence as a power in its own right, apart from the government, the parliament and the judicature.¹⁰²⁴ All the more important became, in this situation, those persons – be it officials or lobbyists – who have developed and accompanied the project. Naturally, they always represented an interest group and it is here where we can draw parallels to other periods where interest groups de facto carried out state tasks: The clearing agreements between Switzerland and Germany and Italy respectively in the 1930s were mainly negotiated by representatives of the economic umbrella organizations who had considerable interests in avoiding that the two countries would stop to deliver raw materials to Switzerland.¹⁰²⁵ Therefore, we can state, that the way the Swiss NTO mirrored the "institutional reality" in the Swiss administration at the end of the "long" 19th century.¹⁰²⁶ Some private initiators dedicated to their aim, an uncomplicated

¹⁰²² Degen, Bernard, "Union Helvetia", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2011, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D41726.php> (accessed 4.12.2012).

¹⁰²³ Maurer, Rolf, "Schweizer Alpen-Club (SAC)", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2011, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D16457.php> (accessed 4.12.2012).

¹⁰²⁴ This view supports Fleiner's perception of the Swiss administration as an acting power, which not only executes political wishes, but also rules. See: Nellen; Nienhaus, Sardet; Schiedt, Verwalten und regieren, 2011, p. 15.

¹⁰²⁵ Frech, Stefan, *Clearing. Der Zahlungsverkehr der Schweiz mit den Achsenmächten*, Zürich: Chronos Verlag, 2001, p. 284.

¹⁰²⁶ According to Bauer, 19. Jahrhundert, 2005, p. 318, 334-380 the 19th century began with the French Revolution and ended with the First World War.

collaboration with the person in charge in the federal administration, of a certain rank and therefore with good relations and with some relatively short communication ways to the head of the department (see a Federal Councilor) characterize the setting which, in the case of the Swiss NTO, proved successful. One might add, that delicate questions were not treated offensively, but rather left to the general assembly. Thus, focusing on what was not said but thought¹⁰²⁷ – but must be read between the lines – made clear, that the place of the seat of the NTO was an uncomfortable topic. For the month before the constitutive assembly, after a discussion, in which nearly all persons uttered a different preference for the place of the seat, the minutes only state: "Aucune décision est prise" and the conference would continue with the next point on the agenda.¹⁰²⁸ The obvious diametrically opposite preferences were not discussed, rather left to later disagreement, which, indeed, appeared on the surface right after the constitutive assembly.

4.5 The constitutive assembly

On 28th November 1917, some 223 members and subsidizing bodies gathered in the National Council's hall in the House of Parliament in Bern.¹⁰²⁹ In this constitutive assembly, they founded the SVZ by accepting the articles of association and electing the SVZ' organs, in particular the Verkehrsrat. The assembly followed a strict order, so that it resembled rather the formal approval of the decisions made in the preparatory phase than an enlargement in terms of content. Two decisions, however, were to be made by the constitutive assembly, which thereby faced a first uncomfortable disagreement. The assembly had to fix, first, the articles of association, then, the place of the seat of the SVZ. Before, however, Calonder, the Federal Councilor in charge, made a tour d'horizon about the development of the preparatory works for the SVZ, fixed the assembly's president, secretary and the teller, and came to clarify the number of entries into the association and of the institutions present. An unfriendly discussion arose around the numbers of representatives entitled to vote of the city of Basel because it had proposed higher

¹⁰²⁷ Monnier; Thuillier, *Le rôle des personnalités*, 2005, p. 273.

¹⁰²⁸ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "PROCES VERBAL de la Conférence des délégués des Associations promotrices de l'Association nationale pour l'Office suisse du Tourisme, tenu le JEUDI 11 OCTOBRE 1917, [...]", [Berne], 11.10.1917, p. 5.

¹⁰²⁹ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "Protokoll der konstituierenden Generalversammlung", by Calonder, president, and Junod, secretary, of the Nationalen Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Bern, 28.11.1917, p. 1, 7.

subsidies than allowed in order to boost its running for the place of the seat of the SVZ.¹⁰³⁰ Article 4 of the articles of association foresaw that if the confederation, the cantons or other domestic legal entities under public law paid a subsidy of at least 9'000 Swiss Francs (of 2009)¹⁰³¹ per year, they and their delegates would be guaranteed some rights described in the articles of association – as for example having a vote in the general assembly (article 8).¹⁰³² Different "legal entities under public law" in Basel had therefore accepted money of private persons who were not able to pay for a period longer than a year,¹⁰³³ but which enabled the "legal entities under public law" to pay very high subsidies which, in turn, gave them numerous votes in the general (and constitutive) assembly and therefore power in the votes. This was interesting for Basel because the city aimed at winning the place of the seat of the SVZ. The EDI had, however, fixed the subsidy of the city, which would be the place of the SVZ' seat, in order to avoid a mutual outbidding between the cities.¹⁰³⁴ Particularly, some guilds of Basel annoyed the constitutive assembly as they were "legal entities under public law" according to Basel's law, which was even proved by two legal experts' reports.¹⁰³⁵ While all representatives of Basel supported this status, the delegates of other Swiss cities, particularly Zurich, openly questioned it.¹⁰³⁶ The conflict was solved as Basel only was entitled to vote for a subsidy at the height of the outbidding-maximum so that equity was guaranteed.¹⁰³⁷ With this question settled, the really hot topic became subject of discussion: the place of the seat of the SVZ.

¹⁰³⁰ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "Protokoll der konstituierenden Generalversammlung", by Calonder, president, and Junod, secretary, of the Nationalen Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Bern, 28.11.1917, p. 7-8.

¹⁰³¹ According to Pfister; Studer, Swistoval, [s.d.] (accessed 11.9.2015), 500 Swiss Francs in 1918 equaled roughly 9'000 Swiss Francs in 2009 (deflator: historical wage index).

¹⁰³² BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "Statuten der nationalen Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs", Bern, 28.11.1917, p. 2-3.

¹⁰³³ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "Protokoll der konstituierenden Generalversammlung", by Calonder, president, and Junod, secretary, of the Nationalen Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Bern, 28.11.1917, p. 8.

¹⁰³⁴ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "Protokoll der konstituierenden Generalversammlung", by Calonder, president, and Junod, secretary, of the Nationalen Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Bern, 28.11.1917, p. 7.

¹⁰³⁵ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "Protokoll der konstituierenden Generalversammlung", by Calonder, president, and Junod, secretary, of the Nationalen Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Bern, 28.11.1917, p. 8.

¹⁰³⁶ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "Protokoll der konstituierenden Generalversammlung", by Calonder, president, and Junod, secretary, of the Nationalen Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Bern, 28.11.1917, p. 7-10.

¹⁰³⁷ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "Protokoll der konstituierenden Generalversammlung", by Calonder, president, and Junod, secretary, of the Nationalen Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Bern, 28.11.1917, p. 9-10.

4.5.1 The question of the place of the seat

In the Federal Council's message to the parliament of 1917, the place of the seat of the planned Verkehrsamt was not fixed.¹⁰³⁸ The representation of the different regions in Switzerland seemed to be of an overarching importance. While the authors of the first draft of the articles of association feared that the French-speaking part of Switzerland would not accept the Verkehrsamt,¹⁰³⁹ it was a rivalry between Basel and Zürich which nearly escalated when the place of the main seat was about to be fixed. After a few changes of the articles of association had passed without any discussions,¹⁰⁴⁰ and after the constitutive assembly had rejected that the Federal Council should fix the place of the seat, the minutes of the constitutive assembly drily noted the four ballots which were necessary until Zurich won (over Basel, Bern, Geneva, Lausanne and Lucerne).¹⁰⁴¹ Thereby, a question which had been mentioned during all the preparatory phase, but had been passed on from one meeting to the other, was finally answered. It mirrored well the regional and political tensions which the new institution found itself in. In Basel, however, the unfavourable decision (in point of view of Basel) created a big stir. The "Basler Nachrichten" reproached the EDI for not having been neutral in the question of the place of the seat during the constitutive assembly. It took the EDI three closely written pages to explain its behaviour to the Federal Council and to reject the reproaches.¹⁰⁴² Only after this explanation the Federal Council approved the articles of association. The EDI's explanation perfectly showed the role of the administration in the SVZ: It did not consider its neutrality as absolute and constant if its rights were thereby limited.¹⁰⁴³ Rather, the country's general and higher interests should be taken into consideration by the confederation's delegates, which implied that the confederation took on the

¹⁰³⁸ "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung betreffend die Beteiligung des Bundes an der Errichtung eines Schweizerischen Verkehrsamtes. (Vom 16. März 1917.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 12, 1917, p. 393.

¹⁰³⁹ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 67, 1913-1967: "MEMORIAL und STATUTEN des Schweizerischen Verkehrsamtes", by Ducloux, president, and Lehmann, secretary of the VSV, as well as Hauser, president, and Stigeler, secretary, of the SHV, Luzern, Basel, 11.10.1913, p. 5.

¹⁰⁴⁰ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "Protokoll der konstituierenden Generalversammlung", by Calonder, president, and Junod, secretary, of the Nationalen Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Bern, 28.11.1917, . 10-11.

¹⁰⁴¹ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "Protokoll der konstituierenden Generalversammlung", by Calonder, president, and Junod, secretary, of the Nationalen Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Bern, 28.11.1917, p. 11-13.

¹⁰⁴² BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: Report by the EDI to the Federal Council, Berne, 14.12.1917, p. 1-3.

¹⁰⁴³ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: Report by the EDI to the Federal Council, Berne, 14.12.1917, p. 2.

role of a moderator and mediator between opposing regions.¹⁰⁴⁴ Thus, the EDI rejected the reproaches by the "Basler Nachrichten" point by point: On the one hand, the federal delegates rejected the proposal to let the Federal Council fix the place of the seat because this was in the Federal Council's intention and because they wanted to mediate: "En acceptant cette proposition, nous n'eussions fait que transporter sur un autre terrain la dispute, et exposer le Conseil fédéral aux reproches que la minorité de l'assemblée adresse maintenant à la majorité."¹⁰⁴⁵ On the other hand, when the discussion revolved around the legal status (private/public) of the guilds of Basel as "legal entities under public law", the federal delegates had intervened in favour of the guilds.¹⁰⁴⁶ But the journalist of the "Basler Nachrichten" had twisted their words as was proven by the stenographic minutes of the assembly.¹⁰⁴⁷ As this internal report by the EDI to the Federal Council was not public, Dr. Hermann Henrici, lecturer at the University of Basel, was asked to clarify the question "Basel and the SVZ".¹⁰⁴⁸ He only accepted on the condition that he was not fixed on a predestined result.¹⁰⁴⁹ The disappointment seemed to be big in Basel.

Interestingly, the question of the place of the seat was enlarged insofar as one of the last changes of the articles of association (during the constitutive assembly) implied that a branch office would be established (article 17). The Association des Intérêts de Genève had applied for a decision according to which a branch office in another part of Switzerland than the main seat would be located in should be established.¹⁰⁵⁰ The Association refused, however, on the designation of the geographical location so that article 17 finally stated that a branch office would be erected.¹⁰⁵¹ This opened, in fact, the way for new regional claims which, astonishingly, did not create any further tensions.

¹⁰⁴⁴ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: Report by the EDI to the Federal Council, Berne, 14.12.1917, p. 2.

¹⁰⁴⁵ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: Report by the EDI to the Federal Council, Berne, 14.12.1917, p. 2.

¹⁰⁴⁶ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: Report by the EDI to the Federal Council, Berne, 14.12.1917, p. 3.

¹⁰⁴⁷ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: Report by the EDI to the Federal Council, Berne, 14.12.1917, p. 2.

¹⁰⁴⁸ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: Letter by Henrici to Calonder, Basel, 5.1.1918.

¹⁰⁴⁹ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: Letter by Henrici to Calonder, Basel, 5.1.1918.

¹⁰⁵⁰ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "Protokoll der konstituierenden Generalversammlung", by Calonder, president, and Junod, secretary, of the Nationalen Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Bern, 28.11.1917, p. 11.

¹⁰⁵¹ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "Protokoll der konstituierenden Generalversammlung", by Calonder, president, and Junod, secretary, of the Nationalen Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Bern, 28.11.1917, p. 11.

4.5.2 The Federal Council's approval and the structure of the SVZ

The Federal Council's approved the definitive articles of association of the SVZ on 22nd December 1917.¹⁰⁵² Calonder had obviously been as convincing in the Federal Council as he had been convinced in the beginning of the preparatory phase that Switzerland needed a central tourist office. Alexander Seiler, at least, lauded Calonder insofar as the skepticism in the beginning was overcome and led into a constructive collaboration only due to Calonder.¹⁰⁵³ It was also under Calonder's presidency¹⁰⁵⁴ of the constitutive assembly that, finally, the advisory body of the SVZ, the Verkehrsrat, was created. All the proposed candidates were elected¹⁰⁵⁵ and met for their first meeting subsequent to the constitutive assembly as it quickly had to elect the president of the Verkehrsrat. In contrast to Calonder's proposition to elect the Councilor of States from Zürich, Dr. Keller, for president, the assembly elected the National Councilor Alexander Seiler from Zermatt who had initiated the SVZ by means of his motion in the parliament in 1911.¹⁰⁵⁶

With the approved articles of association, the Federal Council gave legality to the first national tourist office in Switzerland. What did they state exactly? The official – that is by the Federal Council – approval of the articles of association instituted an association of private law called "Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs" which had one task: the establishment and support of an institution called "Schweizerische Verkehrszentrale" (article 1).¹⁰⁵⁷ Membership was decided upon by the board of management and limited to people living in Switzerland, legal entities of private and public law in Switzerland, Swiss citizens abroad, and organizations built by Swiss citizens abroad. Members paid a fee of at least some

¹⁰⁵² BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: Extract of the minutes of the meeting of the Federal Council, by the Federal Council to the EDI, [Berne], 22.12.1917.

¹⁰⁵³ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "Protokoll der konstituierenden Generalversammlung", by Calonder, president, and Junod, secretary, of the Nationalen Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Bern, 28.11.1917, p. 6.

¹⁰⁵⁴ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "Protokoll der konstituierenden Generalversammlung", by Calonder, president, and Junod, secretary, of the Nationalen Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Bern, 28.11.1917, p. 7.

¹⁰⁵⁵ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "Protokoll der konstituierenden Generalversammlung", by Calonder, president, and Junod, secretary, of the Nationalen Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Bern, 28.11.1917, 13-14.

¹⁰⁵⁶ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "Conseil du tourisme de l'Association nationale pour le développement du Tourisme. Protocol de la séance tenue à Berne, le 28 novembre 1917 [...]", [Berne], 28.11.1917, p. 1.

¹⁰⁵⁷ If not indicated otherwise, this part bases on: BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "Statuten der nationalen Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs", Bern, 28.11.1917, p. 1-7.

9'000 Swiss Francs (of 2009)¹⁰⁵⁸ per annum for a duration of three years (article 2). Subsidies were allowed to be paid by the confederation, the cantons, and legal entities under public law (including state enterprises) and entitled the payers to some rights described in the articles of association (article 3). The organs of the association were:

- the general assembly
- the Verkehrsrat
- the board of management (of the association) (article 5).

The articles 6 to 10 described the general assembly's composition, tasks and responsibilities, the articles 11 to 14 those of the Verkehrsrat. The latter elects the board of management, the direction of the Verkehrszentrale (article 12), meanwhile the confederation was entitled to send seven and the SBB to send two delegates for the Verkehrsrat (article 11). Obviously, the Verkehrsrat (at least 21 members) functioned like a parliament as it also approved the materials submitted to the general assemblies (articles 11 and 12). In contrast, the board of management (seven to nine members) functioned like a government,¹⁰⁵⁹ mainly representing the association in external relations and directing the Verkehrszentrale (articles 15 and 16). The Verkehrszentrale, finally, was described as a permanent institution exploited by the association at the place of the seat of the association and called "Schweiz. Verkehrszentrale" (Swiss Tourism Association) (article 17). Managed by a direction, the SVZ's tasks were, in summary:

- propaganda, promotion, and PR, particularly its standardizations
- study of tourism in Switzerland, its economic, social, cultural relations and impacts (article 20).

The incomes of the association consisted of contribution by the members, the "Subvenienten" (subsidizing bodies) and voluntary contributions (article 21).

With respect to the administrative-historical approach, the designation of the confederation interests. It is mentioned for the first time in the article on the subsidizing bodies, entitling the confederation to special rights in case of a payment

¹⁰⁵⁸ According to Pfister; Studer, Swistoval, [s.d.] (accessed 11.9.2015), 500 Swiss Francs in 1918 equaled roughly 9'000 Swiss Francs in 2009 (deflator: historical wage index).

¹⁰⁵⁹ In this case, we understand the term "government" as a group of councilors which includes all important parties and powers of a country, thus as the Swiss Federal Council.

of a subsidy of at least some 9'000 Swiss Francs (of 2009)¹⁰⁶⁰ per year (article 4). Basing on this, the confederation has the right to send twelve delegates to the general assembly (other legal entities or subsidizing bodies were not allowed to send more than five delegates!) (article 7), and seven delegates into the Verkehrsrat (article 11). The Verkehrsrat produced expert's reports at the confederations request (article 13). The supervising function of the confederation – the fact, that the articles of association had to be accepted by the Federal Council – was, in contrast, based on the Bundesbeschluss of September 1917.¹⁰⁶¹ These special conditions revealed the favourable status of the confederation, although Calonder heavily stressed the nature of the SVZ as an institution of private law in his introductory words to the constitutive assembly.¹⁰⁶² By stressing the two-fold mission which the SVZ should accomplish, he made allusion to what came to characterize the SVZ' work in the first two decades of its existence: to represent the country's economic interest and to care for its cultural values and their promotion.¹⁰⁶³

4.6 Preliminary results

With the SVZ constituted in November 1917, Switzerland received a national tourist office. The time of the establishment deserves special attention in two respects: Firstly, there was an international dimension with the First World War still going on in 1917. Were the date of foundation and the war casually related to each other? In which respects? Secondly, there was a domestic, see national, dimension. In comparison with other interest associations in the main economic sectors (industry, agriculture, trade and commercial enterprises), the SVZ was established with a delay of roughly half a century (47 years precisely compared to the SHIV). Why was the SVZ established later? Rather than a mono-causal reasoning, an interplay of several

¹⁰⁶⁰ According to Pfister; Studer, Swistoval, [s.d.] (accessed 11.9.2015), 500 Swiss Francs in 1918 equaled roughly 9'000 Swiss Francs in 2009 (deflator: historical wage index).

¹⁰⁶¹ "Bundesbeschluss betreffend die Beteiligung des Bundes an der nationalen Vereinigung für die Schweizerische Zentralstelle für Reiseverkehr (Verkehrszentrale). (Vom 28. September 1917.)", in *Amtliche Sammlung der Bundesgesetze und Verordnungen der schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft*, Neue Folge, Vol. 33, Bern: Buchdruckerei Stämpfli & Cie., 1918, p. 827, article 2.

¹⁰⁶² BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "Protokoll der konstituierenden Generalversammlung", by Calonder, president, and Junod, secretary, of the Nationalen Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Bern, 28.11.1917, p. 6.

¹⁰⁶³ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "Protokoll der konstituierenden Generalversammlung", by Calonder, president, and Junod, secretary, of the Nationalen Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Bern, 28.11.1917, 5.

factors seems to be more accurate to explain the tourism's delay in point of view of interests bundling.

Firstly, the question "why later?" makes sense in a domestic perspective. In an international perspective, however, the question gets a slightly different meaning: Why did NTOs in Europe – and probably all over the world – come to existence later in comparison with interest bundlings in other economic sectors? Can we still label the first NTOs as "later", when none of them appeared not before the first decade of the 20th century? Whether or not, internationally seen, Switzerland belonged to the states which *pioneered* in the establishment of NTOs. Indeed, it did react on foreign developments, which is on the creation of the special unit dedicated to tourism in the Ministerium für öffentliche Arbeiten¹⁰⁶⁴ in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (1908) and the Office National du Tourisme in France (1910). But it reacted relatively quickly, within three years. Compared to the French NTO, which may had inspired the SVZ more than the Austro-Hungarian unit, the time of reaction was even shortened to one year. Swiss hoteliers and local tourist offices were oriented internationally, as much to the neighbouring, competing countries as to the countries of the guests' origin. In this respect, international pressure arose not before 1908. With France following two years later, Swiss hoteliers did not want to wait for another competitor to go ahead with the marketing of the own country. With Seiler's and Emery's motion submitted in 1911, the process of creating a Swiss NTO started. The final establishment in 1917, however, maybe mirrored more the peculiarities of the Swiss way of legislation and the federalist structure than the delaying effects of a personal absence and the outbreak of the First World War. In an uncomplicated, considerate and friendly way the initiating associations, see private entities, worked out the articles of association in loose cooperation with the administration. Most of the delicate questions were postponed and left to the constitutive assembly, so that no important quarrels appeared openly and delayed the process for years. Only the SBB's resistance repeatedly retarded it, but was effectively broken by EDI's insistence to cooperate. Nevertheless, the negotiations were time-consuming, but in turn, it was a participating process in which the crucial interests were represented. Not astonishingly, the crucial document for the establishment, the first articles of association, were accepted by the members of the NTO. In the fourth year of war,

¹⁰⁶⁴ Translated in the general sense: Ministry for Public Affairs.

Switzerland thereby created an institution which united employers, particularly hoteliers and transport companies, and workers, for instance the Union Helvetia Luzern, the hotel employees' union. Against the background of the state of the country during the First World War, this deserves mention. The economic situation of the working class had worsened considerably during the war, so that the country faced deep tensions in its society. Switzerland in 1917 was a country heavily torn apart economically and socially, which culminated in the general strike in November 1918. Unions fought among others for better working conditions (48 hours per week), a guarantee for food supply, and social insurances.¹⁰⁶⁵ Yet, the national government answered with the deployment of troops. Compared to this event, the creation of the SVZ was completely anachronistic. What did this anachronism base on? Did this anachronism show that tourism was an industry which was not involved with the Swiss society? Thus, Antonietti's hypothesis that tourism was an industry by foreigners for foreigners would still be valid for the years 1917/1918? Did it support the hypothesis that the events in other touristic countries like France and the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy had a higher relevance for the Swiss tourism industry prior to the First World War than the domestic policy? Thus, the Swiss tourism industry would have mainly been oriented to the competing countries, considering itself belonging to the international tourism rather than to the country's economic life. For sure, the money invested in the Swiss hotel and transport sectors were considerable, so tourism was a column of the Swiss economy, but the international orientation seemed, in fact, to be influential. Without the international pressure – the creation of NTOs in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and in France, the predominant international (foreign) guests –, the "later" date of the establishment of the SVZ can hardly be explained. Too many were the references to these neighbouring countries as motives for the SVZ, and too anachronistic was the creation of the SVZ to the contemporary social developments in the Swiss society. The confederation, however, overcame this anachronism by considering tourism capable of contributing to the reconstruction of the Swiss economy after the war, so that the confederation was ready to support the first Swiss NTO financially (see chapter 4.4.2 *The message of 16th March 1917: reasons for the confederation's engagement in favour of the SVZ*).

¹⁰⁶⁵ Degen, Bernard, "Landesstreik", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2012, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D16533.php> (accessed 21.1.2013).

Secondly, the domestic economy and particularly tourism as an economic sector, however, started to weigh around the same time as the international pressure in organizational perspective in form of the foreign NTOs arose. Tourism evolved into one of the most important export branches of Switzerland from 1850 onwards, as the nominal value added from tourism increased from 1,2 percent to 5 percent of GDP between 1851 and 1913.¹⁰⁶⁶ The overnight stays and the available bed capacity rose in the 1890s and the 1900s, only the occupancy rate of the available beds in Swiss hotels stagnated at some 30 percent or lower in 1894, 1905 and 1910 (data for the years in between are not available).¹⁰⁶⁷ This meant that the supply of hotel beds had grown parallel to or exceeded the demand, leading locally – as in the case of the Bernese Oberland¹⁰⁶⁸ – to a surplus. So far, nothing suggested a huge crisis. Yet, in some contemporary hoteliers' opinion, the international as well as the national competition had increased and, on the same time, inefficiency. They did not possess, however, extensive statistical data to undermine this opinion, which motivated them to call for a central institution which would care about a reliable statistical base. Thus, the starting point of a Swiss NTO also grounded in the opinion of contemporaries' that tourism, an economic sector which had increased to economic importance within half of a century, was endangered. Probably, the consciousness about its importance had grown also, so that an impression of a menacing crisis was enough to introduce organizational measures. Read against the background of Humair's "capitalisme organisé" and the cartelizations in the 19th century, see the foundation of interest associations in the industry or the agriculture, the SVZ was also established in a period of crisis. Although in 1911, the crisis was only a suspicion, the First World War delivered the reasons for and justified them. The experience of the First World War, during which tourism faced a considerable crisis, supported the need for a NTO including the confederations' contribution. Thus, the sheer importance and the consciousness about tourism as a crucial economic sector, led to the foundation of the SVZ. That this needed time, or was not so obvious in the golden years of the Belle Epoque, may therefore partially explain the date of establishment. The Swiss industry's and agriculture's experience had shown that organizational measures were usually introduced in times of crisis and not in prosperous periods. The Swiss tourism industry was no exception in this respect.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Püntener, Beitrag des Fremdenverkehrs, 1994, p. 57.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Müller; Amacher Hoppler, neutral country, 2013, p. 111.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Pfister, Modernisierung, 1995, p. 284.

Thirdly, the delay of the SVZ on the founding date of the Swiss peak associations may lay in the following fact: Some of the SVZ' member were national associations, clubs or institutions in their own right, for instance the ACS, TCS, SHV, VSV, or the SBB. Most of these national organizations developed out of local, cantonal or regional associations, clubs, sections, units or enterprises, which were the level where these organizations started to exist. The fusion on the national level therefore needed some time, as, first, the local level had to be established and a national coalition was not necessary immediately, let alone the collaboration with other organizations with similar fields of interest. The SVZ, however, united exactly such national organizations which had similar fields of interest. Thus, its member associations first had to come into existence, consolidate and to fusion on the national level after a while, in short: to organize themselves before they were ready for a collaboration basing on specific topics like touristic advertising. Given that the TCS and the ACS were established in 1896 and 1898 respectively and the SBB in 1902, the SVZ's founding date, 1917, does not appear as late as it may seem to at first sight. Admittedly, the SHV dates back to 1882 and the VSV to 1893, that is simultaneous to the establishments of the peak associations. Both of them, however, did not gain the power which entitled for instance the SHIV to call itself a peak association. Why? On the one hand, a certain reservation, a striving for independence and regional animosities seemed to have complicated the collaboration on the national level (e.g. SGB). On the other hand, it is probable that there was no serious external pressure which would have accelerated a stringent organization. While the SHIV was a solution for a considerable crisis in the industry, tourism was rather blossoming than facing a crisis in the 1890s. So why should they have united, if everybody was fine on its own? The first signs of crises were only about to come soon.

This leads us to a fourth idea which may explain the SVZ's delay on the Swiss peak associations. The SVZ was not the first attempt of bundling tourism's and tourism marketing's interest in Switzerland. Between 1902 and 1904, the SHV and the VSV loosely cooperated. Then, the creation of the Publizitätsdienst der SBB in 1904 represented a first forum for discussion of a national tourism marketing. Yet, there was obviously no urgent motivation to further institutionalize such forms of

collaboration. Until 1917, collaboration inside the Swiss touristic scene was selective, for a limited time or reduced to a specific topic or purpose, in any event: not comprehensive. Again, it is probable that there was no pressure big enough to force the different touristic agents to unite their activities. Such pressure only came with the establishment of the Austro-Hungarian and French NTOs at the end of the 1900s. And then, Switzerland reacted quickly, as if the former loose forms of collaboration had been some training units, enabling the SHV and the SVS to smoothly set up the first Swiss NTO between 1911 and 1917. This international pressure suddenly appeared in a time when Swiss touristic agents felt an increased international competition and sensed a certain inefficiency (according to their perception). The stagnating occupancy rate in the hotels may have supported this, although the other economic data like the arrivals or the overnight stays only partially suggested a crisis.

Fifthly, marketing developed into a real science only in the first two decades of the 20th century, which is roughly simultaneously to the development of the SVZ. In fact, marketing as known today was about to be developed for industrial products in the USA in this time. If it also worked in the service sector, which tourism belonged to, was not more than a hypothesis then. That it should be one of SVZ' main fields of activities, showed the initiators' idea that tourism could be marketed as efficiently and rational as industrial products. On the same time, it mirrored the heavy absorption of the new science in Switzerland. As touristic data about tourism in Switzerland still showed several gaps, which had to be filled, the collection of scientific data about tourism was foreseen as the second main field of activities. These two main fields of activities stood for a professionalization of a country's tourism marketing, the scientific approach being the method of the marketing invented at the beginning of the 20th century. Marketing was, however, only in the process of being developed around 1911, it blossomed not before the 1920s. Thus, it was not astonishing that the SVZ was not created earlier. Its main field of activity had not been developed fully prior to its date of establishment. Admittedly, the sheer choice of a method cannot explain the creation of an institution. Yet, the method may have had an implication insofar as it promised to be a viable instrument to react to the international advances in the field of marketing, the foreign NTOs. A joint reaction of the Swiss touristic agents applying the new method seemed to be a good solution for handling the increased international competition. Additionally, it was improbable that every single

hotelier or transport company was able to apply the new method. The application of marketing by a coordinative body, the SVZ, also promised to ease the domestic competition among the different touristic agents in Switzerland. The collection of statistical data had also been a reason for the establishment of the Swiss peak associations in the second half of the 19th century. The lack of statistical data on tourism in Switzerland came apparent only with the discussion about the new method of marketing, which is in the first two decades of the 20th century. This may partially explain the delay of the establishment of the SVZ to the SHIV, the SGV or the SBV.

With the increase in tourism's importance in the Belle Epoque, the awareness of this economic branch also rose. Although the administration was not enthusiastic about the SVZ, the department in charge welcomed it. It also may have realized that this part of the service sector had developed lively in the previous decades and that the confederation was not ill-advised if it had a possibility to influence it. From the federal government's point of view, the SVZ should promote Switzerland abroad and complement the SBB's touristic advertising. The economic development during the war created, however, a society which increasingly drifted apart: While the farmers and the industry won the benefits, the working class increasingly suffered from the high food prices. A similar movement took place in tourism. The touristic supply side of tourism in Switzerland was coined by a strong competition and the touristic regions drifted apart from each other – the discussions about the SVZ' place of the seat showed well this Achille's heel of the SVZ. The country was disunited. In the field of tourism marketing, the confederation was called for mediation. Thus, the SVZ quickly took on the role of a mediator between the (touristic) regions in Switzerland. It thereby represented an anachronism to the social development which culminated in the general strike in 1918. Although it is not in this war, that the SVZ was charged with the country's cohesion, it is noteworthy that it united employees and employers and French-speaking and German-speaking representatives of hotels, transport companies, local tourist offices and the broad economy.

A final reason may lay in the development of tourism itself: Automobile tourism became more and more visible from the 1900 onwards, although it remained the affluent, sportive, competition-liking men's hobby for another half of a century. With the spread of this type of tourism, however, the automobilists felt more and more

inadequately represented by the railway companies' tourism advertising. It is therefore not astonishing that the two most influential automobile associations of Switzerland supported the creation of the SVZ. In contrast, it was a chance for them, as the automobile's image in the Swiss population was distinctively bad in this time. The collaboration in a national institution which cared for the country's image may have been a chance to improve their image. Their experience in international tourism – the automobilists' orientation was usually considered to be highly international – did surely not weaken their efforts.

All these reasons mentioned above had led to a tourism industry, which was important for the national economy prior to the First World War (4-5 percent of added value, high capitalization, leading sector). It was this importance of tourism that urged the confederation to contribute to a national marketing organization during the First World War, when Switzerland's energetic and nutritional provision was endangered. When the falling returns on investments due to a too powerful domestic competition threatened the hotel industry, the confederation feared a domino effect throughout the whole Swiss economy due to tourism's high interconnectedness with other economic branches. Basing on its power, tourism was seen by the Swiss government as a means to reconstruct the country's economy after the war. This was a further reason why the confederation was ready to partially finance a NTO in 1917: tourism's ability to minimize the damages of the war in a post-war time. In this respect, the contribution to the SVZ was an investment into the future development of the Swiss economy from point of view of the confederation. This justified a financial engagement in the fourth year of the First World War, when the federal administration was busy with providing the Swiss population with sufficient coal, milk, cereals and potatoes.

The conditions for and the process of establishing the SVZ mirrored developments, which had coined the development of the Swiss interest associations and parts of the federal administration: the foundation in times of (an impending) crisis and the feeling of an overheated concurrence or the privat nature of the initiative for a Swiss NTO. The history of the SVZ thereby fits into the narrative of the Swiss system of interest association, where the interests of an economic sector were bundled in order to lobby for it and to defend its interest. For tourism, the time to cooperate had come in 1917 basing on the reasons mentioned above.

5 Institutionalization: the SVZ 1917-1939

With its establishment in November 1917, the SVZ started its first activities. The political, economic, societal and cultural context could not have been more different to the visions which the initiators had drawn in 1911 when they had submitted their motion. The First World War had devastated the luxurious, internationally oriented tourism which let blossom tourism in Switzerland prior to the war. The devastation led to several immediate state interferences in the hospitality industry,¹⁰⁶⁹ culminating in the nationalization of their debts by the hoteliers: In 1921, the Schweizerische Hotel-Treuhand-Gesellschaft (SHTG) was founded, which offered the hoteliers subsidies or contributions à *fonds perdu* and supported them in their rescue operations (e.g. in carrying out a hotelier's probate proceedings).¹⁰⁷⁰ The transport sector, particularly the railway companies, suffered similarly. Financial losses and the costly electrification urged them into debts so that state action in order to save the companies repeatedly appeared in the Interwar Period. As both sectors constituted integral parts of the touristic supply in Switzerland, the SVZ based on an unstable ground. How did it handle and behave faced with these challenges, how did it act and react to them? Who stood behind this behaviour?

While the sources are not continuing throughout the 1920s, they are in the 1930s. Around 1930, a lot of efforts of the 1920s resulted in concrete solutions. The SVZ's first activities had revealed some weaknesses, the Beratende Kommission für den Publizitätsdienst der SBB had taken up its meetings again in 1926, and the dualism between the SVZ and the Publizitätsdienst der SBB became too paralyzing so that time was running out for countermeasures. Consequently, several attempts of collaboration emerged, none of them of longstanding effect. With the foreign political pressures increasing in the early 1930s, the situation of the SVZ did not ease.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Silberroth, *Sozialisierung der Verluste*, 1948, p. 458, mentions the following: "Die Notverordnung über die allgemeine Betreibungsstundung vom 2. September 1914, die Notverordnungen vom 2. November 1915 und 3. Januar 1917 betreffend Schutz der Hotelindustrie gegen die Folgen des Krieges, die allgemeinen Änderungen des Nachlaßvertragsrechtes vom 27. Oktober 1917 sowie kantonale Organisationen («Bündner Kreditgenossenschaft», «Oberländer Hilfskasse» im Kanton Bern und andere) [...]."

¹⁰⁷⁰ Jaeger, Carl, *Die schweizerische Hotel-Treuhand-Gesellschaft 1921 bis 1946: 25 Jahre Krise der schweizerischen Hotelindustrie und ihre Überwindung mit Hilfe des Bundes*, Zürich: Art. Institut Orell Füssli, [1947], p. 38, 40-41; Narindal, Mathieu, *La Société suisse des hôteliers face aux défis touristiques de l'Entre-deux-guerres*, Aigle: unpublished mémoire de master (Université de Lausanne), 2012, p. 21-76.

Rather, tourism was more and more instrumentalized, which, obviously, influenced the SVZ. What the SVZ was busy with in the 1930s is well documented in the minutes of the SVZ' board of management, the Verkehrsrat, and the committee. The sources which the 1920s were reconstructed from range from minutes to letters, drafts of contracts or internal notes.

The institutional approach of this study forms this chapter in two ways: On the one hand, it defines the time span of this chapter, which will cover the years between the SVZ' establishment in 1917 and its relabeling into Schweizerische Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung (SZV) in 1939. As simple this may be, as much it makes sense, because the institution which emerged in 1939 differed from the SVZ in many respect. First and foremost, it – newly – included the agencies of the Publizitätsdienst der SBB and therewith terminated a situation which had been lamented over for over twenty years. The dualism in the field of Swiss tourism promotion came to an end with the SZV. Secondly, the Second World War changed the context again in fundamental terms, which considerably influenced the SVZ/SZV – and the federal administration's behaviour towards the SVZ/SZV.

This chronology which orients itself at the institution SVZ does not sufficiently structure this chapter. Moreover, it is refined with regard to content. There was a variety of different topics which shaped the SVZ' first two decades of existence. Apart from the institutional questions such as the structure, the establishment of some branch offices in the French-speaking part of Switzerland and abroad and the image of Switzerland, which the SVZ created abroad (see chapter 5.2 *Settling down: activities, branch offices and the image promoted abroad*), the problems in the collaboration with the Publizitätsdienst der SBB consumed a lot of energy of the young institution. Rationalization and centralization were the claims throughout the 1920s and 1930s, which resulted in different attempts of cooperation (see chapter 5.3 *Care for its existence: the financing as a constant concern and its implications on the SVZ' institutionalization*), and finally, in the fusion of these two institutions in 1939. From its first years onwards, the situation at the country's border was subject to discussion inside the SVZ (see chapter 5.4 *Rebellious tourism industry: Questions of the alien's branch of the police*). The head of the federal alien's branch of the police was continuously getting a chance to speak. In his statements, the wider political context, which Switzerland and the SVZ found itself in, became apparent: the

precarious state on the Swiss labour market, the political insecurities in 1920s Europe, the political-economic restrictions of the clearing system (see chapter 5.5 *Subject or object? Tourism and the Swiss foreign trade policy. From the "Vollmachtenregime" to the clearing system and the foundation of the SFV*). Parallel to this, marketing and promotion developed as a practical, but also as a scientific technique, and the most up-to-date ways of marketing provoked discussions among the members of the SVZ' organs. All the more, as new attitudes of the guests and the economic radical changings of tourism challenged the practice hitherto applied: Skiing and domestic tourism emerged and demanded new practices (e.g. lower hotel prices for domestic tourists) in the field of marketing and tourism (e.g. posters, films, radio) (see chapter 5.6 *Centralization accomplished: The Schweizerische Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung (SZV) (1939-1942)*). The SVZ thereby got inevitably in touch with the societal situation in Switzerland – like the opposing working and bourgeois classes –, and its behaviour to these challenges allows us to characterize the SVZ further. The refinement in terms of content exemplified the SVZ' and tourism's high dependence on the political, economic and societal state of the country.

5.1 Context of the SVZ first two decades of existence

5.1.1 The economic development: the effects of the gold standard

In the Interwar Period, the number of overnight stays in Swiss hotels and spa houses experienced a heavy *increase* in the 1920s, albeit with sharp falls in 1921 and 1925, while, in the 1930s, the *decrease* was equally accentuated, with a sharp fall in 1932/33 and a medium falling between 1933 and 1936 (see Fig. 3).¹⁰⁷¹ Several macro-economic events coined the development of tourism in Switzerland in this period. Firstly, the World Economic Crisis made its mark felt on Switzerland late, see in 1932, but it also lasted longer than in other countries.¹⁰⁷² The unemployment rate reached 4.8 percent in 1936, which is some 93'000 people were unemployed at maximum.¹⁰⁷³ This caused troubles.¹⁰⁷⁴ Secondly, the disintegration of the gold

¹⁰⁷¹ Tissot; Moser, *Binnenwirtschaft, Tourismus und Landwirtschaft*, 2012, p. 559-561.

¹⁰⁷² Bickel, Wilhelm, "Die öffentlichen Finanzen", in *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Volkswirtschaft und Statistik*, No. 1/2, 1964, p. 273-301, here 290.

¹⁰⁷³ Maissen, Thomas, *Geschichte der Schweiz*, Baden: hier + jetzt, 2010, p. 253; Zala, Sacha, "Krisen, Konfrontation, Konsens (1914-1949)", in Kreis, Georg (ed.), *Die Geschichte der Schweiz*, Basel: Schwabe AG, 2014, p. 491-539, here 502.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Maissen, *Geschichte der Schweiz*, 2010, p. 253.

standard system after 1931 provoked a shrinking demand for touristic activities in Switzerland – to wit outside and inside Switzerland! After Austria had suffered a banking crisis, which brought its balance of payments in extreme troubles, the country quit the gold standard in 1931, soon to be followed by Germany and Hungary.¹⁰⁷⁵ Germany and Austria directly introduced a control of foreign exchange.¹⁰⁷⁶ On 19th September 1931, Great Britain left the gold standard, whereby the English Pound (£) was devaluated for one third within three months.¹⁰⁷⁷ Due to their tight trade relations with Great Britain, a lot of other countries knotted their currency to the British Pound and followed Great Britain out of the gold standard.¹⁰⁷⁸ In 1933, this unfavourable economic situation was reinforced by the USA's resignation from the gold standard, which, again, made a trip to Switzerland more expensive for even more people all over the world.¹⁰⁷⁹ This implied that for the Germans, the British and the North Americans, the three most dominant foreign nationalities among the tourists in Switzerland in the 1930s,¹⁰⁸⁰ a trip to Switzerland witnessed a considerable increase in price!¹⁰⁸¹ Thirdly, this negative development in the number of foreign tourists was even strengthened by a shrinking of the domestic demand. Between 1930 and 1935, Switzerland witnessed a deflation nearly reaching some 8 percent in 1933.¹⁰⁸² As a consequence, for the Swiss, the quantitatively most important guests in the Swiss hotels in this time, the touristic supply had also become expensive. Fourthly, Switzerland remained in the gold standard system until 1936. As the exit of the Sterling block and the Dollar block destabilized those countries, which remained in the gold standard¹⁰⁸³ – like Switzerland, for instance –, the economic crisis lasted until that year. When the Swiss Franc was devaluated to the amount of some 30 percent in September 1936 after Switzerland's exit of the gold standard in 1936, the numbers of the overnight-stays immediately increased.¹⁰⁸⁴

¹⁰⁷⁵ Eichengreen, Barry, *Vom Goldstandard zum EURO. Die Geschichte des internationalen Währungssystems*, Berlin: Verlag Klaus Wagenbach, 2000, p. 113-117.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Eichengreen, Goldstandard, 2000, p. 75.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Eichengreen, Goldstandard, 2000, p. 122.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Eichengreen, Goldstandard, 2000, p. 75.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Eichengreen, Goldstandard, 2000, p. 124.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Tissot; Moser, *Binnenwirtschaft, Tourismus und Landwirtschaft*, 2012, p. 559.

¹⁰⁸¹ Tissot; Moser, *Binnenwirtschaft, Tourismus und Landwirtschaft*, 2012, p. 559.

¹⁰⁸² Zala, *Krisen, Konfrontation, Konsens*, 2014, p. 497.

¹⁰⁸³ Eichengreen, Goldstandard, 2000, p. 76.

¹⁰⁸⁴ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 68, 1926-1939: "NEUNZEHNTER JAHRESBERICHT für den Zeitraum vom 1. Januar bis 31. Dezember 1936", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Einsiedeln, [1937], p. 2.

In the Interwar Period, the participation of the working class in tourism grew, leading to a democratization of tourism in Europe and the USA (see chapter 1.2.1.2 *Cultural History*).¹⁰⁸⁵ By means of paid holidays for the working class, like for instance in Sweden, or by discounts, like in Switzerland, broad shifts of the society should be enabled to get to know the countries they lived in.¹⁰⁸⁶ After the Swiss Railway employees had fought for some paid days off in the beginning of the 20th century, the workers conquered this possibility in the 1930s.¹⁰⁸⁷ Since the nucleus of what holidays implied was not defined, the working class overcame social and cultural borders in order to create their own meaning of holidays in Switzerland.¹⁰⁸⁸ Thus, holidays became self-evident as the working class conquered spaces hitherto reserved for the bourgeois like the hotel: the popularization of holidays seemed to be the permanent attempt to conquer the hotel.¹⁰⁸⁹ As a consequence, the Swiss tourism industry was increasingly influenced by Swiss business and Swiss guests who replaced the international guests and orientation which tourism in Switzerland had implied prior to the First World War.

5.1.2 The federal administration and the interest associations intertwine

The collaboration between interest associations and the federal administration became even more closer in the Interwar Period. Yet, we have to make a difference between the 1920s and the 1930s, as, according to Gruner, the phase of the "frohgemuter Interventionismus" lasted until 1930.¹⁰⁹⁰ With this date, Gruner divides the Interwar Period in two decades, which, in fact, showed different characteristics with reference to the development of the federal administration. In other words: The World Economic Crisis represented a turning point for the interventionist measures by the confederation.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Aron, *Working at Play*, 1999; Löfgren, *Know your Country*, 2001; Löfgren, *On Holiday*, 1999; Schumacher, *Ferien*, 2002.

¹⁰⁸⁶ According to Löfgren, *Know your Country*, 2001, p. 147-148, Sweden introduced a paid holiday of two weeks in 1938 which should enable the working class to travel Sweden. According to BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 68, 1926-1939: "SIEBZEHNTER JAHRESBERICHT für den Zeitraum vom 1. Januar bis 31. Dezember 1934", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Einsiedeln, [1935], p. 4, an aim of the SVZ in 1934 was "eine vermehrte Propaganda im Inland, die Aufklärung unserer Mitbürger über ihre Verbundenheit mit dem Fremdenverkehr, die Erziehung der eigenen Leute zur Solidarität und zum Entschluss: Ferien in der Heimat."

¹⁰⁸⁷ Schumacher, Beatrice, "Ferien", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2005, <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D7629.php> (accessed 23.3.2010).

¹⁰⁸⁸ Schumacher, *Ferien*, 2002, p. 370.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Schumacher, *Ferien*, 2002, p. 379.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Gruner, *Etappen des Interventionismus*, 1964, p. 50.

With reference to Gruner, the World Economic Crisis introduced the fourth phase of state intervention (1930-1945), a period, which witnessed a collapse of the Swiss silk, embroidery and watch industries and a peak of nearly some 100'000 unemployed persons in 1936 when the Swiss Franc finally was devaluated.¹⁰⁹¹ The increasing goodwill which state intervention had been looked at with in the previous phases turned into a real call for the state as the last saviour (see chapter 4.1.2.2 *The Swiss system of interest associations, cartelization, state interference*).¹⁰⁹² Roughly all political camps supported it, albeit for very different motives. While the liberals were on the defensive because they rejected corporatism,¹⁰⁹³ the social-democrats answered the "Verbandsinterventionismus" in the affirmative in the field of the labour market, but were still struggling with the full acceptance of the existing liberal state.¹⁰⁹⁴ The broadest support, however, gained a broad coalition of middle class people and self-employed persons, who wanted to maintain the small and middle enterprises in the trade industry and the agriculture.¹⁰⁹⁵ Supported by the catholic church and parts of the trade union movement, this coalition also aimed at an economy which should be bound like a cartel through professional associations and supported and sanctioned by the state ("eine kartellmässig-berufsgenossenschaftlich gebundene Wirtschaft vom Staate stützen und sanktionieren zu lassen").¹⁰⁹⁶ It is noteworthy that the cartels, which had provoked a political paradox in the second half of the 19th century, should be the core of state organization half a century later (see chapter 4.1.2.2 *The Swiss system of interest associations, cartelization, state interference*)! And in fact, the power of the cartels and interest associations respectively increased compared to the second half of the 19th century. The different economic-political concepts mentioned above expressed itself in the economic-political life insofar as the means of state intervention were heavily extended: On the one hand, the emergency legislation ("Notrecht") empowered the Federal Council to pass legislation without the approval of the parliament which often found application in these days (see chapter 5.5.1 *The "Vollmachtenregime", 1915-1939*).¹⁰⁹⁷ The

¹⁰⁹¹ Gruner, *Etappen des Interventionismus*, 1964, p. 56-57. Maissen, *Geschichte der Schweiz*, 2010, p. 253, and Zala, *Krisen, Konfrontation, Konsens*, 2014, p. 502, correct this numbers and speak of 93'000 unemployed persons at maximum.

¹⁰⁹² Gruner, *Etappen des Interventionismus*, 1964, p. 57.

¹⁰⁹³ Gruner, *Etappen des Interventionismus*, 1964, p. 59.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Gruner, *Etappen des Interventionismus*, 1964, p. 59.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Gruner, *Etappen des Interventionismus*, 1964, p. 58.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Gruner, *Etappen des Interventionismus*, 1964, p. 57-58.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Gruner, *Etappen des Interventionismus*, 1964, p. 60-62.

development of the number of the personnel of the federal administration did, however, not follow suit immediately. In fact, the number of the personnel of the federal administration (including the general administration, the SBB, the PTT, the armament factories and the Swiss alcohol board), fell between 1920 and 1935! Only between 1935 and 1940, the general federal administration and – in anticipation of a new war – the armament factories broadened their base of personnel heavily.¹⁰⁹⁸ The number of personnel of the federal administration increased to the amount of 13 percent in this period (see Fig. 9 in chapter 4.1.2.1 *The development of the federal administration (1848-1918)*).¹⁰⁹⁹ During the Second World War (1940-1945), the extension summed up to one third roughly.¹¹⁰⁰ On the other hand, some interventionist instruments turned out to be very effective. In order to limit competition and to protect middle class businesses, in particular in the retail trade, the "Bewilligungspflicht" (authorizing duty) limited the opening of new businesses,¹¹⁰¹ which equaled a heavy intervention in the freedom of trade. Price controls, see fixations, foresaw maximum prices for businesses in danger and minimum prices for the agricultural sector and the watch industry.¹¹⁰² In this instrument lay the key for the increase in power which the interest associations gained in this time: As the federal administration could not handle all fixations of the controlled prices, this task was taken over by the interest associations. The so called "Allgemeinverbindlicherklärung (AVE) von Verbandsbeschlüssen" (declaration of general application of a collective agreement) automated the price fixations by the interest associations and thereby cemented their power considerably.¹¹⁰³ In fact, the AVE was applied in the embroidery industry (1922), watch industry (1930s), hotel industry (1936), and the milk- and cheese market in the First World War and in 1937.¹¹⁰⁴ The experience of the Second World War strengthened the conviction that the "Verbandsinterventionismus" (intervention of the association) was the right means to support the Swiss economy and society so that the partial revision of the constitution

¹⁰⁹⁸ Germann, Bundesverwaltung, 2012.

¹⁰⁹⁹ According to Germann, Bundesverwaltung, 2012, the total number of personnel of the federal administration (including the general administration, the SBB, the PTT, the armament factories and the Swiss alcohol board), increased from some 62'910 in 1935 to some 71'592 employees in 1940.

¹¹⁰⁰ According to Germann, Bundesverwaltung, 2012, the total number of personnel of the federal administration (including the general administration, the SBB, the PTT, the armament factories and the Swiss alcohol board), increased from some 71'592 in 1940 to some 92'830 employees in 1945.

¹¹⁰¹ Gruner, Etappen des Interventionismus, 1964, p. 61.

¹¹⁰² Gruner, Etappen des Interventionismus, 1964, p. 61.

¹¹⁰³ Gruner, Etappen des Interventionismus, 1964, p. 61.

¹¹⁰⁴ Gruner, Etappen des Interventionismus, 1964, p. 61.

in 1947 included the so called "Wirtschaftsartikel" which fixed the system of the interest associations in the constitution.¹¹⁰⁵ Although the overwhelming part of the society welcomed this kind of state intervention, the reasons for it were menacing. It may be therefore that Gruner termed this phase as an era of "pessimistic interventionism".¹¹⁰⁶ Its relevance for the Swiss system of interest associations was crucial. On the same time, it exemplifies perfectly the two patterns which had characterized the development of the Swiss economic policy since the 1880s:

Zwei Strömungen kennzeichnen seit damals die schweizerische Wirtschaftspolitik: erstens der Versuch, die für eine stagnierende Wirtschaft bestimmten Interventionen in die Zeit des neuen Aufschwungs hinüberzuretten und daraus ein System von Garantien zu errichten; zweitens die spätere Reaktion, jedes solche System nur so weit zuzulassen, als es mit einem freiheitlichen Geist in Übereinstimmung zu bringen ist. Daraus folgt, dass Abschwungperioden nach einheitlichen interventionistischen Ordnungselementen streben, und dass Aufschwungperioden — interventionspolitisch gesehen — einen *ambivalenten* Charakter aufweisen.¹¹⁰⁷ [In italics according to Gruner]

In fact, the final fixation of the system of the interest associations in 1947 took place at the beginning of a unique recovery phase. The interest associations did not only support their respective branches anymore but started to distribute the national income.¹¹⁰⁸ The economic-political concept drifted away from the protectionist idea and reconsidered competition as a viable form of economic development. Accordingly, the restrictions in the hotel construction industry, for instance, faced critique from the early 1950s onwards.¹¹⁰⁹ Moreover, the concept of a pure, reigning economic policy which the Federal Council had to represent was overthrown when the social-democrats entered the national government in 1959 for the first time.¹¹¹⁰

The increasing state interventions in the Interwar Period mentioned above affected tourism in different aspects. Firstly, around 1920, the tourists, who wanted to enter

¹¹⁰⁵ Gruner, Etappen des Interventionismus, 1964, p. 63.

¹¹⁰⁶ Gruner, Etappen des Interventionismus, 1964, p. 56. Translation by AAH.

¹¹⁰⁷ Gruner, Etappen des Interventionismus, 1964, p. 38. Translation by AAH: "Two patterns characterize the Swiss economic policy since then: firstly, the attempt to preserve the interventions destined at a stagnating economy in the time of the new recovery and, basing on this, to build a system of guarantees; secondly, the late reaction to allow every such system only insofar as it can be squared with a liberal mind. As a consequence one can derive that contraction phases strive for uniform interventionist elements of order, and that recovery phases show an ambivalent character in point of view of interventionist policy."

¹¹⁰⁸ Gruner, Etappen des Interventionismus, 1964, p. 66.

¹¹⁰⁹ Gruner, Etappen des Interventionismus, 1964, p. 69.

¹¹¹⁰ Gruner, Etappen des Interventionismus, 1964, p. 67.

Switzerland, fell into the area of activity of the Eidgenössische Fremdenpolizei, which restricted the border crossing for foreigners (see chapter 5.4.2 *Touristic criticisms of the federal alien's branch of the police*). Secondly, from 1934 onwards, when Switzerland signed the first clearing agreement, the Swiss touristic-political scene was integrated into the clearing negotiations, particularly with Germany (see chapter 5.5.2 *The clearing system and its impact for tourism 1934-1939*).¹¹¹¹ The fact, that we speak of the "Swiss touristic-political scene" and not of the SVZ is an insight in itself: As the SVZ found itself in a veritable crisis at that time, it lacked the resources to credibly defend the interests of the Swiss tourism industry in the clearing negotiations. Therefore, the Schweizerischer Fremdenverkehrsverband (SFV) was founded and took over this task (see chapter 5.5.3.1 *The foundation of the SFV and its relationship with the SVZ*). In contrast to the SVZ, the founders of the SFV understood the economic crisis as a chance for renewal and the start of a changed and a changeable future.¹¹¹² The SVZ and the SHV, in contrast, insisted on a retrospective orientation, which considered the economic turmoils of the Interwar Period as a temporary disturbance of normality.¹¹¹³ The SVZ' existence therefore based on the SVZ' weakness at that time – a state which did not only appear in the field of tourism promotion, but also in the hotel industry. In 1932 and 1934, for instance, the hotel industry's credit institute, the Schweizerische Hotel-Treuhand-Gesellschaft (SHTG), established in 1921, had to be reactivated, because the indebtedness had not disappeared.¹¹¹⁴ Accordingly, the confederation prolonged its contribution to the hotel industry¹¹¹⁵ and thereby cemented its willingness to intervene in the tourism industry. On the same time, the Swiss tourism industry, particularly the SFV, actively engaged in the clearing negotiations in order to defend its interests. An active engagement by the tourism industry in Switzerland's foreign trade policy was obviously in the interest of both, the confederation and the tourism industry. Thirdly, the diverging political developments in Europe (Spanish Civil War,

¹¹¹¹ Several publications by the Unabhängige Expertenkommission Schweiz–Zweiter Weltkrieg (UEK) (Translated in the general sense: Independent Commission of Experts Switzerland – Second World War (ICE)) extensively elaborate on this system of foreign trade agreements. While Ferralli, *Der deutsch-schweizerische Verrechnungsverkehr*, 1955, elaborates on the clearing system in a technical perspective, Frech, *Clearing*, 2001, examines the clearing, its organization and consequences. The mechanisms of the clearing system and its political-institutional context are explained by Frech; Gees; Kropf; Meier, *Bilaterale Arrangements und korporatistischer Entscheidungsprozess*, 2002.

¹¹¹² Schumacher, *Krise*, 1997, p. 83.

¹¹¹³ Schumacher, *Krise*, 1997, p. 83.

¹¹¹⁴ Narindal, *Société suisse des hôteliers face aux défis touristiques*, 2012, p. 85-93.

¹¹¹⁵ Narindal, *Société suisse des hôteliers face aux défis touristiques*, 2012, p. 91, 93.

totalitarian regimes in Germany and Italy), as well as the convergence of the Swiss political parties in the second half of the 1930s generated a cultural policy by the federal government, which aimed at creating a sense of togetherness and at uniting the Swiss in the face of an impending war.¹¹¹⁶ By means of the so called "mental national defense" ("Geistige Landesverteidigung") the Swiss population was educated as domestic tourists (see chapter 5.6.5.2 *Patriotism as ground for tourism*).¹¹¹⁷ The Swiss tourism industry benefited from this insofar as the domestic guests replaced the foreign guests who could not travel to Switzerland anymore.¹¹¹⁸

In summa, during the Interwar Period, the confederation was forced to take tourism into consideration, because tourism was affected by or integrated in the domestic policy (federal alien's branch of the police), the foreign trade policy (clearing negotiations) and the cultural policy (mental national defense). Tourism's interest associations like the SVZ, the SHV or the SFV thereby became important columns of the respective policies.

5.1.3 Transport: the automobilists' conquest of the public

The railways, which had dominated the mobility sector prior to the First World War (see chapter 3.1.2 *Transport: the conquest of the mountains by rail*), were challenged by the car as a new means of transport in the Interwar Period. Yet, its quantitative implementation needed some time: To speak of a mass motorization in Switzerland in the Interwar Period would be inappropriate, as the quantitative development of motor vehicles in 20th century Switzerland proves (see Fig. 9). In fact, the breakthrough of the car coincided with the beginning of a consumer society in Switzerland, which did not materialize prior to the middle of the 1960s (see chapter 4.1.3 *A short history of advertising and marketing*).¹¹¹⁹

¹¹¹⁶ Ruppen Coutaz, Raphaëlle, "La Société suisse de radiodiffusion et la promotion du tourisme helvétique (1931-1958): de la propagande touristique à la diplomatie culturelle", in Humair; Tissot, rayonnement international, 2011, p. 89-107.

¹¹¹⁷ Mooser, Josef, "Die 'Geistige Landesverteidigung' in den 1930er Jahren", in *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte*, Vol. 47, 1997, p. 685-708.

¹¹¹⁸ Schumacher, Ferien, 2002, p. 342.

¹¹¹⁹ Brändli, Supermarkt, 2000, p. 12; Pfister, '1950er Syndrom', 1995, p. 75.

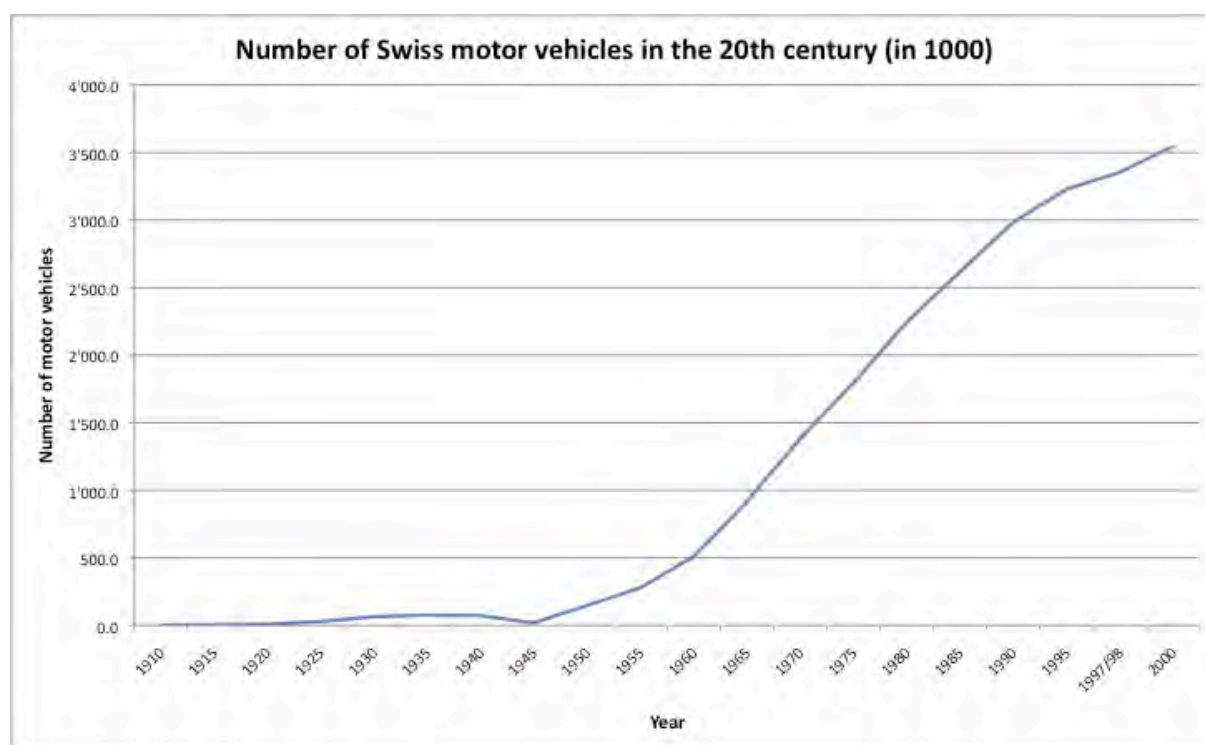


Fig. 10: Although the automobilists became a power in Switzerland in the Interwar Period, the mass motorization only began after the Second World War.

Source: Bundesamt für Statistik, *Statistik und Geschichte. Historische statistische Tabellen der Schweiz. Mobilität, Kommunikation*, online
<http://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/portal/de/index/dienstleistungen/history/01/00/11/01.html> (accessed 31.8.2015), Tab. 11.1.1.1 "Verkehrswesen: Strecken, Beförderungsmittel, Strassenverkehrsunfälle, Transportnachfrage und Finanzen 1850-2002".

In 1917, the spread of the automobile in Switzerland was still in its infancy – its take-off took place not earlier than 1920.¹¹²⁰ In 1935, some 76'000 cars were registered, so that in the 1930s, the motorization had become evident and motorists a power in Switzerland.¹¹²¹ Particularly with regard to the qualitative development, the automobilists quickly gained power: They created a "automobilistische Lebenswelt" by means of clubs, events (like races, for instance), a specialized press, and the car-industry, which invested megalomaniac sums for advertising and marketing in the 1920s.¹¹²² As a result, the general perception of the automobile was larger than the real quantitative importance of the car. The car became omnipresent only in the late 1950s – Pfister calls it the "key product" (Schlüsselprodukt) of the consumer society

¹¹²⁰ According to Frey, Automobilverbände, 2006, a first phase of motorisation did not start before 1920, which is supported by Merki, Christoph Maria, "Motorisierung", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2011, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D13846.php> (accessed 9.8.2012), who found that the automobile started to compete seriously against the railway traffic only in the 1920s for the first time.

¹¹²¹ Pfister, Christian, "Finanzierung des Strassenbaus: Das Karussell kommt in Schwung", in *Wege und Geschichte*, 2004, p. 26-30, here 26.

¹¹²² Merki, Der holprige Siegeszug, 2002, p. 112, 423.

–, when the relative price of oil – and thereby the fuel – fell in comparison to the price of the coal, the traditional energy source, and thereby enabled the consumer society (see chapter 4.1.3 *A short history of advertising and marketing*).¹¹²³ In contrast to the numbers of automobiles registered in Switzerland, the numbers of kilometres of the *cantonal* roads grew predominantly in the Interwar Period (the *national* roads, see the roads built and run by the confederation, were only built from 1935 onwards, mainly across the alpine passes).¹¹²⁴ According to Ochsenbein, the length of the cantonal roads increased from roughly 13'750 to roughly 16'250 kilometres between 1925 and 1935, which equalled more than a doubling. Thus, the mass motorization of the Swiss population was preceded by the expansion of the road network!¹¹²⁵

The automobilists' national clubs and associations soon provided their members with useful information about roads, administrative requirements for cars at the borders of the nation states, tariffs, breakdown services, security training etc.¹¹²⁶ Until its spreading among all social classes after the Second World War,¹¹²⁷ automobile driving was an elitist, luxurious sport carried out mainly by men who were fascinated by the races, competitions and events (e.g. expositions) organized by the automobile associations,¹¹²⁸ which swore the first few owners of an automobile in a "véritable forme de groupe missionnaire".¹¹²⁹ The foundation of the first Automobile Association in Switzerland, the Automobil-Club der Schweiz, dates back to 1898, while the second one, the Touring-Club der Schweiz, originally united the cyclists from 1896 onwards who, however, founded an automobile section in 1911 which quickly came to dominate the club.¹¹³⁰ These automobile associations have played a certain role in tourism, tourism politics and touristic-political lobbying in Switzerland ever since.

¹¹²³ Pfister, '1950er Syndrom', 1995, p. 67, 69-70.

¹¹²⁴ Ochsenbein, Gregor, *Strassenbau und Strassenkosten ohne Ende. Eine systemtheoretische Analyse eines sich selbst verstärkenden Prozesses im 20. Jahrhundert*, Bern: unpublished Lizentiatsarbeit, Universität Bern, [2000], p. 37.

¹¹²⁵ Ochsenbein, *Strassenbau*, [2000], p. 36.

¹¹²⁶ Frey, *Automobilverbände*, 2006.

¹¹²⁷ Mom, *Encapsulating*, 2011, p. 307.

¹¹²⁸ Merki, *Motorisierung*, 2011.

¹¹²⁹ Merki, Christoph Maria, "Sociétés sportives et développement de l'automobilisme (1898-1930)", in Jaccoud, Christophe; Tissot, Laurent, Pedrazzini, Yves (eds.), *Sports en Suisse. Traditions, transitions et transformations*, Lausanne: Éditions Antipodes, 2000, p. 45-73, here 46.

¹¹³⁰ Frey, *Automobilverbände*, 2006; Meyer, Benedikt, *vorwärts rückwärts. Zur Geschichte des Fahrradfahrens in der Schweiz*, Nordhausen: Verlag Traugott Bautz, 2014, p. 46. According to Merki, *Der holprige Siegeszug*, 2002, p. 203-214, the development of the automobile clubs based mainly on the similar development in France.

Although the automobilists did not amount to the majority of tourists in Switzerland in the Interwar Period, their numbers steadily grew. They were wooed particularly by the hoteliers because they were affluent guests with money to spend.¹¹³¹ The amount of foreign automobile vehicles which entered Switzerland only for a limited time was usually two to three times higher than the amount of Swiss automobile vehicles between 1907 and 1930 (only in 1922, the ratio was reversed).¹¹³²

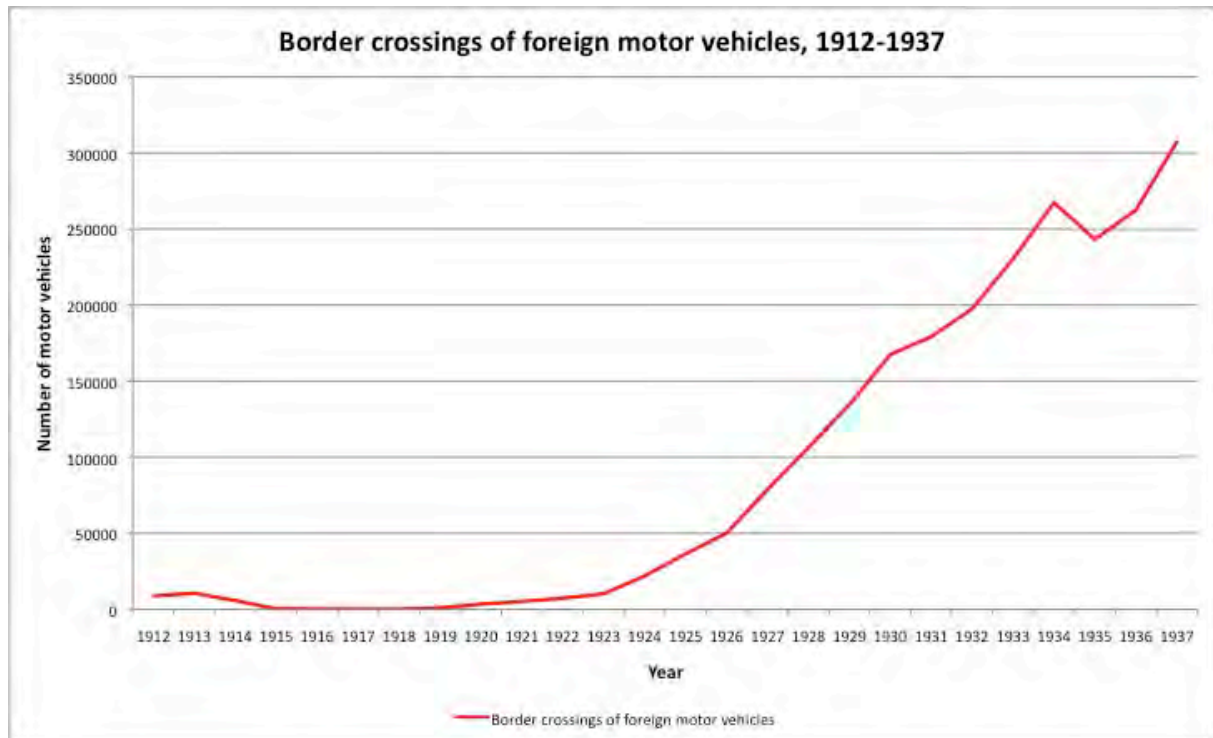


Fig. 11: In 1935, even the numbers of automobile tourists entering Switzerland decreased. Since the end of the First World War, the number of automobile tourists had grown steadily and heavily.

Source: Hunziker, W.[alter], *Der schweizerische Fremdenverkehr*, Bern: Buchdruckerei Benteli A.G., 1939, p. 62.

In the long run, the growth of foreign motor vehicles (automobiles and motorcycles) crossing the Swiss border was impressive, as figure 11 shows. Between 1926 and 1933, for instance, the numbers of the automobiles entering Switzerland increased with some 388 percent!¹¹³³ The strong growth based, however, on the very modest level of motor vehicles entering Switzerland before and after the First World War, which equaled roughly zero. In 1935, even the automobile tourism suffered from the

¹¹³¹ Krapf, 75 Jare Schweizer Hotelier-Verein, 1957, p. 9; Merki, *Sociétés sportives*, 2000, p. 48.

¹¹³² Merki, *Der holprige Siegeszug*, 2002, p. 190.

¹¹³³ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 68, 1926-1939: "SIEBZEHNTER JAHRESBERICHT für den Zeitraum vom 1. Januar bis 31. Dezember 1934", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Einsiedeln, [1935], p. 2.

tightened restrictions on foreign exchange in Germany and Italy: with a minus of some nine percent, the downward trend also reached the hitherto positive column of tourism in Switzerland, the automobile tourism.¹¹³⁴ Even the discount on the price for fuel (petrol) for foreigners did not help.¹¹³⁵

The considerable extent of this growth did not go unnoticed in a time of a generally perceived crisis, so that it was mentioned repeatedly: In 1931 and 1932, the automobilists were the only guests whose quantity rose and thereby balanced the loss of English and Germans,¹¹³⁶ who stayed at home because England had called upon its citizens' nationalistic duty and Germany had strengthened its currency restrictions.¹¹³⁷ But where did these automobilists originate from? Different sources suggest that Switzerland tried to simplify the border crossing of foreign motor vehicles particularly with Italy and France. On the one hand, in 1927, the provisional entry card which had been introduced in the canton of Geneva became valid for the whole Swiss border.¹¹³⁸ Additionally, the duty to have a passport was abolished for the French, Belgians and Luxembourgers in 1932 (see below). On the other hand, an Italian-Swiss contract of 31st July 1931 simplified the Italian-Swiss border crossing of automobiles by stating that no international driving license was needed anymore, and that the national ones sufficed instead.¹¹³⁹

	1927	1928	1929	1930
With provisional entrycard	44 803	56 035	65 624	81 263
With frontier-crossing permit	27 752	41 333	59 081	73 803
With carte blanche (free pass)	5 714	6 231	6 508	8 511
Motorcycles	no data	2 601	3 173	3 879
Total	78 269	106 200	134 386	167 456

Tab. 5: Number of tourists who entered Switzerland by a motor vehicle, 1927-1930.

Source: BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 68, 1926-1939: "DREIZEHNTER JAHRESBERICHT für den Zeitraum vom 1. Januar bis 31. Dezember 1930", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Luzern, [1931], p. 25.

¹¹³⁴ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 68, 1926-1939: "ENTWURF. ACHTZEHNTER JAHRESBERICHT für den Zeitraum vom 1. Januar bis 31. Dezember 1935", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Einsiedeln, [1936], p. 2.

¹¹³⁵ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 68, 1926-1939: "ENTWURF. ACHTZEHNTER JAHRESBERICHT für den Zeitraum vom 1. Januar bis 31. Dezember 1935", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Einsiedeln, [1936], p. 2.

¹¹³⁶ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 34, 1930-1955: "Protokoll der Sitzung [...] 6. Mai 1932 [...]", by the Verkehrsrat, [Zürich], 6.5.1932, p. 3.

¹¹³⁷ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 34, 1930-1955: "Protokoll der Sitzung [...] 6. Mai 1932 [...]", by the Verkehrsrat, [Zürich], 6.5.1932, p. 3.

¹¹³⁸ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 68, 1926-1939: "ZEHNTER JAHRESBERICHT für den Zeitraum vom 1. Januar bis 31. Dezember 1927", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Zofingen, Zürich, [1928], p. 17.

¹¹³⁹ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 48, 1931-1951: "Communiqué des eidg. Justiz- und Polizeidepartementes", by the EJPD to the press, [Bern], 4.8.1931.

Obviously, Switzerland, tried to make a trip to Switzerland by car easier – with considerable success, as table 5 shows. Between 1927 and 1930, the numbers of the provisional entrycards issued nearly doubled, similarly the sum of the automobilists and the motorcyclists (see Fig. 11). The annual report of 1932 listed five reasons for the constant increase in the numbers of foreign tourists coming to Switzerland by a motor vehicle, mainly cars:

1. A provisional entrycard was created which allowed to stay in Switzerland up to 20 days, excluding the day of entry.
2. The necessity of having a passport for the nationals of Belgium, France, and Luxembourg was abolished.
3. The national documents for owners of motor vehicles from Germany, France and Italy were accepted for entering Switzerland.
4. The net of Swiss roads was improved.
5. Good weather during the months of August and September 1932.¹¹⁴⁰

A price reduction in the hotel sector in 1932,¹¹⁴¹ basing on the World Economic Crisis which hit Switzerland with full force in this year, might be added as a general factor for the increase in foreign tourists entering Switzerland by a motor vehicle. The SVZ took up this positive trend and published, together with a lot of LTOs, hotels and the SBB, a "Kollektivreklame" (collective advertising) in favour of the car for the first time in 1932.¹¹⁴² As a consequence, automobile tourism was the only positive sign in these days: "Das einzige erfreuliche Ergebnis des Jahres 1932 ist der Aufschwung des *Autotourismus*, der zweifellos zur Milderung der Hotelkrise beitrug."¹¹⁴³

Another kind of automobile tourism – which was not included in the numbers mentioned above – was the trip in a bus, a so called "Postauto" ("car postal", "auto postale"). Trips by bus heavily developed after the First World War, although the first

¹¹⁴⁰ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 68, 1926-1939: "FÜNFZEHNTER JAHRESBERICHT für den Zeitraum vom 1. Januar bis 31. Dezember 1932", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Solothurn, [1933], p. 28.

¹¹⁴¹ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 68, 1926-1939: "FÜNFZEHNTER JAHRESBERICHT für den Zeitraum vom 1. Januar bis 31. Dezember 1932", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Solothurn, [1933], p. 8.

¹¹⁴² BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 34, 1930-1955: "Protokoll der Sitzung, [...] 21. April 1932 [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Zürich, 21.4.1932, p. 5.

¹¹⁴³ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 68, 1926-1939: "FÜNFZEHNTER JAHRESBERICHT für den Zeitraum vom 1. Januar bis 31. Dezember 1932", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Solothurn, [1933], p. 8.

concessional line was opened in 1903.¹¹⁴⁴ The war heightened the operational safety and enabled trips in the mountains,¹¹⁴⁵ so that the Interwar Period witnessed a real unleashing of the public overland traffic, which became motorized mainly between 1919 and 1921.¹¹⁴⁶ This kind of traffic did not only foster to consolidate the small-scale settlement of Switzerland, but also to popularize skiing in the mountains (see chapter 5.6.5.1 *Skiing and its meaning for tourism in Switzerland (1939-1942)*).

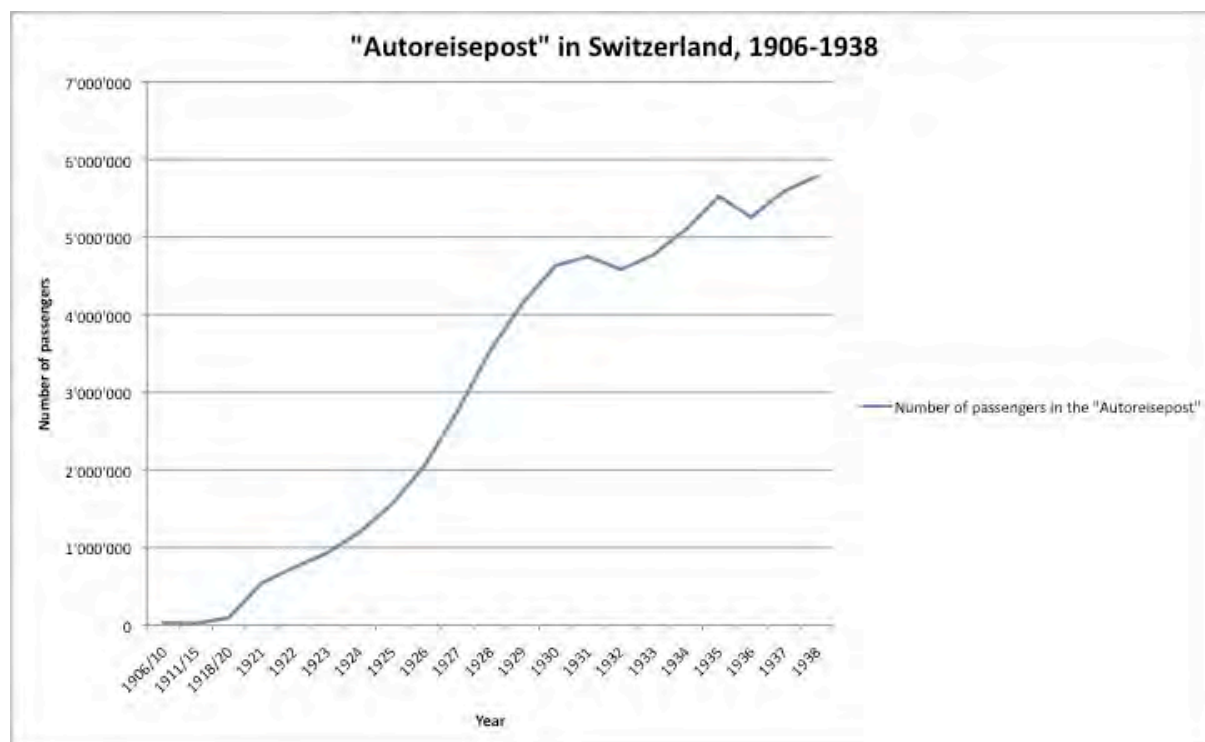


Fig. 12: The national bus service run by the PTT witnessed a quick increase of passengers in the Interwar Period.

Source: Hunziker, W.[alter], *Der schweizerische Fremdenverkehr*, Bern: Buchdruckerei Benteli A.G., 1939, p. 63.

Consequently, in the Interwar Period, a national bus net took shape which was run by the Post-, Telegraf- und Telefonverwaltung (PTT) as well as private bus companies. Like the SBB, the PTT was a federal "Regiebetrieb" (federal company) which supplied – thanks to its nature as monopolist – the country with post, telegraph and telephone services.¹¹⁴⁷ The bus net developed along these services, which made the PTT in fact the confederation's second transport company apart from the

¹¹⁴⁴ Wyss, Arthur, *Die Post in der Schweiz. Ihre Geschichte durch 2000 Jahre*, Bern: Hallwag Verlag, 1987, p. 267.

¹¹⁴⁵ Merki, Christoph Maria, "Der Umstieg von der Postkutsche aufs Postauto. Zur Motorisierung des öffentlichen Überlandverkehrs in der Schweiz", in *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, Vol. 85, Issue 1, 1998, p. 94-112, here 107.

¹¹⁴⁶ Merki, Motorisierung des öffentlichen Überlandverkehrs, 1998, p. 99-100.

¹¹⁴⁷ Kronig, Karl, "Post-, Telefon- und Telegrafbetriebe (PTT)", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2011, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D27154.php> (accessed 5.1.2015).

SBB. The growth of passengers in the so called "Autoreiseposten" exceeded the number of tourists on a motor vehicle or motorcycle by far (see Fig. 12). Similarly, it was impressive, albeit much quicker. As figure 12 shows, the level of one million passengers was reached in 1924, only to reach some 4.751 million and some 5.5 million in 1931 and in 1935. Both years were followed by a year which witnessed a decrease, but the relaxation appeared quickly in both cases.

Due to its powerful increase of passengers, the PTT quickly became an actor which also wanted its part of the Swiss mobility market, which was limited due to the shrinking demand in the world and in Switzerland (see chapter 5.1.1 *The economic development: the effects of the gold standard*). The increase in automobile tourism menaced the tourism by train.¹¹⁴⁸ Despite its impressive development, the car was still not similarly accepted as was the train: The so called "Verkehrsteilungsgesetz", which would have regulated the competition between the rails and the road, was rejected in 1935.¹¹⁴⁹ Yet, the railways could not take a rest: the plane was yet still another luxurious means of transport, but it challenged the railways similarly as did the car. In fact, the national carrier Swissair and the SVZ started an office together in New York in the 1930s.¹¹⁵⁰

5.2 Settling down: activities, branch offices and the image promoted abroad

5.2.1 The structure of the SVZ

The SVZ was structured simply. The association "Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs" hold three organs: the general assembly, the Verkehrsrat and the board of management ("Vorstand").¹¹⁵¹ The SVZ itself, that is the one and only *raison d'être* (aim) of the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des

¹¹⁴⁸ Humair; Narindal, L'encouragement, 2014, p. 425.

¹¹⁴⁹ Frey, Thomas, "'Nur das Beste ist gut genug' 1913-1970", in Elsasser, Kilian T., Appenzeller Stephan (ed.), *Pionierbahn am Lötschberg. Die Geschichte der Lötschbergbahn*, Zürich: AS Verlag & Buchkonzept AG, 2013, p. 101-164, here 156.

¹¹⁵⁰ For a comprehensive history of the Swiss air traffic, see: Historisches Institut der Universität Bern, *Geschichte der Schweizer Luftfahrt*, [s.d.], URL: http://www.hist.unibe.ch/content/forschungsprojekte/schweizer_luftfahrt/index_ger.html (accessed 4.12.2010). Jaquemmet, Juri, *Schweizer Zivilluftfahrt 1945-2000. Flottenpolitik und Netzwerke am Beispiel der Swissair*, Biel: Selbstverlag, 2012; Fehr, Sandro, *Die Erschliessung der dritten Dimension. Entstehung und Entwicklung der zivilen Luftfahrtinfrastruktur in der Schweiz, 1919-1990*, Zürich: Chronos, 2014; Meyer, Benedikt, *Im Flug. Schweizer Airlines und ihre Passagiere, 1919-2002*, Zürich: Chronos, 2015.

¹¹⁵¹ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "Statuten der nationalen Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs", Bern, 28.11.1917, p. 2.

Reiseverkehrs, was managed by a manager, Albert Junod. Three departments were subordinated to his management, each headed by a head of department ("Abteilungschef") of whom one was appointed vice-manager. The management furthermore possessed a small staff of four persons for general administrative works.

It is in this simple structure shown in figure 13, that the interconnection of the federal administration and the SVZ – considered as an interest association – already becomes apparent (see chapter 5.1.2 *The federal administration and the interest associations intertwine*). Although the SVZ was an association of private law, the confederation was represented in all crucial organs which steered the direction of the NTO, while it left clear the daily business to the SVZ' management. The SBB were equally represented in those steering organs.

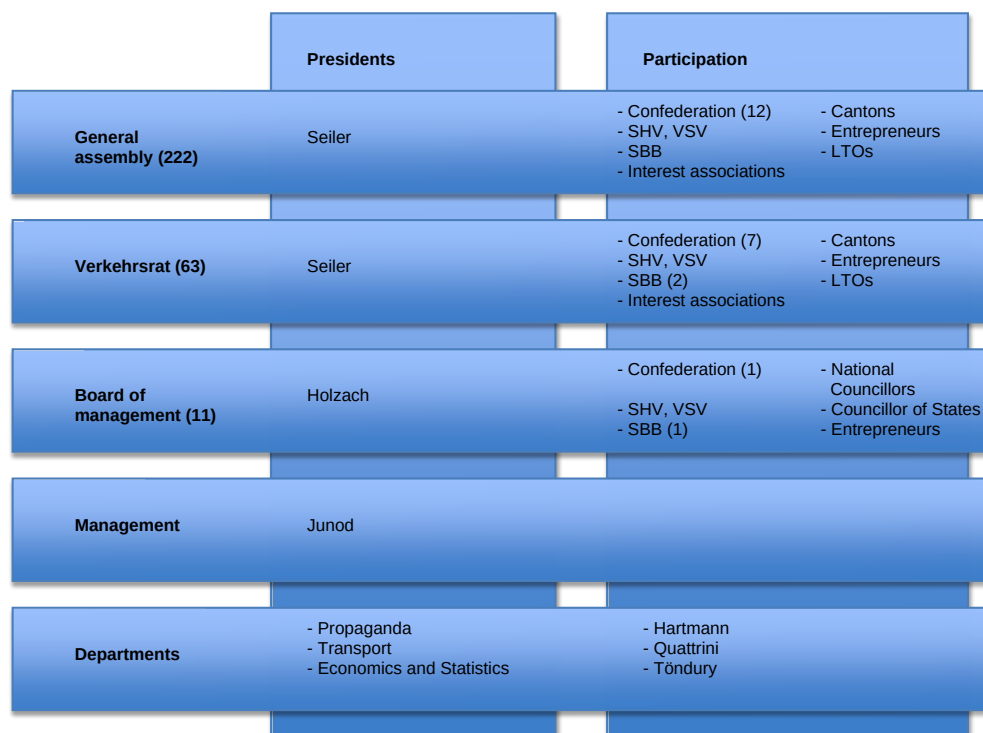


Fig. 13: The structure of the SVZ in 1918. The boxes show the names of the presidents of the organs (Seiler, Holzach) and of the manager (Junod) who managed three departments. The numbers show the total of the members of an organ (general assembly, Verkehrsrat, board of management) or the number of representatives sent to an organ (confederation, SBB).

Source: Own illustration basing on: BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "I. Jahresbericht der nationalen Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs umfassend den Zeitraum vom 28. November 1917 bis 31. Dezember 1918", [s.l.], 1918, p. 1-4.

Immediately after the constitutive assembly, the Verkehrsrat met for the first time in order to enable itself for work. Alexander Seiler was elected president due to his

merits in favour of the SVZ, promised impartiality and that he would not lose the welfare of the whole country out of sight, and ended with the short appeal: "Au travail!"¹¹⁵² Indeed, there was no lack of work. In fact, according to the first annual report, the SVZ's organs were constituted and/or their members elected or appointed to them throughout 1918.¹¹⁵³ Similarly, the procedural rules for the board of management and the Verkehrsrat as well as the official regulations for the personnel and the working program were approved by the Verkehrsrat.¹¹⁵⁴ Who did the SVZ' organs finally consist of?

5.2.1.1 The board of management

On 28th December 1917, the Verkehrsrat was constituted. The Councilor of States Kunz and the National Councilor Maillefer were elected vice-presidents, Junod became the secretary.¹¹⁵⁵ Furthermore, the Verkehrsrat elected the members of the board of management, while the Federal Council and the SBB each delegated a representative to the board of management.¹¹⁵⁶

The board of management finally consisted of:

- Dr. A. Contat, delegate from the Federal Council
- L. Geiger, delegate from the SBB
- Dr. F. Holzach, Basel
- Dr. G. Keller, member of the government council, Zurich
- G. Kunz, Councilor of States, Berne
- A. Laely, Councilor of States, Chur

¹¹⁵² BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "Conseil du tourisme de l'Association nationale pour le développement du Tourisme. Protocol de la séance tenue à Berne, le 28 novembre 1917 [...]", [Berne], 28.11.1917, p. 1-2.

¹¹⁵³ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "I. Jahresbericht der nationalen Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs umfassend den Zeitraum vom 28. November 1917 bis 31. Dezember 1918", [s.l.], 1918, p. 2-5.

¹¹⁵⁴ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "I. Jahresbericht der nationalen Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs umfassend den Zeitraum vom 28. November 1917 bis 31. Dezember 1918", [s.l.], 1918, p. 2, 4.

¹¹⁵⁵ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "I. Jahresbericht der nationalen Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs umfassend den Zeitraum vom 28. November 1917 bis 31. Dezember 1918", [s.l.], 1918, p. 2. This first annual report was typed and spelled the name of one of the vice-presidents "Kund" instead of "Kunz". The mistake was removed in the following documents (e.g. BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "Protokoll der II. Sitzung des Vorstandes der Verkehrszentrale, [...] den 27. Februar 1918 [...] in Bern", by Holzach, president of the SVZ, and Armbruster, secretary ad interim, Bern, 27.2.1918, p. 2.

¹¹⁵⁶ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "I. Jahresbericht der nationalen Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs umfassend den Zeitraum vom 28. November 1917 bis 31. Dezember 1918", [s.l.], 1918, p. 2.

- Dr. P. Maillefer, National Councilor, Lausanne
- P. Quattrini, manager, Lugano
- Dr. A. Seiler, National Councilor, Brigue
- P. Trachsel, manager, Geneva
- Dr. I. Zimmerli, Lucerne.¹¹⁵⁷

Contat was the secretary of the EDI, Geiger the head of the department for publicity and statistics from the SBB, Holzach president of the LTO of Basel, Quattrini manager of the "Compagnia di Navigazione del lago di Lugano", and Trachsel manager of the LTO of Geneva.¹¹⁵⁸ Zimmerli, a City Councilor from Lucerne, one of the touristic hotspots of Switzerland prior to the First World War, was also very active in favour of the casinos and tourism in general.¹¹⁵⁹ Holzach was elected president of the board of management, Junod was appointed director unanimously.¹¹⁶⁰ It is interesting to see what Junod stood for: He was the director of the initiating association Pro Sempione, an association mainly related to the French-speaking part of Switzerland and supportive to the increasing sector of automobile tourism. His new job as director of the SVZ secured these two interest fields a dominant role in the SVZ. This is important insofar as the SVZ' direction was a central job which run the daily work of the SVZ, thereby putting into practice the boards of management guidelines, wishes and orders. In his function as a secretary of the Verkehrsrat, Junod also guaranteed a direct stream of information from the SVZ' heart to the Verkehrsrat, the big organ which consisted of 63 members and met only a couple of times a year.¹¹⁶¹

In summary, the SVZ' organs interaction resembled the relationship between a parliament (Verkehrsrat) and the government (board of management). The direction – including the vice-director – took on the role of the administration's head,

¹¹⁵⁷ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "I. Jahresbericht der nationalen Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs umfassend den Zeitraum vom 28. November 1917 bis 31. Dezember 1918", [s.l.], 1918, p. 2.

¹¹⁵⁸ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "Protokoll der konstituierenden Generalversammlung", by Calonder, president, and Junod, secretary, of the Nationalen Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Bern, 28.11.1917, p. 13-14.

¹¹⁵⁹ Gruner; Frei, Bundesversammlung 1848-1920, 1966, p. 291.

¹¹⁶⁰ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "I. Jahresbericht der nationalen Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs umfassend den Zeitraum vom 28. November 1917 bis 31. Dezember 1918", [s.l.], 1918, p. 2-3.

¹¹⁶¹ According to BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "I. Jahresbericht der nationalen Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs umfassend den Zeitraum vom 28. November 1917 bis 31. Dezember 1918", [s.l.], 1918, p. 1-2, the Verkehrsrat met three times in 1917-1918.

responsible for the putting into practice of the governmental (and parliamentary) orders.

Having a look on the members of the first board of management reveals some noteworthy points: Firstly, the board of management was obviously quite an organ where political influence and interest-defense were considered to be important for. Six members out of eleven members belonged to either a local government or the national parliament (Keller, Kunz, Laely, Maillefer, Seiler, Zimmerli), two were delegates from the federal and national railways administration (Contat, Geiger), so that only the remaining minority of three members seemed to be active heads of touristic enterprises (Quattrini, Holzach, Trachsel). Secondly, the two Councilors of States originated from those two cantons which each possessed a big cantonal railway company, Berne, possessing the Bern-Lötschberg-Simplon Bahn (BLS), and the Grisons, possessing the Rhätische Bahn (RhB). Both cantonal companies crossed the Alps and transported tourists, although both were not pure touristic. As a consequence, two main touristic cantons were represented. The Valais enjoyed the recommendation of Alexander Seiler, probably one of the best-known touristic agents in the canton. He was a successful hotelier and a National Councilor and thereby combined the representation not only of a region, but also of a crucial economic sector. Thirdly, the board of management seemed to have balanced the regional animosities in Switzerland. In fact, all touristically relevant regions were represented: Additionally to those mentioned above, the Lake Geneva region and the canton of Ticino also defended their interests: Trachsel was manager of the LTO of Geneva and Quattrini manager of the "Compagnia di Navigazione del lago di Lugano". Both of them guaranteed that the interests of the shipping industry and the LTOs were guaranteed, too. Finally, the confederation's delegate, Contat, was not a low-ranking civil servant, but the secretary of the EDI. Similarly, Geiger held the position of the head of the department for publicity and statistics from the SBB. In summary, the board of management was a regionally balanced, rather political than a professional organ. That is: only the minority of its members worked in tourism daily, while the political majority had tight relations to it. As the short biographies in appendix 7.1 *Short biographies of chosen people relevant to the SVZ/SZV* reveal, the here mentioned National Councilors and Councilors of States sat in several boards of directors.

5.2.1.2 The Verkehrsrat

In contrast, the Verkehrsrat encompassed all the touristic agents who worked in tourism daily. It can be seen as an organ which represented the touristic sphere of Switzerland, for which it was a place of networking. Although an adequate discussion of the term "network" is beyond the limits of this study, its recent change in connotation in the context of the Swiss foreign trade policy¹¹⁶² helps us to understand a network as horizontal relations, which enable a transfer of knowledge as well as an exchange between interest groups and the state.¹¹⁶³ In fact, in the Verkehrsrat, the needs of the Swiss tourism industry were coordinated and directly addressed to the politicians belonging to the Verkehrsrat and to the representatives of the federal administration. In turn, the business persons supported the politicians in the Verkehrsrat with first-hand information from an economic branch which played a non-negligible role in the places the politicians came from. A win-win-situation resulted, which, however, was not a phenomenon limited to the tourism industry. In contrast, such "networks of coordination" played a considerable role in 20th century Switzerland.¹¹⁶⁴ They mainly consisted of members of the (economic) elite.¹¹⁶⁵ Accordingly, nearly half of the members of the Verkehrsrat, that is 30 precisely, belonged to the Swiss elite as defined by the Swiss elite observatory.¹¹⁶⁶ That a lot of the members of the Verkehrsrat belonged to the Swiss elite is important insofar as this fact may have influenced the in- or exclusion to the Verkehrsrat.

The decision about who belonged to the Verkehrsrat based on several steps of inclusion and exclusion respectively: Firstly, the preparatory commission B (see chapter 4.4.3.1 *Two commissions for the delicate questions*) had invited the authorities, the industry and the trade by means of a letter and of personal, oral

¹¹⁶² Herren, Madeleine; Zala, Sacha, *Netzwerk Aussenpolitik. Internationale Kongresse und Organisationen als Instrumente der schweizerischen Aussenpolitik 1914-1950*, Zürich: Chronos Verlag, 2002, p. 10, understand "policy networks" independent from the powerful hierarchy as which it is seen in sociology.

¹¹⁶³ Herren; Zala, *Netzwerk Aussenpolitik*, 2002, p. 10.

¹¹⁶⁴ David, Thomas; Ginalschi, Stéphanie; Mach, André; Rebmann, Frédéric, "Networks of Coordination. Swiss Business Associations as an Intermediary between Business, Politics and Administration during the 20th Century", in *Business and Politics*, Vol. 11, Issue 4, 2009, p. 1-38.

¹¹⁶⁵ David; Ginalschi; Mach; Rebmann, *Networks of Coordination*, 2009, p. 7.

¹¹⁶⁶ Compare the database "élites suisses au XXe siècle", Université de Lausanne, <http://www.unil.ch/elitessuisses> (accessed 20.08.2015). 29 members of the Verkehrsrat were not found in the database, and four could not be identified with certainty.

efforts to become a member or a subsidizing body of the SVZ.¹¹⁶⁷ Secondly, the articles of association allowed those members, who paid at least 5'000 Swiss Francs – that is roughly 76'361 Swiss Francs in 2009¹¹⁶⁸ per year or 0,6 percent of the SVZ' budget of 1919¹¹⁶⁹ – , one representative in the Verkehrsrat.¹¹⁷⁰ Those members and subsidizing bodies, who paid this sum and who were interested to send a representative to the Verkehrsrat, could put themselves on a list at the occasion of the constitutive assembly. The later accepted the list, and the listed were elected.¹¹⁷¹ Thus, first and foremost, the selection for the Verkehrsrat was very open in the first line, but focused on the financially more powerful companies and associations secondarily. Yet, the financial barrier was modest. As a consequence, the Verkehrsrat encompassed 63 members! Such big organs appeared in many other NTOs all over the world, as chapter 2.3 *Centralization: the Interwar Period* has shown. Thus, the Verkehrsrat was rather the professional organ, where the touristic scene met, and which did not exclude the relevant ideologies, as the following lines will show.

The minutes of the constitutive assembly named the following members of the first Verkehrsrat:

Dr. A. Seiler, National Councilor, Brig-Zermatt
 Dr. G. Bachmann, professor at the University of Zurich, Winterthur
 J. Bally, factory owner, Schönenwerd
 M. Barbey, avocat, president of the "Association des Chemins de fer secondaires", Montreux
 A. Bauer-Ludwig, Basel
 R. Baumann, secretary of the "Union Helvetia", Lucerne
 Dr. G. Baumgartner, member of the government council from the canton of St. Gallen, St. Gallen
 A. Bernoud, engineer, president of the Swiss Alpine club, Geneva

¹¹⁶⁷ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "PROCES VERBAL de la Conférence des délégués des Associations promotrices de l'Association nationale pour l'Office suisse du Tourisme, tenu le MERCREDI 12 SEPTEMBRE 1917, [...]", Berne, 12.9.1917, p. 5.

¹¹⁶⁸ According to Pfister; Studer, Swistoval, [s.d.] (accessed 26.10.2015), 5'000 Swiss Francs in 1919 equal roughly 76'361 Swiss Francs in 2009 (deflator: historical wage index).

¹¹⁶⁹ According to BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: "JAHRESRECHNUNG 1919. BUDGET 1920", by SVZ, Zürich, 22.1.1920, p. 7-8, the SVZ' budget of 1919 amounted to some 849'273 Swiss Francs.

¹¹⁷⁰ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "Statuten der nationalen Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs", Bern, 28.11.1917, art. 11.

¹¹⁷¹ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "Protokoll der konstituierenden Generalversammlung", by Calonder, president, and Junod, secretary, of the Nationalen Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Bern, 28.11.1917, p. 13.

W. Bierbaum, editor of the "Neue Zürcher Zeitung", Zurich

Dr. H. Blocher, member of the government council from the canton of Basel, Basel

H. Boveyron, member of the government council from the canton of Geneva, Geneva

R. Brand-Sandreuter, Basel

C.J. Bucher, member of the Swiss Automobile Club, Great Councilor (member of the cantonal parliament), Lucerne

Ch. Buchmann, manager of the "Handwerkerbank", Basel

H. Calame, president of the National Council, Neuchâtel

L. Chauvet, manager, Geneva

E. Colomb, general director of the SBB, Berne

Dr. A. Contat, secretary of the EDI, Berne

E. Delacoste, member of the government council from the canton of Valais, Sion

A. Emery, former National Councilor, Montreux

W. C. Escher, Zurich

P. Etier, member of the government council from the canton of Vaud, Lausanne

Garbani-Nerini, National Councilor, Bellinzona

C. L. Geiger, head of the departement for publicity and statistics from the SBB, Berne

Nic. Hartmann, architect, St. Moritz

Dr. F. Holzach, president of the local tourist association, Falknerstrasse 2, Basel

H. Jetzler, Basel

A. Junod, director of the association "Pro Sempione", Lausanne

Dr. G. Keller, member of the government council from the canton of Zurich, Zurich

Dr. Keller-Huguenin, advocate, Zurich

Dr. Klöti, City Councilor, Zurich

A. Kummer-Wenger, Hotelier, Zurich

G. Kunz, Councilor of States, Berne

A. Lachenal, son, advocate, Geneva

A. Laely, Councilor of States, Chur

R. Lehmann, director of the local tourist office, Lucerne

F. Lichtensteiger-Käser, Basel

Dr. P. Maillefer, National Councilor, Lausanne

F. Martin, vice-president of the "Automobile Club de Suisse", Geneva

L. Merz, member of the government council from the canton of Berne, Berne

Dr. E. Miescher, advocate, Basel

W. Miller, secretary of the "Neue Gotthardvereinigung", Lucerne
 G. de Montenach, Councilor of States, Fribourg
 E. Muery-Flück, Basel
 H. Neithardt, hotelier, Zurich
 Ed. Paisant, president of the "Touring Club Suisse", Geneva
 H. Pfyffer von Altishofen, colonel, Lucerne
 B. Quattrini, manager of the "Compagnia di Navigazione del lago di Lugano", Lugano
 E. Rava, mayor of the City of Lugano, Lugano
 E. Richard, colonel, vice-president of the Zurich chamber of commerce, Zurich
 R. Sarasin-Vischer, Basel
 Dr. E. Scherrer, National Councilor, St. Gallen
 Dr. P. Scherrer, Councilor of States, Basel
 J. Séchaud, factory owner, Montreux
 E. Settelen, Basel
 A. Stäger, director of the regional post office administration, Berne
 A. von Steiger, city mayor, Berne
 Dr. O. Töndury, president of the Schweizer Hotelierverein, Chur
 P. Trachsel, director of the local tourist office, Geneva
 Dr. W. Vischer-Iselin, Basel
 Ed. Weber, president of the "Union des Sociétés suisses de développement",
 Geneva
 C. Wirth, manager of the "Berner Oberland-Bahnen", Interlaken
 Dr. J. Zimmerli, advocate, City Councilor, Lucerne.

Tab. 6: *The 63 members of the first Verkehrsrat, elected for the period 1917-1920.*
 Source: BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "Protokoll der konstituierenden Generalversammlung", by Calonder, president, and Junod, secretary, of the Nationalen Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Berne, 28.11.1917, p. 13-14.

The composition of this first Verkehrsrat gives a very good insight into the political and professional background of the touristic lobby in Switzerland. Which characteristics can be observed?

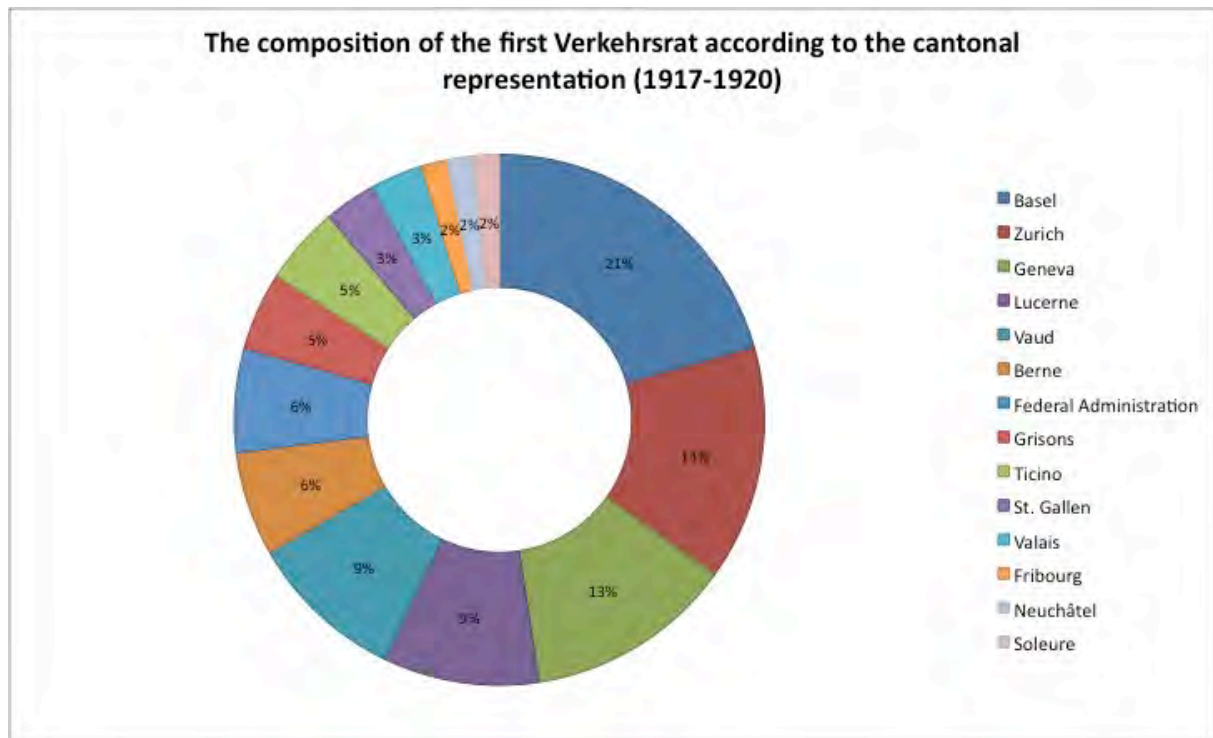


Fig. 14: Composition of the first Verkehrsrat according to the cantonal representation (1917-1920).

Source: Table 5.

An eye-catching fact is the predominance of the representatives originating from Basel. Basel listed a considerable number of beds offered ("Gastbetten") and arrivals: In 1910, the beds offered in Basel reached a sum of some 2'000 beds, while Zurich possessed 5'000, Berne 2'345, Lausanne 3000 and Lucerne 8'310 beds offered. The relative weight of these cities seemed to be quite constant: In 1925, the ratio did not differ to the succession of 1921, yet there are data missing for the time in between.¹¹⁷² With respect to the arrivals, Basel with some 256'100 arrivals stood between Zurich with 355'800 and Geneva 174'100 arrivals in 1929.¹¹⁷³ All these numbers proved that touristic activities in Switzerland were not limited to the Alps. Swiss cities were not onside with respect to tourism as the arrivals of Zurich, Basel, Geneva, Berne and Lucerne roughly equaled one fifth of the overall arrivals in

¹¹⁷² Bundesamt für Statistik, *Statistik und Geschichte. Historische statistische Tabellen der Schweiz. Touristische Infrastruktur*, online <http://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/portal/de/index/dienstleistungen/history/01/00/10/02.html> (accessed 6.1.2015), Tab. 10.2.3.1 "Hotel- und Kurbetriebe nach Städten: Vorhandene Gastbetten 1850-1934 (ausgewählte Jahre)". Between 1910 and 1925 there are data missing.

¹¹⁷³ Bundesamt für Statistik, *Statistik und Geschichte. Historische statistische Tabellen der Schweiz. Touristische Infrastruktur*, online <http://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/portal/de/index/dienstleistungen/history/01/00/10/02.html> (accessed 6.1.2015), Tab. 10.2.3.3 "Hotel- und Kurbetriebe nach Städten: Ankünfte in- und ausländischer Gäste 1929-2002 (ausgewählte Jahre)".

Switzerland in 1929!¹¹⁷⁴ Additionally, Basel functioned as a gateway to Switzerland, so its engagement in the Verkehrsrat did not astonish. Yet, Basel drew attention to itself because there were a lot of representatives without a touristically noteworthy profession or political activity from that town. The minutes of the constitutive assembly did not mention a profession or a political activity for eight out of 13 representatives! It might be that this high number is related to the unsuccessful application of Basel as the SVZ' place of the seat – in the sense of a moral compensation.

The three most influential cantons were Basel, Zurich and Geneva. The hitherto strong centers of tourism took only second line: Lucerne, Vaud and Berne.¹¹⁷⁵ The Grisons, the Valais, the Ticino (and St. Gallen), rather emerging tourism cantons (apart from St. Gallen),¹¹⁷⁶ did only cover between three and five percent of the Verkehrsrat. This was a modest contribution compared to the 21 percent of Basel, or the 10 percent of Vaud and Lucerne, and the 13 and 14 percent respectively of Geneva and Zurich.

Both observations tend to support the thesis that the Verkehrsrat was as much a political as a professional organ. This is supported by the detailed evaluation with respect to the political activities or the professions of the members of the Verkehrsrat. The following figures base on the information (political activity, profession) mentioned in the minutes of the constitutive assembly, when the first Verkehrsrat was elected.

While 54 percent of the members hold a political, or at least official,¹¹⁷⁷ function (functionary in an interest-association, National Councilor, Councilor of States, member of a cantonal government council, City Councilor, mayor or a position in the army), 33 percent were described as professionals (see Fig. 15). The members' professions did not vary greatly: advocates, employees of the federal administration, managers, directors, factory owners, hoteliers, architects, editors and a professor. In short, well-educated people from the independent professions, the industry, and

¹¹⁷⁴ Own calculation (1'099'400 / 4'855'000 arrivals) basing on Bundesamt für Statistik, Historische statistische Tabellen, online, Tab. 10.2.3.3 and Bundesamt für Statistik, *Statistik und Geschichte. Historische statistische Tabellen der Schweiz. Touristische Infrastruktur*, online <http://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/portal/de/index/dienstleistungen/history/01/00/10/01.html> (accessed 6.1.2015), Tab. 10.1.1 "Gesamtergebnisse des Fremdenverkehrs 1890-2002".

¹¹⁷⁵ Humair, *Le tourisme comme moteur*, 2011, p. 18-19.

¹¹⁷⁶ Humair, *Le tourisme comme moteur*, 2011, p. 20.

¹¹⁷⁷ As a position in the army, which is usually considered as not being part of the politics, is included, the term "official" might be applied. Yet, as the large majority represented real political functions, the term "political" is used in the following.

tourism as well as some public officials. As mentioned above, Basel sent eight delegates for whom neither a political activity, nor a profession was mentioned. Thereby, this city sent eight out of 63 delegates (13 percent) without any function.

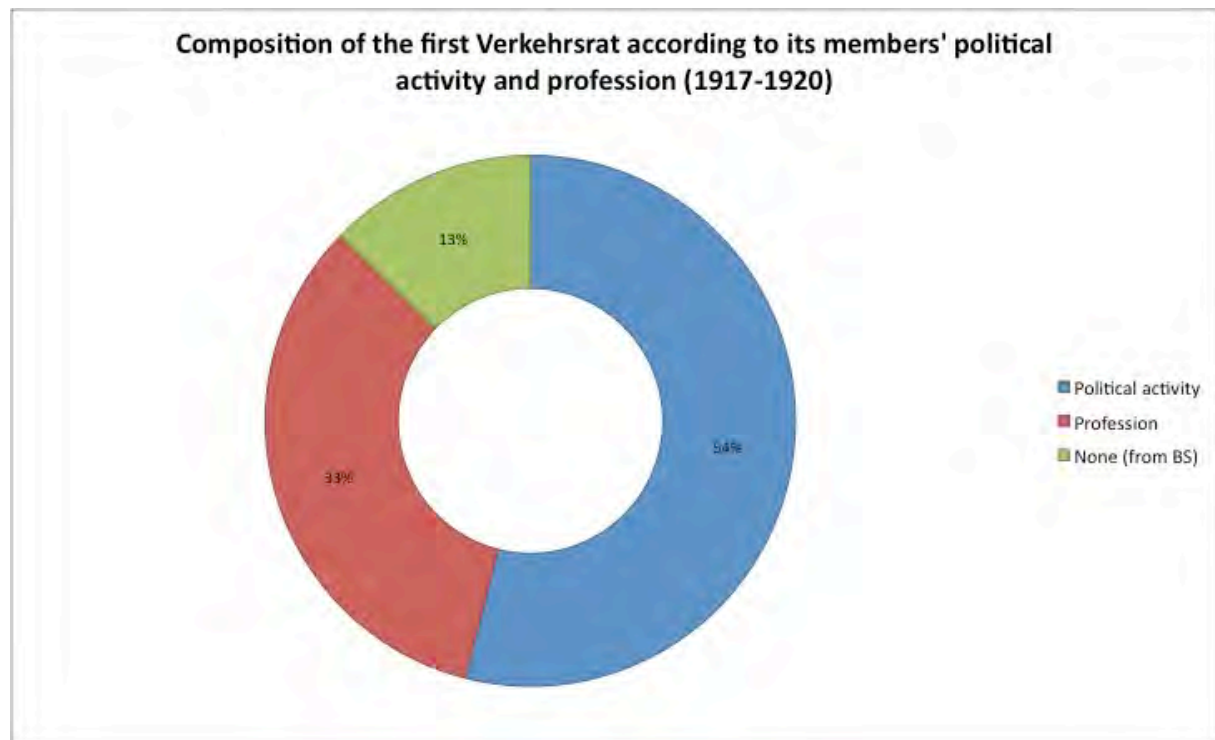


Fig. 15: Composition of the first Verkehrsrat according to its members' political activity and profession (1917-1920).

Source: Table 5.

Figure 16 classifies the political activities: Most of its members sat in the Verkehrsrat as delegates from an interest-association (e.g. ACS, Pro Sempione, etc.). Thereby, their positions ranged from the (general) secretary to the presidency, which is rather high-ranking positions. These lobbyists covered a good third of the members with a political activity. Another fifth stemmed from the cantonal government councils, roughly another third from the national parliament (both chambers). The members of the government councils originated from the cantons of Berne, Basel, Geneva, St. Gallen and Zurich – in fact, the cantons with important cities, although St. Gallen was hardly in the same range as the other cities mentioned. Yet, Eduard Scherrer from St. Gallen was president of the "Schweizerischer Städteverband", an interest-association of Swiss cities.¹¹⁷⁸ Southern and Central Switzerland were represented by the mayors of Lugano and Lucerne. Some personalities seemed to have been a

¹¹⁷⁸ Gruner; Frei, Bundesversammlung 1848-1920, 1966, p. 580.

member of the Verkehrsrat due to their former activities and efforts. Such is the case of Alexandre Emery, former National Councilor of the canton of Vaud, who had – together with Alexander Seiler, still National Councilor at that time – submitted the motion demanding the establishment of a Swiss NTO. The National Councilors and Councilors of States belonged to the radical-democratic, the liberal-democratic and catholic-conservative parliamentary group of their respective chambers.¹¹⁷⁹ That is, to the whole political spectrum.

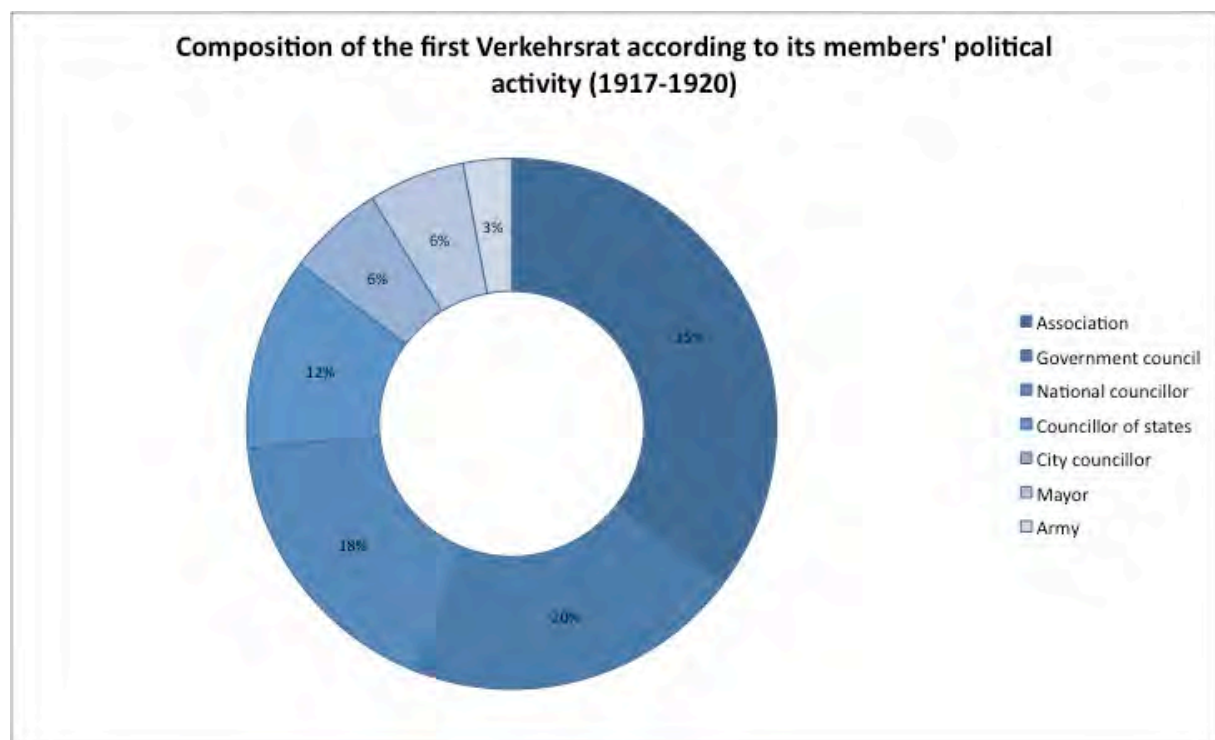


Fig. 16: Composition of the first Verkehrsrat according to its members' political activity (1917-1920).

Source: Table 5.

With reference to the professional background of the member of the Verkehrsrat, it is remarkable that the employees from the federal administration – similar to the advocates and the managers of commercial enterprises – roughly covered one fifth of the members with a profession mentioned. These public officials were: Colomb, general director of the SBB, Contat, secretary of the EDI, Geiger, head of the

¹¹⁷⁹ According to Gruner; Frei, *Bundesversammlung 1848-1920*, 1966, p. 190, 397, 460, 580, 617, 741, 808, 822, 875, 888, the national parliamentarians belonged to the parliamentary groups in the national parliament listed here: Seiler, Alexander: cath.-cons. (p. 875); Calame, Henry W., rad.-dem. (p. 888); Emery, Alexandre, lib.-dem. (p. 808); Garbani-Nerini, Evaristo, rad.-dem. (p. 741); Kunz, Gottfried, rad.-dem. (p. 190); Laely, Andreas, rad.-dem. (p. 617); Maillefer, Paul, rad.-dem. (p. 822); Montenach, Georges de, cath.-cons. (p. 397); Scherrer, Eduard, rad.-dem. (p. 580); Scherrer, Paul, rad.-dem. (p. 460).

department for publicity and statistics from the SBB, and Stäger, director of the regional post office administration. Thus, the federal delegation consisted of high-ranking officials who all had tight relations to touristic questions in terms of content. While Colomb and Stäger represented the two federal transport companies, Contat and Geiger were the responsables for the country's touristic marketing. The confederation obviously attached considerable importance to the SVZ. Those representatives summarized under the term "directors" directed the local tourist offices of Lucerne and Geneva. The factory owners stood for well-known industrial enterprises, the Bally shoe factory in Schönenwerd and the chocolate factory of Séchaud in Montreux. As a producer of a luxury product, the later had a considerable interest in tourism, as the Swiss products bought by tourists were thereby diffused all over the world and promoted the country and the country's luxury industries again.¹¹⁸⁰ Bally, who exported its shoes worldwide, among others to the British Empire, stood for an enterprise with manifold international experiences.¹¹⁸¹ The editor worked for the "Neue Zürcher Zeitung", a liberal newspaper in Zurich.

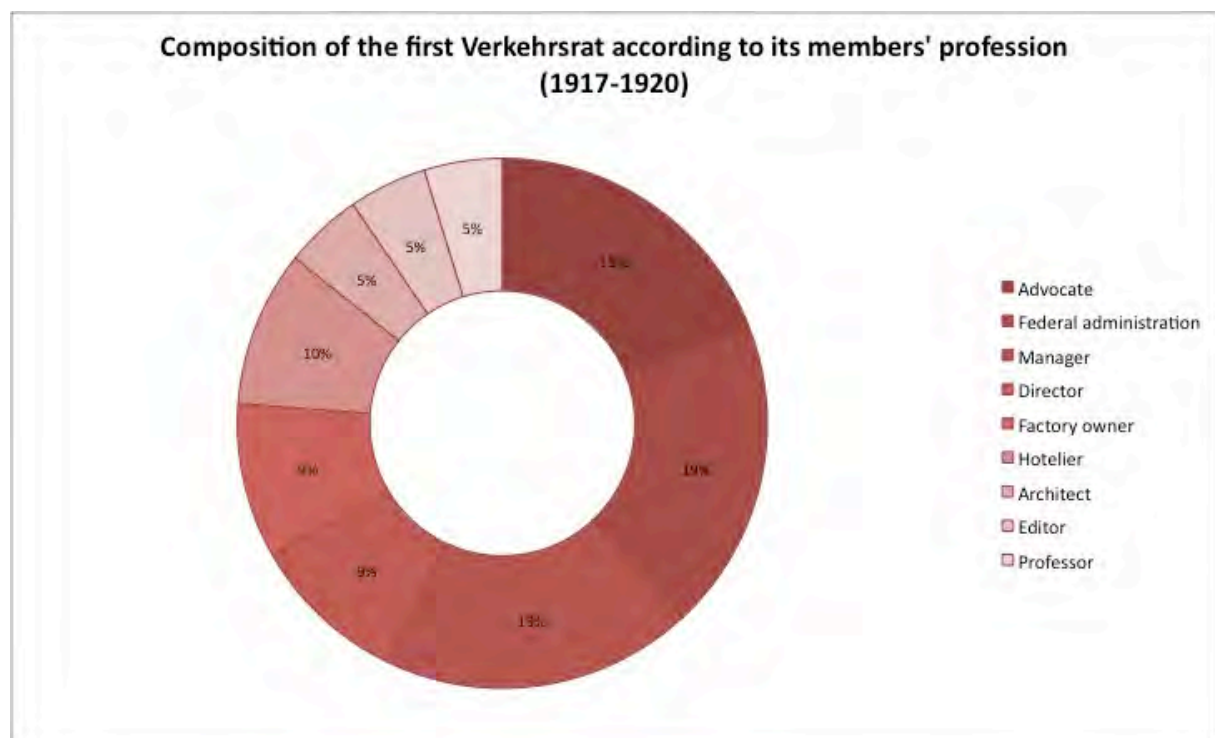


Fig. 17: Composition of the first Verkehrsrat according to its members' profession (1917-1920).

Source: Table 5.

¹¹⁸⁰ Humair, Le tourisme comme moteur, 2011, p. 47.

¹¹⁸¹ Baumann Püntener, Karin, "Bally", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2002, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D41851.php> (accessed 5.3.2013).

The fact that the members of the Verkehrsrat stemmed from the touristic elite of Switzerland is not special insofar, as, for example, in Lugano, the economic and political elite was heavily engaged in the promotion of tourism, too.¹¹⁸² There, the elite was mainly composed of the "bourgeoisie d'affaires et des professions libérales".¹¹⁸³ In the canton of Vaud, a political-touristic net emerged at the beginning of the 1930s in order to lead the canton's tourism promotion and to ask the canton for financial support.¹¹⁸⁴ Only in terms of the political composition a speciality of the Verkehrsrat might become visible: While its members belonged to the whole political spectrum, the economic and political elite of Lugano or the canton of Vaud rather upheld the liberal-democratic credo.¹¹⁸⁵ The inclusion of all relevant ideologies in the Verkehrsrat, however, showed the need to put aside the ideological differences if the economic well-being of an economic branch was at risk. The SVZ as a national institution who was called as a mediator could not allow itself to exclude relevant parts of the touristic scene.

5.2.2 The activities

The first activities started only in June 1918, when the office was opened on 17th June. It moved from the initial place at Usterstrasse 19 to a bigger one at Löwenstrasse 55 in December 1918.¹¹⁸⁶ At the end of the year, the human resources of the Swiss NTO in Zurich encompassed a director, two departmental heads, a secretary-bookkeeper and three shorthand typists, totally seven persons.¹¹⁸⁷ The output was very moderate, all the more as the departmental heads only started in the second half of the year, while the third was awaited for 1919.¹¹⁸⁸ The propaganda

¹¹⁸² Sulmoni, Stefano, "Système de transport et développement touristique: le cas de la ville de Lugano et de ses alentours pendant la Belle Epoque, 1880-1920", in Schiedt, Hans-Ulrich; Tissot, Laurent; Merki, Christoph Maria; Schwinges, Rainer C. (ed.), *Verkehrsgeschichte. Histoire des transports*, Zürich: Chronos Verlag, 2010, p. 435-447, here 445.

¹¹⁸³ Sulmoni, *Système de transport et développement touristique*, 2010, p. 445.

¹¹⁸⁴ Brändly, Stéphanie, *La création d'un Office cantonal vaudois du tourisme durant l'Entre-deux-guerres: étapes et défis*, Lausanne: unpublished travail de mémoire (Université de Lausanne), 2015, p. 28-32.

¹¹⁸⁵ Sulmoni, *Système de transport et développement touristique*, 2010, p. 445.

¹¹⁸⁶ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "I. Jahresbericht der nationalen Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs umfassend den Zeitraum vom 28. November 1917 bis 31. Dezember 1918", [s.l.], 1918, p. 4-5.

¹¹⁸⁷ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "I. Jahresbericht der nationalen Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs umfassend den Zeitraum vom 28. November 1917 bis 31. Dezember 1918", [s.l.], 1918, p. 3-4.

¹¹⁸⁸ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "I. Jahresbericht der nationalen Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs umfassend den Zeitraum vom 28. November 1917 bis 31. Dezember 1918", [s.l.], 1918, p. 4.

department named de facto one exhibition, a graphical travelling exhibition in Sweden, which it prepared the Swiss contribution for.¹¹⁸⁹ The main activity seemed to have been the networking with other touristic organizations and, mainly, the administration. In particular, the federal alien's branch of the police caused many contacts between the SVZ and the administration in the 1920s. As these contacts exemplify one of the SVZ' important activities, the lobbying, it is treated separately in chapter 5.4 *Rebellious tourism industry: Questions of the alien's branch of the police*. Meanwhile, the first annual report introduced the section about the SVZ' activities by stating:

Die Direktion knüpfte Verbindungen an mit dem schweizerischen Eisenbahndepartement, den Bundesbahnen, sowie den übrigen schweizerischen Bahnverwaltungen, ferner mit der Post-, Telegraphen- und Zollverwaltung, mit den Verkehrsvereinen und den Verlagsinstituten.¹¹⁹⁰

For further activities, the legal base had to be created first.

5.2.2.1 The working program

The base for the daily work of the three departments was defined in a working program, which had been accepted by the Verkehrsrat on 21st May 1918. In a very detailed manner, it described each departments' duties and the means to use.

According to this working program, the department A (advertising and commercial business), headed by Heinrich Hartmann, had to occupy itself with the following tasks:

1. Organization and commercial business:

organization of the SVZ' exploitation, to make a budget for the first year, to get in contact with domestic and foreign companies and institutions in the field of transport (railway companies, tourist offices, steamship companies, travel agencies) and of education, associations and clubs of the affluent societal stratum.

¹¹⁸⁹ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "I. Jahresbericht der nationalen Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs umfassend den Zeitraum vom 28. November 1917 bis 31. Dezember 1918", [s.l.], 1918, p. 10.

¹¹⁹⁰ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "I. Jahresbericht der nationalen Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs umfassend den Zeitraum vom 28. November 1917 bis 31. Dezember 1918", [s.l.], 1918, p. 5.

2. Advertising:

The first and foremost task was the organization and concentration of the Swiss advertising abroad *and in Switzerland itself if necessary*.¹¹⁹¹ This accentuation is important insofar, as the distinction between advertising abroad and in Switzerland itself was not very clear in the beginning. The domestic part never really suffered a complete invisibility, yet, it was not stressed. Thus, in summer 1920, the SVZ tried to start pleasure trains which should circulate between the different regions of Switzerland, but they did not step into action because the demand turned out to be too small.¹¹⁹²

Secondly, the department was required to use the following means of advertising:

a) in the press:

- advertisement
- "redaktionelle Propaganda" in the culture sections
- illustrated magazines
- Swiss travel guide (like "Baedeker" or "Tschudy")

b) posters

c) framed pictures

d) decorative drawings

e) advertising in films

f) presentations with film and slides

g) postcards

h) publications

The comments on these means of advertising stressed some means more, while other means were treated with a certain reservation. Thus, the classical advertisement in the press was considered only successful, if the ad was not recognizable as an ad, had psychological effects and reached its expected aim only by unusual means.¹¹⁹³ As the publications hitherto produced bored the reader because of their long texts, less text and more pictures were suggested!¹¹⁹⁴ Yet, the poster was considered very

¹¹⁹¹ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: "Arbeitsprogramm", by the SVZ, Basel, 21.5.1918, p. 4.

¹¹⁹² ST-Archive, [no reference number]: "Entwurf. Dritter Jahresbericht für die Zeit vom 1. Januar bis 31. Dezember 1920", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, [s.l.], [1921], p. 17.

¹¹⁹³ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: "Arbeitsprogramm", by the SVZ, Basel, 21.5.1918, p. 4-5.

¹¹⁹⁴ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: "Arbeitsprogramm", by the SVZ, Basel, 21.5.1918, p. 7.

expensive and should be used only if its effect was proven.¹¹⁹⁵

Nevertheless, the mutual hanging up of posters between transport companies was, as the railway companies of the 19th century had practiced already (see chapter 3.2.5 *The Service de publicité between 1894 and 1902*), the easiest way to succeed.¹¹⁹⁶

Thirdly, specific guides (about winter sports, summer destinations, spas, curing destinations, sanatoria, health resorts with particularly good air, private and public educative institutions, galleries, etc.) as well as maps with favourable routes or for automobilists were to be processed by the department A. A distribution for free or on a cheap base, an increase in agencies abroad and the participation on congresses and big events should guarantee the success of the SVZ' advertising program.

Fourthly, the department A should support the Swiss heritage in order to save the Swiss character and peculiarity.¹¹⁹⁷ In particular the natural beauties should be protected from the infrastructural menaces of modernity, although the access to those natural beauties lied in tourism's interest. The economic exploitation of them, at least, should be fought against.¹¹⁹⁸

The working program assessed and discussed the described measures. Thereby, it revealed who its authors had in mind when they were writing it: the upper class. Notions like *begüterte[...] Gesellschaftskreise* (affluent parts of the society) or *bessere[...] Kreise[...]* (upper social strata)¹¹⁹⁹ stood for this public in focus,¹²⁰⁰ which thereby fully resumed the type of guest which had dominated prior to the First World War (see chapter 3.1.1 *From boom to overheating: the economic development*). This is noteworthy as the working program took into consideration that the conditions and the environment for the world economy had changed: "Für die neue Zeit mit ihren voraussichtlich bis aufs Höchste gesteigerten Anstrengungen auf allen Gebieten der

¹¹⁹⁵ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: "Arbeitsprogramm", by the SVZ, Basel, 21.5.1918, p. 6.

¹¹⁹⁶ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: "Arbeitsprogramm", by the SVZ, Basel, 21.5.1918, p. 6.

¹¹⁹⁷ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: "Arbeitsprogramm", by the SVZ, Basel, 21.5.1918, p. 10.

¹¹⁹⁸ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: "Arbeitsprogramm", by the SVZ, Basel, 21.5.1918, p. 10.

¹¹⁹⁹ Translation by AAH.

¹²⁰⁰ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: "Arbeitsprogramm", by the SVZ, Basel, 21.5.1918, p. 4, 8.

Weltwirtschaft, braucht es [...] **neue Wege** und **neue Formen**."¹²⁰¹ [Bold according to the working program]

The explicit inclusion of the automobile suggests an awareness for contemporary developments which had the potential to become future trends (see chapter 5.1.3 *Transport: the automobilists' conquest of the public*) on the one hand. As automobiles became popular in the USA in this time, a certain North American influence may have influenced the SVZ' judgment about this new kind of tourism, too. On the other hand, the SVZ did not undergo the Swiss hoteliers' resistance to new forms of accommodation – see: lower prices.¹²⁰² Such an ambivalence also appeared in the field of the means for advertising proposed in the working program: While the diapositives, the film or the focus on automobile tourism fulfilled the call after reform, the support of the Swiss heritage did not.¹²⁰³ The SVZ seemed to be aware of the fundamental changes which had occurred, but what these changes really implied for its daily work was not defined clearly yet. Additionally, the sheer organization of the daily work needed some attention, too. In any event, the second annual report reported some difficulties. The detail of the working program had led to a situation in which each department strictly followed the tasks prescribed in the working program which resulted in an isolation of all of them:¹²⁰⁴

Anfangs hat der ganzen Tätigkeit der S.V.Z. das einheitliche Zusammenwirken gefehlt, wofür verschiedene Gründe aufgeführt werden könnten. Jede Abteilung hat sich in ihrer Arbeit gerade auf das Wirkungsfeld beschränkt, das ihr durch das Arbeitsprogramm vorgezeichnet war.¹²⁰⁵

The fact, that the respective head of the department seemed to have pursued his own interests, may have fostered this. At least the head of the department for

¹²⁰¹ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: "Arbeitsprogramm", by the SVZ, Basel, 21.5.1918, p. 4.

¹²⁰² According to Schumacher, Ferien, 2002, p. 233, the National Councilor [Gottlieb] Duttweiler proposed to bring the employees to the hotels (which implied a lowering of the hotel prices in order to increase the utilization) in order to fight the economic crisis in the 1930s. This contradicted the SHV's policy of standardizing the prices among its members, described in Schumacher, Krise, 1997, p. 83-84.

¹²⁰³ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: "Arbeitsprogramm", by the SVZ, Basel, 21.5.1918, p. 6, 8, 10.

¹²⁰⁴ ST-Archive, [no reference number]: "Zweiter Jahresbericht umfassend den Zeitraum vom 1. Januar bis 31. Dezember 1919", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, [s.l.], [1920], p. 8.

¹²⁰⁵ ST-Archive, [no reference number]: "Zweiter Jahresbericht umfassend den Zeitraum vom 1. Januar bis 31. Dezember 1919", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, [s.l.], [1920], p. 8.

economics and statistics, Otto Töndury from Tarasp,¹²⁰⁶ linked his background with the work for the SVZ. Töndury (1864-1945) had been president of the board of directors and general director of the Grand Hotel Kurhaus Tarasp between 1893 and 1918.¹²⁰⁷ Tarasp was famous for its mineral springs: apart from the selling of mineral water from 1860 onwards, the hotels offered bathing cures.¹²⁰⁸ Under Töndury's guidance, the balneology as well as the climatology served as an example for the study of tourism's economic and transport-political effects, his department's foremost task.¹²⁰⁹ Following chapter 4.1.2.3 *Further characteristics of the federal administration*, Töndury exemplifies the type of a subordinate official who why engaged in a matter because he had a personal intention behind his engagements.¹²¹⁰ He could well use a statistical underpinning as the inter-allied congress on balneology had showed a fierce competition in these fields of tourism (see chapter 2.1 *Overview*).

Department B (transport), headed by Battista Quattrini, was charged with transport-political questions in general, which resulted in quite political tasks. Divided along some prescribed categories – railways and shipping; postal, telephone and telegraph services; automobile traffic; air traffic; bike traffic; customs and tariffs; sanitary measures –, the department was asked to actively influence the domestic and international timetables in favour of quick and direct connections, and to care about the situation at the border railway stations. There, the situation at the customs, at the change desks and the catering on the platforms seemed to endanger the tourists' experiences of Switzerland.¹²¹¹ When passing the border by car or by bike, the travelers often had to supply the customs with a security, which was to be abolish.¹²¹² Additionally, the working program prescribed an explicitly friendly tone towards the

¹²⁰⁶ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "I. Jahresbericht der nationalen Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs umfassend den Zeitraum vom 28. November 1917 bis 31. Dezember 1918", [s.l.], 1918, p. 7.

¹²⁰⁷ Kaiser, Dolf, "Töndury", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2012, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D24914.php> (accessed 15.3.2013).

¹²⁰⁸ Grimm, Paul Eugen, "Tarasp", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2012, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D1524.php> (accessed 15.3.2013).

¹²⁰⁹ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "I. Jahresbericht der nationalen Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs umfassend den Zeitraum vom 28. November 1917 bis 31. Dezember 1918", [s.l.], 1918, p. 11.

¹²¹⁰ Monnier; Thuillier, *Le rôle des personnalités*, 2005, p. 277.

¹²¹¹ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: "Arbeitsprogramm", by the SVZ, Basel, 21.5.1918, p. 11-13.

¹²¹² BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: "Arbeitsprogramm", by the SVZ, Basel, 21.5.1918, p. 16.

automobile and the plane and their associations.¹²¹³ In particular the infrastructure needed by them – roads, airports –, but also the relevant laws should be supported accordingly.¹²¹⁴ Obviously, the SVZ had to be open towards new means of transport, its collaboration encompassed not only the railway companies, but also the other means of transport. In this respect, the support of a public automobile service is noteworthy, because it would bring the advantages of an automobile to the middle class, and, on the same time, supply remote destinations with public transport.¹²¹⁵ As chapter 5.1.3 *Transport: the automobilists' conquest of the public* has shown, this idea was fully put into practice by the PTT. As all these fields in one way or the other fell under the federal administration's area of responsibility, a friendly correspondence with the authorities was suggested: mutual conversations and conferences should regularly bring together the leading functionaries of the EPED, the general directories of the SBB as well as of the post office, telegraph and telephone administrations, representatives of the most important private railway companies and the SVZ.¹²¹⁶ The confederation's "frohgemuter Interventionismus" should obviously be facilitated by the SVZ (see chapter 5.1.2 *The federal administration and the interest associations intertwine*).

The tasks of the department C (economics and statistics) were clearly defined: Study of tourism's economic and transport-political effects, study of tourism's effects on the local population, support for the improvement of the hotels employees' social conditions, as well as the collection and archiving of the domestic and international literature about tourism and hotels.¹²¹⁷

The working program offered a clear vision of the issues which the SVZ should treat. The sheer amount of them, however, urged the heads of the departments to assess the importance of them, as long as the economic and political developments did not impose other topics upon them. A good relation with the federal administration seemed to be advisable thereby.

¹²¹³ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: "Arbeitsprogramm", by the SVZ, Basel, 21.5.1918, p. 14-15.

¹²¹⁴ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: "Arbeitsprogramm", by the SVZ, Basel, 21.5.1918, p. 14-15.

¹²¹⁵ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: "Arbeitsprogramm", by the SVZ, Basel, 21.5.1918, p. 15.

¹²¹⁶ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: "Arbeitsprogramm", by the SVZ, Basel, 21.5.1918, p. 17.

¹²¹⁷ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: "Arbeitsprogramm", by the SVZ, Basel, 21.5.1918, p. 18-19.

But how was this working program put into practice? Which issues occupied the SVZ in reality? How did the SVZ market Switzerland abroad? Which image of Switzerland did the NTO create?

5.2.2.2 Advertising materials and networking

In terms of material output, it took the SVZ several years to distribute own publications. The Swiss National Library, which has taken over the archive of the SVZ, possesses a guide called "Switzerland: A short and handy guide for tourists" which was published by the SVZ in 1922.¹²¹⁸ In form of a small, illustrated book it described some places in Switzerland, and appeared also in Dutch, Spanish and French.¹²¹⁹ Thus, it did not astonish that the second annual report stated: "Das Schaffen und Wirken im Jahre 1919 war mehr noch eine Arbeit des inneren Ausbaues, gewissermassen mehr ein Suchen, ein Sichzurechtfinden, mehr ein Studieren als eine Verwirklichung von Plänen nach aussen hin."¹²²⁰ In fact, promotional material was distributed – but obviously not publications which had been published by the SVZ, but the materials of other touristic organizations:

Die interne Betätigung hat besonders in der Einrichtung eines Archivs für Reise und Verkehr, der Anlegung einer entsprechenden Bibliothek, der Sammlung von Photographien, Diapositiven, von Kupferstichen und Bildern bestanden. *Die Entgegennahmen, die Einreihung und wieder der Versand des Propaganda-Materials hat ebenfalls sehr viel Zeit in Anspruch genommen.*¹²²¹ [In italics according to AAH]

Not the immediate production of promotional materials dominated, but the collection and the archiving of it.

Then, in 1919, the annual report listed some activities of the advertising department: a trip to Switzerland for American journalists, exhibitions and oral presentations in promotional manner and illustrated with slides in Scandinavia, and films.¹²²² In

¹²¹⁸ *Switzerland: a short and handy guide for tourists*, Zurich: Swiss Tourist Information Office, 1922.

¹²¹⁹ Compare the holding NB, V 4800, Schweiz. Verkehrszentrale. Schweiz Tourismus. Prospekte.

¹²²⁰ ST-Archive, [no reference number]: "Zweiter Jahresbericht umfassend den Zeitraum vom 1. Januar bis 31. Dezember 1919", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, [s.l.], [1920], p. 8.

¹²²¹ ST-Archive, [no reference number]: "Zweiter Jahresbericht umfassend den Zeitraum vom 1. Januar bis 31. Dezember 1919", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, [s.l.], [1920], p. 8.

¹²²² ST-Archive, [no reference number]: "Zweiter Jahresbericht umfassend den Zeitraum vom 1. Januar bis 31. Dezember 1919", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, [s.l.], [1920], p. 9.

contrast, it is interesting to learn that the SVZ heavily focused on the Anglo-Saxon market, although the biggest group of foreign tourists in Switzerland stemmed from Germany in that year.¹²²³ The fact that the Swiss by far amounted to the most important group of tourists (in quantitative terms)¹²²⁴ was, however, forgotten. The domestic market had not yet attracted the attention of the NTO. Thus, the film about the Swiss scouts was only distributed in the USA, the first trip organized for journalists focused on American journalists, an illustrated brochure promoted the winter season in Switzerland in English ("Winter in Switzerland") and the collective promotion ("Kollektivreklame") was destined at France and England.¹²²⁵ Additionally and interestingly, the advertising department supported the efforts to establish a "Presse-Zentralamt" (central office for the press) for America, which should collaborate with the Foreign Press-Service in New York.¹²²⁶ At least for France, the third most important country of origin, a direct investment was made: a delegate was sent there in order to defend the interests of transport and tourism.¹²²⁷ This early engagement in France continued throughout the whole Interwar Period, when the economic relations between France and Switzerland were intensive.¹²²⁸

Three years after its establishment, the SVZ listed the quantity of its output in the annual report for the first time. Such lists became a traditional, integral part of the annual reports in the Interwar Period and the detail of it suggests that it legitimated the departments' existence and constant call for more financial resources. In fact, the year 1920 marked the beginning of its outward-oriented activities.¹²²⁹ The preferred means of advertising in this early year encompassed exhibitions (all over the world), advertisements (often in collaboration with Swiss LTOs, resulting in a

¹²²³ Tissot; Moser, *Binnenwirtschaft, Tourismus und Landwirtschaft*, 2012, p. 559.

¹²²⁴ See Tissot; Moser, *Binnenwirtschaft, Tourismus und Landwirtschaft*, 2012, p. 559.

¹²²⁵ ST-Archive, [no reference number]: "Zweiter Jahresbericht umfassend den Zeitraum vom 1. Januar bis 31. Dezember 1919", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, [s.l.], [1920], p. 9.

¹²²⁶ ST-Archive, [no reference number]: "Zweiter Jahresbericht umfassend den Zeitraum vom 1. Januar bis 31. Dezember 1919", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, [s.l.], [1920], p. 10.

¹²²⁷ ST-Archive, [no reference number]: "Zweiter Jahresbericht umfassend den Zeitraum vom 1. Januar bis 31. Dezember 1919", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, [s.l.], [1920], p. 10.

¹²²⁸ Garavaglia, Roberto, "Le rôle des pouvoirs publics dans la promotion touristique suisse à l'étranger: le cas de la France des années 1930", in Humair; Tissot, *rayonnement international*, 2011, p. 75-88, here 79.

¹²²⁹ ST-Archive, [no reference number]: "Entwurf. Dritter Jahresbericht für die Zeit vom 1. Januar bis 31. Dezember 1920", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, [s.l.], [1921], p. 10.

"Kollektivreklame"), and the so called "redaktionelle Reklame", that is reports about Switzerland preferably written by a foreign journalist or a known author from the foreign country where the report should be published.¹²³⁰ The titles of some of such publications made clear, that a political note constantly inhabited the promotional activities: "Was Switzerland Pro German" by Sutton Croft or "La Suisse et les Français" by Castell suggested that there were some political animosities or misunderstandings unfavourable for tourism in Switzerland.¹²³¹



Fig. 18: The SVZ' booth at the fair in Basel, 1922. Exhibitions belonged to the preferred means of advertising until the poster came to dominate.

Source: ST-Archive, [no reference number]: "Fünfter Jahresbericht für den Zeitraum vom 1. Januar bis 31. Dezember 1922", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Einsiedeln, [1923], p. 1.

Finally, a first series of posters in German, French, Italian and English was produced by the SVZ in 1920: Emil Cardinaux' "Sommer in der Schweiz" and "Winter in der Schweiz" (see chapter 5.2.4.4 *The 1920s: modern means, traditional values*).¹²³²

¹²³⁰ According to Ruppen Coutaz, radiodiffusion, 2011, p. 102, the same method was used by the Schweizerische Radio- und Fernsehgesellschaft SRG during the Second World War for the "Auslandswerbung", which was never really ceased during the war. For the list of promotional measures see: ST-Archive, [no reference number]: "Entwurf. Dritter Jahresbericht für die Zeit vom 1. Januar bis 31. Dezember 1920", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, [s.l.], [1921], p. 11-16.

¹²³¹ ST-Archive, [no reference number]: "Entwurf. Dritter Jahresbericht für die Zeit vom 1. Januar bis 31. Dezember 1920", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, [s.l.], [1921], p. 15.

¹²³² ST-Archive, [no reference number]: "Entwurf. Dritter Jahresbericht für die Zeit vom 1. Januar bis 31. Dezember 1920", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, [s.l.], [1921], p. 15.

They were also published as postcards.¹²³³ The modest amount of promotional material by the SVZ in its early period, that is in the early 1920s, should not let forget the considerable production by the Publizitätsdienst der SBB, although its activities may easily been overestimated: Regional tourist offices were allowed to mention the SBB on their posters, because the SBB were interested in a numerous distribution of it. If the regions mentioned the SBB on their posters, they were allowed to use the international net where the SBB used to hang up posters usually.¹²³⁴ Such was the case with a poster of Adelboden,¹²³⁵ which the SBB has never reached, neither in past times nor today.



Fig. 19: A poster of Adelboden by C.[arlo] Pellegrini (1866-1937), 1905. The mentioning of the SBB entitled the LTO to let it hang up along the net of the SBB and their partners.

Source: National Library, *Swiss Posters Collection*, online, SNL_TOUR_244 (accessed 18.3.2013).

The annual report of 1926 summarized the activities of the SVZ in the first nine years of existence. It is striking that the activities, which were mentioned firstly, aimed at the institutional development of the SVZ. Thus, the establishment and maintenance of agencies as explained above as well as the contact to embassies and consulates

¹²³³ Vonèche, *L'usage de la photographie dans l'affiche touristique*, 2005, p. 12.

¹²³⁴ Seger, *Administratives zu Plakativen*, 1997, p. 43.

¹²³⁵ According to Seger, *Werbung der SBB*, 2005, p. 18, the poster stemmed from the "Kurveverein" of Adelboden, but was distributed internationally thanks to the SBB.

appeared on the top of the list of activities.¹²³⁶ Only then, the promotional material mentioned above was listed.¹²³⁷

Interestingly, the focus on the institutional development was not reduced to the national level. In the canton of Vaud, which had been part of the touristically very strong Lake Geneva region prior to the First World War,¹²³⁸ the structure of the cantonal and regional tourism promotion seemed to overlay the content of the promotion, too.¹²³⁹ Obviously, it was not special that the core of the SVZ' activities in the first years was not primarily the advertising, but the networking: the networking with the administration and the tourism industry, for which the collection of data was necessary (see chapter 4.2.3.1 *Motives*), and the building of a net of agencies in order to be on the spot (see chapter 5.2.3 *A branch office in Lausanne and the agencies abroad*). The production of promotional material took also place, but the result was ambiguous (see chapter 5.2.4.4 *The 1920s: modern means, traditional values*). Summarizing, we can state that the SVZ' activities in the 1920s were not very successful. But to label them a failure, would be inappropriate, too, because building a satisfying net of agencies was important, the use of photography in the promotional materials was modern, and the inclusion of all touristic agents in meetings fulfilled the intended role of the SVZ as a mediator. Additionally, as chapter 5.4 *Rebellious tourism industry: Questions of the alien's branch of the police* shows, the SVZ invested a lot of time into the lobbying in favour of the Swiss tourism industry.

5.2.3 A branch office in Lausanne and the agencies abroad

All the publications and promotional measures were unusable, if they did not get to the public. It was therefore clear for the SVZ right from the beginning that a crucial feature would lay in the distribution and the presence on the spot. The SBB considerably succeeded with their agencies abroad, so that the establishment of own agencies seemed compulsory for the SVZ. Accordingly, the working program of May 1918 foresaw establishments in Italy, the Netherlands, South America and North

¹²³⁶ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 68, 1926-1939: "NEUNTER JAHRESBERICHT FÜR DEN ZEITRAUM VOM 1. JANUAR BIS 31. DEZEMBER 1926", by Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung der Reiseverkehrs, Solothurn, [1927], p. 6.

¹²³⁷ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 68, 1926-1939: "NEUNTER JAHRESBERICHT FÜR DEN ZEITRAUM VOM 1. JANUAR BIS 31. DEZEMBER 1926", by Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung der Reiseverkehrs, Solothurn, [1927], p. 7.

¹²³⁸ Humair; Gigase; Lapointe Guigoz; Sulmoni, success story, 2014, p. 13-35.

¹²³⁹ Brändly, Office cantonal vaudois, 2015, p. 18-28.

America.¹²⁴⁰ The plan, however, faced several hindrances when it came to put it into practice, so that Switzerland continued to be represented by the SBB's agencies to a large extent. The SVZ tried its best, but this did not suffice for being more than an appendix of the later in Switzerland's touristic representation abroad. As a consequence, Switzerland continued to be represented by different touristic agents, namely: The SBB, the SHV, some private travel agencies and, newly, the SVZ. The forms of collaboration among these agents took on different forms, so that the organization remained variable and was not yet standardized. Parallel to the extension abroad, which faced several hindrances, the SVZ also opened a branch office in the French-speaking part of Switzerland. This step aimed at a better representation in different cultural regions of Switzerland, and was easily put into practice. After a disappointing start, the branch office in Lausanne became an important support for the Zurich-based head office, all the more as it was the least which the SVZ could do in order to secure the confidence of the non-German-speaking parts of Switzerland.

5.2.3.1 The branch office in Lausanne

While the place of the seat of the SVZ had produced considerable regional tensions and an ugly exchange of words, the place of the seat of the branch office was settled smoother. The SVZ' articles of association did neither define the place or the region of the branch office, nor the date of establishment, but prescribed that a branch office would be erected. Basing on this open task, the board of management engaged itself in the matter in the winter 1918/19. Holzach, the president of the board of management, reported on the legal base of the branch office and proposed different ideas concerning the branch office's relation to the head office, its tasks and financing.¹²⁴¹ As the French-speaking part of Switzerland had been meant when the establishment of a branch offices was included in the articles of association,¹²⁴² a rivalry emerged between Geneva and Lausanne. Although Lausanne considered the establishment of the branch office as not urgent,¹²⁴³ it perceived its own "natural activity" as being the center of tourism, while Geneva was rather considered as a hub

¹²⁴⁰ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: "Arbeitsprogramm", by the SVZ, Basel, 21.5.1918, p. 9.

¹²⁴¹ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: "DER NEBENSITZ DER SCHWEIZERISCHEN VERKEHRSZENTRALE. (Siège auxiliaire.)", by Holzach, Zürich, 3.2.1919.

¹²⁴² BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: "DER NEBENSITZ DER SCHWEIZERISCHEN VERKEHRSZENTRALE. (Siège auxiliaire.)", by Holzach, Zürich, 3.2.1919, p. 1.

¹²⁴³ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: "DER NEBENSITZ DER SCHWEIZERISCHEN VERKEHRSZENTRALE. (Siège auxiliaire.)", by Holzach, Zürich, 3.2.1919, p. 1.

for the domestic trade in goods.¹²⁴⁴ The federal delegates were obliged to abstain from their right to vote in favour of a place,¹²⁴⁵ although the Federal Council preferred Lausanne.¹²⁴⁶ The fear of partiality let the Federal Council change its mind, all the more as the latter was fully aware of his power: basing on his subsidy, he would have had the power of some 240 votes, which roughly equaled one third (240 of 737 votes) of all votes present!¹²⁴⁷ Once again, the confederation hold its neutral position in regional or even local conflicts. But even the board of management did not make any propositions to the general assembly of 1919,¹²⁴⁸ which clearly voted for Lausanne as the place of the branch office, but did not specify the date of the establishment.¹²⁴⁹ The board of management asked the management to start with the search after a location in 1919,¹²⁵⁰ for which the personal and institutional connections inside the Swiss touristic scene proved fruitful. In order to achieve a "union des efforts",¹²⁵¹ – Pro Sempione marketed the Simplon region – Pro Sempione offered the SVZ its rooms which the later used as an office.¹²⁵² In fact, Pro Sempione liquidated itself and the SVZ inherited the location, the personnel, the furnishings etc.¹²⁵³ As a consequence, the SVZ' branch office in Lausanne opened on 1st January 1920.¹²⁵⁴ With this incorporation, however, the SVZ irritated some personalities of the French-speaking part of Switzerland who reproached Pro

¹²⁴⁴ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: Letter by the [Bureau de la société de développement de Lausanne] to the [SVZ], [Lausanne], 20.1.1919, p. 3.

¹²⁴⁵ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: Extract of the minutes of the meeting of the Federal Council, by the Federal Council to the EDI, [Berne], 2.6.1919, p. 1.

¹²⁴⁶ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: Extract of the minutes of the meeting of the Federal Council, by the Federal Council to the EDI, [Berne], 30.5.1919, p. 1.

¹²⁴⁷ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: "Protokoll der II. Generalversammlung", by Seiler, president, and Jatton, secretary, of the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Bern, 4.6.1919, p. 3.

¹²⁴⁸ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: "Protokoll der II. Generalversammlung", by Seiler, president, and Jatton, secretary, of the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Bern, 4.6.1919, p. 2.

¹²⁴⁹ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: "Protokoll der Vorstandssitzung vom 25. Juni 1919 in Bern", by the board of management of the SVZ, Bern, 25.6.1919, p. 5.

¹²⁵⁰ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: "Protokoll der Vorstandssitzung vom 25. Juni 1919 in Bern", by the board of management of the SVZ, Bern, 25.6.1919, p. 5.

¹²⁵¹ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: "Rapport sur l'ouverture du bureau auxiliaire de l'Office suisse du tourisme, à Lausanne", by the management to the board of management of the SVZ, [s.l.], 29.8.1919, p. 2.

¹²⁵² BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: Letter by the Association Pro Sempione to the management of the SVZ, Lausanne, 24.7.1919.

¹²⁵³ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: "Rapport sur l'ouverture du bureau auxiliaire de l'Office suisse du tourisme, à Lausanne", by the management to the board of management of the SVZ, [s.l.], 29.8.1919; BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: "Protokoll der Vorstandssitzung vom 2. Oktober 1919 [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Bern, 2.10.1919, p. 3-5.

¹²⁵⁴ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: "Protokoll der Vorstandssitzung vom 2. Oktober 1919 [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Bern, 2.10.1919, p. 3.

Sempione to have focused too much on the canton of Berne, and who, as a consequence, founded an association called "Pro Lemano" in order to defend the interests of their region: "Pro Lemano est en somme une association fondée contre le Pro Sempione à qui l'on reprochait son activité en faveur du Canton de Berne."¹²⁵⁵ Pro Lemano marketed the French-speaking part of Switzerland and considered the SVZ' branch office in Lausanne, that is the de facto successor of Pro Sempione, as unnecessary and as a competitor which only produced parallels in the marketing of the region.¹²⁵⁶ According to the public opinion in the French-speaking part of Switzerland the SVZ' branch office was of no use.¹²⁵⁷ In 1922, with the demise of the branch office's head, Wellauer, the discussion turned to the question, if the branch office should be liquidated or not. Several meetings with Pro Lemano, another regional interest group (parallel to Pro Sempione), proved futile, as some of its members had great reservations about the SVZ.¹²⁵⁸ Yet, the negative reputation which the branch office in Lausanne obviously had produced in its first years of existence was even agreed with inside the board of management: "M. le Dr. Maillefer convient que la succursale a été une déception pour l'Office et pour les intéressés de Lausanne."¹²⁵⁹ Such appraisals supported the SVZ' difficulties to gain a good reputation, as did the fluctuation of several staff members and the manager. Quattrini, for example started in March 1919¹²⁶⁰ for which he had to terminate his mandate as one of the confederation's delegates at the general assemblies and in the Verkehrsrat.¹²⁶¹ In general, the Verkehrsrat soon witnessed a certain fluctuation, as already in 1919, seven members were replaced.¹²⁶² Hartmann, head of the

¹²⁵⁵ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: "Procès-verbal de la séance du Comité de Direction [...] 11 mai 1922 [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Olten, 11.5.1922, p. 5.

¹²⁵⁶ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: "Procès-verbal de la séance du Comité de Direction [...] 11 mai 1922 [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Olten, 11.5.1922, p. 5.

¹²⁵⁷ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: "Procès-verbal de la séance du Comité de Direction [...] 11 mai 1922 [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Olten, 11.5.1922, p. 5.

¹²⁵⁸ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: "Procès-verbal de la séance du Comité de Direction [...] 11 mai 1922 [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Olten, 11.5.1922, p. 4-5.

¹²⁵⁹ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: "Procès-verbal de la séance du Comité de direction [...] 30 juin 1922 [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Berne, 30.6.1922, p. 2.

¹²⁶⁰ ST-Archive, [no reference number]: "Zweiter Jahresbericht umfassend den Zeitraum vom 1. Januar bis 31. Dezember 1919", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, [s.l.], [1920], p. 7.

¹²⁶¹ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: Extract of the minutes of the meeting of the Federal Council, by the Federal Council to the EDI and the EFZD, Berne, 18.2.1919.

¹²⁶² ST-Archive, [no reference number]: "Zweiter Jahresbericht umfassend den Zeitraum vom 1. Januar bis 31. Dezember 1919", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, [s.l.], [1920], p. 6.

advertising department of the SVZ, left the SVZ in September 1919,¹²⁶³ while the manager, Junod, got a special leave because he had been appointed "Ministerresident" [sic] in Petrograd by the Federal Council in August 1918.¹²⁶⁴ Thus, the young institution lacked its most important person in its first and second years of existence, a lack which the president of the board of management of the SVZ, Holzach, tried to ease by replacing the manager.¹²⁶⁵ In March 1920, one of the guiding spirits of the SVZ, Alexander Seiler, died.¹²⁶⁶ Obviously, there was no absolute continuity, but over the years, the SVZ gained more and more stable grounds. To speak of an institutionalization in the first years, is, however, not appropriate. The first years were rather dominated by the construction of the institution.

The branch office in Lausanne mainly guaranteed the confidence of the French-speaking part of Switzerland and satisfied the Swiss' preference of having its own, non-central authorities: "habitué à avoir ses autorités, [...] il [le peuple suisse] ne s'enthousiasme guère pour les grosses administration centralisées, et admet toujours qu'on laisse à chacun sa juste part."¹²⁶⁷ The second reason for the branch office's establishment was the relaxation of the regional tensions – consisting of jealousy and mistrust – inside Switzerland:

L'organisation d'une Association nationale unique et forte, [...], devait forcément tenir compte de tous les facteurs pouvant contribuer à la vitalité de l'Office à créer: et le premier écueil à éviter était de s'abstenir avec soin de tout ce qui aurait pu éveiller l'antagonisme entre les diverses régions de la Suisse ou provoquer certaines rivalités,

¹²⁶³ ST-Archive, [no reference number]: "Zweiter Jahresbericht umfassend den Zeitraum vom 1. Januar bis 31. Dezember 1919", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, [s.l.], [1920], p. 7.

¹²⁶⁴ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "I. Jahresbericht der nationalen Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs umfassend den Zeitraum vom 28. November 1917 bis 31. Dezember 1918", [s.l.], 1918, p. 15.

¹²⁶⁵ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "I. Jahresbericht der nationalen Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs umfassend den Zeitraum vom 28. November 1917 bis 31. Dezember 1918", [s.l.], 1918, p. 15-16.

¹²⁶⁶ ST-Archive, [no reference number]: "Entwurf. Dritter Jahresbericht für die Zeit vom 1. Januar bis 31. Dezember 1920", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, [s.l.], [1921], p. 5.

¹²⁶⁷ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: "Rapport sur l'activité du siège auxiliaire de Lausanne", by Wellauer, Lausanne, 6.6.1921, p. 1.

dont l'influence n'a pas toujours été des plus heureuse pour le développement de notre institution.¹²⁶⁸ [In italics according to AAH]

In fact, the branch represented a smaller, integral version of the head office in Zurich and not an incomplete part of it. Thus, the branch office executed more or less the same tasks as the head office did, but thereby concentrated itself on the Latin countries.¹²⁶⁹ It did not represent one department of the head office, for instance, but covered all topics like advertising, transport-political questions and the collection of economic and statistical data relevant for tourism, which the head office treated, too. Similarly to the discussions about the the branch office's dissolution at the occasion of the demise of its head, Wellauer, in 1922, the resignation of his successor, Blaser, provoked exactly the same discourse in 1931. In contrast to its weak reputation in 1922, the branch office had developed into an important column of the head office until 1931: the department for economics and statistics had been transferred to Lausanne fully,¹²⁷⁰ so that the branch office – apart from the promotional tasks mentioned above – had now become a support without which the head office would lack a considerable part. A good relationship with the French-speaking part of Switzerland was still a pro for the branch office, as the canton of Vaud, where Lausanne is located in, paid the third highest subsidy to the SVZ.¹²⁷¹ Even the collaboration with Pro Lemano was intended again, although several members, namely from the French-speaking part of Switzerland, had strong reservation against this society.¹²⁷² Finally, the branch office survived all attacks, although its duties were changed constantly. After the transfer of the statistical department to Lausanne, the branch office was reorganized in 1934. The most important result of this reorganization was that it had to transfer the touristic statistics to the BFS which allowed to start a comprehensive national tourism statistics of Switzerland (see chapter 1.2.1.1 *Economic history*).¹²⁷³

¹²⁶⁸ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: "Rapport sur l'activité du siège auxiliaire de Lausanne", by Wellauer, Lausanne, 6.6.1921, p. 1-2.

¹²⁶⁹ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: "Rapport sur l'activité du siège auxiliaire de Lausanne", by Wellauer, Lausanne, 6.6.1921, p. 4-10.

¹²⁷⁰ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 72, 1931: "Protokoll der Sitzung des Vorstandes vom 10. März 1931, [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Lausanne, 10.3.1931, p. 7.

¹²⁷¹ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 72, 1931: "Protokoll der Sitzung des Vorstandes vom 10. März 1931, [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Lausanne, 10.3.1931, p. 7.

¹²⁷² BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 72, 1931: "Protokoll der Sitzung des Vorstandes vom 10. März 1931, [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Lausanne, 10.3.1931, p. 7-8.

¹²⁷³ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 68, 1926-1939: "SIEBZEHNTER JAHRESBERICHT für den Zeitraum vom 1. Januar bis 31. Dezember 1934", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Einsiedeln, [1935], p. 13.

In summary, the branch office in Lausanne legitimated the SVZ' existence as an institution with a national purpose, although it fought with a bad reputation in other regions, namely Eastern Switzerland. The transfer of the full economic and statistical department of the SVZ from Zurich to Lausanne stood for the strengthening of the branch office, all the more as this department generated the knowledge which was considered a very important base for the promotion in the Interwar Period: statistics. As is known, to get a scientific which in broad parts meant a statistical base for the country's touristic promotion was one of the crucial arguments for the SVZ' establishment. In a geographical perspective, the branch office in Lausanne guaranteed an appropriate communication in Latin countries like France, Italy and their colonies, a pro for Switzerland which not all competing countries possessed of.

5.2.3.2 The agencies abroad

The history of the agencies which marketed Switzerland abroad is, as far as we know, relatively unexplored, yet extensive. Therefore, the following lines only make allusion to a much wider story,¹²⁷⁴ which cannot be treated satisfyingly in this study. The sources are numerous and promising, stretching from pure economic data, to the socio-economic and political situation of their author's place of residence. They lend themselves to be read against the background of diplomatic, political, economic or cultural history, just to name a few. While the Publizitätsdienst der SBB possessed the first agencies from 1904 onwards, the SVZ opened own agencies after its establishment in 1917. Among the most interesting sources figure the agencies' reports to the Beratende Kommission für den Publizitätsdienst der SBB, which summarized the past touristic season in their respective countries in political, economic and cultural perspective.¹²⁷⁵

The agents

The first agency which promoted Switzerland abroad on the spot happened to be the office of the Jura-Simplon Railway in London, established by the Syndicat pour les intérêts de la Suisse romande et du Jura-Simplon (JS) in 1893 (see chapter 3.2.4 *Establishment of a Service de publicité of the JS in 1894*). As a part of the JS, it was

¹²⁷⁴ For Italy, see Visentin, *Per una storia dei viaggi organizzati*, 2002, p. 92.

¹²⁷⁵ See for example: Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_005_03, 1913: "RAPPORT sur la marche de l'Agence des Chemins de fer fédéraux à Londres pendant la saison d'été 1913", by Duruz, London, 21.10.1913.

transferred to the SBB in 1903, so that it became the SBB's first agency abroad. And it was in fact this company, which remained the long-lasting leader with respect to agencies abroad. Although the success of the SBB's agencies prior to the First World War had convinced the touristic community in Switzerland, that the SVZ had to open agencies in foreign countries, too, the budgetary restraints did not foster the putting into practice of this conviction. While the working program foresaw the establishment of agencies abroad, namely in Italy, the Netherlands, South America and North America, where the SVZ awaited the most tourists from,¹²⁷⁶ the board of management decided in August 1919, to postpone the establishment of agencies, which would fully belong to the SVZ, until further notice.¹²⁷⁷ A report by Junod had indeed revealed a variety of players who run agencies in foreign countries, namely:

- The SBB

The SBB had opened agencies in London, Paris, New York and Berlin until 1919. In Buenos Aires, Alexandria and Madrid, different institutions distributed the SBB's promotional material (Banco Suizo Sud-Americano, Swiss commercial agency, Swiss embassy) and gave advice on Switzerland. In Junod's opinion, these agencies were successful, but costly, as the SBB invested roughly some 3,7 million Swiss Francs (of 2009)¹²⁷⁸ in their agencies yearly.¹²⁷⁹

- The SHV

This society had opened an information office in Petrograd prior to the First World War, but it was not reopened after it. On the same time, the SHV supported the SBB's agency in New York with a yearly contribution.¹²⁸⁰

- Private travel agencies who were entitled to sell tickets

For example: Fremden Verkehr- und Reiseunternehmung A.G. Budapest; Wiener Bankverein, Vienna; Reisebureau der Hamburg-Amerika Linie, Berlin; Internationales Bureau der Mährisch-Ostrauer Bank, Mährisch-Ostrau;

¹²⁷⁶ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: "Arbeitsprogramm", by the SVZ, Basel, 21.5.1918, p. 9.

¹²⁷⁷ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: "Protokoll der Vorstandssitzung vom 29. August 1919 [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Bern, 29.8.1919, p. 7.

¹²⁷⁸ According to Pfister; Studer, Swistoval, [s.d.] (accessed 11.9.2015), 245'000 Swiss Francs in 1919 equaled roughly some 3,7 million Swiss Francs in 2009 (deflator: historical wage index).

¹²⁷⁹ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: "Protokoll der Vorstandssitzung vom 29. August 1919 [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Bern, 29.8.1919, Appendix II.

¹²⁸⁰ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: "Protokoll der Vorstandssitzung vom 29. August 1919 [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Bern, 29.8.1919, Appendix II.

Reisebureau Christiania, Christiania; Cook & Son, London and agencies; Gondrand Frères, Milano; Constanzo & Co.).¹²⁸¹

The need to be present on the spot remained, however, urgent. It was therefore a lucky coincidence that a wind of change blew through the Federal Political Department (responsible for foreign affairs) exactly in this time: With the revision of the "Règlement consulaire", tourism and other economic branches were about to be strengthened. Newly, the Swiss ambassadors (diplomats) and consuls were obliged to distribute a "Bulletin consulaire" about the conditions in Switzerland to the Swiss residents abroad and further interested people regularly. Additionally, the SVZ was among those institutions which should receive confidential reports by the diplomats in the first line.¹²⁸² The board of management welcomed such an improvement in diplomatic matters in favour of tourism, while it was asked to not exclude the collaboration with private, well-funded travel agencies and trans-ocean shipping companies.¹²⁸³ In summary, the plurality of agents – agencies of the SBB, embassies, commercial travel agents – who represented tourism in Switzerland in foreign countries remained, also with the SVZ' wish of establishing own agencies abroad. Such a plurality of agents was by no means only a Swiss phenomenon: After the splitting of the agencies abroad from the ENIT, Italy was represented in foreign countries by offices of the ENIT, the Compagnia Italiana per il Turismo (CIT) and of the shipping companies.¹²⁸⁴ Accordingly, the SVZ' third annual report listed so called "Vertretungen" in Argentina, Sweden, Denmark, Belgium, the Netherlands, France, Italy, USA and Batavia.¹²⁸⁵ Their legal status, however, differed considerably: In the Netherlands, private travel agencies were entrusted with the representation of the SVZ' interests, in Belgium the Swiss chamber of commerce, in Italy the "Navigazione Generale Italiana", in France and Batavia the Swiss consuls, and in the USA the

¹²⁸¹ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: "Protokoll der Vorstandssitzung vom 29. August 1919 [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Bern, 29.8.1919, Appendix II.

¹²⁸² BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: "Protokoll der Vorstandssitzung vom 29. August 1919 [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Bern, 29.8.1919, Appendix II.

¹²⁸³ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: "Protokoll der Vorstandssitzung vom 29. August 1919 [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Bern, 29.8.1919, Appendix II.

¹²⁸⁴ Visentin, *Per una storia dei viaggi organizzati*, 2002, p. 92.

¹²⁸⁵ ST-Archive, [no reference number]: "Entwurf. Dritter Jahresbericht für die Zeit vom 1. Januar bis 31. Dezember 1920", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, [s.l.], [1921], p. 11.

"American Express Company".¹²⁸⁶ In summary, basing on missing financial means, the SVZ focused on the collaboration with the following agents instead of establishing own, costly agencies:

- Swiss diplomats (in Marseille and Batavia)
- Swiss chambers of commerce (e.g. Bruxelles)
- Foreign travel agencies (e.g. Thos. Cook & Son, Dansk Reisebureau)
- Foreign transport companies (e.g. Navigazione Generale Italiana)
- Swiss associations abroad (e.g. Neue Helvetische Gesellschaft in Buenos Aires and Athens.)¹²⁸⁷

The touristic agents mentioned above (SBB, SHV, private travel agents) must therefore be complemented by these representatives who got subsidies from the SVZ in order to defend the SVZ' interests in their respective places.¹²⁸⁸

The legal base

Nevertheless, the SVZ established some agencies in the Interwar Period. Its proceeding, however, was heavily regulated. In 1921, the SVZ and the SBB signed a contract which split de facto their market: The SVZ was free to open agencies if there was no agency of the SBB in a country, albeit under the condition that the SVZ engaged Swiss personnel.¹²⁸⁹ It was also allowed to open agencies in countries where the SBB already had one, but in this case, the two institutions must agree on the division of labor in terms of content.¹²⁹⁰ On its part, the SVZ abstained from engaging private agents in countries, where the SBB already possessed an

¹²⁸⁶ ST-Archive, [no reference number]: "Entwurf. Dritter Jahresbericht für die Zeit vom 1. Januar bis 31. Dezember 1920", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, [s.l.], [1921], p. 11-12.

¹²⁸⁷ ST-Archive, [no reference number]: "Entwurf. Vierter Jahresbericht für den Zeitraum vom 1. Januar bis 31. Dezember 1921", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Zürich, [1922], p. 9, 11.

¹²⁸⁸ ST-Archive, [no reference number]: "Entwurf. Vierter Jahresbericht für den Zeitraum vom 1. Januar bis 31. Dezember 1921", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Zürich, [1922], p. 9.

¹²⁸⁹ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_007_07, 1929-1930: "Uebereinkunft zwischen dem Publizitätsdienst der schweizerischen Bundesbahnen und der Schweizerischen Verkehrszentrale bezüglich der für die Arbeitsteilung geltenden Richtlinien", Bern / Zürich, 16.11. / 16.12.1921, p. 1.

¹²⁹⁰ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_007_07, 1929-1930: "Uebereinkunft zwischen dem Publizitätsdienst der schweizerischen Bundesbahnen und der Schweizerischen Verkehrszentrale bezüglich der für die Arbeitsteilung geltenden Richtlinien", Bern / Zürich, 16.11. / 16.12.1921, p. 1.

agency.¹²⁹¹ Additionally, the selling of tickets in foreign countries fully remained under the control of the SBB.¹²⁹² Furthermore, the guidelines described in full detail the collaboration with respect to advertisements, PR, slides, distribution of promotional materials (the SBB were entitled to collect and distribute the promotional materials of the Swiss LTOs directly!), posters, exhibitions and brochures.¹²⁹³ In general, the contract prescribed a duty to inform the other institution about the planned activities, which was guaranteed through the fact that a representative of one institution was present in an organ of the other and vice versa.¹²⁹⁴

These guidelines paved the way for an even stronger regulation and market sharing in 1933. The contract proposed by the Councilor of States Gottfried Keller – commonly known as "project Keller" (see chapter 5.3.2.3 *The statesman independent proposal: the "Projekt Keller"*) – exactly prescribed the SBB's dominance in establishing new agencies while the SVZ was not allowed to open agencies in countries where the SBB already had one.¹²⁹⁵ Moreover, if the SBB wanted to open an agency in a country, where the SVZ already had one, the later closed its representation!¹²⁹⁶ The SVZ was, however, allowed to open agencies in countries without any agency of the SBB.¹²⁹⁷

¹²⁹¹ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_007_07, 1929-1930: "Uebereinkunft zwischen dem Publizitätsdienst der schweizerischen Bundesbahnen und der Schweizerischen Verkehrszentrale bezüglich der für die Arbeitsteilung geltenden Richtlinien", Bern / Zürich, 16.11. / 16.12.1921, p. 1.

¹²⁹² Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_007_07, 1929-1930: "Uebereinkunft zwischen dem Publizitätsdienst der schweizerischen Bundesbahnen und der Schweizerischen Verkehrszentrale bezüglich der für die Arbeitsteilung geltenden Richtlinien", Bern / Zürich, 16.11. / 16.12.1921, p. 1.

¹²⁹³ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_007_07, 1929-1930: "Uebereinkunft zwischen dem Publizitätsdienst der schweizerischen Bundesbahnen und der Schweizerischen Verkehrszentrale bezüglich der für die Arbeitsteilung geltenden Richtlinien", Bern / Zürich, 16.11. / 16.12.1921, p. 2-3.

¹²⁹⁴ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_007_07, 1929-1930: "Uebereinkunft zwischen dem Publizitätsdienst der schweizerischen Bundesbahnen und der Schweizerischen Verkehrszentrale bezüglich der für die Arbeitsteilung geltenden Richtlinien", Bern / Zürich, 16.11. / 16.12.1921, p. 3-4.

¹²⁹⁵ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_017_12, 1933: "Uebereinkunft zwischen der Schweizerischen Verkehrszentrale (SVZ) in Zürich, der Generaldirektion der Schweizerischen Post-, Telegraphen- und Telephonverwaltung (PTT) in Bern und der Generaldirektion der Schweizerischen Bundesbahnen (SBB) in Bern zur gemeinsamen Förderung der Verkehrswerbung im Ausland. (Vom 18. September 1933)", by the SVZ, the PTT and the SBB, Zürich / Bern, 18.9.1933, p. 3.

¹²⁹⁶ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_017_12, 1933: "Uebereinkunft zwischen der Schweizerischen Verkehrszentrale (SVZ) in Zürich, der Generaldirektion der Schweizerischen Post-, Telegraphen- und Telephonverwaltung (PTT) in Bern und der Generaldirektion der Schweizerischen Bundesbahnen (SBB) in Bern zur gemeinsamen Förderung der Verkehrswerbung im Ausland. (Vom 18. September 1933)", by the SVZ, the PTT and the SBB, Zürich / Bern, 18.9.1933, p. 3.

¹²⁹⁷ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_017_12, 1933: "Uebereinkunft zwischen der Schweizerischen Verkehrszentrale (SVZ) in Zürich, der Generaldirektion der Schweizerischen Post-, Telegraphen- und Telephonverwaltung (PTT) in Bern und der Generaldirektion der Schweizerischen Bundesbahnen (SBB) in Bern zur gemeinsamen Förderung der Verkehrswerbung im Ausland. (Vom 18. September 1933)", by the SVZ, the PTT and the SBB, Zürich / Bern, 18.9.1933, p. 3.

The agencies represented very valuable assets of the SVZ and, especially, the SBB. Therefore, they were not excluded from the efforts aiming at a concentration (centralization, fusion) of the two institutions which culminated in the early 1930s in a contract of collaboration. While in 1939, all the SBB's agencies were transferred to the SVZ' successor, the Schweizerische Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung (SZV), the opposite had been discussed at the beginning of the decade. In 1932, the SVZ' agencies should be transferred to the SBB, as a proposal basing on a meeting with the Federal Councilor Pilet-Golaz reported.¹²⁹⁸ Although the exact name of the author is unknown, it is probable that the proposition stemmed from the Councilor of States Gottfried Keller, because the other propositions in the document remind us about the "project Keller" which came into force one year later. Apart from the regulations mentioned above, this project instituted a common fund which the SVZ, the SBB, and the Post, Telephone and Telegram administration (PTT) fed in order to centralize and coordinate the touristical advertising (see chapter 5.3.2.3 *The statesman independent proposal: the "Projekt Keller"*). In 1939, nevertheless, the SBB signed over all agencies of the Publizitätsdienst der SBB to the newly erected SZV.

The geographical extent

Basing on the contract of 1921, the SVZ opened its first agency in Nice in 1923.¹²⁹⁹ This is noteworthy because the French Riviera was becoming a place-to-be in the early 1920s.¹³⁰⁰ The Americans at the French Riviera who spent the summer (and not the winter anymore!) at the Mediterranean set, in fact, a new trend with their "days at the beach, clowning and swimming, afternoon cocktails by the pool, jazz on the gramophone, sailing cruises, improvised terrace meals, and love affairs", car racing, sports, yachts and gambling.¹³⁰¹ The choice for being present there proved the SVZ' aim of reaching an upper class clientele. Further openings of agencies followed in Rome (1924), Vienna (1925), Madrid and Prague (1926), Milan (1934), Bruxelles and Amsterdam (1935) as well as in Stockholm (1936).¹³⁰² Thus, the SVZ

¹²⁹⁸ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_004_02, 1931-1933: "Vorschlag für die Besserung der schweizerischen Verkehrspropaganda im Ausland aufgestellt auf Grund meiner Besprechung mit Herrn Bundesrat Pilet-Golaz und Herrn Generaldirektor Furrer vom 25. Juni 1932", [by Keller], Berne, 27.6.1932, p. 1.

¹²⁹⁹ Schweiz Tourismus, in 90 Jahren, [2007], p. 7.

¹³⁰⁰ Löfgren, On Holiday, 1999, p. 168.

¹³⁰¹ Löfgren, On Holiday, 1999, p. 167, 169.

¹³⁰² Schweiz Tourismus, in 90 Jahren, [2007], p. 7.

hold touristic agencies in seven countries at the end of the Interwar Period.¹³⁰³ It was, however, represented by means of other touristic agents in additional countries: Until 1928, the SVZ established representations in Bruxelles, Marseille, Rome, Prague, Graz, Athens, and Buenos Aires.¹³⁰⁴ These listings alert us to the fact that the notion "agency" meant different legal kinds of representation! This explains the sometimes confusing agreement of the places where a Swiss touristic representation existed. The following map gives an overview of where the SVZ – and for comparative purposes – the SBB represented Switzerland by means of an agency (and not further representations) in 1939.

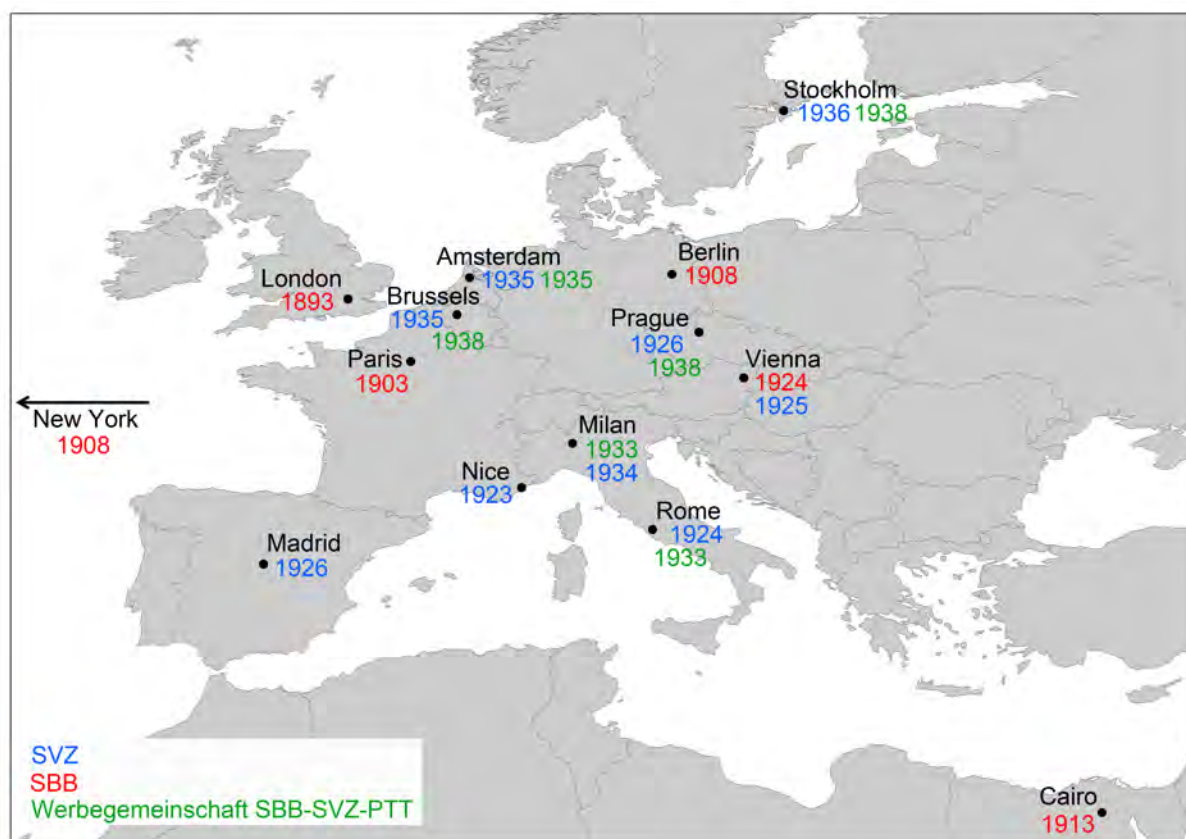


Fig. 20: Agencies of the SVZ and the SBB in 1939. Switzerland was marketed all over the world by agencies of the SVZ and the SBB. Europe and those cities which were important for reaching the North American and English market were considered as best for being on the spot.

Source: Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung über die Schaffung einer Schweizerischen Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung. In: Bundesblatt, Vol. 1, Issue 3, 18.1.1939, p. 61-84, here p. 62-63; Schweiz Tourismus. In 90 Jahren um die Welt. Chronik Schweiz Tourismus. 1917 bis 2007. [s.l.] [2007], p. 7.

¹³⁰³ Schweiz Tourismus, in 90 Jahren, [2007], p. 7.

¹³⁰⁴ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 70, 1929: "Protokoll der XI. Generalversammlung vom 6. Juni 1928 [...]", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Bern, 6.6.1928, p. 2.

Meanwhile, the SBB further developed their net of agencies. Delley distinguishes between two phases: A first phase stretched from 1903 to 1924 when the SBB opened agencies in Paris (1903), Berlin and New York (1908) and Vienna (1924).¹³⁰⁵ A second phase took place, however, in a different context which was coined by the attempts of collaboration between the SVZ and the SBB. The latter were thereby asked to open and administer¹³⁰⁶ more agencies, which they followed with the establishment of agencies in Rome (1933), Milan (1934), Amsterdam and Cairo (1935), as well as in Prague, Stockholm and Bruxelles (1938).¹³⁰⁷ This selection of countries referred to the strategy which the SVZ' manager had formulated in 1919 with respect to the SVZ' own agencies: to restrain the promotion in countries which had been devastated during the First World War like Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria or Turkey, to enhance the promotion in the winning, but economically weak countries like France, Belgium, and Italy, and to intensify the promotion in the winning rich countries like Great Britain and the USA, in the neutral rich countries like the Netherlands, Scandinavia, Spain, Argentina etc., or in the new countries like Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, or Finland.¹³⁰⁸

5.2.4 The image of Switzerland created abroad

The SVZ and its agencies and representations abroad contributed to Switzerland's image as a destination all over the world.¹³⁰⁹ Which image did the SVZ create? Did it create a new image of Switzerland, or did it inherit the image of Switzerland, which had been produced by railway companies, hoteliers, and LTOs prior to the First World War?

A reconstruction of Switzerland's image promoted abroad faces, however, heavy limitations. No overview of Switzerland's image promoted by LTOs exists.¹³¹⁰ The few scientific studies and contemporary sources, which exist, only reveal a patchwork of elements, because the studies' results all have a limited meaning: While

¹³⁰⁵ Delley, *pays de vacances des peuples*, 2005, p. 22.

¹³⁰⁶ "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung über die Schaffung einer Schweizerischen Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung. (Vom 17. Januar 1939.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1939, p. 61-84, here p. 62-63.

¹³⁰⁷ Delley, *pays de vacances des peuples*, 2005, p. 22.

¹³⁰⁸ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: "Protokoll der Vorstandssitzung vom 29. August 1919 [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Bern, 29.8.1919, Appendix I.

¹³⁰⁹ According to Tissot, *Alpinization*, 2011, p. 72, the promotion of Switzerland was one modality (apart from the intense reproduction and the spread of Swiss hotel practices) which helped to universalize the Alpine Tourist Model.

¹³¹⁰ Humair, *The Long Depression and its impact on Swiss tourism*, [2011], p. 3.

the comparison of the touristic posters of Zurich and Geneva bases on posters collected by the Museum für Gestaltung Zurich, *which only collects posters of a certain graphic relevance*,¹³¹¹ Schlup only focuses on *drawn* posters.¹³¹² Meanwhile, Schumacher's study on Langenbruck ends in 1914 and does not cover the Interwar Period which interests in this study.¹³¹³ Only the history of the LTO of the canton of Vaud, the city of Lugano, or the touristic posters of the Grisons have been analyzed.¹³¹⁴ The existence of touristic posters which are available online¹³¹⁵ does not mean that the image they created of Switzerland can easily be extracted. As all sources, they need to be analyzed scientifically, that is systematically, according to appropriate arguments, for a certain period and for a certain place. Such an undertaking is beyond the limits of this study. Similarly, the promotion of the Swiss hotel industry can hardly be called exhaustive.¹³¹⁶ It is impossible within the context of this study, to describe systematically the image of Switzerland as it was promoted by the hoteliers. The subject must be treated in an own study where the promotional materials of chosen hotels might be analyzed systematically. Only the promotion of the Publizitätsdienst der SBB was scientifically analyzed.¹³¹⁷ Switzerland's image promoted abroad and at home would therefore constitute the base for an extensive research project in its own right. The following lines only give some ideas about this image and try to place the image of Switzerland as it was promoted by the SVZ on a map consisting of all the other images of Switzerland, which were produced by the hoteliers, the LTOs or the Publizitätsdienst der SBB.

The image which the SVZ promoted abroad often referred to images, which had been standing for Switzerland prior to the Interwar Period, like, for instance, the Alps. It is therefore, that this subsection elaborates on the former meanings of the

¹³¹¹ Vonèche, Anne, "La propagande touristique à l'exemple de deux villes suisses, Genève et Zurich", in Giroud; Schlup, *Paradis à vendre*, 2005, p. 96-115, here 114.

¹³¹² Schlup, Michel, "Figures d'autochtones et de vacanciers dans l'affiche touristique dessinée (1890-1960)", in Giroud; Schlup, *Paradis à vendre*, 2005, p. 39-65, here 39.

¹³¹³ Schumacher, Beatrice, "*Auf Luft gebaut*" *Die Geschichte des Luftkurortes Langenbruck. 1830-1914*, Allschwil: Verlag des Kantons Basel-Landschaft, 1992.

¹³¹⁴ Brändly, Office cantonal vaudois, 2015; Sulmoni, Pro Lugano, 2005; Dosch, Luzi, "Vom Glück in den Bergen. Zur Bildsprache der Bündner Tourismusplakate", in [Nosedo, Irma; Dosch, Luzi], *Graubünden im Plakat. Eine kleine Geschichte der Tourismuswerbung von 1890 bis heute. 10. Juli-4. Sept. 1983*, Felsberg: Baer Offset AG, [1983], p. 24-90.

¹³¹⁵ For instance in the Swiss Posters Collection of the National Library or the photographs of the Archivio di Stato del Canton Ticino, *Fondi fotografici*, [s.d.], <http://www4.ti.ch/?id=36051> (accessed 29.9.2015), which holds a considerable number of photographs of hotels (search for "hotel" or "turismo").

¹³¹⁶ Pfeil, Paul, *Die Werbung im Schweizer Hotel- und Gastwirtschaftsgewerbe. Wie sie ist. Wie sie sein soll*, Zürich: Verlag Organisator A.G., 1930.

¹³¹⁷ Delley, *pays de vacances des peuples*, 2005.

Alps, too. In doing so, the picture of Switzerland, which the SVZ created, is better contextualized. We have to be aware, however, that the image of the Alps and Switzerland respectively prior to the 19th century, *was not really advertised*, in the sense of attracting tourists. It rather based on the experiences of the affluent travellers or the ideas by famous poets of that time. Nevertheless, these travellers and poets formed a stereotype of Switzerland, which the ads of the 20th century often referred to. The repetition of these stereotypes – a supporting pillar of an image, apart from the fact, that an image says much about the observator of this image –¹³¹⁸ very much contributed to the image of Switzerland, which the ads of the 19th and 20th century promoted. From the 19th century onwards, however, the means of advertising diversified and lead to the marketing as a science in the 20th century (see chapter 4.1.3 *A short history of advertising and marketing*): In tourism promotion, the poster was widely used in the Interwar Period, but it was always accompanied by other – older and new – means of advertising such as newspaper advertisements, shop windows, announcements, commercial art, products, advertising films and radios.¹³¹⁹

5.2.4.1 Prelude: the reinterpretation of the Alps prior to the Belle Epoque

When outlining the general history of tourism, a lot of scholars start with the Grand Tour of young English noble men travelling to Italy via Germany and back through France.¹³²⁰ The purpose of these journeys which could last up to four month¹³²¹ was the education and the socialization of the young men. They should not only get to know the cradle of Western civilization but also meet and experience people of their rank in other countries. The high time of the Grand Tour was in the 18th century. The medical cures in some spas like Baden, Pfäfers, St. Moritz or Leukerbad had attracted people since the Middle Ages, and in the 16th century, natural scientists firstly explored the Swiss mountains and even some alpine passes.¹³²² The political upheavals in the 17th century, however, did not encourage travelling to Switzerland,

¹³¹⁸ Pizzetti, Silvia, "Storia di sguardi. Formazione e sviluppo delle immagini e degli stereotipi nazionali", in Visentin, Il turismo contemporaneo, 2002, p. 137-147, here, 137, 142-143.

¹³¹⁹ Reinhardt, Stufen der Werbung, 1995, p. 44-58; Ruppen Coutaz, radiodiffusion, 2011, p. 89-107.

¹³²⁰ Zuelow, Eric G.E., "The Necessity of Touring Beyond the Nation: An Introduction", in Zuelow, Eric G.E. (ed.), Touring Beyond the Nation: A Transnational Approach to European Tourism History, Farnham: Ashgate, 2011, p. 1-16.

¹³²¹ Tissot, Naissance, 2000, p. 134.

¹³²² Flückiger-Seiler, Roland, *Hotelträume zwischen Gletschern und Palmen. Schweizer Tourismus und Hotelbau 1830-1920*, Baden: hier + jetzt, 2001, p. 14-15.

until the 18th century brought intensified contacts between European personalities of whom some – Johann Kaspar Lavater, Voltaire, or Madame de Staël – lived in Switzerland. Their hymns on their stays in Switzerland started the image of Switzerland as a mountainous shepherd's land.¹³²³ Switzerland became a part of the Grand Tour.¹³²⁴ In the Lake Geneva Region one enjoyed the panorama, in the Bernese Oberland the natural curiosities – glaciers, chalets or waterfalls – as well as the shipping women on the lake of Brienz, in central Switzerland the origins of democracy and the Rigi, the prototype of a panorama mountain, was visited.¹³²⁵ However, it remained a highly agrarian country with a few notable cities and people who the European aristocrats must have seen. According to Mathieu, the economic differences between the alpine area and its surrounding had even increased in the 18th century compared to the beginning of the modern period.¹³²⁶ The relative underdevelopment of the alpine area, however, was soon to turn to the advantage of Switzerland. The wild nature of the mountainous region had been seen as threatening and bringing hardships to the local population in the romantic period.¹³²⁷ They were considered to house demons so that in 1387 a Swiss monk and his religious companions were jailed because they had tried to reach a nearby mountain – the Pilatus near Lucerne – which was entwined by legends and myths.¹³²⁸ In the course of the rise of the natural scientific interest in nature the scientists travelled the Alps in order to collect, categorize and study material they used for their work. In the case of Switzerland, the following names are inextricably intertwined with these scientific expeditions: Johann Jakob Scheuchzer who travelled the Alps during a period of 20 years and published his descriptions of the physical and ethnographical texture of Switzerland between 1705-1707, and Horace-Bénédict de Saussure, a man often called as the founder of modern geology and famous for its description of his ascent of the Mont-Blanc.¹³²⁹ He climbed the Mont Blanc in 1787, after the local hunter Jacques Balmat and the physician Michel Gabriel Paccard from Chamonix

¹³²³ Flückiger-Seiler, Hotelträume, 2001, p. 15.

¹³²⁴ According to Towner, Historical Geography, 1996, p. 108-109, Switzerland rose to a major touring center in the 18th and early 19th century.

¹³²⁵ Flückiger-Seiler, Hotelträume, 2001, p. 17.

¹³²⁶ Mathieu, Jon, *Geschichte der Alpen 1500-1900. Umwelt, Entwicklung, Gesellschaft*, 2., unveränderte Auflage, Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2001, p. 206.

¹³²⁷ Meinherz, Alpinismus, 2008.

¹³²⁸ Meinherz, Alpinismus, 2008.

¹³²⁹ Wirz, Gipfelstürmerinnen, 2007, p. 51, 54.

had succeeded in the first ascent one year before, and his extensive descriptions of his journeys in the Alps was highly absorbed in Europe.¹³³⁰

When the population and the political organization of civil life intensified in the plain areas and cities of Europe, the Alps were more and more seen as regions of freedom and liberty. As early as 1729 Albrecht von Haller, a Bernese poet, glorified the alpine freedom in his successful didactic poem on the Alps. He had a lot of famous successors who all studied the relationship between Alps and freedom: Immanuel Kant, Friedrich Schiller, Napoleon Bonaparte, and Louis-Sébastien Mercier. They all cultivated the fixed standard idea of Alps and freedom belonging together. The Alps became in this enlightened phase a counterpart and projection screen for those criticizing the society and civilization at that time.¹³³¹

In 1761, Jean-Jacques Rousseau's novel "Julie, ou la nouvelle Héloïse. Lettres des deux amants, habitants d'une petite ville au pied des Alpes"¹³³² enclosed a reinterpretation of the Alps. After having threatened the local people for centuries the wild mountains of Switzerland suddenly became prototypes of "the sublime"¹³³³ newly in vogue and the aim of the "longing for the freedom of the wilderness".¹³³⁴ The "thirst for the Alps"¹³³⁵ had started and catapulted Switzerland from a poor, agrarian country to the "playground of Europe"¹³³⁶. The sparse living conditions in the alpine area turned by the outside intellectuals to a simple life, free and close to nature.¹³³⁷ It is in this time, that this perception of the Alps found expression in touristic advertising materials for the first time.

According to Flückiger-Seiler, souvenirs were the first advertising messages which drove on the touristic development.¹³³⁸ In the course of the nature loving romanticism the vedutas, paintings and wall papers which tourists brought home from Switzerland until the 19th century showed idealized landscapes with Swiss Chalets and idyllic mountain views. In order to reach a larger public, in the early 19th century

¹³³⁰ Flückiger-Seiler, Hotelträume, 2001, p. 18.

¹³³¹ Mathieu, Geschichte der Alpen, 2001, p. 194.

¹³³² Mathieu, Geschichte der Alpen, 2001, p. 202.

¹³³³ Beattie, Andrew, *The Alps. A cultural History*, Oxford: Signal Books, 2006, p. 125.

¹³³⁴ Löfgren, On Holiday, 1999, p. 34.

¹³³⁵ Löfgren, On Holiday, 1999, p. 34.

¹³³⁶ According to Meinherz, Alpinismus, 2008, the term "Playground of Europe" was the title of a book by Leslie Stephen published in 1871.

¹³³⁷ According to Tissot, Alpen, Tourismus, Fremdenverkehr, 2014, p. 484, the opening of the Gotthard tunnel for the railways in 1882 led the foundation for an even more specific image of Switzerland and its inhabitants: the philosophy of the "Bergvolk[...] beim Gotthard" turned into a reference-model for the international tourism and was successfully exported throughout the world. It based on the connection of technique, the economy and politics.

¹³³⁸ Flückiger-Seiler, Hotelträume, 2001, p. 20.

so-called panoramas were developed which showed similar motives on a larger scale followed by so-called dioramas which gave the observer a three-dimensional experience of the same motives.¹³³⁹ Since then, the mountains developed into the predominant icon for Switzerland¹³⁴⁰ and was used not only by touristic marketers, but also by Swiss producers like Suchard who promoted its Milka bars (a bar of milk chocolate) by means of a trilogy of mountains (peaks covered with snow and green, lower mountains), picturesque landscape (forest, meadows, cows) and locals in a national costume.¹³⁴¹

This cascade of changing approaches to the (Swiss) Alps from the threatening homes of demons to the place of scientific interest and later of (political) freedom, unspoiled nature and wilderness continues into the 19th century when the Alps got again another meaning: the aim of a sportive effort for ambitious alpinists.

5.2.4.2 The role of the English in shaping Switzerland's image

The Alps as a place of sportive activity was in fact a development which had already started in the natural scientific descriptions of the 18th century. The description of the view from the summits belongs to the stereotypes of alpine tour reports.¹³⁴² Reaching a summit always meant that the author had not shied away from the sportive effort which was needed in order to reach the peak. Not shying away or even appreciating the hardship of physical performance became the new attitude towards the Alps at the end of the 18th and especially in the 19th century. Why? The reasons are closely linked to a new phenomenon, which is sometimes made explicit, sometimes implicitly mentioned in the literature: the advent of alpinism and the role of the British in it. To start with, the literature is clear on the predominance of the British in tourism on the continent since the end of the 18th century.¹³⁴³ Concerning Switzerland, their role became apparent with the beginning alpinism which was in fact introduced by them.

¹³³⁹ Flückiger-Seiler, *Hotelträume*, 2001, p. 21.

¹³⁴⁰ For a good entry on the predominance of the mountain and its wider consequences see: Tissot, *Alpen, Tourismus, Fremdenverkehr*, 2014, p. 483-484; Mathieu, Jon, "Landschaftsgeschichte global. Wahrnehmung und Bedeutung von Bergen im internationalen Austausch des 18. bis 20. Jahrhunderts", in *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte*, Vol. 60, No. 4, 2010, p. 412-427.

¹³⁴¹ Huguenin, Régis, *L'univers visuel de Suchard (1945-1990). Des images de l'entreprise à l'image d'entreprise*, Neuchâtel: Éditions Alphil – Presses universitaires suisses, 2014, p. 208.

¹³⁴² Wirz, *Gipfelstürmerinnen*, 2007, p. 49.

¹³⁴³ Ring, Jim, *How the English Made the Alps*, London: John Murray, 2000, is surely one of the authors most explicit in this regard. Furthermore, see Flückiger-Seiler, Roland, *Berghotels. Zwischen Alpweide und Gipfelkreuz. Alpiner Tourismus und Hotelbau 1830-1920*, Baden: Hier und Jetzt, Verlag für Kultur und Geschichte, 2015, p. 20-29; Zuelow, *Touring Beyond the Nation*, 2011, p. 3.

Furthermore, they were not only among the first to mountaineer alpine summits but also introduced new modes of travelling such as the package tours by the famous and often described Thomas Cook. Mountaineering was, in fact, the crucial factor for the worldwide spread of the Swiss model – apart from an intense reproduction, the touristic promoters and the spread of the Swiss hotel practices.¹³⁴⁴ This model, also called the "Alpine Model" based on technical, economic, political, professional, cultural and symbolic constituents and was spread around the world in the last third of the 19th century, after it had been created at the example of the Swiss Alps, because Switzerland possessed well-developed welcome structures (accommodations), fulfilled technical demands, slowly boosted the touristic development institutionally and politically, promoted modernity and tradition on the same time and positioned itself as a safe harbor in times of political unrest in other countries.¹³⁴⁵ The British' alpinism or mountaineering obviously contributed to Switzerland's image abroad in form of the Swiss model. Where did that tight connection come from?

On a level with the then current trends in European intellectual life, two English men crossed the glacier of the Mont Blanc already in 1741, the peak most adored and longed for in these times.¹³⁴⁶ The wild mountains, hitherto considered more as obstacles than a beautiful landscape, obviously challenged the English sense of mission and spirits to discover unexplored areas. The British' commitments in alpinism and therewith in tourism in Switzerland seems to have been impregnated with the "credo empirique" as Tissot puts it.¹³⁴⁷ So, the first Alpine Club was not founded in an alpine country, but in England in 1857.¹³⁴⁸ It united ambitious English aristocrats who believed in physical performance and were driven by exploratory spirits. In their run for the summits, however, French, Italian and Swiss participated – the English's hightime in the "grandes conquêtes alpines (et autres)" was the second half of the 19th century in this respect.¹³⁴⁹ But the alpinist English aristocrats did not account for the whole tourism of the English' in Switzerland. Crucial for their dominance for tourism in Switzerland were those English men and women who visited Switzerland without reaching the highest peaks. That is not yet the "masses"

¹³⁴⁴ Tissot, *Alpinization*, 2011, p. 72.

¹³⁴⁵ Tissot, *Alpinization*, 2011, p. 64, 68-71, 74.

¹³⁴⁶ Flückiger-Seiler, *Hotelträume*, 2001, p. 18.

¹³⁴⁷ Tissot, *Naissance*, 2000, p. 57.

¹³⁴⁸ Meinherz, *Alpinismus*, 2008.

¹³⁴⁹ For a chronology of the first ascents, see Boyer, *Histoire de l'invention*, 2000, p. 240-242.

as the 20th century would come to see but a tourism "qui se donne peu à peu les moyens de le [un tourisme de masse] devenir" from 1830 onwards.¹³⁵⁰ Tissot analyzed this beginnings of tourism in Switzerland profoundly. Evaluating English guide books on Switzerland, published between 1780 and 1914, he describes how the English produced a touristic product of Switzerland and how a tourist industry emerged on the one hand, and, on the other hand, he explains the factors inducing this emergence such as the transport facilities and the improvement in convenience including the influence of these developments on the local population.¹³⁵¹ The quantitative extension of English travelling to Switzerland in the 19th century poses methodological problems since the statistics either do not distinguish between tourists and the general traffic nor do they allow a deep analysis of the international traffic; not to mention the lack of the travelers' motives.¹³⁵² A first impression delivers the passenger traffic from Great Britain over the Channel to France, Belgium and Holland: In 1840, 43 000 persons travelled on the continent and back, in 1912 861 000. In between lay a constant increase of the passengers of 3.6% annually, with big events like the World Expositions temporarily even raising this rate.¹³⁵³ Most of the travelers coming from across the Channel stayed in or near their port of arrival for one- or two-day trips or proceeded to Paris which attracted by far the most tourists.¹³⁵⁴ About a good tenth took a direct train from Calais to Basel which meant in 1887 13551 passengers and in 1896 16527 passengers.¹³⁵⁵ But there were several other ways to come to Switzerland. Another important result of Tissot is his description of the different kinds of travel guides because he therewith illustrates the various kinds of English tourist who came to Switzerland. With the increase of English travelers to Switzerland during the 19th century the preferences of the English tourists in Switzerland changed and diversified. Accordingly, the information in the guide books changed and multiplied. There were still guide books on the country as a whole but guide books concentrating on a certain region or a certain theme appeared from the 1860s onwards.¹³⁵⁶ While guide books with a sportive focus contained special information on mountaineering and – newly: wandering – in

¹³⁵⁰ Tissot, Naissance, 2000, p. 7.

¹³⁵¹ Tissot, Naissance, 2000, p. 18, 27-103, 107-136.

¹³⁵² Tissot, Naissance, 2000, p. 129-131.

¹³⁵³ Tissot, Naissance, 2000, p. 131.

¹³⁵⁴ Tissot, Naissance, 2000, p. 132.

¹³⁵⁵ Tissot, Naissance, 2000, p. 132-133.

¹³⁵⁶ Tissot, Naissance, 2000, p.. 88.

Switzerland, those on medical tourism advised the tourists of spas and places for thermal cures, and again others were specialized in sporting activities such as cycling, automobile or winter sports activities.¹³⁵⁷ Further specialization took place for religious and educative tourism.¹³⁵⁸ For this study it is noteworthy that the importance of travel guides did not only count for the growing autonomy of the travelers¹³⁵⁹ but also for their role as forerunner of touristic promotion. The famous publishers Murray, Thomas Cook and the German Baedeker became – among many other less known publishers – important promotional tools for the growing tourism industry in Switzerland. It is proven that towns and hoteliers have protested against a description of themselves in a guide book if they considered it unduly in their opinion.¹³⁶⁰

The meeting of the upper-class English alpinists and the local people was not easy. Antonietti shows the two separate worlds in which the locals and the hotel guests lived in the two villages of Zermatt and Aletsch in the Valais.¹³⁶¹ The relationship seems not to have been an easy one. While some men profited from their job as mountain guides, the locals only worked with reluctance in the hotels because the hotelier, notably an outsider originating from Blitzingen in the Upper Valais,¹³⁶² demanded legal rights which the local community was not ready to give him.¹³⁶³ In general, the meeting of the wealthy guests and the local mountain guides provoked questions of hierarchy and status.¹³⁶⁴ Zanzi even speaks from a "colonizzazione" (colonization) of the Alps, at least in the 20th century.¹³⁶⁵ A differentiation, however, might be appropriate as the Swiss also took over British innovations as the example of social services for Swiss mountain guides introduced by the British and adapted by the Swiss Alpine Club shows.¹³⁶⁶ Although the economic advantages could not be denied by the locals they could not deny a certain reservation neither. Tissot has pointed out that the English guide books portrayed the locals as a nuisance to the traveler with the consequence that Switzerland became

¹³⁵⁷ Tissot, Naissance, 2000, p. 88-101.

¹³⁵⁸ Tissot, Naissance, 2000, p. 101-103.

¹³⁵⁹ Tissot, Naissance, 2000, p. 71; Flückiger-Seiler, Hotelträume, 2001, p. 18.

¹³⁶⁰ Tissot, Naissance, 2000, p. 62.

¹³⁶¹ Antonietti, Fremdenverkehr und Bauernkultur, 2000, p. 58, 130.

¹³⁶² Gaulis; Creux, Pioniere der Hotellerie, 1976, p. 95, 209.

¹³⁶³ Antonietti, Fremdenverkehr und Bauernkultur, 2000, p. 54.

¹³⁶⁴ Wirz, Gipfelstürmerinnen, 2007, p. 107-108.

¹³⁶⁵ Zanzi, Luigi, "Le Alpi nell' "era del turismo". Alcune problematiche di metodologia storiografica", in *Geschichte der Alpen*, Vol. 9, 2004, p. 61-83, here 63.

¹³⁶⁶ Lathion, Valérie, "Quand le touriste devient bienfaiteur. Alpinistes anglais et guides de montagne suisses au XIXe siècle", in Gigase; Humair; Tissot, *Le tourisme comme facteur*, 2014, p. 275-290.

"une Suisse sans Suisse(ses)" for its English visitors.¹³⁶⁷ This prestressed relationship did not substantially change in the course of the 19th century although to say that it deteriorated would be an offence, too. The locals' uneasiness with foreigners rather got another emphasis: given the economic potential of the curing and winter sports practicing guests in the second half of the 19th century there were Dutch business persons and German physicians who first invested in this potential. The big money, consequently, was initially made by people originating from abroad which is proven for the Grisons¹³⁶⁸ as well as the Valais¹³⁶⁹. In French Chamonix, too, a foreigner – Swiss in this case – became a successful hotelier.¹³⁷⁰ The (initiative) role of foreigners was obviously an international experience.

In the second half of the 19th century, alpine tourism was in full swing in Switzerland – and the English influence remained. It expressed itself in a growing variety of new sportive activities which the English began to practice. The basis for this sees Barton in another specialization of tourism in Switzerland: the thermal and cure tourism.¹³⁷¹ As mentioned above people had come to Swiss spas for curing and bathing since the Middle ages. During the 19th century, however, it became common to stay for a long while. Diseases such as tuberculosis or gout rapidly spread in the new urbanizing centers in the plains. But new medical treatments were developed, too. In the first half of the 19th century, milk cures were offered in Appenzell, Weissbad, Heinrichsbad near Herisau or Davos, in the second half, a long stay in the healthy air or – later – in the sun rays of the Alps was the up-to-date treatment for the infected.¹³⁷² The positive effect of a stay in the (high) mountains was firstly observed by the German doctor Alexander Spengler in Davos who welcomed his first guests in 1865. Thus, Davos became the first high-altitude health resort.¹³⁷³ In Leysin, doctor Rollier strengthened the body's self-healing forces by exposing the patients to the sun rays. This so called heliotherapy came into practice in the 1880s and made Leysin to another Swiss health resort which commissioned everything in the service

¹³⁶⁷ Tissot, Naissance, 2000, p. 71.

¹³⁶⁸ Barton, Susan, *Healthy living in the Alps: the origins of winter tourism in Switzerland, 1860-1914*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008, p. 42.

¹³⁶⁹ Antonietti, *Fremdenverkehr und Bauernkultur*, 2000, p. 52, 128.

¹³⁷⁰ Boyer, *Histoire de l'invention*, 2000, p. 245.

¹³⁷¹ Barton, *Healthy living*, 2008, p. 181.

¹³⁷² Barton, *Healthy living*, 2008, p. 8-9.

¹³⁷³ Barton, *Healthy living*, 2008, p. 11.

of the invalids and patients.¹³⁷⁴ Exposing itself to the fresh and clear alpine air or the sun rays did not mean that the patients had to lie all day long in bed. In Leysin, for instance, patients were involved in light works such as watch-spring making, toy making, assembling telephone equipment and sewing and in Davos the healed patients started to practice what their relatives and families had been doing during their stay in the mountain health resort: ice skating since the 1860s, tobogganing since the 1870s, skiing since the 1890s.¹³⁷⁵ Forced to overcome the boredom of the long stay of their sick family members the healthy family members were looking for entertainment.¹³⁷⁶ Obviously, the sheer duration of the cures opened the way for sportive activities which were to become of considerable economic importance in the 20th century. The English influence in this respect was limited to the fact that the English started to found clubs as soon as some compatriots enjoyed the same activity in the same place. This enabled them to organize races and contests which made the sport more visible and lead to the establishment of the sport.¹³⁷⁷ Driving forces behind the cures were, however, personalities from the Netherlands or Germany.¹³⁷⁸

It is important to note that these new sportive activities were all bound to the winter season, because the alpinism starting in the first half of the 19th century had concentrated itself overwhelmingly on the summer. The reason for this preference is clear: most of the alpine tours can only be made in summer due to the climatic and meteorological conditions. How was it possible, then, that foreigners appeared in the snowy mountains during the winter months? Was the mild climate and the social peer pressure of a place-to-be like the French Riviera – mainly Nizza, the then most attracting center of winter tourism where the European elite met – not promising enough? In order to answer this question it is helpful to know that, apart from the health resorts mentioned above, there were centers in the Swiss Alps which rather had and wanted to maintain the image as an alpine, sportive center like for example Grindelwald or St. Moritz. Alpinists undertook their tours from Grindelwald and although St. Moritz had had a long tradition as a spa resort influential hoteliers and

¹³⁷⁴ Barton, *Healthy living*, 2008, p. 79-81, 87.

¹³⁷⁵ Barton, *Healthy living*, 2008, p. 27, 30.

¹³⁷⁶ Barton, *Healthy living*, 2008, p. 21, 179.

¹³⁷⁷ Barton, *Healthy living*, 2008, p. 25.

¹³⁷⁸ According to Barton, *Healthy living*, 2008, p. 21, 25 the Dutch Holsboer, residing in Davos due to his sick wife, lend money to the German Dr. Spengler in order to open a sanatorium.

personalities prevented explicitly that tuberculosis patients came to St. Moritz.¹³⁷⁹ Both places successfully profited from their touristic infrastructure hitherto used in summer. For Grindelwald, Barton has found that the first winter guest appeared in 1860 or 1867, for St. Moritz, legend has it that the local hotelier Johannes Badrutt bet with English summer guests in 1864 that he would pay them the transport fare if they did not enjoy the free stay he was offering for the winter as an experiment. The happy guests stayed until Easter – and therewith founded the winter season in St. Moritz.¹³⁸⁰ This year is commonly seen as the beginning of the winter season in Switzerland. Since the first two tuberculous patients stayed during the winter months in Davos in 1865,¹³⁸¹ let us note that the winter season appeared in Switzerland in the middle of the 1860s. Coming back on the question of how cold, snowy Switzerland started to rival the Mediterranean Riviera as a place for winter vacations leads us to the fact that some existing health resorts successfully adapted their functioning touristic infrastructure for the summer season to winter exigencies.¹³⁸² Secondly, economic considerations let local hoteliers and foreign entrepreneurs profit from the economic potential of bored, well-suited English, Germans and Dutchs accompanying their sick family members during their cures and eager to break through the boredom of a long stay. The winter sports accentuated the image of the Alps as a refuge for alpinism, activity, physical health and strength overcoming therewith the boredom of a long stay.¹³⁸³

5.2.4.3 The Belle Epoque: luxurious, cosmopolitan, discreet

Thus, the blossoming of tourism in the Belle Epoque produced different images of Switzerland. Tourism's development into a real industry in this period found expression in the touristic advertising (see chapter 3.1.1 *From boom to overheating: the economic development*). While the railway companies stressed the accessibility of Switzerland in the heart of Europe – the Gotthardbahn called itself "Weltbahn"¹³⁸⁴ – as well as the picturesque landscapes they were crossing,¹³⁸⁵ the hoteliers

¹³⁷⁹ Barton, *Healthy living*, 2008, p. 43, 45, 96.

¹³⁸⁰ Barton, *Healthy living*, 2008, p. 39.

¹³⁸¹ Barton, *Healthy living*, 2008, p. 20.

¹³⁸² Barton, *Healthy living*, 2008, p. 178.

¹³⁸³ Barton, *Healthy living*, 2008, p. 183.

¹³⁸⁴ Thiessing, René, "Die Verkehrswerbung der Schweizer Bahnen", in Eidgenössisches Post- und Eisenbahndepartement, *Ein Jahrhundert*, 1955, p. 488.

¹³⁸⁵ Vonèche, *L'usage de la photographie dans l'affiche touristique*, 2005, p. 9;

advertised their technical innovations such as lifts¹³⁸⁶ or the hotel's front (e.g. the cupolas, which made allusion to the aristocratic architecture of that time)¹³⁸⁷ in order to appear modern and able to fulfill the high society's demands of luxury and comfort. This did, however, not exclude a certain touch of discretion. Several grand hotels in Lausanne hosted international conferences and peace negotiations,¹³⁸⁸ which enforced Switzerland's neutral character where former enemies were enabled to talk on neutral grounds.¹³⁸⁹ Other hotels, like the Thunerhof near the Bernese Oberland, or Langenbruck preferred to appeal through its understated elegance and to present itself as discreet and unpretentious.¹³⁹⁰ A look at some posters, leaflets, brochures and labels for suitcases reveals that the hotels related their promotion very much to the local curiosities, specialities and famous views of the destination. Thus, the hotel Gerber in Lugano showed the view on the mountain San Salvatore, or the hotel Kurgarten in Davos displayed a man and a woman ice-skating on the lake.¹³⁹¹ Both hotels thereby referred to the image of the place they belonged to. Additionally, the hotel-post card was another item which let the hotel appear in its surroundings, but the grandeur of the hotel building itself caught the observer's eye.¹³⁹² Thus, luxury, comfort and grandeur were values which the Swiss hotels promoted abroad.¹³⁹³ Additionally, the hoteliers belonged to the first marketers of skiing, because the skiing tourists allowed the hotels to stay open during winter.¹³⁹⁴ From an organizational point of view, the promotion by the hoteliers was far from being unified or collective prior to the First World War. Rather, the SHV distributed to its members a black list of brokers and smooth talkers who offered their too expensive publishing services to the countless medium and small hoteliers without any experience in the field of

¹³⁸⁶ Lapointe, symbols of prestige, 2010.

¹³⁸⁷ Omachen, Peter, *Luzern – eine Touristenstadt. Hotelarchitektur von 1782 bis 1914*, Baden: hier + jetzt, Verlag für Kultur und Geschichte, 2010, p. 200-201.

¹³⁸⁸ Müller; Amacher Hoppler, neutral country, 2013, p. 115-116.

¹³⁸⁹ Walton, John, "Grand hôtel et grand événements: histoire, héritage et hospitalité", in Maillard, Nadja (ed.), *Beau-Rivage Palace. Histoire(s)*, Lausanne: Fondation de la famille Sandoz, 2008, p. 102-112, here 110. According to Müller; Amacher Hoppler, neutral country, 2013, p. 116, there were protocols signed between Italy and Turkey in the Beau-Rivage Palace in Lausanne in 1912.

¹³⁹⁰ Keller, Jon, "Werbe-Graphik für das Hotel Thunerhof im Laufe der Jahrzehnte", in *Jahresbericht Historisches Museum Schloss Thun*, 1983, p. 7-19, here 19; Schumacher, Langenbruck, 1992, p. 170.

¹³⁹¹ Pfeil, Werbung im Schweizer Hotel- und Gastwirtschaftsgewerbe, 1930, p. Tafel V.

¹³⁹² Pfeil, Werbung im Schweizer Hotel- und Gastwirtschaftsgewerbe, 1930, p. 66-67.

¹³⁹³ Hoffer, Pascal, *Grand Hôtels Palaces. Les bâtisseurs de rêve*, Yens sur Morges: Editions Cabédita, 2003, p. 146.

¹³⁹⁴ Busset, Thomas, "La relation travail-loisirs à travers l'avènement des sports d'hiver dans les Préalpes et Alpes de Suisse occidentale", in Gilomen, Hans-Jörg; Schumacher, Beatrice; Tissot, Laurent (ed.), *Freizeit und Vergnügen vom 14. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert. Temps libre et loisirs du 14e au 20e siècles (Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte/Société suisse d'histoire économique et sociale, Vol. 20)*; Zürich: Chronos Verlag, 2005, p. 263-272, here 265-267.

advertising.¹³⁹⁵ The indirect support of the SHV seems to have been programmatic. Instead of launching campaigns for its members, the SHV's "Commission de propagande" supported the collective advertising of the Publizitätsdienst der SBB, the stay of an author in Switzerland, or the collection of slides.¹³⁹⁶ Only the guide "Les Hôtels de la Suisse", which the SHV published, represented a source which summarized the promotional efforts of a big number of hotels. This guide informed the tourists about the tariffs at the customs, itemized a calendar with the opening of the main destinations, a list of the Swiss mineral waters in comparison with the foreign ones,¹³⁹⁷ and a list with the facilities for tennis, golf and the different winter sports.¹³⁹⁸ The largest part of this guide consists of ads of the SHV's members and offers pictures, size, geographical situation, interior design, comfortable furnishings, outbuildings, seasons, prices for a night or separate meals, etc.¹³⁹⁹ Although the pictures and photographs revealed how the hotels appeared in the correct light, it might be hard to extract an image of Switzerland promoted by the hoteliers by the means of the guide "Les Hôtels de la Suisse".

It was up to the local tourist offices, to stress a place's outstanding attraction: While the Matterhorn (Cervin) has stood for Zermatt from the 19th century onwards,¹⁴⁰⁰ Davos started with the promotion of winter sports activities such as bobsleigh or ice-skating prior to the First World War,¹⁴⁰¹ Geneva promoted itself continuously in harmony with its surroundings, namely the mount Salève – which diversified the image of Geneva¹⁴⁰² – and the Mont-Blanc,¹⁴⁰³ Grindelwald promoted the Wetterhorn,¹⁴⁰⁴ and Lucerne its attractions – the Gletschergarten, the lido, the Kapellbrücke or the Museggmauer (the former defense wall) –, the Lake Lucerne and

¹³⁹⁵ Senn, *La suisse et le tourisme*, 1918, p. 85.

¹³⁹⁶ Senn, *La suisse et le tourisme*, 1918, p. 59

¹³⁹⁷ The extra mentioning of the mineral water is interesting insofar as Switzerland thereby also engaged in the competition between spas and thermal cure destination of the allied and Germany (see chapter 2.1 Overview).

¹³⁹⁸ Senn, *La suisse et le tourisme*, 1918, p. 60.

¹³⁹⁹ Senn, *La suisse et le tourisme*, 1918, p. 60.

¹⁴⁰⁰ Merki, Christoph Maria, "Eine aussergewöhnliche Landschaft als Kapital. Destinationsmanagement im 19. Jahrhundert am Beispiel von Zermatt", in *Geschichte der Alpen*, Vol. 9, 2004, p. 181-201, here 193.

¹⁴⁰¹ Dosch, *Bündner Tourismusplakate*, [1983], p. 31.

¹⁴⁰² Gigase, Marc, "La première crémaillère électrique d'Europe au Salève: entre innovation technique et expansion touristique (1890-1914)", in Humair; Tissot, *rayonnement international*, 2011, p. 193-212, here 211.

¹⁴⁰³ Vonèche, *deux villes*, 2005, p. 99-100, 114.

¹⁴⁰⁴ Pfeil, *Werbung im Schweizer Hotel- und Gastwirtschaftsgewerbe*, 1930, p. 103.

the destinations along its coast as well as the two mountains Rigi and Pilatus.¹⁴⁰⁵ Lucerne's sports events like the rowing cup ("Ruderregatta") or the first motor boat race also seemed to have been promotive.¹⁴⁰⁶ Spas or health resorts concentrated their promotion on the curative effect of the fresh air, of health, relaxation, winter sports,¹⁴⁰⁷ or, like in the case of the less known Langenbruck near Basel, the silence, which the tourists from the towns might have appreciated.¹⁴⁰⁸ In Leysin, doctor Rollier strengthened the body's self-healing forces by exposing the patients to the sun rays. This so called heliotherapy came into practice in the 1880s and made Leysin to a Swiss health resort which commissioned everything in the service of the invalids and patients.¹⁴⁰⁹ Such a promotion which embraced medical advice and touristic encouragement often took place at the merging of different contemporary topics. Pro Lugano, the LTO of Lugano, a local promotion institution in the Southern Canton of Ticino, for example, operated into two directions: on the one hand, it made the promotion for the place aiming at people from abroad, thus an external orientation; on the other hand, it influenced the life within Lugano itself, thus an internal orientation, by acting as a pressure group cornering the municipality with its demands for improvements in the sanitary infrastructure of the town.¹⁴¹⁰ Thus, the LTOs were often founded to gather the financial force for promoting the place, yet they also lobbied for beautifying and introducing hygiene in their towns and villages! Their national organization, the Verband Schweizerischer Verkehrsvereine (VSV), which was founded as early as 1893,¹⁴¹¹ however, did not centralize its members' promotion considerably. It only sent the different LTO's brochures, posters and leaflets to its contacts abroad.¹⁴¹² We are therefore forced to consider the promotion of single LTOs in order to find out the image of Switzerland promoted abroad. At least, LTOs usually summarized the efforts of local business persons, politicians and people from the transport business in favour of their town or village.

Single business persons or companies, however, also contributed to the image of Switzerland promoted abroad. In their advertising for their products, they

¹⁴⁰⁵ Flury-Schütz, Daniela, *Der Blick auf die Landschaft: Landschaftsbilder auf den Tourismusplakaten Luzerns und der Region Vierwaldstättersee 1880-1960*, Zürich: unpublished Lizentiatsarbeit (Universität Zürich), 2007, p. 42-111.

¹⁴⁰⁶ Huber, Luzern wird Fremdenstadt, 1986, p. 210.

¹⁴⁰⁷ Dosch, Bündner Tourismusplakate, [1983], p. 31.

¹⁴⁰⁸ Schumacher, Langenbruck, 1992, p. 163, 169.

¹⁴⁰⁹ Barton, Healthy living, 2008, p. 79-81, 87.

¹⁴¹⁰ Sulmoni, Pro Lugano, 2005, p. 143-155.

¹⁴¹¹ Tissot, Offices du tourisme, 2008.

¹⁴¹² Lehmann, Gedenkschrift, 1918, p. 50.

often made allusion to the image of a place by integrating some symbols of the place into their product advertisement. Accordingly, Suchard, a Neuchâtel based producer of chocolat, promoted its Milka chocolat bars by referring to the Swiss Alps, mountainous peaks covered with snow, meadows with cows, and shepherds dressed in national costumes.¹⁴¹³ As chocolat represented a luxury good, a touch of luxury was added to the place where the chocolat came from. Similarly, Peter in Vevey, Kohler in Lausanne and Favarger in Geneva, all successful chocolat producers prior to the First World War, supported the image of a luxurious, cosmopolitan Lake Geneva region.¹⁴¹⁴ This image was upheld by the hoteliers, which had installed lifts in their grand hotels in order to appear luxurious and technically up-to-date.¹⁴¹⁵

This luxury and cosmopolitan tourism was fully destroyed with the outbreak of the First World War (see chapter 4.1.1 *The economic development in Switzerland prior to and in the First World War*). This also counts for the touristic advertising. An image of Switzerland promoted by touristic marketers can hardly be extracted for the First World War. The literature remains silent and the sources are missing: For the years 1914-1917, the National Library's poster collection only lists eight touristic posters of local touristic agents!¹⁴¹⁶

5.2.4.4 The 1920s: modern means, traditional values

After the First World War, most of the topics promoted in the Belle Epoque remained in the touristic ads, but they diversified.¹⁴¹⁷ Since its beginnings in 1904,¹⁴¹⁸ the Publizitätsdienst der SBB continuously published brochures, tourist maps, guides etc., which animated to travel to or gave hints how to travel best in Switzerland.¹⁴¹⁹ It held its position as the leading marketer of Switzerland in the world in the 1920s and

¹⁴¹³ Huguenin, Suchard, 2014, p. 208.

¹⁴¹⁴ Humair; Gigase; Lapointe Guigoz; Sulmoni, success story, 2014, p. 21, 32.

¹⁴¹⁵ Lapointe Guigoz, Julie, "L'innovation technique au service du développement hôtelier: Le cas des ascenseurs hydrauliques dans l'arc lémanique (1867-1914)", in Humair; Tissot, rayonnement international, 2011, p. 111-133, here 111.

¹⁴¹⁶ In the National Library, *Swiss Poster Collection* [s.d.], <http://www.posters.nb.admin.ch/search/query?locale=en&theme=Posters> (accessed 29.9.2015), we searched for "Tourismus 1914", "Tourismus 1915", etc. and found the following posters: 1914: SNL_TOUR_1537, SNL_TOUR_1549, SNL_TOUR_2081, SNL_TOUR_1863, SNL_TOUR_1554. 1915: SNL_TOUR_1854, SNL_TOUR_1963. 1916: SNL_TOUR_1864. 1917: 0, 1918: 0.

¹⁴¹⁷ According to Tissot, *Alpinization*, 2011, p. 70, a pronounced diversity started in the second half of the 19th century.

¹⁴¹⁸ Thiessing, *Verkehrswerbung*, 1955, p. 493.

¹⁴¹⁹ See for example Swiss State Railroads, *Switzerland. Hints for travelers to the very heart of Europe*, New York: The Official Agency of the Swiss Federal Railroads, [1920].

advertised the country by means of the Alps, the beauty of the landscape, its position in the heart of Europe, its accessibility, its well developed railway lines, the curative effect of the Alps on the tourist's health, the comfort and modernity of the infrastructure (hotels, roads, infrastructure for different sports, hygiene), the artistic and educational offer in the cities, the high standard of the private and public schools, and the multilingual population.¹⁴²⁰ Thus, the image of Switzerland in the world showed a mix of modernity and tradition, or civilization and nature.¹⁴²¹ The hoteliers supported the image of a centrally situated, internationally connected Switzerland and stressed the hospitality and the quality of the country's luxurious hotel industry.¹⁴²² Different regional promoters in the Lake Geneva region, for example, took up the image of an easily accessible spot.¹⁴²³ Other LTOs continued to sharpen their profiles. While Zurich presented itself as a metropole in harmony with nature, Geneva promoted the lake of Geneva, the mount Salève and the Mont-Blanc as a haven of silence and abundance.¹⁴²⁴ The Valais maintained the image as a place of tradition and showed locals in national costumes.¹⁴²⁵ In the Grisons, in contrast, Arosa and Davos opted for the athletic tourist, who was not only shown while doing sports like ice skating, bobsleigh, golfing and swimming, but who also started to be tanned.¹⁴²⁶ The sun, its curative effect (heliotherapy) and its promise of health became predominant until the end of the Interwar Period.¹⁴²⁷ In the 1920s, however, a certain severity cannot be denied.¹⁴²⁸ It is this image between discretion, severity, tradition and mundane tourism which the SVZ took up in its promotion in the 1920s, although a touch of modernity started to appear.

As the SVZ understood itself as a modern advertising institution, it launched real campaigns, see used the motives which were displayed on the posters on the brochures and leaflets, too.¹⁴²⁹ The brochures seemed to be a preferred medium of the SVZ in its first years. Often, they treated one season (summer season, winter season), suggested activities which a guest might undertake, and listed numerous

¹⁴²⁰ Delley, *pays de vacances des peuples*, 2005, p. 26; Garavaglia, *Le rôle des pouvoirs publics*, 2011, p. 83.

¹⁴²¹ Delley, *pays de vacances des peuples*, 2005, p. 31.

¹⁴²² Schumacher, *Krise*, 1997, p. 84.

¹⁴²³ Brändly, *Office cantonal vaudois*, 2015, p. 20, 26.

¹⁴²⁴ Vonèche, *deux villes*, 2005, p. 99-100, 105-106.

¹⁴²⁵ Schlup, *Figures d'autochtones*, 2005, p. 46.

¹⁴²⁶ Dosch, *Bündner Tourismusplakate*, [1983], p. 32-33, 53.

¹⁴²⁷ Schlup, *Figures d'autochtones*, 2005, p. 57.

¹⁴²⁸ Dosch, *Bündner Tourismusplakate*, [1983], p. 32.

¹⁴²⁹ Vonèche, *L'usage de la photographie dans l'affiche touristique*, 2005, p. 20.

events. The dominance of text compared to "eye-catching" features such as pictures prevailed in the first years. In 1921, for instance, a leaflet folded like an accordion called "Die Sommersaison in der Schweiz 1921. Sportliche und soziale Veranstaltungen. Auszug und Übersetzung aus dem 'Swiss Tourist Almanac 1921'" did not catch the reader's eye by means of some pictures or the like, but showed a single table over several pages which rigorously listed numerous events in chosen destinations.¹⁴³⁰ The front cover consisted of a black and white drawing of three persons who peacefully rest on a hill – no Swiss flag which regularly appeared on later publications, no colours at all. The rigid reduction to black and the roughly sketched style, however, produced an impression of luxury, and the tourists were lured by the tasteful simplicity which spoke to a smart public which attached value to social distinction.

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Fig. 21: One of the first brochures published by the SVZ showed the contemplative tourist who looked at a landscape from a balcony or a hotel terrace and thereby heightened the value of the landscape. In doing so, the SVZ referred to the elitist and sophisticated tourism, which had prevailed prior to the First World War.

Source: SVZ, *Die Sommersaison in der Schweiz 1921. Sportliche und soziale Veranstaltungen. Auszug und Übersetzung aus dem 'Swiss Tourist Almanac 1921'*, Zürich: [s.n.], 1921.

Such calendars of events appeared between 1921 and 1934; their contents ranged from sports to social events and used to be sorted according to the month, the date, the destination and the type of event (concert, race, etc.). Some black and white pictures appeared in the course of the decade, but the simple style of the black and

¹⁴³⁰ SVZ, *Die Sommersaison in der Schweiz 1921. Sportliche und soziale Veranstaltungen. Auszug und Übersetzung aus dem 'Swiss Tourist Almanac 1921'*, Zürich: [s.n.], 1921.

white drawings remained predominant.¹⁴³¹ The first calendar of events for the winter season dates back to 1923/24.¹⁴³² Additionally, guides and flyers completed the mobile promotional material of the SVZ.¹⁴³³ The main medium, however, which reached by far the biggest public was the poster.

Promotion by posters gained momentum in the Interwar Period although the first appeared around the turn of the century.¹⁴³⁴ The tourism industry in Switzerland used this new medium of communication intensively since it was predestined for reaching a large public and since it belonged to the latest means of promotion. As will be shown, using the latest innovations in marketing was a premise which the Swiss tourism industry used to strive for constantly. LTOs and transport companies increasingly commissioned several Swiss artists to create posters advertising a line, a region or a village from the Interwar Period onwards – and so did the SVZ. The SVZ was honoured as a "hochverdiente Auftraggeberin" (mandator of great merit) and for the care of good poster graphic.¹⁴³⁵ Accordingly, famous Swiss artists appeared as originators of the SVZ's posters: Emil Cardinaux, Aloïs Carigiet, Herbert Leupin or Herbert Matter.¹⁴³⁶ The First World War had turned the poster into a forceful and unavoidable means of advertising, its power proven by studies in applied psychology.¹⁴³⁷ Professionalized in advertising schools and agencies,¹⁴³⁸ the production of posters faced two noteworthy points in the Interwar Period: Firstly, the outbreak of the World Economic Crisis provoked the necessity of producing cheaper, secondly, the 1930s witnessed the increased use of the photography.¹⁴³⁹ The SVZ adapted to these changes in the field of touristic posters. While the first posters were lithographs, the SVZ tested the photography from 1923 onwards.¹⁴⁴⁰

¹⁴³¹ The holding NB, V 4800 Schweiz. Verkehrszentrale. V 4800. Schweiz Tourismus. Prospekte stores a multitude of brochures and leaflets published between 1921 and 1934.

¹⁴³² See the holding NB, V 4800 Schweiz. Verkehrszentrale. V 4800. Schweiz Tourismus. Prospekte.

¹⁴³³ See for example: *Switzerland: a short and handy guide for tourists*, Zurich: Swiss Tourist Information Office, 1922.

¹⁴³⁴ Chessex, Plakat, 2010.

¹⁴³⁵ Verkehrshaus der Schweiz, *Touristikplakate. Ausstellung des Verkehrshauses der Schweiz*. 6. Nov.–15. Dez. 1967. *Bahnhofplatz/Hauptpost Luzern*, Luzern: Verkehrshaus der Schweiz, 1967, p. [7].

¹⁴³⁶ Vonèche, L'usage de la photographie dans l'affiche touristique, 2005, p. 12, 24, 29.

¹⁴³⁷ Giroud, Jean-Charles, "L'affiche touristique comme enjeux commercial et identitaire. Survol d'un siècle de création", in Giroud; Schlup, *Paradis à vendre*, 2005, p. 116-149, here 124.

¹⁴³⁸ Giroud, *enjeux commercial et identitaire*, 2005, p. 124.

¹⁴³⁹ Giroud, *enjeux commercial et identitaire*, 2005, p. 129.

¹⁴⁴⁰ Vonèche, L'usage de la photographie dans l'affiche touristique, 2005, p. 9, 13.



Fig. 22: One of the first posters produced by the SVZ was published in 1920: Emil Cardinaux' "Winter in Switzerland" appeared in the country's three official languages and in English. Source: National Library, Swiss Posters Collection, online, SNL_TOUR_186 (accessed 18.3.2013).



Fig. 23: "L'été en Suisse" by Emil Cardinaux, still promoted Switzerland with traditional touristic motives in 1921: The contemplative tourists marveled at the wild mountainous scenery. Source: National Library, Swiss Posters Collection, online, 11.4 (accessed 5.8.2014).

These first posters came to hang up in the agencies abroad of the Publizitätsdienst der SBB in Great Britain (London), France (Paris), the USA (New York), Germany (Berlin) and Egypt (Cairo) as well as in cities in the Netherlands, Denmark, and Sweden and at the French Riviera.¹⁴⁴¹ The content of the poster "Winter in Switzerland" was noteworthy insofar as the winter season was only developing into a new touristic season in the Interwar Period. The view – probably out of a hotel or at least of a building of representation and grandeur – on people skiing, curling and ice-skating clearly came to the point: Switzerland was suitable for doing winter sports. But socializing and enjoying a trip in a horse-drawn sleigh seemed possible parallel to it. The contemplative tourist who looked at a landscape from a balcony or a hotel terrace and thereby heightened the value of the landscape referred to the elitist and

¹⁴⁴¹ ST-Archive, [no reference number]: "Entwurf. Dritter Jahresbericht für die Zeit vom 1. Januar bis 31. Dezember 1920", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, [s.l.], [1921], p. 15.

sophisticated tourism, which had prevailed prior to the First World War.¹⁴⁴² The expressive sportive character of doing winter sports developed only later.¹⁴⁴³ The railway did not reach Zermatt, for instance, prior to 1930, which prohibited the place to develop into a winter sports destination earlier.¹⁴⁴⁴ The parallel, not to say: competing, organization of tourism promotion, the Publizitätsdienst der SBB, however, had paved the way for the winter season already prior to the First World War. Its French agency published "L'Hiver en Suisse" as early as 1912.¹⁴⁴⁵ This brochure represented one item of the lively promotion by the Publizitätsdienst der SBB and its agencies.

A first series of posters with photographs, visible in figure 24, was published by the SVZ in 1923. Each black and white photograph showed a peculiar view of Switzerland: the mountain Bernina with a shephard (GR), the Madonna del Sasso above Locarno (TI), Sisikon (Lake Lucerne), the Kingspitz (Bernese Oberland), the Matterhorn (VS), and the castle of Chillon (Lake Geneva).¹⁴⁴⁶ The motives remind us of the pre-war topics in tourism, that is, Switzerland was shown as a free shephard's land and with lovely landscapes combining mountains and lakes (see Fig. 24, particularly the three posters on the upper line). The notion of the shephard is remarkable because it made allusion to one of the first images of Switzerland promoted abroad: According to the SVZ, the scenery with the shephard and the cows in front of the Bernina expressed a "Bergfriede", that is a moment full of peace in the mountains.¹⁴⁴⁷ The setting of Switzerland as an ideal place for shephards originated back to the "vedutistes" who painted their vedutas between 1770 and 1830!¹⁴⁴⁸ In contrast, the omnipresent mountains were a paradise for alpinism, an activity which saw its ascent in the second half of the 19th century. The unspoiled nature of the heroic mountains (Mont Cervin) was complemented by a people living in tradition and bound in history (castle in Chillon) (see Fig. 24, particularly the three posters on the lower line). Interestingly, the selection united famous and less known views: the

¹⁴⁴² Schlup, *Figures d'autochtones*, 2005, p. 48, 51.

¹⁴⁴³ Schlup, *Figures d'autochtones*, 2005, p. 53.

¹⁴⁴⁴ König, *Bahnen und Berge*, 2000, p. 214.

¹⁴⁴⁵ Service de Publicité des Chemins de fer fédéraux à Berne, *L'Hiver en Suisse*, Genève; Bellegarde: Ain, S.A.D.A.G., 1912. The brochure also appeared in German and English.

¹⁴⁴⁶ ST-Archive, [no reference number]: "Sechster Jahresbericht für den Zeitraum vom 1. Januar bis 31. Dezember 1923", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Einsiedeln, [1924], p. 10.

¹⁴⁴⁷ ST-Archive, [no reference number]: "Sechster Jahresbericht für den Zeitraum vom 1. Januar bis 31. Dezember 1923", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Einsiedeln, [1924], p. 10.

¹⁴⁴⁸ Schlup, *Figures d'autochtones*, 2005, p. 41.

Kingspitze, at least, is located near the Rosenlaui, a rather remote valley in the Bernese Oberland. Similarly, Sisikon at the shore of the Lake Lucerne did not belong to the most famous destinations in Central Switzerland. In contrast, the Mont Cervin, the Madonna del Sasso and the castle of Chillon undoubtedly symbolized Zermatt, Locarno and Montreux. Usually, these symbols had been cared for attentively. Thus, the castle of Chillon was renovated extra for touristic purposes which implied an economic stimulation of the Lake Geneva region prior to the First World War.¹⁴⁴⁹ In summa, the SVZ resumed the LTO's imagery while, on the same time, it included some less known views. It obviously tried to include most of the touristic regions of Switzerland, thereby unifying the splintered touristic interests in Switzerland. In point of view of the image promoted abroad, the messages of the posters ranged from very old connotations like the shepherd to newer challenges like alpinism, yet both referred to the 19th century.



Fig. 24: Six posters in black and white (gravure), published by the SVZ in 1923, still transmitted pre-war motives in tourism: alpinism, heroic mountains, the free shepherd's land, unspoiled nature, particularly mountains, but also lakes, and the Swiss' roots in tradition and history.

Source: ST-Archive, [no reference number]: "Sechster Jahresbericht für den Zeitraum vom 1. Januar bis 31. Dezember 1923", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Einsiedeln, [1924], preface.

¹⁴⁴⁹ Humair; Gigase; Lapointe Guigoz; Sulmoni, success story, 2014, p. 18.

This imagery of Switzerland's natural beauties, mainly situated in and in proximity of the mountains, continued throughout the 1920s. Six posters for the summer season 1925 showed again the predominance of the country's natural beauty. They were published in twelve languages and showed the Rhine Falls, Lugano, the scenic "Axenstrasse" – a part of the important transport route over the Gotthard and built along and in a rock face situated above the Lake Lucerne –, the castle of Tarasp, the Cabane de Bertol and Oberhofen.¹⁴⁵⁰ All these places represented nature (Rhine Falls), sun (Lugano, Oberhofen), mountains (Axenstrasse, Cabane de Bertol) and history (castle of Tarasp, Oberhofen). In contrast, other kinds of publications presented the sportive tourist, a novelty in the 1920s (see below): the cover of a brochure about the summer season 1925 displayed a black and white photograph showing some women playing golf.¹⁴⁵¹ Yet, the reference to history and tradition broke through again in 1926: The exhibition pavilion of the SVZ at the "Exposition Internationale des Transports et du Tourisme" in Buenos Aires looked and was furnished like a Swiss chalet.¹⁴⁵²

The photography's use in the SVZ' campaigns remained simple and repetitive: After nature dominated in the summer campaigns of 1923 and 1925, the visual language changed insofar in 1927 as the photographs showed people and people's activities. Thus, the SVZ launched a campaign for the summer season 1927 which aimed at summer sports: On one poster, four sailing boats headed for Lausanne on the Lake Geneva representing the nautical sports; on the other poster, two alpinists took a rest on the Säntis in Eastern Switzerland representing alpinism. Yet, the showed sportive activities like golf, tennis, sailing or fishing were not typically Swiss activities.¹⁴⁵³ Only the two alpinists resting on the Säntis in Eastern Switzerland referred to the alpinism which was omnipresent in the country's touristic advertising and thereby fostered the alpine tourist model.¹⁴⁵⁴

¹⁴⁵⁰ ST-Archive, [no reference number]: "Huitième Rapport Annuel comprenant la période du 1er janvier au 31 décembre 1925", by the Association nationale pour le développement du tourisme, Lausanne, 1926, p. 11.

¹⁴⁵¹ See the holding NB, V ZH 23984, Schweiz. Verkehrszentrale, Veranstaltungen 1921-1951/52, 1921-1952.

¹⁴⁵² BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 68, 1926-1939: "NEUNTER JAHRESBERICHT FÜR DEN ZEITRAUM VOM 1. JANUAR BIS 31. DEZEMBER 1926", by Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung der Reiseverkehrs, Solothurn, [1927], p. I, 11.

¹⁴⁵³ Vonèche, L'usage de la photographie dans l'affiche touristique, 2005, p. 15.

¹⁴⁵⁴ Tissot, Alpinization, 2011, p. 72.

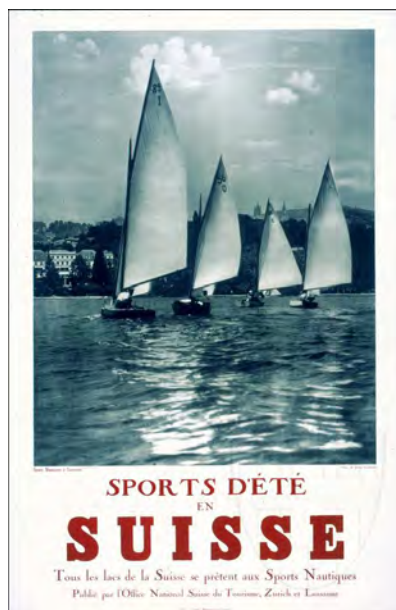


Fig. 25: Four sailing boats heading for Lausanne encouraged the tourists for nautical sports on Swiss lakes in 1927. Photograph by A. Kern.

Source: National Library, Swiss Posters Collection, online, SNL TOUR_238 (accessed 7.4.2014).



Fig. 26: Alpinism was omnipresent in the SVZ' campaigns. This poster, displayed in the campaign for the summer season 1927, showed two alpinists resting on the Säntis in Eastern Switzerland. Photograph by K. Treuer.

Source: National Library, Swiss Posters Collection, online, SNL TOUR_239 (accessed 7.4.2014).

Sportive tourists, however, were a novelty on the touristic posters of the Interwar Period.¹⁴⁵⁵ They replaced the contemplative tourist, which still appeared at the beginning of the 1920s (see Fig. 23). Given this general development of touristic posters, we must state, that the SVZ certainly tried to create a modern image of Switzerland, which means an image of Switzerland which was up-to-date with the contemporary trends in tourism. The effort, however, did not last for a long time. In 1929, the SVZ displayed some Swiss women in national costumes and returned to the lithography in 1930.¹⁴⁵⁶ This implied two points: On the one hand, the SVZ created a rather traditional image of Switzerland by referring to the mountains, picturesque landscapes and natural beauties. On the other side, the use of the photography was a symbol of modernity. It is therefore an ambiguous image which the SVZ produced in the 1920s. In doing so, however, the SVZ was fully in line with

¹⁴⁵⁵ Schlup, Figures d'autochtones, 2005, p. 53.

¹⁴⁵⁶ Vonèche, L'usage de la photographie dans l'affiche touristique, 2005, p. 13-17, 19.

the image of the Publizitätsdienst der SBB.¹⁴⁵⁷ The hotels, too, stressed the emblems of the pre-war tourism in Switzerland, that is the quality of the luxurious hotel industry, which, according to the SHV, based on Switzerland's quality as a host country of Europe.¹⁴⁵⁸ The ambiguity in tourism promotion by the different touristic agents also characterized the work of Pro Lugano. This LTO welcomed the modernity in form of better sanitary measures, but fought it if the modernity disturbed the touristic esthetics too much.¹⁴⁵⁹

The picture with the sailing boats also appeared in 1934 with an English text, which suggests that the messages – at least of the posters – did not vary greatly between 1927 and 1934. Increasing deficits prohibited the production of posters in 1932 (see chapter 5.3.1 *The financing until 1933*), and for 1931, some posters showing people in national costumes were taken over of the Association des Intérêts de Genève.¹⁴⁶⁰ The SVZ was obviously far from creating an own image of Switzerland, when the main medium of communication could not be produced! At least, some leaflets were produced in 1931 which listed lidos and open-air swimming pools.¹⁴⁶¹ The taking-over of posters published by a LTO supported the impression of a hesitating and non-goal-oriented SVZ. It rather implied that the SVZ did not even inherit the image of Switzerland, it simply copied it! Obviously, the SVZ lacked an advertising strategy,¹⁴⁶² and the financial problems hit one of the core activity of a marketing organization, the production of poster: The weakness was striking.

5.2.4.5 The 1930s: affordability

This lack of orientation in 1930 was symptomatic of the situation which the SVZ found itself in: it was a veritable crisis. Different factors turned into unfavourable conditions for the SVZ on the same time.

1. The SVZ' deficits (see chapter 5.3.1 *The financing until 1933*).
2. The (outbreak of the) World Economic Crisis in 1929, which resulted in a shrinking of the worldwide demand (see chapter 5.1.1 *The economic development: the effects of the gold standard*).

¹⁴⁵⁷ Delley, *pays de vacances des peuples*, 2005, p. 31.

¹⁴⁵⁸ Schumacher, *Krise*, 1997, p. 84.

¹⁴⁵⁹ Sulmoni, *Pro Lugano*, 2005, p. 152.

¹⁴⁶⁰ Vonèche, *L'usage de la photographie dans l'affiche touristique*, 2005, p. 17, 19.

¹⁴⁶¹ See the holding NB, V 4800, Schweiz. Verkehrszentrale. Schweiz Tourismus. Prospekte: *Swiss Lidos and open-air swimming pools*, by SVZ, Zürich, Lausanne, [1931].

¹⁴⁶² Vonèche, *L'usage de la photographie dans l'affiche touristique*, 2005, p. 17, 24.

3. The regaining strength of the Publizitätsdienst thanks to the revival of the Beratende Kommission für den Publizitätsdienst der SBB in 1926 (see chapter 5.3.2.1 *The Publizitätsdienst der SBB re-established*).
4. The weakened image of Switzerland abroad due to the missing coordination of the country's tourism advertising and due to the sometimes ambiguous image of Switzerland which the SVZ had created abroad during the 1920s (see chapter 5.2.4.4 *The 1920s: modern means, traditional values*).
5. The profound change in tourism with the increasing participation of the working class (see chapter 1.2.1.2 *Cultural History*).
6. Switzerland's image as an expensive touristic destination as a consequence of the dissolution of the gold standard block after GB's and Germany's exit in 1931 (see chapter 5.1.1 *The economic development: the effects of the gold standard*).
7. The deflationary economic policy of the Swiss government (see chapter 5.1.1 *The economic development: the effects of the gold standard*).

Although budgeted in the previous year, the first deficit of the SVZ appeared in 1929, that is exactly on the same time as the World Economic Crisis broke out (with the banking crisis in Germany). Thus, an extra promotional effort would have been necessary after the outbreak of the World Economic Crisis in 1929. Yet, the deficits did not even allow the SVZ to produce the most important means of advertising, the poster: In 1932, no poster at all was published by the SVZ.¹⁴⁶³ As a consequence, Switzerland's image abroad was weakened, all the more as the campaigns of the Publizitätsdienst der SBB and the SVZ were not coordinated well enough.¹⁴⁶⁴ The discussions about how to improve the situation had been intensified, surely, but a solution was not yet agreed upon let alone put into practice. In the Werbegemeinschaft of 1933, however, Switzerland's tourism promotion abroad was laid on a new ground (see chapter 5.3.2.4 *The Werbegemeinschaft: the new financial ground for tourism promotion abroad*). As a consequence, from 1933 onwards, Switzerland was promoted quite differently compared to the previous decade – to wit by all touristic agents! The main image of Switzerland promoted abroad after 1933 was: Switzerland is affordable – for everybody! Where did this effort to promote

¹⁴⁶³ Vonèche, L'usage de la photographie dans l'affiche touristique, 2005, p. 19.

¹⁴⁶⁴ Vonèche, L'usage de la photographie dans l'affiche touristique, 2005, p. 21.

Switzerland as an affordable country come from? Why was Switzerland suddenly seen as an expensive country?

The persistence of the message "Switzerland is affordable" from the early 1930s onwards suggests that there must have been profound reasons for it. In fact, Switzerland was not only "seen" as an expensive country, it was expensive in reality. Why? In short: Because the devaluations of the German Reichmark, the Austrian Schilling and the British Pound in 1931 made a trip to Switzerland more expensive. This based on the disintegration of the then reigning international monetary system, the gold standard, which resulted in a decrease of the international as well as the domestic demand (see chapter 5.1.1 *The economic development: the effects of the gold standard*). If the touristic agents in Switzerland wanted to have the slightest chance to attract (new) guests, they had to adjust further prospective guests: The Swiss. Accordingly, the promotional efforts of the SVZ, the transport enterprises and the hotels were explicitly directed towards the Swiss population for the first time. This did not mean, however, that the foreign guests were not considered anymore, in contrast.

While the SBB offered first price reductions on railway tickets for foreign tourists in 1931/32,¹⁴⁶⁵ the Publizitätsdienst der SBB also promoted the new fleet of trains and special track vehicles like the "Roter Pfeil" (red arrow), a light and fast railcar,¹⁴⁶⁶ as well as faster connections.¹⁴⁶⁷ It is interesting to note that the promotion for the "Roter Pfeil" was used for reaching different publics: First and foremost, the children and the youth were taken into consideration, then their parents and friends.¹⁴⁶⁸ A common promotional event was the trip in a "Roter Pfeil" for all children of a village or a city, with which the Publizitätsdienst der SBB gained the sympathy of the young population.¹⁴⁶⁹ Additionally, the concurrence by the car urged the Publizitätsdienst der SBB to restart the publication of posters in 1933.¹⁴⁷⁰ Aggressively and without any understatement, the SBB offered a reduction on the

¹⁴⁶⁵ Humair; Narindal, *L'encouragement*, 2014, p. 424.

¹⁴⁶⁶ Delley, *pays de vacances des peuples*, 2005, p. 114, 118.

¹⁴⁶⁷ Vonèche, *L'usage de la photographie dans l'affiche touristique*, 2005, p. 23.

¹⁴⁶⁸ Delley, *pays de vacances des peuples*, 2005, p. 116.

¹⁴⁶⁹ Delley, *pays de vacances des peuples*, 2005, p. 116.

¹⁴⁷⁰ Vonèche, *L'usage de la photographie dans l'affiche touristique*, 2005, p. 23-24.

prices for a train ticket for foreign tourists, the GA travel card and special tickets like, for instance, the "Sonntagsbillet" (sunday ticket).¹⁴⁷¹

The LTOs also targeted this new segment of guests by means of happy tourists, children and families on the posters – not seldom with a touch of humour and evoking the image of an earthly paradise.¹⁴⁷² For the foreign and domestic adults, the posters published by the LTOs showed sportive tourists, who, newly, only appeared tanned while enjoying the sun, thereby evoking the image of health.¹⁴⁷³ Other LTO's, like the one of Geneva, similarly embarked on a novelty: It newly promoted its fountain, the "jet d'eau", which had been illuminated from 1891 onwards, but which the LTO of Geneva showed in its posters only in the 1930s.¹⁴⁷⁴ Its industrial origin did not fit in Geneva's iconography easily, because it contrasted with the romantic landscape the LTO of Geneva promoted until then.¹⁴⁷⁵ Yet, in the 1930, Geneva obviously accepted modern novelties in its promotion.

Meanwhile, the hotels were an important supporter of the new financial arrangement for Switzerland's tourism promotion, the Werbegemeinschaft (see chapter 5.3.2.4 *The Werbegemeinschaft: the new financial ground for tourism promotion abroad*), which coordinated and launched the price-and-tariff-reductions campaigns. In order to countersteer the staying away of British tourists after Britain's exit from the gold standard, the SHV offered a fixed relation of the British pound (£) to the Swiss Franc (CHF) for paying the hotel bill in the winter season of 1934/35: The ratio was above the daily fluctuations, so that the SHV in collaboration with the confederation took over the agio.¹⁴⁷⁶ This offer remained a single experiment and was not successful.¹⁴⁷⁷ It showed, however, the desperate attempts of the hotel industry to survive in a time of need and to promote Switzerland as an affordable destination.

The new financial and organizational ground for Switzerland's tourism promotion revived the spirits of the SVZ. As the institution in charge, which coordinated the efforts of the members of the Werbegemeinschaft, the SVZ followed

¹⁴⁷¹ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 68, 1926-1939: "NEUNZEHNTER JAHRESBERICHT für den Zeitraum vom 1. Januar bis 31. Dezember 1936", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Einsiedeln, [1937], p. 3.

¹⁴⁷² Dosch, Bündner Tourismusplakate, [1983], p. 34-35, Schlup, Figures d'autochtones, 2005, p. 58.

¹⁴⁷³ Schlup, Figures d'autochtones, 2005, p. 57.

¹⁴⁷⁴ Vonèche, deux villes, 2005, p. 101.

¹⁴⁷⁵ Vonèche, deux villes, 2005, p. 101.

¹⁴⁷⁶ Streiff, Preisnormierung, 1957, p. 25.

¹⁴⁷⁷ Streiff, Preisnormierung, 1957, p. 25.

two aims from 1934 onwards: Firstly, Switzerland had to prove the opposite of its reputation as an expensive country; secondly, the Swiss had to be educated to see their mother country.¹⁴⁷⁸ The first aim was mainly achieved by means of reductions on the prices for train tickets and of reductions on the prices of fuel for foreign tourists. Additionally, the legal requirements should be abolished.¹⁴⁷⁹ All-inclusive offers (see Fig. 27) served the second aim. Although the SVZ had realized the urgency of attracting the domestic public, it was up to an outsider to firstly propose an all-inclusive offer in Switzerland, which guaranteed a successful coordination between the transport companies, the hotels and the LTOs: In 1935, Gottlieb Duttweiler proposed to jointly offer packaged tours which included a certain numbers of overnight-stays in a hotel, the transport from Zurich to Lugano, for instance, and a *regional* GA travel card, which entitled the tourist to board on the local ships, local railways and local cableways.¹⁴⁸⁰ After the relative success of this offer, the SVZ followed with the all-inclusive offer of 1936 (see Fig. 27). The message of the poster published in 1936 – "Schöne Schweizerferien. Pauschal" – copied the slogans of other European countries which encouraged their citizens to travel their own country.¹⁴⁸¹ Figure 27 shows that the SVZ created an image of an affordable Switzerland – affordable for all, that is the working class, too, notably. The Publizitätsdienst der SBB took the same line with its poster "Mit den SBB sicher, billig, bequem" in 1937, with which it also boosted a feeling of togetherness.¹⁴⁸² Yet, the success of these efforts was limited because the partners also competed with each other and the touristic national associations were delayed in adapting to the democratization of tourism.¹⁴⁸³ With reference to the visual language of the poster of 1936 (see Fig. 27), it is noteworthy, that it showed a mountain. Obviously, the symbol, which had attracted foreign tourists for several decades, was used to win the domestic population as well. Accordingly, the Swiss employees and workers, well organized in socialist, nature protecting, religious associations, unions and organizations, engaged quite quickly – among a lot of other sportive and leisure

¹⁴⁷⁸ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 68, 1926-1939: "SIEBZEHNTER JAHRESBERICHT für den Zeitraum vom 1. Januar bis 31. Dezember 1934", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Einsiedeln, [1935], p. 4.

¹⁴⁷⁹ Humair; Narindal, L'encouragement, 2014, p. 418, 420-424.

¹⁴⁸⁰ Humair; Narindal, L'encouragement, 2014, p. 426-427.

¹⁴⁸¹ See for example, Löfgren, Know your Country, 2001, p. 146-147.

¹⁴⁸² Delley, pays de vacances des peuples, 2005, p. 120.

¹⁴⁸³ Humair; Narindal, L'encouragement, 2014, p. 433.

activities – in the winter sports.¹⁴⁸⁴ Thus, by promoting the Alps for the Swiss and the foreign tourists, a "doppelte Belegung der Gebirges" resulted.¹⁴⁸⁵ This did not only count for the visual language of the touristic promotion, but also for the social origin of the guests: Suddenly, a worker or employee, who never had stayed in a hotel before, spent some days there, where, until recently, the bourgeois elite had met.

Immediately after Switzerland's exit of the gold standard in 1936, the numbers of the overnight-stays increased (see chapter 3.1.1 *From boom to overheating: the economic development*).¹⁴⁸⁶ Accordingly, the next generation of posters published by the SVZ, returned to an unpolitical message – at least at first sight. In summer, a straw hat decorated with a wreath of flowers invited the English-speaking tourists to come to Switzerland, in winter, the flags of different nations fixed on a ski stick suggested a friendly gathering together of tourists of all parts of the world in Switzerland. The fact that the text appeared among others in Esperanto¹⁴⁸⁷ supported this claim of impartiality. By showing only a symbol of a touristic activity like hiking, sunbathing or skiing (and not the activity itself anymore, see Fig. 28 and 29) – a very common technique in the 1930s –, the SVZ generated an image of a sympathetic Switzerland.¹⁴⁸⁸ At second sight, the SVZ thereby offensively counteracted the nationalistic programs in the neighbouring countries. In fact, the SVZ perfectly adapted to political messages if necessary: When the numbers of French tourists visiting Switzerland started to fall in 1938, a big campaign was launched in France. At the opening reception, Minister Walter Stucki, the new head of the Swiss legation in Paris, stressed the democratic and liberal principles of Switzerland and thereby added a political tone to the image of Switzerland as consisting of mountains, railways and winter sports.¹⁴⁸⁹ Yet, only some years later the SVZ zoomed in on the nationalistic tone, too (see chapter 5.6.5.2 *Patriotism as ground for tourism*).

¹⁴⁸⁴ See for example: Busset, *La relation travail-loisir*, 2005, p. 263-272; Schumacher, Beatrice, ... *engagiert...unterwegs. 100 Jahre Naturfreunde Schweiz, 1905-2005*, Baden: hier + jetzt, 2005.

¹⁴⁸⁵ Kessler, Daniel, "Der Tourismus", in Verein für Bündner Kulturforschung (ed.), *Handbuch der Bündner Geschichte*, Vol. 3, Chur: Bündner Monatsblatt, 2000, p. 89-114, here 111.

¹⁴⁸⁶ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 68, 1926-1939: "NEUNZEHNTER JAHRESBERICHT für den Zeitraum vom 1. Januar bis 31. Dezember 1936", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Einsiedeln, [1937], p. 2.

¹⁴⁸⁷ Baur, Arthur, "Esperanto", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2004, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D24597.php> (accessed 7.8.2014).

¹⁴⁸⁸ Dosch, Bündner Tourismusplakate, [1983], p. 33; Vonèche, *L'usage de la photographie dans l'affiche touristique*, 2005, p. 29.

¹⁴⁸⁹ Garavaglia, *Le rôle des pouvoirs publics*, 2011, p. 86.



Fig. 27: The all-inclusive offer of 1936 aimed at the Swiss tourist and united patriotic encouragement to see the mother country with social tourism and economic help for the indebted tourism industry. Coloured lithography by Charles Kuhn.

Source: National Library, Swiss Posters Collection, online, Ca 1778 (accessed 7.4.2014).



Fig. 28: A straw hat invited the English-speaking public to spend its summer holidays in Switzerland in 1937. Showing a symbol of a touristic activity – and not the touristic activity itself – was new in the 1930s and evoked a feeling of sympathy and humour. Lithography by Alois Carigiet.

Source: National Library, Swiss Posters Collection, online, SNL_TOUR_159 (accessed 7.4.2014).



Fig. 29: "Vintro en svislando" – the text in Esperanto suggested a friendly gathering together and skiing experience of tourists from all over the world in Switzerland in 1937. Coloured lithography by Alois Carigiet.

Source: National Library, Swiss Posters Collection, online, Ca 1688 (accessed 7.4.2014).

The image of a sympathetic Switzerland were strengthened by the promotion of the Publizitätsdienst der SBB in chosen countries: During a trip of the Egyptian king Farouk to Switzerland in 1937, the agency in Cairo organized galas under the slogan "'Chàlet Suisse sous la neige'" and "'Winter in the Swiss Alps"'.¹⁴⁹⁰ As it was the case in 1926 at the occasion of the exhibition pavilion of the SVZ at the "Exposition Internationale des Transports et du Tourisme" in Buenos Aires, the hall, where the galas took place, were furnished like a Swiss Chalet.¹⁴⁹¹ Another tribute to the 1920s were the Swiss citizens in Egypt who appeared at the galas in national costumes.¹⁴⁹²

¹⁴⁹⁰ Delley, pays de vacances des peuples, 2005, p. 92, 97.

¹⁴⁹¹ Delley, pays de vacances des peuples, 2005, p. 97.

¹⁴⁹² Delley, pays de vacances des peuples, 2005, p. 97.

From point of view of content, some offers were advertised continuously. The GA travel card and the railway-tickets at a discount for the winter or the summer season remained among the constantly advertised items as did the discount on fuel.¹⁴⁹³ The automobile tourists were focused parallel to their quantitative increase (see chapter 5.1.3 *Transport: the automobilists' conquest of the public*). On the one hand, they were lured by a discount on the prices of fuel, a measure taken in order to fight the image of Switzerland as an expensive destination.¹⁴⁹⁴ On the other hand, the annual report of 1934 noted that a good quality of the Swiss roads should be highlighted in the ads in order to attract tourists.¹⁴⁹⁵ That the winner of an artistic competition, organized by the SVZ in 1935, was Herbert Matter with its two posters "Für schöne Fahrten die Schweiz" and "Fliegt in die Schweiz",¹⁴⁹⁶ did not astonish as a consequence. In its strive for appearing modern,¹⁴⁹⁷ the SVZ could not deny the new means of transport. On the same time, the automobile associations of Switzerland gained visibility, which strengthened their room for manoeuvre in the discussions about the allocation of the rail and the road. They had been members of the SVZ since its foundation and the national airline Swissair had just opened the first flying route between London and Zurich in winter.¹⁴⁹⁸

5.2.4.6 Switzerland's image: from mondane luxury to its affordability

In summary, prior to the First World War, the Swiss touristic agents spread an image of luxury and distinction. Equipped with technically up-to-date and comfortable hotels, a high interconnectedness with the European transport system, a picturesque landscape, mainly consisting of the Alps, Switzerland offered not only high quality

¹⁴⁹³ See for example BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 68, 1926-1939: "ENTWURF. ACHTZEHNTER JAHRESBERICHT für den Zeitraum vom 1. Januar bis 31. Dezember 1935", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Einsiedeln, [1936], p. 2; BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 68, 1926-1939: "ZWANZIGSTER JAHRESBERICHT für den Zeitraum vom 1. Januar bis 31. Dezember 1937", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Zürich, [1938], p. 3; BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 33, 1930-1952: "Protokoll der 8. Sitzung vom 6. März 1934 [...]", by Walter, president of the board of management of the SBB, Bern, 30.3.1934, p. 94.

¹⁴⁹⁴ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 68, 1926-1939: "SIEBZEHNTER JAHRESBERICHT für den Zeitraum vom 1. Januar bis 31. Dezember 1934", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Einsiedeln, [1935], 4.

¹⁴⁹⁵ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 68, 1926-1939: "SIEBZEHNTER JAHRESBERICHT für den Zeitraum vom 1. Januar bis 31. Dezember 1934", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Einsiedeln, [1935], p. 2.

¹⁴⁹⁶ Vonèche, *L'usage de la photographie dans l'affiche touristique*, 2005, p. 28.

¹⁴⁹⁷ Vonèche, *L'usage de la photographie dans l'affiche touristique*, 2005, p. 20, 28.

¹⁴⁹⁸ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 68, 1926-1939: "ENTWURF. ACHTZEHNTER JAHRESBERICHT für den Zeitraum vom 1. Januar bis 31. Dezember 1935", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Einsiedeln, [1936], p. 3.

educational facilities, but also curative places and peace and calm. If at all, the locals were characterized as shepherds and did not get into contact with the tourists. This reinforced the feeling of distinction, an image which was created by the hotels and the railway companies, mainly. In the 1920s, this image did not change considerably. It was complemented by the LTO's sharpened profile which included summer sports, the sportive tourist, but also traditions (e.g. locals in national costumes). The SVZ took up this image of discretion, severity, tradition and mundane tourism, although a touch of modernity started to appear. Thus, the image of Switzerland promoted by the SVZ in the 1920s inherited the images promoted by the LTOs, the hoteliers and the railway companies. The SVZ did not create a new image. This backward, traditional orientation only changed after 1930, when the Swiss touristic agents newly stressed the fact that Switzerland was affordable for everybody. The fight against the image of Switzerland as an expensive country, however, was not limited to the SVZ. The Publizitätsdienst der SBB stressed the affordability and comfort of a journey in a train as did the hotels who offered considerable price reductions. Not the Swiss Alps, trains, mountain railways, curative places, hotels, local peculiarities and sporting possibilities were advertised in the main line, but their *affordability*.

The coincidence of the change of the image of Switzerland promoted abroad by the SVZ, but also by the Publizitätsdienst der SBB, and the new arrangement of the financing of the Swiss tourism promotion in 1933 is striking. Why did Switzerland's image change then? Read against the macro-economic situation in the world around 1930, the reason for the stressing of Switzerland's affordability in the touristic promotion becomes clear: The touristic suppliers of Switzerland were faced with a double attack on the touristic demand. On the one hand, the dissolution of the gold standard by important countries of origin let the numbers of foreign tourists decrease. On the other hand, the deflationary economic policy of the Swiss government let the domestic demand shrink as well. The Swiss touristic agents reacted on this situation with a double strategy: a promotion for the foreign guests, and a promotion for the Swiss. Both campaigns, however, sold Switzerland's mountains to a price which also was payable for the working class finally.

As it is inherent to touristic advertising, these symbols for Switzerland represented the emblems of the touristic Switzerland which did not have a lot in common with what life in Switzerland during the Interwar Period meant for the Swiss population. Or

rather: The symbols represented only one side of the coin. For the Swiss population the other side of the coin implied jobs as mountain guides, nurses in sanatoria (fresh air, heliotherapy), employees in hotels, restaurants, spas, swimming pools, casinos or ski instructors etc., not to speak of the jobs in the food industry or the transport business which supplied the tourism industry as suppliers. It is therefore all the more remarkable, that exactly these Swiss employees became the target group of Switzerland's touristic promotion in the 1930s. Obviously, Tissot's findings for the 1830s, when Switzerland was described as "une Suisse sans Suisse(ses)",¹⁴⁹⁹ was overcome one decade later. The all-inclusive offer of 1936 targeted those people who would not have travelled Switzerland if they did not get any discount: the Swiss. This orientation towards the domestic population was nothing peculiar compared to the efforts for trips in the mother country found all over Europe in this year.¹⁵⁰⁰ Nevertheless, it deserves some attention as it encourages to have a close look at those people. Yet, the Swiss population was far from being uniform and united in this year. Maissen characterized Switzerland in the first half of the 20th century as a country "between the extremes".¹⁵⁰¹ And indeed, an initiative for the revision of the constitution showed a "tiefe Verunsicherung in weiten Kreisen: Wo gab es Alternativen zu Weltwirtschaftskrise (Kapitalismus), Revolution (Sozialismus) und gewaltsamer Gleichschaltung (Faschismus)?"¹⁵⁰² Separated in point of view of ideology, a majority of the population was united in the consequences of the World Economic Crisis. That travelling did not belong to the main problems of them, is comprehensible. All the more important was then, from the confederation's point of view, to give the splintered shares of the population a feeling of agreement and a sense of togetherness. Consequently, the Swiss became the targeted public, were encouraged to travel at a discount and motivated by the federal administration's expert central, the SVZ, by means of posters and brochures. The effect was positive. Not in vain, the SVZ had tried to advertise Switzerland according to the latest trends in the new science of marketing. The Swiss population started to travel Switzerland and balanced out the decreasing numbers of foreigners in the second half of the 1930s.¹⁵⁰³

¹⁴⁹⁹ Tissot, Naissance, 2000, p. 71

¹⁵⁰⁰ Schumacher, Ferien, 2002, p. 292.

¹⁵⁰¹ Maissen, Geschichte der Schweiz, 2010, p. 239. Translation by AAH of "Zwischen den Extremen".

¹⁵⁰² Maissen, Geschichte der Schweiz, 2010, p. 256.

¹⁵⁰³ Tissot; Moser, Binnenwirtschaft, Tourismus und Landwirtschaft, 2012, p. 561.

That the Swiss really travelled Switzerland, as the numbers proved, also based on structural developments. In fact, the promotional efforts by the SVZ temporarily coincided with the possibility to go on holidays for a growing part of the population (democratization of tourism).¹⁵⁰⁴ The promotional material in foreign languages, see destined at foreign guests, showed harmless and unpolitical messages. Compared to the reality of life in Switzerland, it becomes clear, that the SVZ sold dreams and wishes. One topic which continuously appeared on the promotional materials from the 1930s onwards, however, had a tremendous effect in reality – be it for Swiss or foreign nationals: skiing. Although – probably also "Because" – firstly destined at the foreign guests, skiing became fashionable among the Swiss population, too. It turned into a national affair as it was boosted by the EMD, the Federal Department of Defense, with the outbreak of the Second World War (see chapter 5.6.5.1 *Skiing and its meaning for tourism in Switzerland (1939-1942)*).

5.3 Care for its existence: the financing as a constant concern and its implications on the SVZ' institutionalization

There were several hints of the SVZ' advertising department that the promotion could have been better if the financial sources had been larger. In fact, its financing bothered the SVZ throughout the Interwar Period. On the part of the members and the subsidizing bodies, some constant, yet not dramatic (in quantitative terms) fluctuations resulted in an unstable financial base. The SVZ reacted on this by increasingly calling for an increase in the confederation's financial engagement. Thereby, two "methods" should be distinct: the increase in the confederation's contribution, and extraordinary and temporarily limited subsidies which were bound on a special task or situation. The SVZ used this second kind of financial support mainly in the 1930s when it became aware that the World Economic Crisis was not a short phenomenon, but hindered international tourism over years. With respect to the political-administrative influence in tourism, it is here where it can be studied thoroughly. While the creative work of conceptualizing the advertising and the marketing campaigns was still left to the SVZ (at least until the mid-1930s), the confederation became more and more prominent in the daily work of the SVZ. The situation at the customs, tariff measures and the regulations by the alien's branch of

¹⁵⁰⁴ Schumacher, Ferien, 2005.

the police occupied the SVZ immediately after its establishment as did the clearing agreements in the 1930s. Although they were not of touristic nature at first sight, these foreign policy issues heavily influenced the SVZ' work (see below). The SVZ' calls for state subsidies and the thereby arisen discussions about a centralization of Switzerland's tourism marketing also tightened its engagement with the federal administration.

5.3.1 The financing until 1933

The composition of the contributions of the SVZ' members reflects their different importance. Some insights of an analysis of the SVZ' annual accounts between 1918 and 1926 reveal some interesting points: Firstly, there were some big members who covered a considerable and increasing part of the SVZ' income: the confederation, the SBB, and the Swiss – see national – organizations with a connection to tourism, the SHV being the most important of. Its contributions between 1923 and 1925 counted for two to three percent of the total income.

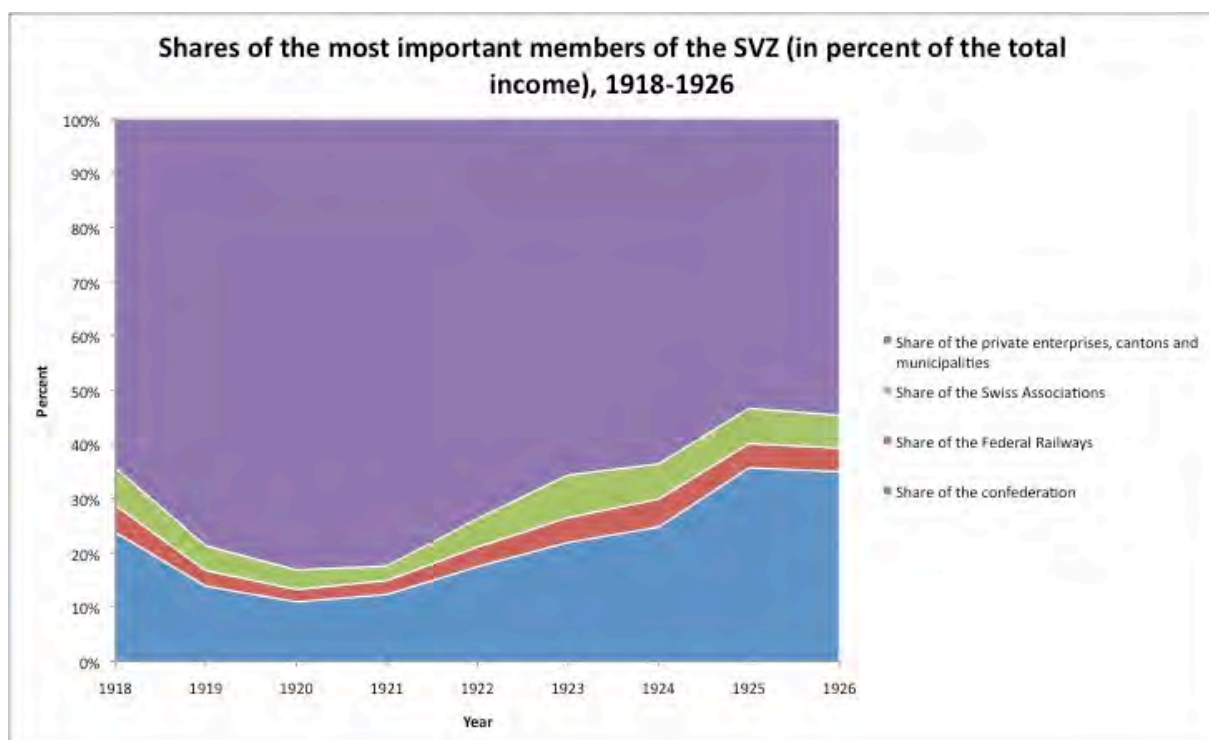


Fig. 30: The SVZ was mainly financed by private members (which included cantons and municipalities), but the confederation's contribution increased from 1920 onwards.

Source: Annual reports of the SVZ, 1919-1927.

Secondly, the SBB constantly supported the SVZ to the amount of some five percent of the total income between 1919 and 1926.¹⁵⁰⁵ The confederation's contribution covered a range between one tenth and one fourth of the SVZ' total income between 1919 and 1924.¹⁵⁰⁶ Thereafter, the confederation increased it, which heightened its importance to over 35 percent after 1925!¹⁵⁰⁷ The increase in the confederation's contribution was only approved after the SVZ had applied to the Federal Council for an increase in the confederation's contribution in July 1923 in vain. A second attempt addressed at the parliament in November 1923 proved successful.¹⁵⁰⁸ The financial commission of the Council of States accepted the postulate which demanded an evaluation of the confederation's contribution to the SVZ.¹⁵⁰⁹ As the EDI judged the SVZ' work positively,¹⁵¹⁰ the confederation's contribution was increased in 1925.¹⁵¹¹

Figure 30 points to two developments which the SVZ found itself in during the Interwar Period. Firstly, the confederation's share of the total income increased from 1920 onwards. Behind this development stood a wish for state support on the part of the SVZ, which was positively responded to by the confederation. It fully fits into Gruner's "frohgemuter Interventionismus" (see chapter 5.1.2 *The federal administration and the interest associations intertwine*), which, in the case of the tourism industry, was called for by this very industry! As will be shown below, the SVZ repeatedly fought for a stable financing, aiming mainly at a public support as big as possible because the private contributions varied yearly. The economic and political conditions for the fulfillment of such a wish, however, worsened throughout the period. Secondly, the increasing state support posed the question of the inclusion

¹⁵⁰⁵ The contribution totaled up to some 25'000 Swiss Francs per year, which equaled roughly some 382'000 Swiss Francs of 2009 (for 1919) and roughly some 389'000 Swiss Francs in 2009 (for 1926) according to Pfister; Studer, Swistoval, [s.d.] (accessed 11.9.2015) (deflator: historical wage index).

¹⁵⁰⁶ The contribution totaled up to some 120'000 Swiss Francs per year, which equaled roughly some 1,8 million Swiss Francs of 2009 (for 1919) and roughly some 1,9 million Swiss Francs of 2009 (for 1924) according to Pfister; Studer, Swistoval, [s.d.] (accessed 11.9.2015) (deflator: historical wage index).

¹⁵⁰⁷ The new contribution totaled up to some 200'000 Swiss Francs per year from 1925 onwards, which equaled roughly some 3,1 million Swiss Francs of 2009 (for 1925) according to Pfister; Studer, Swistoval, [s.d.] (accessed 11.9.2015) (deflator: historical wage index).

¹⁵⁰⁸ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 26, 1924-1957: Report by the EDI to the Federal Council, Berne, February 1924, p. 1.

¹⁵⁰⁹ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 26, 1924-1957: Report by the EDI to the Federal Council, Berne, February 1924, p. 1-2.

¹⁵¹⁰ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 26, 1924-1957: Report by the EDI to the Federal Council, Berne, February 1924, p. 2, 4-5, 17.

¹⁵¹¹ ST-Archive, [no reference number]: "Huitième Rapport Annuel comprenant la période du 1er janvier au 31 décembre 1925", by the Association nationale pour le développement du tourisme, Lausanne, 1926, p. 21.

of the SVZ in the system of state interference which characterized the political economy of Switzerland in the 1930s (see chapter 5.1.2 *The federal administration and the interest associations intertwine*). The financial situation of the SVZ strengthened, at least, the SVZ' strive for state support. With the outbreak of the World Economic Crisis, the SVZ' financial problems increased and developed into a real crisis around 1932, when the Germany and England left the goldstandard (see chapter 5.1.1 *The economic development: the effects of the gold standard*). Rising deficits from 1929 onwards attracted the attention of the board of management which proposed to stop some publications.¹⁵¹² Accordingly, as shown in chapter 5.2.4.4 *The 1920s: modern means, traditional values*), the SVZ really did not publish any posters in 1932! This was definitely not a lucky incident. Actually, the deficits and the poster, which failed to appear, showed the weakness of the national marketing organization at that time. Although the SVZ' financing did not depend directly on the rise or decrease of the touristic data, the coincidence of the deficits with the World Economic Crisis was menacing, because the tense economic and political conditions would have necessitated an even larger advertising. But as the complaints in better times had shown, the financial resources for an adequate promotional campaign had been missing even then. Thus, the financial means for an adequate campaign did by far not suffice in times of an even larger need. The annual accounts turned negative in 1929, although deficits had been budgeted earlier.¹⁵¹³ Between 1929 and 1933, for instance, the deficits amounted to the numbers given in table 6:

Year	Deficit per year (in contemporary CHF)	Deficit per year (in CHF of 2009)
1929	13'857. –	approx. 215'361. –
1930	17'320.–	approx. 243'419. –
1931	61'763. –	approx. 243'419. –
1932	6'153 (thanks to a surplus in 1932)	approx. 93'970. –

Tab. 7: *Deficits realized by the SVZ parallel to the World Economic Crisis. In 1933, a new mode of financing improved Switzerland's promotion abroad.*

Source: BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 34, 1930-1955: "Protokoll der Sitzung, [...] 9. März 1932 [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Zürich, 9.3.1932, p. 5-6; BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 34, 1930-1955: "Protokoll der Sitzung, [...] 29. März 1933 [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, [Zürich], 29.3.1933, p. 2. The conversion of the absolute data of 1938 into data of 2009 was made by means of Pfister, Christian; Studer, Roman, *Swistoval. The Swiss Historical Monetary Value Converter*, [s.d.], URL: <http://www.swistoval.ch> (accessed 14.9.2015) (deflator: historical wage index).

¹⁵¹² BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 34, 1930-1955: "Protokoll der Sitzung, [...] 9. März 1932 [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Zürich, 9.3.1932, p. 6-7.

¹⁵¹³ See for example ST-Archive, [no reference number]: "Fünfter Jahresbericht für den Zeitraum vom 1. Januar bis 31. Dezember 1922", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Einsiedeln, [1923], p. 29.

The deficits based on stagnating member fees and subsidies in correlation with increasing expenditures for the advertising abroad.¹⁵¹⁴ This development was neither accepted by the board of management nor the Verkehrsrat. Consequently, in early summer 1932, again, the SVZ tried to increase the confederation's contribution. In the Verkehrsrat, Baumann, general-secretary of the Union-Helvetia, proposed that the board of management had to contact the federal authorities in order to get any financial means possible for the duration of the crisis and without considering the future central institution which was debated at that time. The proposition, which was finally, accepted, went:

Der Vorstand wird eingeladen, ohne Verzug bei den eidgenössischen Behörden die nötigen Schritte zu unternehmen, um – unabhängig von der späteren Dauerlösung auf dem Gebiete der Fremdenverkehrswerbung – für die Dauer der gegenwärtigen Krise alle notwendigen Mehrmittel zu erhalten, welche zu einer verstärkten Verkehrswerbung unerlässlich sind, unter dem Gesichtspunkt der Erhaltung zahlloser Arbeitsmöglichkeiten im weitschichtigen Gebiet der schweizerischen Fremdenverkehrswirtschaft.¹⁵¹⁵

Accordingly, the board of management asked the direction to prepare an input in the sense of Baumann's application to the address of the Federal Council, the EDI and the "Parlamentarische Gruppe Verkehr und Touristik".¹⁵¹⁶ Junod gave the reasons made by the Verkehrsrat and added an own one (no. 6):

1. The SVZ proportionally received less money than a comparable institution, the "Schweizerische Zentrale für Handelsförderung".¹⁵¹⁷
2. A contribution to the SVZ made by the Federal Council serves the Councils own interest, as the "fiskalischen Verwaltungen des Bundes" also profit from the boosting of tourism.
3. In 1917, the relation between the federal and the other contributions to the SVZ was 2:3.¹⁵¹⁸ The sum of the other contributions had increased since 1918 (implying: the confederation should rise its contribution equally).

¹⁵¹⁴ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 68, 1926-1939: "VIERZEHNTER JAHRESBERICHT für den Zeitraum vom 1. Januar bis 31. Dezember 1931", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Zürich, 1932, p. 28.

¹⁵¹⁵ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 34, 1930-1955: "Protokoll der Sitzung [...] 6. Mai 1932 [...]", by the Verkehrsrat, [Zürich], 6.5.1932, p. 7.

¹⁵¹⁶ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 34, 1930-1955: "Protokoll der Sitzung, [...] 9. Juni 1932 [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Zürich, 9.6.1932, p. 2, 4. Translated in the general sense: Group of Parliament for Tourism and Traffic).

¹⁵¹⁷ Translated in the general sense: Swiss Association for Commercial Development.

¹⁵¹⁸ 120'000:180'000 Swiss Francs.

4. The Federal Council acknowledged the SVZ' work of integrity when he accepted a rise in his contribution to the SVZ.¹⁵¹⁹
5. Although the agriculture and some industries profited from tourism in Switzerland, tourism did not receive a similar favouring.
6. Tourism was a means for fighting the unemployment, because there was not an economic branch which did not profit from tourism.¹⁵²⁰

Junod, however, admitted that the federal money should only be of temporary nature, that is until the "Wiederaufnahme des ordentlichen Geschäftsganges" (revival of the ordinary run of business) and until the crisis, of which nobody could say when it would end, was over.¹⁵²¹ With this idea, the SVZ' direction took exactly the same line as the SHV which interpreted the economic crisis only as a temporary disturbance of normality.¹⁵²² Given the SHV's importance among the SVZ' members, this accordance did not astonish. After the application had been submitted at the Federal Council at the end of June, an answer had not arrived until 16th September 1932.¹⁵²³ It resulted, however, in a failure because the confederation continued to pay its previous contribution. But the EDI was about to propose to the Federal Council an extraordinary subsidy for the SVZ for 1932, the balancing of the 1931 deficit and a special advertising campaign for the moment being in its budget.¹⁵²⁴ On the same time, the EDI made clear, that the SVZ could not lean back: It fed the fears about an establishment of a so called "Fremdenverkehrsverband" (Tourism Federation) when Vital, the representative of the EDI, said that the SVZ run the risk of sharing this subsidy and of splintering the powers by means of an application for financial support because the Fremdenverkehrsverband also had applied for financial support from the Federal Council.¹⁵²⁵ In its fight for state support, the SVZ did not only face competition from other economic branches, but, newly, inside its own field of activity. These were bad signs for an institution which claimed representing tourism in

¹⁵¹⁹ The increase from some 180'000 to some 200'000 Swiss Francs was meant.

¹⁵²⁰ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 34, 1930-1955: "Protokoll der Sitzung, [...] 9. Juni 1932 [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Zürich, 9.6.1932, p. 2-3.

¹⁵²¹ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 34, 1930-1955: "Protokoll der Sitzung, [...] 9. Juni 1932 [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Zürich, 9.6.1932, p. 3. Translation by AAH: "until business would be as usual".

¹⁵²² Schumacher, Krise, 1997, p. 83.

¹⁵²³ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 34, 1930-1955: "Protokoll der Sitzung, [...] 16. September 1932 [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Zürich, 16.9.1932, p. 2.

¹⁵²⁴ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 34, 1930-1955: "Protokoll der Sitzung, [...] 16. September 1932 [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Zürich, 16.9.1932, p. 7.

¹⁵²⁵ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 34, 1930-1955: "Protokoll der Sitzung, [...] 16. September 1932 [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Zürich, 16.9.1932, p. 7.

Switzerland. Moreover, it kicked off Gruner's "pessimistic interventionism" in tourism promotion, too (see chapter 5.1.2 *The federal administration and the interest associations intertwine*). The confederation should act as a last savour¹⁵²⁶ – not only for the SVZ, but for the SFV, the SHV or the railway companies, too.

The EDI's proposal and the fact that the 1932-attempt did not result in a rise of the confederation's contribution showed two points: Firstly, there was no chance to receive a higher contribution in the long run in the early 1930s, but, secondly, punctual aid became more and more probable. Such limited, temporarily subsidies reflected the administration's way of investing its tight budgets in favour of the numerous demanders. As was the case in the 1910s, the EDI, for instance, was very much in favour of the SVZ. This attitude did neither change in 1924, nor in 1932. The EDI's proposal for an extraordinary subsidy in 1932 equally shows this as does the EDI's evaluation in favour of an increase of the confederation's contribution in 1924. The EDI's report about the 1924-increase impressively reveals the friendly attitude towards the SVZ which was coined by goodwill, trust and the tacit understanding that none of the parties – SVZ or administration – would exploit its position. While some parliamentarians had required to increase the confederation's delegation in one of the SVZ' organs, the Verkehrsrat, in accordance with an increase in its contribution, the EDI admitted that the confederation did not make full use of its rights – the administration was formally allowed to send twelve delegates to the general assemblies, but sent only seven –, but that it secured them by having delegates in the board of management which was in fact the organ which took the important decisions in reality and where the administration could best exercise its rights of control.¹⁵²⁷ The Verkehrsrat, in contrast, did not play an important role as it had been intended by the initiators of the SVZ.¹⁵²⁸ Rather, it was not abandoned only because the SVZ feared a loss of contributions.¹⁵²⁹ Thus, the administration left the SVZ as much autonomy as possible, but made sure that it did not miss the strategically important positions.

¹⁵²⁶ Gruner, *Etappen des Interventionismus*, 1964, p. 57.

¹⁵²⁷ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 26, 1924-1957: Report by the EDI to the Federal Council, Berne, February 1924, p. 14.

¹⁵²⁸ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 26, 1924-1957: Report by the EDI to the Federal Council, Berne, February 1924, p. 14.

¹⁵²⁹ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 26, 1924-1957: Report by the EDI to the Federal Council, Berne, February 1924, p. 14.

5.3.2 The financing between 1933 and 1939

Nevertheless, the failure of the 1932-attempt to increase the confederation's contribution also revealed that there had grown a certain reluctance towards the SVZ' financial demands. In fact, several negative developments had coincided, so that the SVZ found itself in a veritable crisis in 1932.

Firstly, in 1926, the Beratende Kommission für den Publizitätsdienst der SBB was re-established and revived the discussion about the dualism between the Publizitätsdienst der SBB and the SVZ. Secondly, towards the end of the 1920s, the SVZ' work was criticized by different touristic agents, particularly the hoteliers. Thirdly, the deficits had not disappeared until 1932. Fourthly, the World Economic Crisis broke out, let the overnight stays fall from 1932 onwards, and provoked the exit of Germany and the Sterling-block out of the gold standard – resulting in a further fall of the overnight stays (see chapter 5.1.1 *The economic development: the effects of the gold standard*). All these developments precipitated the SVZ into a phase of crisis, weakness and disorientation. The fact, that the SVZ did not publish any posters in 1932, was therefore an appropriate expression for the SVZ' state at that time (see chapter 5.2.4.4 *The 1920s: modern means, traditional values*).

As the critiques did not want to relinquish the SVZ, but to improve it, they proposed different refinements. With the Werbegemeinschaft (see chapter 5.3.2.4 *The Werbegemeinschaft: the new financial ground for tourism promotion abroad*), Switzerland's touristic promotion abroad was organized in a new way, which also revitalized the SVZ as an institution and helped to overcome the phase of crisis.

5.3.2.1 The Publizitätsdienst der SBB re-established

On 31st May 1926, the Beratende Kommission für den Publizitätsdienst der SBB met again after twelve years of inactivity. Newly, the SVZ was represented in this commission by Junod, the manager of the SVZ whose establishment had in fact produced – apart from the First World War – this inactivity.¹⁵³⁰ With the revival of this commission, the old question of a dualism, see parallel actions in the touristic promotion of Switzerland, reappeared on the surface with full force. According to some members of the Beratende Kommission für den Publizitätsdienst der SBB, a

¹⁵³⁰ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_012_01, 1926-1931: "PROTOKOLL der XXI. Sitzung der Beratenden Kommission für den Publizitätsdienst der Schweizerischen Bundesbahnen vom 31. Mai 1926", Bern, 31.5.1926, p. 1-2.

general uneasiness had spread in the touristic-political scene of Switzerland about the country's tourism promotion, because the three main institutions – the SBB, the SVZ and the LTOs – had failed in marketing Switzerland efficiently abroad.¹⁵³¹ At least, people who returned from abroad told that they had not seen a lot of Swiss promotion, as the financial means and the control of them did not suffice.¹⁵³² While the SVZ may have succeeded in bundling the advertising efforts of some single transport companies, regions, or hotels, it failed to replace some tasks of the Publizitätsdienst der SBB. Rather, it also started them, so that some parallel actions resulted, which contradicted the intentions of the SVZ' initiators. The Publizitätsdienst der SBB on its part seemed to have continued his work without considering the SVZ' efforts fully, despite the market sharing agreement signed in 1921. Faced with this agreement which had, in general, prescribed a duty to inform the other institution about the planned activities, which was guaranteed through the fact that a representative of one institution was present in an organ of the other and vice versa,¹⁵³³ especially with respect to the agencies abroad, the SVZ and the SBB planned another contract with the revival of the Beratende Kommission für den Publizitätsdienst der SBB.¹⁵³⁴

5.3.2.2 Criticisms, the hoteliers' uprising and automobilism: the Zentralkommission

The relation between the SVZ and the Publizitätsdienst der SBB did not only occupy the SBB, but also the hoteliers who traditionally played an important role inside the SVZ. Faced with increasing deficits of the SVZ, but also among themselves and the outbreak of the World Economic Crisis which provoked an absence of foreign guests, the hoteliers criticized the SVZ' work. Additionally, the automobile brought along a new type of tourists: automobilists. The increase in the importance of automobilists in tourism took place parallel to the World Economic Crisis and the criticisms of the SZV (see chapter 5.1.3 *Transport: the automobilists' conquest of the public*). Thus, an

¹⁵³¹ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_012_01, 1926-1931: "Protokoll der XXIX. Sitzung der Beratenden Kommission für den Publizitätsdienst der Schweizerischen Bundesbahnen vom 4. November 1930", Bern, 4.11.1930, p. 2.

¹⁵³² Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_012_01, 1926-1931: "Protokoll der XXIX. Sitzung der Beratenden Kommission für den Publizitätsdienst der Schweizerischen Bundesbahnen vom 4. November 1930", Bern, 4.11.1930, p. 2.

¹⁵³³ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_007_07, 1929-1930: "Uebereinkunft zwischen dem Publizitätsdienst der schweizerischen Bundesbahnen und der Schweizerischen Verkehrszentrale bezüglich der für die Arbeitsteilung geltenden Richtlinien", Bern / Zürich, 16.11. / 16.12.1921, p. 3-4.

¹⁵³⁴ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_012_01, 1926-1931: "PROTOKOLL der XXII. Sitzung der Beratenden Kommission für den Publizitätsdienst der schweizerischen Bundesbahnen vom 25. Februar 1927", Bern, 25.2.1927, p. 11-14.

increasing uneasiness opposite the SVZ, the menacing economic situation among the Swiss touristic agents and new realities led to a new body for tourism promotion, the Werbegemeinschaft. The latter strengthened the state's engagement in the country's tourism promotion abroad with the inclusion of the second state transport enterprise, the federal bus service in form of the PTT.

Inside the SBB, the division of labour between them and the SVZ was openly considered a problem as early as 1925.¹⁵³⁵ In January 1927, Thiessing, commercial inspector of the Publizitätsdienst der SBB,¹⁵³⁶ informed his superior, that an agreement with the SVZ was planned in order to define more precisely both institutions' functions which had not been achieved until this date and in the interest of a smooth juxtaposition.¹⁵³⁷ The Beratende Kommission für den Publizitätsdienst der SBB discussed a draft of a contract in February 1927,¹⁵³⁸ which was the kick-off for some lengthy negotiations with the SVZ. The SVZ operated defensively. Apart from the SBB's reluctance opposite to the SVZ, the SHV also had provoked the discussion about a better collaboration between the SVZ and the Publizitätsdienst der SBB.¹⁵³⁹ In detail, the SHV's representative missed a methodological way of proceeding, which Junod only reacted with the mention that the Swiss promotion abroad was very estimated.¹⁵⁴⁰ Therefore, it did not astonish that the SBB dominated the negotiations with the SVZ.

In 1930, the Beratende Kommission für den Publizitätsdienst der SBB asked Thiessing to check how the Swiss tourism promotion could be improved. Thiessing proposed two projects which foresaw either the dissolution of the SVZ or the establishment of a commission which would unite some crucial organizations in

¹⁵³⁵ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_023_02, 1926: Letter by Thiessing to the Kommerzieller Dienst, Sektion Publizität, [s.l.], 4.12.1925, p. 1.

¹⁵³⁶ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_012_01, 1926-1931: "PROTOKOLL der XXI. Sitzung der Beratenden Kommission für den Publizitätsdienst der Schweizerischen Bundesbahnen vom 31. Mai 1926", Bern, 31.5.1926, p. 1.

¹⁵³⁷ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_023_03, 1927: Letter by K.[ommerzieller] D.[ienst] to the II. Departement [of the SBB], [Bern], 12.1.1927, p. 1-2.

¹⁵³⁸ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_023_03, 1927: "7. Vereinbarung zwischen den SBB und der Schwei. Verkehrszentrale betr. ein engeres Zusammenwirken auf dem Gebiete der Verkehrswerbung", by [the Beratende Kommission für den Publizitätsdienst der Schweizerischen Bundesbahnen], [s.l.], [February or March 1927].

¹⁵³⁹ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 70, 1929: "Protokoll der Sitzung des Vorstandes vom 9. September 1929 [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Zürich, 9.9.1929, p. 5.

¹⁵⁴⁰ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 70, 1929: "Protokoll der Sitzung des Vorstandes vom 9. September 1929 [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Zürich, 9.9.1929, p. 5.

Swiss tourism (SVZ, SBB, Verband schweizerischer Transportanstalten,¹⁵⁴¹ RhB, SHV, VSV, ACS, TCS)¹⁵⁴². This commission should be called Zentralkommission für Vereinheitlichung der schweizerischen Verkehrswerbung – or only "Zentralkommission"¹⁵⁴³ – and should not only coordinate the advertising and campaigns but also propose what could be done next in order to reorganize Switzerland's tourism promotion abroad.¹⁵⁴⁴ It is noteworthy, that the new attempt of collaboration focused on the promotion abroad, while the SVZ' duties had never explicitly been limited to the promotion abroad. Yet, the intention for a collaboration faced numerous hindrances: While the SBB did not agree with a transfer of its agencies, the dissolution of the SVZ had endangered a part of the total financial means for tourism promotion in Switzerland.¹⁵⁴⁵ As a consequence, only the establishment of a commission seemed intelligent. It was, however, clear right from the beginning that such a new body would only be of transitory nature,¹⁵⁴⁶ as it had to propose a new, standardized and centralized institution. Thiessing's project was not accepted by the SBB's general direction because the latter had drafted an own one¹⁵⁴⁷ which was approved by the SVZ' board of management.¹⁵⁴⁸ Similarly to Thiessing, the SBB's general direction foresaw a "Zentralkommission" which was finally established on 24th February 1931.¹⁵⁴⁹ It united selected representatives of the Swiss touristic-political scene, see the heads and/or the secretaries of the SVZ,

¹⁵⁴¹ Translated in the general sense: Association of Swiss Transport Companies.

¹⁵⁴² Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_012_01, 1926-1931: "Protokoll der XXIX. Sitzung der Beratenden Kommission für den Publizitätsdienst der Schweizerischen Bundesbahnen vom 4. November 1930", Bern, 4.11.1930, appendix called "Vorschlag zur Vereinheitlichung der schweizerischen Auslandswerbung".

¹⁵⁴³ The term "Zentralkommission" already appeared in the discussion about Thiessing's proposal, see for instance: Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_012_01, 1926-1931: "Protokoll der XXIX. Sitzung der Beratenden Kommission für den Publizitätsdienst der Schweizerischen Bundesbahnen vom 4. November 1930", Bern, 4.11.1930, p. 4, 7.

¹⁵⁴⁴ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_012_01, 1926-1931: "Protokoll der XXIX. Sitzung der Beratenden Kommission für den Publizitätsdienst der Schweizerischen Bundesbahnen vom 4. November 1930", Bern, 4.11.1930, p. 3.

¹⁵⁴⁵ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_012_01, 1926-1931: "Protokoll der XXIX. Sitzung der Beratenden Kommission für den Publizitätsdienst der Schweizerischen Bundesbahnen vom 4. November 1930", Bern, 4.11.1930, p. 3.

¹⁵⁴⁶ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_012_01, 1926-1931: "Protokoll der XXIX. Sitzung der Beratenden Kommission für den Publizitätsdienst der Schweizerischen Bundesbahnen vom 4. November 1930", Bern, 4.11.1930, p. 12.

¹⁵⁴⁷ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_009_06, 1932: "Protokoll der 7. Sitzung der Zentralkommission für Vereinheitlichung der schweizerischen Verkehrswerbung vom 23. März 1932", Bern, 23.3.1932, p. 13.

¹⁵⁴⁸ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 72, 1931: "Protokoll der Sitzung des Vorstandes vom 10. März 1931, [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Lausanne, 10.3.1931, p. 5.

¹⁵⁴⁹ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_007_07, 1929-1930: "Statuten der Zentralkommission für Vereinheitlichung der schweizerischen Verkehrswerbung (vom 24. Februar 1931)", [s.l.], 24.2.1931.

SBB, Verband schweizerischer Transportanstalten, RhB, VSV and SHV, and was headed by the Councilor of States, Keller.¹⁵⁵⁰ Its main task was to prepare a more extensive standardization of tourism promotion and to bring about an increase in the financial means in favour of tourism promotion abroad as soon as possible.¹⁵⁵¹ Thus, it functioned as a study group which had to examine how the collaboration between the SVZ and the SBB could be improved, that is standardized ("vereinheitlicht").¹⁵⁵² A sub-commission of this Zentralkommission analyzed the main problems and some options which seemed to be capable of securing a majority. What were the problems associated with the SVZ? First of all, the structure and organization of the SVZ were considered too complicated, so that a reorganization suggested itself. Particularly the Verkehrsrat seemed too big and inefficient.¹⁵⁵³ Accordingly, the Zentralkommission discussed the basic question if a standardized organization be established or if the existing SVZ and Publizitätsdienst der SBB be left. Thereby, two representatives of important touristic regions, the Valais and the Grisons, linked the structural aspect with a personal one: According to Bener (1873-1946), the manager of the RhB between 1918 and 1936,¹⁵⁵⁴ some members of the SVZ did not support the SVZ' manager, Junod, any longer:

Herr Bener unterstützt Herrn Dr. Seiler mit dem Hinweis darauf, dass der Erfolg oder Misserfolg der Landespropaganda, wie überall, weniger in der Art der Organisation, als vielmehr in der Befähigung der ausführenden Persönlichkeiten liege. Es scheine, ihm wichtig, dass die Verkehrszentrale den Entschluss fasse, vorerst sich selber zu reorganisieren. Herr Dr. Junod besitze nicht mehr das Vertrauen aller Kreise.¹⁵⁵⁵

In fact, this criticism of Junod was widespread among the hoteliers who were mainly irritated by those two points which also formed the other problems associated with

¹⁵⁵⁰ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_009_01, 1931: "Protokoll der 2. Sitzung der Zentralkommission für Vereinheitlichung der schweizerischen Verkehrswerbung vom 18. Mai 1931", Berne, 18.5.1931, p. 1.

¹⁵⁵¹ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_007_07, 1929-1930: "Statuten der Zentralkommission für Vereinheitlichung der schweizerischen Verkehrswerbung (vom 24. Februar 1931)", [s.l.], 24.2.1931, p. 2. The original text went as follows: "Die Zentralkommission hat zur Hauptaufgabe, sobald als möglich eine umfassendere Vereinheitlichung der Verkehrswerbung vorzubereiten und eine Vermehrung der Mittel für die Zwecke der Auslandspropaganda herbeizuführen."

¹⁵⁵² BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 72, 1931: "Protokoll der Sitzung des Vorstandes vom 30. Januar 1931, [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Zürich, 30.1.1931, p. 5.

¹⁵⁵³ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 72, 1931: "Protokoll der Sitzung des Vorstandes vom 24. November 1931, [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Zürich, 24.11.1931, p. 6-7.

¹⁵⁵⁴ Fuchs, Thomas, "Bener, Gustav", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2002, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D31297.php> (accessed 4.8.2014).

¹⁵⁵⁵ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_009_05, 1932: "Protokoll der 6. Sitzung der Zentralkommission für Vereinheitlichung der schweizerischen Verkehrswerbung vom 11. Januar 1932", Bern, 11.1.1932, p. 12.

the SVZ: The SVZ was reproached for missing the contact to the regions and the country in general, and for ignoring suggestions.¹⁵⁵⁶ These last reproaches were repeatedly uttered by the representative of the hoteliers, Seiler.¹⁵⁵⁷ When the SHV had to decide upon an increase in its contribution to the SVZ, the hoteliers' association agreed only under the condition, that Junod was replaced. This "uprising" was criticized by the other members of the SVZ, but finally accepted. As a consequence, Junod resigned on 6th October 1932.¹⁵⁵⁸ In fact, the SHV, whose contribution to the SVZ was about to be elevated in the course of the "Projekt Keller" (see chapter 5.3.2.3 *The statesman independent proposal: the "Projekt Keller"*), set the condition that the SHV only rose his contribution if some young blood be brought into the direction of the SVZ.¹⁵⁵⁹ This ultimate demand of the SHV revealed a deep rift between the SHV, which usually had been very active in the board of management (Seiler), and Junod. Although the other members of the board of management did not want to criticize Junod, they agreed with the proposition that the SHV's demands – Junod's resignation and the rejuvenation of the direction – be fulfilled.¹⁵⁶⁰ The affair exemplified the SHV's influence in the SVZ. It is noteworthy that the SVZ's board of management easily gave way in Junod's resignation. This implied that it either agreed with the SHV, or that it at least realized that the SHV's opposition could not be fought against. The SHV, in contrast, did obviously not hesitate to use its power, which must have been considerable in the touristic industry in Switzerland. Otherwise, the quick giving away of Junod in the SVZ's board of management cannot be explained. The autocratic course of action by the SHV may suggest that the SHV used the SVZ for his purposes.

Apart from these criticisms, there was another conflict line which suggested a reorganization of the Swiss tourism promotion abroad. It revealed, in fact, the main problem which all the efforts for a rationalization, standardization, centralization – all notions which described an improved collaboration between SVZ and

¹⁵⁵⁶ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 72, 1931: "Protokoll der Sitzung des Vorstandes vom 24. November 1931, [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Zürich, 24.11.1931, p. 8.

¹⁵⁵⁷ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 72, 1931: "Protokoll der Sitzung des Vorstandes vom 24. November 1931, [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Zürich, 24.11.1931, p. 8.

¹⁵⁵⁸ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 34, 1930-1955: "Protokoll der Sitzung, [...] 6. Oktober 1932 [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Zürich, 6.10.1932, appendix to the minutes.

¹⁵⁵⁹ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 34, 1930-1955: "Protokoll der Sitzung, [...] 6. Oktober 1932 [...]", by board of management of the SVZ, Zürich, 6.10.1932, appendix to the minutes.

¹⁵⁶⁰ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 34, 1930-1955: "Protokoll der Sitzung, [...] 6. Oktober 1932 [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Zürich, 6.10.1932, appendix to the minutes.

Publizitätsdienst der SBB – based on: a lack of money in order to be present on the spot, see the agencies abroad and their financing. Why? The agencies abroad were considered very important institutions for getting in contact with the prospect guest. Undoubtedly, the SBB had more experience in this business and were more successful as they invested much more money in their agencies than the SVZ was able to: In 1931, the SBB roughly spent some 25 million Swiss Francs (of 2009)¹⁵⁶¹ for their Publizitätsdienst der SBB including the salaries and rents, the SVZ, in contrast, only some 7.8 millions Swiss Francs (of 2009).¹⁵⁶² In addition, the local tourist offices' advertising expenses summed up to the same amount as the SBB's and the single hotels' expenses to more than 122 million Swiss Francs (of 2009)!¹⁵⁶³ As the SBB also sold tickets in their agencies, the later were very important items for the SBB's income. Consequently, they suspiciously observed what happened with them. Yet, the SBB's agencies abroad exactly made up those posts which the reformers had in their minds in order to improve the collaboration. When the Zentralkommission discussed if a central organization be established or the existing institutions should be left, the SBB came under pressure because they did neither clearly agree nor disagree with a full or partial transfer of their Publizitätsdienst to another organization and with a new agreement which would sign over their agencies abroad to the SVZ.¹⁵⁶⁴ While the president of the Zentralkommission, the Councilor of States Gottfried Keller, urged the SBB already in January,¹⁵⁶⁵ he insisted on a clear answer on the part of the SBB in March 1932, supported by the hoteliers and the

¹⁵⁶¹ According to Pfister; Studer, Swistoval, [s.d.] (accessed 11.9.2015), 1.652 million Swiss Francs in 1931 roughly equaled some 25 million Swiss Francs in 2009 (deflator: historical wage index).

¹⁵⁶² Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_009_07, 1931-1932: "Bericht über die bisherigen Arbeiten sowie über die Anträge der Zentralkommission für Vereinheitlichung der schweizerischen Verkehrswerbung", by Keller, president, and Kihm, secretary, of the Zentralkommission, [s.l.], [s.d.], p. 8-9. According to Pfister; Studer, Swistoval, [s.d.] (accessed 11.9.2015), 0.512 million Swiss Francs in 1931 roughly equaled some 7.8 million Swiss Francs in 2009 (deflator: historical wage index).

¹⁵⁶³ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 36, 1933-1940: "PROTOKOLL der XV. Generalversammlung vom 9. Juni 1932 [...]", by Jatton, secretary, and Häberlin, first vice-president, of the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, [Zürich], 9.6.1932, p. 4. According to Pfister; Studer, Swistoval, [s.d.] (accessed 11.9.2015), 8 million Swiss Francs in 1931 roughly equaled some 122 million Swiss Francs in 2009 (deflator: historical wage index).

¹⁵⁶⁴ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_009_05, 1932: "Protokoll der 6. Sitzung der Zentralkommission für Vereinheitlichung der schweizerischen Verkehrswerbung vom 11. Januar 1932", Bern, 11.1.1932, p. 14.

¹⁵⁶⁵ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_009_05, 1932: "Protokoll der 6. Sitzung der Zentralkommission für Vereinheitlichung der schweizerischen Verkehrswerbung vom 11. Januar 1932", Bern, 11.1.1932, p. 14.

VSV.¹⁵⁶⁶ Keller thereby aimed at approaching the confederation for additional money, because, as he frankly put, all depended on the confederation.¹⁵⁶⁷ With the SBB's decision the Zentralkommission would be able to prepare a motion, an interpellation or the like for more money in the parliament's summer session via the "Parlamentarische Gruppe für Tourismus und Verkehr", a group of tourism parliamentarians.¹⁵⁶⁸ This plan, however, proved futile as another proposal promised to be successful. In fact, Keller independently drafted a project in which he used all his insights he had received on the occasion of his meetings with different parts of the federal administration: the "Projekt Keller".

5.3.2.3 The statesman independent proposal: the "Projekt Keller"

On 6th September 1932, the Councilor of States Keller, distributed a "top secret" report to the members of the board of management of the SVZ in which he developed ideas for a higher efficiency and unity in the Swiss tourism advertising.¹⁵⁶⁹ The crucial point for the success of his project was that he proposed considerably higher contributions of the SHV in favour of the SVZ.¹⁵⁷⁰ The SVZ established an ad-hoc commission which should check the SHV's conditions as the SHV was not ready to accept a higher contribution without gaining anything.¹⁵⁷¹ Before, Keller, a famous liberal parliamentarian, president of the board of directors of the Hotel Viktoria in Interlaken as well as the Federal Council's delegate in the Hoteltreuhandgesellschaft between 1922 and 1943, jurist and the "legal conscience" of the parliament,¹⁵⁷² had taken the initiative in proposing an own solution to the crisis in the organization and financing of Switzerland's tourism promotion. He had got in contact with different parts of the federal administration, among others the PTT. There, he fell on

¹⁵⁶⁶ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_009_06, 1932: "Protokoll der 7. Sitzung der Zentralkommission für Vereinheitlichung der schweizerischen Verkehrswerbung vom 23. März 1932", Bern, 23.3.1932, p. 4-5.

¹⁵⁶⁷ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_009_06, 1932: "Protokoll der 7. Sitzung der Zentralkommission für Vereinheitlichung der schweizerischen Verkehrswerbung vom 23. März 1932", Bern, 23.3.1932, p. 10.

¹⁵⁶⁸ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_009_06, 1932: "Protokoll der 7. Sitzung der Zentralkommission für Vereinheitlichung der schweizerischen Verkehrswerbung vom 23. März 1932", Bern, 23.3.1932, p. 12.

¹⁵⁶⁹ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 34, 1930-1955: "Protokoll der Sitzung, [...] 16. September 1932 [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Zürich, 16.9.1932, p. 10.

¹⁵⁷⁰ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 34, 1930-1955: "Protokoll der Sitzung, [...] 16. September 1932 [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Zürich, 16.9.1932, p. 10.

¹⁵⁷¹ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 34, 1930-1955: "Protokoll der Sitzung, [...] 16. September 1932 [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Zürich, 16.9.1932, p. 10-11.

¹⁵⁷² Gruner; Frei, Bundesversammlung 1848-1920, 1966, p. 659. Translation by AAH of "das 'juristische Gewissen'".

sympathetic ears. Furrer, head of this department, had already elaborated on a possible contribution to the SVZ earlier: According to him, the SBB's agencies abroad were not able to represent Switzerland fully, as they never had such a deep interest in marketing Switzerland for automobilists as they had it for train passengers.¹⁵⁷³ This indication to the automobilists deserves some attention, because it shows that the new realities had caught up with the SVZ: the automobile tourism (see chapter 5.1.3 *Transport: the automobilists' conquest of the public*). Moreover, that the PTT was willing to contribute to the tourism promotion also mirrored the PTT's importance, which had developed heavily from the First World War onwards.¹⁵⁷⁴ In its nature as a Regiebetrieb, it transported a considerable part of the passengers in the public overland traffic.¹⁵⁷⁵ Due to this importance and the increasing importance of the car, it was clear for Keller, that this means of transport had to be included in a future solution for the country's tourism promotion. That is why he finally proposed a project which united the SVZ, the SBB and the PTT and gave them the responsibility to administer the money for the country's tourism campaigns. As some rather personal notes by Keller revealed, the possibility of including the PTT had – apart from the PTT's will to contribute – been proposed by the SBB! In order to save their agencies abroad and especially the full responsibility over them, the SBB had *offered* that the PTT and the SVZ each could place an official in their agencies.¹⁵⁷⁶ While the SBB obviously disagreed with a standard organization which had united them with the SVZ, they did not fully deny a collaboration with the SVZ – and even a further organization, the PTT! Thus, the "Projekt Keller" based on three principles: Firstly, a standard organization could not be realized at the time in question, therefore, secondly, a new collaboration agreement between the SBB and the SVZ seemed to be the only solution. Thirdly, a money fund should be accumulated and fed yearly in order to finance the tourism promotion, the standardization and unification with more effect.¹⁵⁷⁷ This funds depended decisively from the SHV's approval to pay a higher

¹⁵⁷³ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_004_02, 1931-1933: "Entwurf zu einem Bericht der Zentralkommission für Verkehrswerbung", by Furrer, director general of the Post- und Telegraphenverwaltung, to the Post- und Eisenbahndepartement, [s.l.], 5.2.1932, p. 1.

¹⁵⁷⁴ Merki, *Motorisierung des öffentlichen Überlandverkehrs*, 1998, p. 100.

¹⁵⁷⁵ Merki, *Motorisierung des öffentlichen Überlandverkehrs*, 1998, p. 100.

¹⁵⁷⁶ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_004_02, 1931-1933: "Letzte Bemerkungen", by Keller to the Directorate-General of the SBB, [s.l.], [8.9.1932], p. 3.

¹⁵⁷⁷ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 34, 1930-1955: "Protokoll der Sitzung, [...] 6. Oktober 1932 [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Zürich, 6.10.1932, p. 3.

contribution to the SVZ.¹⁵⁷⁸ It foresaw in fact a sum of some 2.3 million (1933-1934) and 3.2 million (from 1935 onwards) Swiss Francs (of 2009)¹⁵⁷⁹ to be paid by the SHV in addition to the 687'000 Swiss Francs (of 2009)¹⁵⁸⁰ which the SHV paid to the SVZ normally.¹⁵⁸¹ Yet, Keller conceded the SHV the privilege to set conditions, which was in fact the through ball which the SHV had been waiting for for a long time. By means of this privilege, the SHV could namely realize his plea for a collaboration – in its opinion – worthy of improvement between the SVZ and other organizations interested in tourism.¹⁵⁸² Consequently, the SHV agreed with the higher contribution under the condition that Junod, the SVZ' manager, retired and the management be changed.¹⁵⁸³ The hoteliers were unsatisfied with the work of the SVZ' management, because it had failed in getting in contact with other organizations interested in tourism in their opinion.¹⁵⁸⁴ The SHV's attempts to improve this failure were, according to them, blocked by Junod, similarly the attempts by other touristic agents, such as the managers of the LTOs.¹⁵⁸⁵ Although several members of the board of management expressed themselves in favour of Junod, it was decided that Junod should retire, get a fair pension and be engaged for artistic and literary questions.¹⁵⁸⁶

One year later, the solution proposed by Keller was put into practice (see chapter 5.3.2.3 *The statesman independent proposal: the "Projekt Keller"*). It is noteworthy that, after years of futile attempts, the ideas of a single person finally brought the breakthrough into a new era of financing the Swiss tourism promotion abroad. A look at his background, interests and social networking gives reason for Keller's success – his role as an individual seems to have played a key role (see chapter 4.1.2.3 *Further*

¹⁵⁷⁸ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 34, 1930-1955: "Protokoll der Sitzung, [...] 6. Oktober 1932 [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Zürich, 6.10.1932, p. 3.

¹⁵⁷⁹ According to Pfister; Studer, Swistoval, [s.d.] (accessed 11.9.2015), 150'000 Swiss Francs in 1933 and 200'000 Swiss Francs in 1935 roughly equaled 2.3 million Swiss Francs and 3.2 million Swiss Francs in 2009 (deflator: historical wage index).

¹⁵⁸⁰ According to Pfister; Studer, Swistoval, [s.d.] (accessed 11.9.2015), 45'000 Swiss Francs in 1932 roughly equaled some 687'000 Swiss Francs in 2009 (deflator historical wage index).

¹⁵⁸¹ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 34, 1930-1955: "Protokoll der Sitzung, [...] 6. Oktober 1932 [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Zürich, 6.10.1932, p. 3.

¹⁵⁸² BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 34, 1930-1955: "Protokoll der Sitzung, [...] 6. Oktober 1932 [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Zürich, 6.10.1932, appendix I.

¹⁵⁸³ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 34, 1930-1955: "Protokoll der Sitzung, [...] 6. Oktober 1932 [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Zürich, 6.10.1932, appendix I.

¹⁵⁸⁴ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 34, 1930-1955: "Protokoll der Sitzung, [...] 6. Oktober 1932 [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Zürich, 6.10.1932, appendix I.

¹⁵⁸⁵ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 34, 1930-1955: "Protokoll der Sitzung, [...] 6. Oktober 1932 [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Zürich, 6.10.1932, appendix I.

¹⁵⁸⁶ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 34, 1930-1955: "Protokoll der Sitzung, [...] 6. Oktober 1932 [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Zürich, 6.10.1932, appendix I.

characteristics of the federal administration). As appendix 7.1 *Short biographies of chosen people relevant to the SVZ/SZV* reveals, Keller was an important economic advisor and a member of the board of directors of large companies in the field of the hotel industry as well as a delegate of the Federal Council in the Schweizerische Hoteltreuhandgesellschaft at that time.¹⁵⁸⁷ Thus, he obviously was very well linked in Switzerland's touristic-political sphere and was able to find a juridically sound solution due to his education as a jurist and due to his large experience in numerous parliamentary commissions. As the most eminent radical parliamentarian of his time in the Council of States and called the "legal conscience" of the Parliament,¹⁵⁸⁸ Keller seemed to have had the necessary reputation and credibility for a change in the organization of Switzerland's tourism promotion. That is, to convince the different touristic agents to make concessions.

A decisive reason for Keller's success may have been the inclusion of the PTT, which stood for the acceptance of the emerging new means of transport, the automobile (see chapter 5.1.3 *Transport: the automobilists' conquest of the public*). Additionally, Keller's way of proceeding, that is talking in private to the most defensive party – the SBB – and accepting contemporary facts – the SBB were not willing to change the authority over their agencies abroad, the SVZ was not to be liquidated –, seems to have met the pride of the involved parties. He appealed the SHV humbly when he presented his ideas to the SHV' delegates in September 1932.¹⁵⁸⁹ Fully aware that he did not propose an ideal project, Keller also rejected possible criticisms because he made clear that what he proposed equaled those concessions which the SBB had made.¹⁵⁹⁰ His talks with the SBB had revealed that the SBB's resistance to the SVZ was backed up by the highest authority, namely the Federal Councilor Robert Haab (1865-1939) who had been general manager of the SBB between 1912 and 1917 and head of the EPED between 1917 and 1929.¹⁵⁹¹ Therefore, in Keller's opinion, the SBB, the confederation and the SHV had to be part

¹⁵⁸⁷ Gruner; Frei, *Bundesversammlung 1848-1920*, 1966, p. 659.

¹⁵⁸⁸ Gruner; Frei, *Bundesversammlung 1848-1920*, 1966, p. 659.

¹⁵⁸⁹ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_004_02, 1931-1933: "Votum des Herrn Ständerat Dr. G. Keller an der Versammlung des Schweizer Hotelier-Vereins", by Keller, Bern, 8.9.1932.

¹⁵⁹⁰ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_004_02, 1931-1933: "Votum des Herrn Ständerat Dr. G. Keller an der Versammlung des Schweizer Hotelier-Vereins", by Keller, Bern, 8.9.1932, p. 1-2.

¹⁵⁹¹ Ziegler, Peter, "Haab, Robert", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2006, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D4639.php> (accessed 26.4.2013).

of the solution.¹⁵⁹² Satisfied, Keller could guarantee the SHV's delegates that nearly every condition they had set was fulfilled, except that a standard-organization, see a fusion of the SVZ and the Publizitätsdienst der SBB, be established.¹⁵⁹³ The hindrance for such an enterprise was clear:

Niemand, ausser dem Gesetzgeber, vermöchte die SBB. zu zwingen, von ihrem Standpunkt abzugehen und den P[ublizitäts].D[ienst]. an die SVZ. oder an eine andere Organisation abzutreten. Vom Gesetzgeber aber wäre wohl ein solcher Zwang zur Zeit kaum zu erwarten.¹⁵⁹⁴

Keller's way of accepting the given realities seemed to have been successful. In March 1933, the SHV increased its contribution to the SVZ and the SVZ, the PTT and the SBB established a so called "Werbegemeinschaft".

5.3.2.4 The Werbegemeinschaft: the new financial ground for tourism promotion abroad

On 18th September 1933, the SVZ, the PTT and the SBB established the Werbegemeinschaft.¹⁵⁹⁵ This agreement laid the whole financing of and the duties in the Swiss tourism promotion abroad on a new ground. In fact, the Werbegemeinschaft was placed above all three signatory parties who all paid the same amount of money into a common fund, called "Gemeinschaftsfonds" (common fund), the society's main reason of existence.¹⁵⁹⁶ The money in this Gemeinschaftsfonds was destined at the "Förderung der Verkehrswerbung im Ausland" (boosting of tourism promotion abroad),¹⁵⁹⁷ and was to be paid in three

¹⁵⁹² Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_004_02, 1931-1933: "Votum des Herrn Ständerat Dr. G. Keller an der Versammlung des Schweizer Hotelier-Vereins", by Keller, Bern, 8.9.1932, p. 9.

¹⁵⁹³ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_004_02, 1931-1933: "Votum des Herrn Ständerat Dr. G. Keller an der Versammlung des Schweizer Hotelier-Vereins", by Keller, Bern, 8.9.1932, p. 7-8.

¹⁵⁹⁴ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_004_02, 1931-1933: "Votum des Herrn Ständerat Dr. G. Keller an der Versammlung des Schweizer Hotelier-Vereins", by Keller, Bern, 8.9.1932, p. 7.

¹⁵⁹⁵ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_017_12, 1933: "Uebereinkunft zwischen der Schweizerischen Verkehrszentrale (SVZ) in Zürich, der Generaldirektion der Schweizerischen Post-, Telegraphen- und Telephonverwaltung (PTT) in Bern und der Generaldirektion der Schweizerischen Bundesbahnen (SBB) in Bern zur gemeinsamen Förderung der Verkehrswerbung im Ausland. (Vom 18. September 1933)", by the SVZ, the PTT and the SBB, Zürich / Bern, 18.9.1933.

¹⁵⁹⁶ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_017_12, 1933: "Uebereinkunft zwischen der Schweizerischen Verkehrszentrale (SVZ) in Zürich, der Generaldirektion der Schweizerischen Post-, Telegraphen- und Telephonverwaltung (PTT) in Bern und der Generaldirektion der Schweizerischen Bundesbahnen (SBB) in Bern zur gemeinsamen Förderung der Verkehrswerbung im Ausland. (Vom 18. September 1933)", by the SVZ, the PTT and the SBB, Zürich / Bern, 18.9.1933, p. 1.

¹⁵⁹⁷ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_017_12, 1933: "Uebereinkunft zwischen der Schweizerischen Verkehrszentrale (SVZ) in Zürich, der Generaldirektion der Schweizerischen Post-, Telegraphen- und Telephonverwaltung (PTT) in Bern und der Generaldirektion der Schweizerischen Bundesbahnen

phases, because the amount of money should increase in each phase. Thus, the SVZ, the PTT and the SBB were about to contribute to the Gemeinschaftsfonds as follows:

1934-1935:

50'000 Swiss Francs per year (approx. 811'000 Swiss Francs of 2009)

1936-1937:

100'000 Swiss Francs per year (approx. 1.6 million Swiss Francs in 2009)

1938-[1941]:

150'000 Swiss Francs per year (approx. 2.3 million Swiss Francs in 2009).¹⁵⁹⁸

The contract mainly regulated the opening and exploitation of agencies abroad and the mutual use of the money in the Gemeinschaftsfonds. Administered by an executive committee consisting of each signatory parties' representative, the Gemeinschaftsfonds financed 80 percent of the costs generated by the agencies abroad which all came under authority of the SBB, except those which belonged to the SVZ and were situated in a country where the SBB did not have any agency.¹⁵⁹⁹ Parallel, the Gemeinschaftsfonds supported the SVZ' fulfilling of its duties as far as financially possible.¹⁶⁰⁰ Additionally, there were two noteworthy novelties: Firstly, the executive committee had to report to the EPED and not the EDI, as the secretary office was run by the SBB.¹⁶⁰¹ Secondly, the SBB's agencies abroad were entitled to wear a semi-official name:

(SBB) in Bern zur gemeinsamen Förderung der Verkehrswerbung im Ausland. (Vom 18. September 1933)", by the SVZ, the PTT and the SBB, Zürich / Bern, 18.9.1933, p. 1.

¹⁵⁹⁸ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_017_12, 1933: "Uebereinkunft zwischen der Schweizerischen Verkehrszentrale (SVZ) in Zürich, der Generaldirektion der Schweizerischen Post-, Telegraphen- und Telephonverwaltung (PTT) in Bern und der Generaldirektion der Schweizerischen Bundesbahnen (SBB) in Bern zur gemeinsamen Förderung der Verkehrswerbung im Ausland. (Vom 18. September 1933)", by the SVZ, the PTT and the SBB, Zürich / Bern, 18.9.1933, p. 1. All conversions according to Pfister; Studer, Swistoval, [s.d.] (accessed 11.9.2015) (deflator: historical wage index).

¹⁵⁹⁹ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_017_12, 1933: "Uebereinkunft zwischen der Schweizerischen Verkehrszentrale (SVZ) in Zürich, der Generaldirektion der Schweizerischen Post-, Telegraphen- und Telephonverwaltung (PTT) in Bern und der Generaldirektion der Schweizerischen Bundesbahnen (SBB) in Bern zur gemeinsamen Förderung der Verkehrswerbung im Ausland. (Vom 18. September 1933)", by the SVZ, the PTT and the SBB, Zürich / Bern, 18.9.1933, p. 1-3.

¹⁶⁰⁰ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_017_12, 1933: "Uebereinkunft zwischen der Schweizerischen Verkehrszentrale (SVZ) in Zürich, der Generaldirektion der Schweizerischen Post-, Telegraphen- und Telephonverwaltung (PTT) in Bern und der Generaldirektion der Schweizerischen Bundesbahnen (SBB) in Bern zur gemeinsamen Förderung der Verkehrswerbung im Ausland. (Vom 18. September 1933)", by the SVZ, the PTT and the SBB, Zürich / Bern, 18.9.1933, p. 1-2.

¹⁶⁰¹ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_017_12, 1933: "Uebereinkunft zwischen der Schweizerischen Verkehrszentrale (SVZ) in Zürich, der Generaldirektion der Schweizerischen Post-, Telegraphen- und Telephonverwaltung (PTT) in Bern und der Generaldirektion der Schweizerischen Bundesbahnen

"Schweizerisches Verkehrsbureau
und Amtliche Agentur der Schweiz. Bundesbahnen"

Suisse

Office de tourisme

et Agence officielle des Chemins de fer fédéraux suisses

Svizzera

Ufficio Viaggi

e Agenzia ufficiale delle Strade ferrate federale svizzere."¹⁶⁰²

This change in the name implied that Switzerland's representation abroad was not allowed to appear as pure railway advertising but as a general transport advertising.¹⁶⁰³ The SVZ and the PTT each were allowed to place an official in the SBB's agencies. What did this regulation imply? According to Paschoud, the SBB's representative in the SVZ' board of management, the officials of the SVZ and the PTT in the agencies abroad should boost the automobile tourism and the tourism by plane there.¹⁶⁰⁴ The traffic which was not bound to the rails ("nicht schienengebunder Verkehr") consequently witnessed a considerable strengthening in the country's NTO, as from 1935 and 1938 onwards, an expert for automobile tourism and flying tourism advised the tourists in Berlin and Paris respectively.¹⁶⁰⁵ This was a complementation of the tasks but also a partition of the power. The SBB defended not only their traditional knowledge in promoting trips to Switzerland by train, but also their financial interest in the income generated by the selling of tickets. The SVZ (and the PTT), in contrast, was (were) reduced to the support of automobilists and tourists who arrived by plane, at least in the agencies abroad. All in all, what was left to the whole SVZ, then, which should promote Switzerland comprehensively as a real

(SBB) in Bern zur gemeinsamen Förderung der Verkehrswerbung im Ausland. (Vom 18. September 1933)", by the SVZ, the PTT and the SBB, Zürich / Bern, 18.9.1933, p. 2.

¹⁶⁰² Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_017_12, 1933: "Uebereinkunft zwischen der Schweizerischen Verkehrszentrale (SVZ) in Zürich, der Generaldirektion der Schweizerischen Post-, Telegraphen- und Telephonverwaltung (PTT) in Bern und der Generaldirektion der Schweizerischen Bundesbahnen (SBB) in Bern zur gemeinsamen Förderung der Verkehrswerbung im Ausland. (Vom 18. September 1933)", by the SVZ, the PTT and the SBB, Zürich / Bern, 18.9.1933, p. 3.

¹⁶⁰³ Diener, Joseph, "Die PTT-Verwaltung und die schweizerische Verkehrswerbung im Ausland", in *Postzeitschrift*, No. 4, 1942, p. 113-120, here 115.

¹⁶⁰⁴ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 34, 1930-1955: "Protokoll der Sitzung, [...] 29. März 1933 [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, [Zürich], 29.3.1933, p. 5.

¹⁶⁰⁵ Diener, Die PTT-Verwaltung und die schweizerische Verkehrswerbung, 1942, p. 115.

NTO? On the one hand, it was the vehicle which included the SHV. Although the later did not appear as a signatory party, article 19 of the Werbegemeinschaft made a reservation with respect to it: If the SHV did not pay or reduce its contribution to the SVZ, all three signatory parties were discharged of their duties.¹⁶⁰⁶ Thus, the sheer existence of the Werbegemeinschaft depended on the SHV's contribution to the SVZ.¹⁶⁰⁷ On the other hand, the SVZ was responsible for the "Kollektivreklame" in the media of foreign countries and the general tourism promotion. Thus, the SVZ' had to increase its financial contribution to the "Kollektivreklame", which it had to undertake in the media of foreign countries in collaboration with the SBB, during the first two phases.¹⁶⁰⁸ Additionally, in the third phase, the SVZ was fully (in financial terms!) responsible for the supply of the total promotional material, dedicated to the general tourism promotion like brochures, leaflets, posters, films, etc.¹⁶⁰⁹ Thus, it was the SVZ' responsibility to create, develop, produce and distribute Switzerland's tourism promotion. Such a focus on a rather creative and administrative task may be interpreted as a weakening of the SVZ, at least in political and economic terms. The fact that cultural-political issues – such as holidays for workers, holiday destinations, modes of residing (hotel, holiday flat) or recreational activities – increasingly changed exactly in the 1930s, guaranteed, however, that the SVZ did not lose contact to politics. In contrast, the increasing nationalism in Europe during this decade led to a certain politicization of tourism in general and of the SVZ in particular. Not only did the democratization of travelling – see the novelty that workers were allowed to

¹⁶⁰⁶ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_017_12, 1933: "Uebereinkunft zwischen der Schweizerischen Verkehrszentrale (SVZ) in Zürich, der Generaldirektion der Schweizerischen Post-, Telegraphen- und Telephonverwaltung (PTT) in Bern und der Generaldirektion der Schweizerischen Bundesbahnen (SBB) in Bern zur gemeinsamen Förderung der Verkehrswerbung im Ausland. (Vom 18. September 1933)", by the SVZ, the PTT and the SBB, Zürich / Bern, 18.9.1933, p. 5.

¹⁶⁰⁷ The SHV's contributions to the SVZ covered, in fact, the SVZ's contributions to the Werbegemeinschaft: According to Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_017_10, [1933-1934]: "VERTRAG zwischen dem Schweizer Hotelier-Verein [...] und der Nationalen Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs [...] betreffend den Ausbau der Schweizerischen Verkehrswerbung im Auslande. Vom 29./30. März 1933", by the SHV and the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Bern, 18.9.1933, p. 1, the SHV's yearly contribution to the SVZ amounted to some 75'000 Swiss Francs (1934-35), 150'000 Swiss Francs (1936-37) and 200'000 Swiss Francs (1938-1941).

¹⁶⁰⁸ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_017_12, 1933: "Uebereinkunft zwischen der Schweizerischen Verkehrszentrale (SVZ) in Zürich, der Generaldirektion der Schweizerischen Post-, Telegraphen- und Telephonverwaltung (PTT) in Bern und der Generaldirektion der Schweizerischen Bundesbahnen (SBB) in Bern zur gemeinsamen Förderung der Verkehrswerbung im Ausland. (Vom 18. September 1933)", by the SVZ, the PTT and the SBB, Zürich / Bern, 18.9.1933, p. 5.

¹⁶⁰⁹ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_017_12, 1933: "Uebereinkunft zwischen der Schweizerischen Verkehrszentrale (SVZ) in Zürich, der Generaldirektion der Schweizerischen Post-, Telegraphen- und Telephonverwaltung (PTT) in Bern und der Generaldirektion der Schweizerischen Bundesbahnen (SBB) in Bern zur gemeinsamen Förderung der Verkehrswerbung im Ausland. (Vom 18. September 1933)", by the SVZ, the PTT and the SBB, Zürich / Bern, 18.9.1933, p. 5.

spend some days off from work for the first time – challenge the traditional touristic agents, particularly the hoteliers, but the question where to spend those days off from work became a politically sensitive decision. Tourists, and especially domestic tourists, did not only turn in income-generators for the indebted hotels and transport companies, but also turned into manifestations of a patriotic attitude in favour of the country (see chapter 5.6.5.2 *Patriotism as ground for tourism*). Thus, an institution, which was obliged to sell the country as a holiday destination, suddenly gained some importance in these political, economic, societal and cultural fields. Against the background of this increasing importance of the domestic, political situation, the fact that the new title of the agencies abroad rather strengthened the SBB than the SVZ, lost some weight. At the moment, the Werbegemeinschaft may have weakened the SVZ in comparison with the SBB, but in the medium term, the SVZ took on a new role in the federal politics. What did such a new role imply?

This question can be answered best when applying this study's approach. From point of view of the institutional setting, the Werbegemeinschaft strengthened the SBB, weakened the SVZ – and strengthened the confederation's role in the SVZ. Why? Firstly, the PTT became a member of the SVZ who sent a representative to the board of management.¹⁶¹⁰ Even, if the SVZ changed its organization, the PTT would hold this right!¹⁶¹¹ As a consequence, the confederation was newly represented by two "Regiebetriebe" of the confederation ("Régies fédérales", "Regie federali"), the SBB and the PTT, which strengthened the confederation's influence.¹⁶¹² Additionally, the confederation again increased its influence in tourism promotion, when the "Eidgenössisches Amt für Verkehr (EAV)"¹⁶¹³ joined the Werbegemeinschaft in 1936.¹⁶¹⁴ Apart from the financial contribution by the EAV, the content of the

¹⁶¹⁰ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_017_12, 1933: "Uebereinkunft zwischen der Schweizerischen Verkehrszentrale (SVZ) in Zürich, der Generaldirektion der Schweizerischen Post-, Telegraphen- und Telephonverwaltung (PTT) in Bern und der Generaldirektion der Schweizerischen Bundesbahnen (SBB) in Bern zur gemeinsamen Förderung der Verkehrswerbung im Ausland. (Vom 18. September 1933)", by the SVZ, the PTT and the SBB, Zürich / Bern, 18.9.1933, p. 4.

¹⁶¹¹ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_017_12, 1933: "Uebereinkunft zwischen der Schweizerischen Verkehrszentrale (SVZ) in Zürich, der Generaldirektion der Schweizerischen Post-, Telegraphen- und Telephonverwaltung (PTT) in Bern und der Generaldirektion der Schweizerischen Bundesbahnen (SBB) in Bern zur gemeinsamen Förderung der Verkehrswerbung im Ausland. (Vom 18. September 1933)", by the SVZ, the PTT and the SBB, Zürich / Bern, 18.9.1933, p. 4.

¹⁶¹² Hürlimann, Gisela, "Regiebetriebe", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2011, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D10353.php> (accessed 29.4.2013). According to Hürlimann, the term "Regiebetriebe" describes enterprises and institutions which are often associated with a state monopoly and belong to the decentralized, yet not the core-administration.

¹⁶¹³ Translated in the general sense: Federal Office of Transport.

¹⁶¹⁴ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_017_06, 1936: "UEBEREINKUNFT zwischen der Schweizerischen Verkehrszentrale (SVZ) in Zürich, der Generaldirektion der Schweizerischen Post-,

Werbegemeinschaft remained original. Only one sentence was inserted – and exactly this sentence reflected a higher state interest. Article 12 was extended in the following sense:

Oberster Grundsatz für diese Tätigkeit [sich mit den Aufgaben befassen, die im besonderen den Autotourismus und den Luftverkehr betreffen] ist, dass die touristische Schweiz, handle es sich um Bahn-, Auto- oder Luftverkehr, im Ausland stets als Einheit in die Erscheinung treten soll.¹⁶¹⁵

The regulation raised unity (in Swiss tourism promotion) to a doctrine which did not astonish against the background of the nationalistic claims and programs in several European countries. Schumacher described the year 1936 as a turning point in tourism history as domestic tourism was boosted all over Europe by means of holiday programs which encouraged the citizens to spend their holidays in their own countries (see chapter 1.2.1.2 *Cultural History*).¹⁶¹⁶ For the Swiss tourism industry and its promotion, the year 1936 also gained importance because in this year, the devaluation of the Swiss Franc took place (see chapter 5.1.1 *The economic development: the effects of the gold standard*). In financial terms, the joining of the EAV to the Werbegemeinschaft meant a pure increase of money of one fourth for the period from 1936 to 1937, and more between 1938 and 1941. Why did the confederation so strongly support tourism promotion suddenly and let a federal office – additionally to two "Regiebetriebe" – become a member of the SVZ? The answers to this question have to consider the development of the SVZ' financing, that is its institutional development, between 1933 and 1936.

Before, let us note the following results with respect to the Werbegemeinschaft. The time which passed between the first discussions in the Beratende Kommission für den Publizitätsdienst der SBB of 1930 and the final contract of 1933 revealed that the engaged organizations and parties were far from an agreement in the beginning. This

Telegraphen- und Telephonverwaltung (PTT) in Bern, der Generaldirektion der Schweizerischen Bundesbahnen (SBB) in Bern, und dem Eidg. Amt für Verkehr (EAV) in Bern zur gemeinsamen Förderung der Verkehrswerbung im Ausland. (vom 28. August 1936)", document attached to a letter by Niederer, the SVZ' vice-manager, to the Schweizerischer Hotelier-Verein, Zürich, 1.6.1937.

¹⁶¹⁵ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_017_06, 1936: "UEBEREINKUNFT zwischen der Schweizerischen Verkehrszentrale (SVZ) in Zürich, der Generaldirektion der Schweizerischen Post-, Telegraphen- und Telephonverwaltung (PTT) in Bern, der Generaldirektion der Schweizerischen Bundesbahnen (SBB) in Bern, und dem Eidg. Amt für Verkehr (EAV) in Bern zur gemeinsamen Förderung der Verkehrswerbung im Ausland. (vom 28. August 1936)", document attached to a letter by Niederer, the SVZ' vice-manager, to the Schweizerischer Hotelier-Verein, Zürich, 1.6.1937, p. 4.

¹⁶¹⁶ Schumacher, *Ferien*, 2002, p. 292.

was, however, only the beginning of a phase of crisis and disorientation of the SVZ, which only was overcome by the Werbegemeinschaft. In other words: the Werbegemeinschaft was born, when the criticisms and problems of the SVZ culminated. This solution – in the shape of the Werbegemeinschaft – revitalized the SVZ, however, but the conditions for the SVZ had turned towards the state: In the course of the negotiations, the PTT became involved which, in fact, represented a new player of considerable importance. Similarly, the EAV underlined this trend to a highly strengthened engagement by the confederation, as it joined the Werbegemeinschaft in 1936. Thus, the confederation first increased its *indirect* engagement in tourism promotion in the form of a PTT-delegate, which resulted in the representation of its two "Regiebetriebe" in the field of transport (SBB and PTT).¹⁶¹⁷ This increased engagement reflected not only the contemporary development in tourism, but also the increased interest of the confederation in tourism and its economic implications for the national economy. The way of financially supporting the country's marketing abroad by means of the SBB and the PTT also showed the confederation's will to do it: in doing so, only the budgets of the SBB and the PTT were touched, so that the federal chambers did not have to decide upon the budget of a federal department.¹⁶¹⁸ The way obviously allowed to support the country's marketing abroad, while new credits – in shape of a department's budget item – could have faced some hindrances, see parliamentary protests. The inclusion of the PTT in favour of the automobile tourism is interesting insofar, as it contributed a considerable amount of money to the country's marketing abroad. The PTT's will to financially support the SVZ and its welcoming attitude towards the SVZ mirrored the EDI's attitude towards the SVZ – yet not the SBB's one. Thus, there was a continuity in a favourable attitude towards the SVZ on the part of the federal administration throughout the 1920s and 1930s. The only thorn in the flesh were the SBB which defended their interests (mainly their agencies abroad and the income generated by the selling of tickets in them), but the strength of their resistance was usually broken by the responsible authority, the EDI. Nevertheless, the SBB contributed to every commission or study group which dealt with the SVZ' financing, activities or institutional structure. The administration, however, forced them to do so.

¹⁶¹⁷ See Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_004_02, 1931-1933: "Entwurf zu einem Bericht der Zentralkommission für Verkehrswerbung", by Furrer, director general of the Post- und Telegraphenverwaltung, to the Post- und Eisenbahndepartement, [s.l.], 5.2.1932, p. 1-3.

¹⁶¹⁸ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_004_02, 1931-1933: "Votum des Herrn Ständerat Dr. G. Keller an der Versammlung des Schweizer Hotelier-Vereins", by Keller, Bern, 8.9.1932, p. 11.

Thus, in the 1930s, a *direct* engagement on the part of the confederation could be observed, a development which – among others – resulted in the entry of the EAV into the Werbegemeinschaft in 1936.

5.3.2.5 Postulates 1932-1938: A Federal Department for Tourism?

Although the Werbegemeinschaft marked a milestone in the institutional development of Switzerland's tourism promotion, the propositions and discussions about the SVZ did not halt. On the one hand, the establishment of the Werbegemeinschaft let the reorganization of the SVZ open, on the other hand, the call for state funding or a full state institution became louder and louder. In tourism promotion, this found expression in several parliamentary instructions, submitted between 1932 and 1938, especially in 1935 and 1936, which all demanded an increase in state funding for the SVZ or in higher state interference. A certain trend to state interference coined these parliamentary instructions, which placed tourism in proximity to a lot of other economic sectors which all witnessed a strive for increased state funding or direct state intervention. Nonetheless, the state interference by the confederation in the 1930s was selective.¹⁶¹⁹

Firstly, the National Councilor Meuli proposed an Office of Tourism inside the federal administration in the National Council on 9th June 1932.¹⁶²⁰ This department should summarize all questions relevant to tourism which were spread out on different departments of the administration hitherto.¹⁶²¹ In the parliamentary discussions, however, the idea of a central office responsible for all questions relevant to tourism was downsized to a section, that is a sub-ordinate unity of a federal office: the lobbyists for tourism, in this case the National Councilor de Muralt who also sat in the "Parlamentarische Gruppe für Tourismus und Verkehr", overcame their reluctance to state interference only partially.¹⁶²² The sheer fact, however, that, at this time, at least four federal departments were occupied with questions relevant to tourism, let their reservation melt.¹⁶²³ Faced with the foreign countries' efforts in

¹⁶¹⁹ Müller, Philipp, *La Suisse en crise (1929-1936). Les politiques monétaire, financière, économique et sociale de la Confédération helvétique*, Lausanne: Editions Antipodes, 2010, p. 737.

¹⁶²⁰ *Amtliches stenographisches Bulletin der Bundesversammlung, Nationalrat*, 9.6.1932, p. 275-276.

¹⁶²¹ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 68, 1926-1939: "FÜNFZEHNTER JAHRESBERICHT für den Zeitraum vom 1. Januar bis 31. Dezember 1932", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Solothurn, [1933], p. 9.

¹⁶²² *Amtliches stenographisches Bulletin der Bundesversammlung, Nationalrat*, 9.6.1932, p. 279.

¹⁶²³ The *Amtliches stenographisches Bulletin der Bundesversammlung, Nationalrat*, 9.6.1932, p. 276, named the Political Department (EDA), the EDI, the EVD and the EPED.

tourism promotion, Switzerland could not afford such a fragmentation of responsibilities – see, powers – in their opinion.¹⁶²⁴

Secondly, the "Postulat Gafner", submitted on 5th April 1935, asked to increase the confederation's contribution to the SVZ.¹⁶²⁵ The EAV welcomed the idea as did the financial department, only the way of budgeting had to be discussed because the money should come from a budget item which had been created for tickets-discounts for foreigners.¹⁶²⁶ Mainly, the office foresaw a contribution to the Gemeinschaftsfonds of the Werbegemeinschaft instead of the SVZ, because the confederation obviously had developed real interests in the country's tourism promotion: it openly intended to engage in the tourism promotion.¹⁶²⁷ The EAV proposed to achieve the "beabsichtigte Mitwirkung des Bundes" (intentioned participation of the confederation) best by joining the Gemeinschaftsfonds, as this way would guarantee the confederation the influence in the tourism promotion according to its financial engagement.¹⁶²⁸ The EAV made clear, that this engagement was exclusively destined at the SVZ, and considered the sum smaller than generally liked, but big enough to keep the SVZ' quality high.¹⁶²⁹ In a fatherly tone, it added, the ideas could easily loose any limits, thus the financial limits of the SVZ forced it to create the promotion efficiently.¹⁶³⁰

Thirdly, the "Postulat Balmer", submitted on 29th March 1935, proposed a new state institution in favour of tourism, namely the establishment of a federal office of tourism as an independent governmental office or as an appendix of an office of the EPED or of the trading department of the EVD.¹⁶³¹ This postulate did not aim at a strengthening of the SVZ, because the Publizitätsdienst der SBB had done the best according to the parliamentarian.¹⁶³² Balmer considered his parliamentary instruction

¹⁶²⁴ *Amtliches stenographisches Bulletin der Bundesversammlung, Nationalrat*, 9.6.1932, p. 275.

¹⁶²⁵ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/86, 3, 1926-1954: Letter by Schüpbach, president of the National Council, and Bovet, secretary of the National Council, to the Federal Council, Bern, 25.9.1935.

¹⁶²⁶ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/86, 3, 1926-1954: "Postulat Gafner, Bereitstellung vermehrter Mittel für die Verkehrspropaganda", by the EAV to the department's head, Bern, 18.5.1935, p. 1, 4.

¹⁶²⁷ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/86, 3, 1926-1954: "Postulat Gafner, Bereitstellung vermehrter Mittel für die Verkehrspropaganda", by the EAV to the department's head, Bern, 18.5.1935, p. 4.

¹⁶²⁸ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/86, 3, 1926-1954: "Postulat Gafner, Bereitstellung vermehrter Mittel für die Verkehrspropaganda", by the EAV to the department's head, Bern, 18.5.1935, p. 4-5.

¹⁶²⁹ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/86, 3, 1926-1954: "Postulat Gafner, Bereitstellung vermehrter Mittel für die Verkehrspropaganda", by the EAV to the department's head, Bern, 18.5.1935, p. 5-6.

¹⁶³⁰ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/86, 3, 1926-1954: "Postulat Gafner, Bereitstellung vermehrter Mittel für die Verkehrspropaganda", by the EAV to the department's head, Bern, 18.5.1935, p. 6.

¹⁶³¹ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/86, 3, 1926-1954: Letter by the EAV to the department's head, Bern, 18.5.1935, appendix.

¹⁶³² BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/86, 3, 1926-1954: Letter by Balmer to the Federal Councilor Pilet-Golaz, Grindelwald, 2.1.1936, p.1.

as a measure against the World Economic Crisis and as one of the best ideas to balance Switzerland's balance of trade. In his opinion, at that time, tourism best provided guarantee to counteract the devastating consequences of the World Economic Crisis.¹⁶³³ The federal administration, however, evaluated the parliamentary instruction less enthusiastically. The EAV judged the instruction's aim as fulfilled, all the more as it was touched in its own existence. *The EAV was established exactly in order to bundle all questions relevant to tourism inside the federal administration at the beginning of 1935!*¹⁶³⁴

Um auch im Bereich der Bundesverwaltung die Fremdeverkehrsfragen möglichst zusammenfassend und einheitlich zu behandeln ist die Eisenbahnabteilung zu Anfang des Jahres in ein eidg. Amt für Verkehr umgewandelt und ihm als eine seiner *Hauptaufgaben die Führung in den den Reiseverkehr berührenden Fragen übertragen worden. Schon die bisherigen Erfahrungen lassen erkennen, dass mit der getroffenen Massnahme wirklich eine Lücke ausgefüllt worden ist, namentlich in dem Sinne, dass nun gewissermassen eine Zentralstelle besteht, die in der Lage ist, Hand in Hand mit der Verkehrszentrale, dem Fremdenverkehrsverband und den schweizerischen Transportanstalten und in enger Fühlungnahme mit den andern Amtsstellen des Bundes zum Besten des schweizerischen Reiseverkehrs zu wirken.*¹⁶³⁵ [Underlined according to the EAV; in italics according to AAH]

Thus, in 1935, the EPED transformed its railway department into a federal office responsible for all kinds of transport, including particularly tourism. According to the EAV, this reorganization was realized in order to enable the federal administration to summarize the questions relevant to tourism and to treat them as standardized as possible.¹⁶³⁶ This reorganization inside the federal administration is noteworthy insofar it fell into the time period (1935-1940), when the numbers of personnel of the federal administration started to increase again – also in anticipation of a future war (see chapter 5.1.2 *The federal administration and the interest associations intertwine*).¹⁶³⁷ Tourism obviously belonged to those fields of activity, which the confederation wished to better organize in its own realm. Against the background of

¹⁶³³ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/86, 3, 1926-1954: Letter by the EAV to the department's head, Bern, 18.5.1935, appendix.

¹⁶³⁴ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/86, 3, 1926-1954: Letter by the EAV to the department's head, Bern, 18.5.1935, p. 3.

¹⁶³⁵ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/86, 3, 1926-1954: Letter by the EAV to the department's head, Bern, 18.5.1935, p. 3.

¹⁶³⁶ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/86, 3, 1926-1954: Letter by the EAV to the department's head, Bern, 18.5.1935, p. 3.

¹⁶³⁷ Germann, Bundesverwaltung, 2012.

the growing importance of the automobile (see chapter 5.1.3 *Transport: the automobilists' conquest of the public*), the EPED wanted to make sure that its railway department did not handle the questions in favour of the railways.¹⁶³⁸ Finally, the sheer amount of topics which the railway department had to treat had heavily increased since 1922.¹⁶³⁹

Fourthly, the "Postulat von Almen", submitted on 3rd June 1936,¹⁶⁴⁰ asked for a standardized institution for tourism promotion ("Einheitsorganisation") through the conversion of the Gemeinschaftsfonds into a "Zentralfonds für Verkehrswerbung",¹⁶⁴¹ the transfer of the agencies abroad of the Publizitätsdienst der SBB to this standardized institution and tariff measures, namely the introduction of a holiday GA travel card which would be valid on all concessional means of transport (railway, ship, car, plane).¹⁶⁴² Although this parliamentary instruction focused again on the tourism promotion on its own, it became clear, that the political context had overwhelmed tourism and its promotion. In the Federal Council's answer to von Almen's parliamentary instruction, Pilet-Golaz explained that tourism had become a part of the trade policy and that a uniform front was necessary in view of the attacks in the economic war with authoritarian states.¹⁶⁴³ As a consequence, tourism promotion also deserved heightened interest on the part of the authorities, so that the EAV became active on its own. This step represented the first *direct* grip by the administration to the SVZ, as in spring 1936, Pilet-Golaz arranged to study the

¹⁶³⁸ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 68, 1936-1944: Extract of the minutes of the meeting of the Federal Council, by the Federal Council, Bern, 8.2.1935, p. 2.

¹⁶³⁹ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 68, 1936-1944: Extract of the minutes of the meeting of the Federal Council, by the Federal Council, Bern, 8.2.1935, p. 2.

¹⁶⁴⁰ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_008_04, 1936-1937: "Nationalrat. Herbstsession 1936. 3422 Postulat von Almen: Schaffung einer Zentrale für Verkehrswerbung", [by von Almen], [s.l.], [1936], p. 1. This document is the stenographical text of von Almen's speech, which was written down, but not published (according to Comment, *Geschichte des Amtlichen Bulletins*, 2001, p. 2, from 1921, all parts of the discussions were written down, put not published. It is therefore that von Almen's reasoning can not be found in the Federal Assembly's Official Gazette. According to Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_013_01, 1938-1940: "Organisation der gesamtschweizerischen Verkehrswerbung im Ausland", by the EAV to the cantonal representatives, Bern, Februar 1938, p. 1, von Almen gave reasons for his postulate in the National Council on 30th September 1936.

¹⁶⁴¹ Translated in the general sense: Central Fund for Traffic Advertising.

¹⁶⁴² Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_008_04, 1936-1937: "Nationalrat. Herbstsession 1936. 3422 Postulat von Almen: Schaffung einer Zentrale für Verkehrswerbung", [by von Almen], [s.l.], [1936], p. 1.

¹⁶⁴³ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_008_04, 1936-1937: "Réponse de M. le Conseiller fédéral Pilet-Golaz au postulat de M. von Almen, Conseiller national", by Pilet-Golaz to the National Council, [Berne], 30.9.1936, p. 6-7.

problems in Switzerland's tourism economy.¹⁶⁴⁴ Basing on von Almen's parliamentary instruction, the considerations mainly focused on Switzerland's tourism promotion abroad.¹⁶⁴⁵ In an exhaustive report, the EAV summarized the opinions of different institutions and experts about von Almen's postulate. It is noteworthy, that these comments stemmed from opinion leaders like the SBB, the SHV or from individuals working in tourism daily who had been asked by the EAV to utter their opinion!¹⁶⁴⁶ Thus, the federal administration limited the range of those people who it wanted to know their opinion from. At the end, the EAV, made a proposal which very much resembled von Almen's idea of a standardized institution.¹⁶⁴⁷ The tone of the report's results suggested that the EAV newly had intended to take the lead: the office openly rejected personal animosities and pledged for an "objective" treatment of the problems, although, it admitted, it opportunistically had to accept the prejudice against state-owned enterprises.¹⁶⁴⁸ Thereby, it placed itself above the two quarreling institutions – the SVZ and the Publizitätsdienst der SBB –, and now wanted to solve the problems which had been discussed for years. It asked chosen people – experts in tourism – about their opinion on von Almen's proposition, tightly controlled an extra credit which had been invested for tourism promotion in 1936, and urged itself to come to an end with the ongoing propositions about the improvement of the country's tourism promotion. All the more, as some criticisms of the SVZ had not stopped, not even after 1933. In August 1936, an internal notice criticized the slow mode of working of the SVZ: In seven cases, the SVZ needed so much time, that the EAV felt constrained to remind the SVZ – but even such reminders did not always result in a quicker carrying out of the task. While, for instance, some financial key-data had not been communicated after a reminder, a leaflet called "Sport in der Schweiz" was planned to be distributed to the visitors of the Olympic Games in Berlin in 1936, yet

¹⁶⁴⁴ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_009_17, 1936-1938: "Auszug aus dem Berichte des Eidg. Amtes für Verkehr zur Frage der Organisation der schweizerischen Verkehrswerbung", by the EAV, Bern, 3.9.1936, p. 1.

¹⁶⁴⁵ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_009_17, 1936-1938: "Auszug aus dem Berichte des Eidg. Amtes für Verkehr zur Frage der Organisation der schweizerischen Verkehrswerbung", by the EAV, Bern, 3.9.1936, p. 1.

¹⁶⁴⁶ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_009_17, 1936-1938: "Auszug aus dem Berichte des Eidg. Amtes für Verkehr zur Frage der Organisation der schweizerischen Verkehrswerbung", by the EAV, Bern, 3.9.1936, p. 1.

¹⁶⁴⁷ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_009_17, 1936-1938: "Auszug aus dem Berichte des Eidg. Amtes für Verkehr zur Frage der Organisation der schweizerischen Verkehrswerbung", by the EAV, Bern, 3.9.1936, p. 29.

¹⁶⁴⁸ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_009_17, 1936-1938: "Auszug aus dem Berichte des Eidg. Amtes für Verkehr zur Frage der Organisation der schweizerischen Verkehrswerbung", by the EAV, Bern, 3.9.1936, p. 29.

was not sent to the agency in Berlin, not even when the games were over.¹⁶⁴⁹ In other cases, the SVZ advanced too quick and presented the EAV with a fait accompli: the EAV only could accept the result and pay.¹⁶⁵⁰

5.2.2.6 Extra credit of 1936

The financial situation of the Swiss hotels and the Swiss transport companies worsened with the continuation of the economic crisis. Both touristic suppliers were not able to increase their contributions for the country's touristic advertising. While the hotel industry already paid a considerable amount of Swiss Francs for the country's touristic advertising, the transport companies' financial situation did not leave any room for manoeuvre.¹⁶⁵¹ In this situation, the German-Swiss tourism agreement was cancelled per 30th June 1936 which let Switzerland in the dark about the future composition of its tourists.¹⁶⁵² The Swiss Federal Council came to the conclusion that only a determined, powerful and coordinated marketing campaign in selected countries could serve the Swiss tourism industry.¹⁶⁵³ It proposed to spend some 8.1 million Swiss Francs (of 2009)¹⁶⁵⁴ in favour of such a campaign.¹⁶⁵⁵ Although the parliament approved the proposition in June 1936,¹⁶⁵⁶ it would not have been able to thwart it: The Federal Council had given the EPED an advance on the campaign prior to the parliamentary decision!¹⁶⁵⁷ Thus, the emergency legislation reached the Swiss tourism industry (see chapter 5.1.2 *The federal administration and*

¹⁶⁴⁹ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 26, 1924-1957: "Zur Geschäftsführung der Schweiz. Verkehrszentrale", by K.[radolfer], [Bern], 20.8.1936, p. 1-3.

¹⁶⁵⁰ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 26, 1924-1957: "Zur Geschäftsführung der Schweiz. Verkehrszentrale", by K.[radolfer], [Bern], 20.8.1936, p. 4.

¹⁶⁵¹ "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung über die Durchführung einer Sonderwerbung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs. (Vom 2. Juni 1936.)", in *Bundeslatt*, 1936, Vol. 1, No. 23, 1936, p. 998-1008, here 1006.

¹⁶⁵² "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung über die Durchführung einer Sonderwerbung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs. (Vom 2. Juni 1936.)", in *Bundeslatt*, 1936, Vol. 1, No. 23, 1936, p. 1001.

¹⁶⁵³ "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung über die Durchführung einer Sonderwerbung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs. (Vom 2. Juni 1936.)", in *Bundeslatt*, 1936, Vol. 1, No. 23, 1936, p. 1006.

¹⁶⁵⁴ According to Pfister; Studer, Swistoval, [s.d.] (accessed 11.9.2015), 500'000 Swiss Francs in 1936 roughly equaled 8.1 million Swiss Francs of 2009 (deflator: historical wage index).

¹⁶⁵⁵ "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung über die Durchführung einer Sonderwerbung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs. (Vom 2. Juni 1936.)", in *Bundeslatt*, 1936, Vol. 1, No. 23, 1936, p. 1006.

¹⁶⁵⁶ "Bundesbeschluss über die Durchführung einer Sonderwerbung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs. (Vom 19. Juni 1936.)", in *Eidgenössische Gesetzessammlung. Amtliche Sammlung der Bundesgesetze und Verordnungen*, Neue Folge, Vol. 52, Bern: Stämpfli, 1937, p. 498.

¹⁶⁵⁷ "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung über die Durchführung einer Sonderwerbung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs. (Vom 2. Juni 1936.)", in *Bundeslatt*, 1936, Vol. 1, No. 23, 1936, p. 1006.

the interest associations intertwine). With this extra credit, not only the control, but also the claims to decide upon the content of the promotion on the part of the EAV rose. In some internal notes of a meeting between the EAV, the SBB, the SHV and the SVZ about how to use the extra credit, Buchli of the EAV noted the two aims of the promotion paid by the extra credit: discounts on petrol and discounts on the GA travel card¹⁶⁵⁸ – in other words: traditional measures, which were advertised continuously in the 1930s (see chapter 5.2.4.5 *The 1930s: affordability*). These measures strengthened former attempts and were considered as most efficient as long as they were limited to chosen countries.¹⁶⁵⁹ While the foreign tourist travelling by train got a discount of some 30 percent on the GA travel card, the foreign automobile tourist got the same discount on the tariff on petrol.¹⁶⁶⁰ This extra credit needed extra legitimation, so that every expenditure had to be announced and verified in detail. Several very detailed calculations proved that the EAV thoroughly controlled the use of the extra credit for tourism promotion.¹⁶⁶¹ The SVZ and the SBB had to hand in the receipts, copies of the correspondence and, if possible, printing templates, particularly with respect to the petrol-campaign, because the customs authority would check it.¹⁶⁶² Put into practice, the EAV let the SVZ some room for manoeuvre: Although the receipts did not always fulfill Buchli's standard, he admitted that a comprehensive receipt of all expenditures would use a lot of time and be complicated.¹⁶⁶³ Nevertheless, the fact that the SVZ had overrun the budget several times without asking the EAV let Buchli be undecided whether the EAV should introduce an auditor on the part of the federal administration, or if it should accept the *faits accomplis* and pay the shortfalls.¹⁶⁶⁴ If the EAV hesitated to pay the shortfalls, the SVZ would be educated in correct calculations, Buchli thought.¹⁶⁶⁵ Obviously, the

¹⁶⁵⁸ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 26, 1924-1957: "Notizen über die Konferenz i/S. Sofortprogramm. 19. Mai 1936, [...]", by B.[uchli], [Bern], 19.5.1936, p. 1.

¹⁶⁵⁹ "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung über die Durchführung einer Sonderwerbung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs. (Vom 2. Juni 1936.)", in *Bundeslatt*, 1936, Vol. 1, No. 23, 1936, p. 1004-1005.

¹⁶⁶⁰ "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung über die Durchführung einer Sonderwerbung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs. (Vom 2. Juni 1936.)", in *Bundeslatt*, 1936, Vol. 1, No. 23, 1936, p. 1004.

¹⁶⁶¹ See particularly the holding BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 26, 1924-1957.

¹⁶⁶² BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 26, 1924-1957: "Notizen über die Konferenz i/S. Sofortprogramm. 19. Mai 1936, [...]", by B.[uchli], [Bern], 19.5.1936, p. 1.

¹⁶⁶³ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 26, 1924-1957: "Sonderwerbung mit Bundeskrediten", by B.[uchli] to the management, [Bern], 10.12.1936, p. 1.

¹⁶⁶⁴ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 26, 1924-1957: "Sonderwerbung mit Bundeskrediten", by B.[uchli] to the management, [Bern], 10.12.1936, p. 1.

¹⁶⁶⁵ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 26, 1924-1957: "Sonderwerbung mit Bundeskrediten", by B.[uchli] to the management, [Bern], 10.12.1936, p. 1.

EAV was in search of its role as a supervisor and partner of the SVZ on the same time.



Fig. 31: The petrol-campaign reduced the price for petrol for the foreigners to the amount of some 30 percent and aimed at marketing Switzerland as an affordable and attractive place for driving. The driving tourist was lured by a challenging, empty, safe and well-built road which he was able to conquer the snowy Alps with. This message perfectly fit into the traditional perception of tourism in Switzerland: Conquer the Alps – not thanks to pure physical strength anymore, but thanks to the modern way of moving: the automobile! The sub-title "Für schöne Autofahrten die Schweiz" made allusion to the beauty of the country's nature and roads, a very meaningful icon for the Swiss self-understanding.

Source: National Library, Swiss Posters Collection, online, SNL_TOUR_172 (accessed 4.3.2014).

5.3.2.7 The EAV takes the lead

The criticisms and the office's own experience with the SVZ may have supported the initiative of the EAV. What did the EAV exactly propose in its report subsequent to von Almen's postulate in 1936? For possibilities were discussed:

Integration of the SVZ into the Publizitätsdienst der SBB. Although suggested by the fact that the Publizitätsdienst der SBB administered 75 percent of the money destined at tourism marketing in Switzerland and the important agencies abroad, an

integration of the SVZ into the Publizitätsdienst der SBB was rejected by the EAV.¹⁶⁶⁶ The SBB's financial problems raised doubts about their neutrality which was essential in order to save the privates' – that is the touristic agents' – money for tourism promotion.¹⁶⁶⁷ All the more, as the general direction of the SBB would remain the decision-making authority which could not satisfy the private subsidizing bodies.¹⁶⁶⁸

Integration of the agencies abroad in the SVZ. Considered as the simplest and most natural solution, the EAV proposed that the agencies abroad of the Publizitätsdienst der SBB be integrated into the SVZ.¹⁶⁶⁹ This completely disagreed with the opinion which the EDI had staked out in the 1920s and early 1930s. Such a swing of opinion inside the decision-making authority may base on the fact that the authority as such had changed from the EDI to the EAV and that the railways' predominance crumbled. The EAV's report drily noted that, apart from historical considerations, there was no reason why the SBB could not renounce an own apparatus for the marketing abroad – as did the EPED and the private touristic agents.¹⁶⁷⁰ With this statement, the EAV made clear, that it considered its two state-owned transport enterprises and the private touristic agents as equal. This mirrored the contemporary increase in automobile traffic and the corresponding debates which rose out of it. The increasing use of cars competed against the railway traffic which challenged the later heavily. The debates, in which the railways called for state intervention in the mobility market, led to a vote about a law, which favoured the railways for the long-distance and the cars for the short-distance transport.¹⁶⁷¹ The so called "Verkehrsteilungsgesetz" which foresaw a state monitoring of such a partitioning was, however, rejected heavily in 1935 (see chapter 5.1.3 *Transport: the automobilists' conquest of the public*).¹⁶⁷²

¹⁶⁶⁶ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_009_17, 1936-1938: "Auszug aus dem Berichte des Eidg. Amtes für Verkehr zur Frage der Organisation der schweizerischen Verkehrswerbung", by the EAV, Bern, 3.9.1936, p. 4-5.

¹⁶⁶⁷ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_009_17, 1936-1938: "Auszug aus dem Berichte des Eidg. Amtes für Verkehr zur Frage der Organisation der schweizerischen Verkehrswerbung", by the EAV, Bern, 3.9.1936, p. 5.

¹⁶⁶⁸ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_009_17, 1936-1938: "Auszug aus dem Berichte des Eidg. Amtes für Verkehr zur Frage der Organisation der schweizerischen Verkehrswerbung", by the EAV, Bern, 3.9.1936, p. 5.

¹⁶⁶⁹ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_009_17, 1936-1938: "Auszug aus dem Berichte des Eidg. Amtes für Verkehr zur Frage der Organisation der schweizerischen Verkehrswerbung", by the EAV, Bern, 3.9.1936, p. 6.

¹⁶⁷⁰ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_009_17, 1936-1938: "Auszug aus dem Berichte des Eidg. Amtes für Verkehr zur Frage der Organisation der schweizerischen Verkehrswerbung", by the EAV, Bern, 3.9.1936, p. 5.

¹⁶⁷¹ Frey, "Nur das Beste ist gut genug", 2013, p. 156.

¹⁶⁷² Frey, "Nur das Beste ist gut genug", 2013, p. 156.

Establishment of a new standardized organization, a "Einheitsorganisation".

While the report rejected an institution of private-law, it did not prefer a pure state organization either.¹⁶⁷³ Rather, a collaboration between private touristic agents and the confederation promised a solution in the opinion of the EAV, whereby an institution of public-law was not explicitly rejected.¹⁶⁷⁴

Subordination of the SVZ and the Publizitätsdienst der SBB under a centralized power. By means of an enlargement and empowerment of the Werbegemeinschaft of 1933, the EAV checked the option of a third body which would be placed above the two existing ones.¹⁶⁷⁵ As it was convinced that a partitioning of Switzerland's tourism marketing abroad did not satisfy, it opted for a combination of options mentioned above, namely the establishment of a standardized organization by means of the integration of the agencies abroad in the SVZ, that is an enlargement and empowerment of the SVZ.¹⁶⁷⁶ This option guaranteed the private touristic agents' financial contribution, while the confederation remained in the crucial organs. Thus, the legal form of a public-private-partnership continued and included all interest-groups which consequently could not deny their responsibility and financial engagement. The report elaborated in detail on the proposed solution, which would be coined by the following characteristics:

- The SBB eschewed their agencies abroad and let all tourism promotion of Switzerland to the SVZ;
- The SVZ takes over all the SBB's agencies abroad;
- The SBB pays a higher contribution to the SVZ than hitherto, the confederation fills the gap between the SBB's expenditures for their tourism promotion abroad of today and the new contribution;
- The Werbegemeinschaft and the Gemeinschaftsfonds are abolished and budgeted in favour of the SVZ together with the confederation's and the PTT's contributions to the SVZ;

¹⁶⁷³ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_009_17, 1936-1938: "Auszug aus dem Berichte des Eidg. Amtes für Verkehr zur Frage der Organisation der schweizerischen Verkehrswerbung", by the EAV, Bern, 3.9.1936, p. 6-7.

¹⁶⁷⁴ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_009_17, 1936-1938: "Auszug aus dem Berichte des Eidg. Amtes für Verkehr zur Frage der Organisation der schweizerischen Verkehrswerbung", by the EAV, Bern, 3.9.1936, p. 6-7.

¹⁶⁷⁵ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_009_17, 1936-1938: "Auszug aus dem Berichte des Eidg. Amtes für Verkehr zur Frage der Organisation der schweizerischen Verkehrswerbung", by the EAV, Bern, 3.9.1936, p. 8.

¹⁶⁷⁶ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_009_17, 1936-1938: "Auszug aus dem Berichte des Eidg. Amtes für Verkehr zur Frage der Organisation der schweizerischen Verkehrswerbung", by the EAV, Bern, 3.9.1936, p. 9-10.

- The SVZ remains an association of private law and its structure is only slightly adjusted by an empowerment of the committee¹⁶⁷⁷ and the presidency.¹⁶⁷⁸

In the opinion of the EAV, an empowered SVZ had several advantages. On the one hand, the proposition would enable to establish a standardized organization, which overcame the often regretted dualism in Switzerland's tourism promotion, and which possessed a neutrality thanks to the inclusion of all interested parties and the confederation.¹⁶⁷⁹ On the other hand, the proposition built on the existing institutions and did not foster a bureaucratic administration by the state, so that a simplification could be achieved as the Werbegemeinschaft, the Beratende Kommission für den Publizitätsdienst der SBB and the tourism promotion of the Publizitätsdienst der SBB were abolished.¹⁶⁸⁰ But the EAV was fully aware that there were numerous obstacles to the putting into practice of its proposition, as there were: the consequences for the SBB, the legal status of the personnel of their agencies abroad (their personnel was employed according to public, and not private law, therefore in a status of civil servants), the increase in the confederation's contribution to the SVZ which the EAV had assumed for the whole report, and the small reorganization of the SVZ.¹⁶⁸¹ These problems were not new, in contrast, all the attempts to reorganize Switzerland's tourism promotion during the 1920s and the 1930s had tried to solve exactly these obstacles. In 1936 suddenly, however, they were judged differently – which finally led to a standardized institution of public-law in 1939, the Schweizerische Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung (SZV), the SVZ' legal successor.

¹⁶⁷⁷ According to Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_009_17, 1936-1938: "Auszug aus dem Berichte des Eidg. Amtes für Verkehr zur Frage der Organisation der schweizerischen Verkehrswerbung", by the EAV, Bern, 3.9.1936, p. 25, the committee was introduced in 1933.

¹⁶⁷⁸ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_009_17, 1936-1938: "Auszug aus dem Berichte des Eidg. Amtes für Verkehr zur Frage der Organisation der schweizerischen Verkehrswerbung", by the EAV, Bern, 3.9.1936, p. 10-11.

¹⁶⁷⁹ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_009_17, 1936-1938: "Auszug aus dem Berichte des Eidg. Amtes für Verkehr zur Frage der Organisation der schweizerischen Verkehrswerbung", by the EAV, Bern, 3.9.1936, p. 11-12.

¹⁶⁸⁰ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_009_17, 1936-1938: "Auszug aus dem Berichte des Eidg. Amtes für Verkehr zur Frage der Organisation der schweizerischen Verkehrswerbung", by the EAV, Bern, 3.9.1936, p. 12-14.

¹⁶⁸¹ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_009_17, 1936-1938: "Auszug aus dem Berichte des Eidg. Amtes für Verkehr zur Frage der Organisation der schweizerischen Verkehrswerbung", by the EAV, Bern, 3.9.1936, p. 15-28.

What did this new attitude towards an empowered SVZ – remember, the opposite had been discussed only three years beforehand – base on? Basically, some external and internal factors had changed:

Firstly, the car's dominance in the whole transport market could not be denied anymore. In contrast, the new means of transport had grown into a serious competitor for the railways and increasingly started to place its lobbyists and interest defenders in the crucial institutions. After the critiques of the automobile had faded away in the 1920s,¹⁶⁸² the car did not face any further serious critiques, which did not ease the railways' situation.¹⁶⁸³ Additionally, the costly electrification programs which most of the railway companies had initiated after the First World War did not form a well basis for a competition about market shares. Rescue operations by the state were not seldom as the example of one of the biggest railway companies apart from the SBB showed. Between 1918 and 1942, the Berner Alpenbahn Bern-Lötschberg-Simplon (BLS) was recapitalized three times by means of amortizations, subsidies by the confederation and due to the help of creditors who renounced their interest payments.¹⁶⁸⁴ In short, the Swiss railway companies' situation worsened and worsened throughout the Interwar Period, which weakened their room for manoeuvre. In 1939, the confederation passed the so called "Privatbahnhilfegesetz" in order to support the recapitalization of the private railway companies and provided 2.2 billion Swiss Francs (of 2009)¹⁶⁸⁵ for this purpose.¹⁶⁸⁶

Secondly, the decision-making authority – which obviously judged the obstacles differently compared to previous years – had changed itself. In 1935, the EPED handed over the supervision and responsibility about the country's tourism promotion to the newly established EAV. Surely, the later was part of the EPED – it was its former railway department which had been established in 1922¹⁶⁸⁷ –, but this transfer from the department to the office level also implied a new personal setting. Similarly, the changes on the level of the Federal Councilors left tracks. With the change from the Federal Councilor Robert Haab to the Federal Councilor Pilet-

¹⁶⁸² Merki, *Der holprige Siegeszug*, 2002, p. 194-196.

¹⁶⁸³ Frey, "Nur das Beste ist gut genug", 2013, p. 156.

¹⁶⁸⁴ Frey, "Nur das Beste ist gut genug", 2013, p. 112, 120.

¹⁶⁸⁵ According to Pfister; Studer, Swistoval, [s.d.] (accessed 11.9.2015), 140 million Swiss Francs in 1939 roughly equaled some 2.2 billion Swiss Francs in 2009 (deflator: historical wage index).

¹⁶⁸⁶ Frey, "Nur das Beste ist gut genug", 2013, p. 120.

¹⁶⁸⁷ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 68, 1936-1944: Extract of the minutes of the meeting of the Federal Council, by the Federal Council, Bern, 8.2.1935, p. 3.

Golaz¹⁶⁸⁸, the attitude towards the SBB, for instance, changed. While Haab had been part of the SBB's general direction before his call to the government, Pilet-Golaz had fought against the officials' right to strike in 1926.¹⁶⁸⁹ Thus, the SBB could not count on the backing by the crucial Federal Councilor so much as before, which weighed all the more as the car gained importance quickly. Additionally, Pilet-Golaz supported the deflationist measures of his colleague, the Federal Councilor Jean-Marie Musy, which implied a reduction of the public expenditure,¹⁶⁹⁰ which was not favourable for the SBB either. Too threatening were their increasing deficits. The EAV, however, had been established and renamed in order to make clear that the office did not only treat all questions relevant to the railways, but also – newly – to the cars and to tourism.¹⁶⁹¹ And it took this task seriously. When neither the criticisms nor the parliamentary instructions concerning the SVZ or the country's tourism promotion halted after the reorganization of 1933, the EAV reacted immediately and with determination. Its reaction stood for a heightened awareness of tourism and of the new political-economic reality on part of the federal administration and the federal government.

Thirdly, as will be shown in chapter 5.5.2 *The clearing system and its impact for tourism 1934-1939*, tourism gained some importance when it was compensated with coal in the clearing agreements with Germany. As coal still represented one of the main energy sources used in Switzerland during the Interwar Period, Switzerland depended on Germany in this respect. Germany knew how to exploit this situation in its favour and linked the Swiss earnings generated by German tourists with the value of the German coal bought by Switzerland. It did therefore not astonish that Pilet-Golaz acknowledged tourism as part of Switzerland's trade policy.¹⁶⁹² This implied, however, a stricter guidance by the federal administration. An empowerment of the SVZ, which the confederation was already part of and intended to strengthen its position in, therefore seemed an easy way for the confederation to react on these

¹⁶⁸⁸ According to Favez, Jean-Claude, "Pilet-Golaz, Marcel", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2009, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D4641.php> (accessed 25.6.2009), Pilet-Golaz led the EPED between 1930 and 1939.

¹⁶⁸⁹ Favez, Pilet-Golaz, Marcel, 2009.

¹⁶⁹⁰ Favez, Pilet-Golaz, Marcel, 2009.

¹⁶⁹¹ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 68, 1936-1944: Extract of the minutes of the meeting of the Federal Council, by the Federal Council, Bern, 8.2.1935, p. 3.

¹⁶⁹² Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_008_04, 1936-1937: "Réponse de M. le Conseiller fédéral Pilet-Golaz au postulat de M. von Almen, Conseiller national", by Pilet-Golaz to the National Council, [Berne], 30.9.1936, p. 6-7.

changed realities and needs. The administration's grip to the SVZ did not astonish anymore in this context.

The administration's grip to the SVZ mainly comprised the fact that the EAV did not relinquish hold over the reorganization of Switzerland's tourism promotion. It sent excerpts from the report of 1936 to some chosen experts who mainly welcomed the proposed empowerment of the SVZ by means of the incorporation of the SBB's agencies abroad.¹⁶⁹³ The EAV consequently convened a think tank consisting of the members of the country's touristic-political organizations in order to get their support for the creation of a successor of the SVZ.¹⁶⁹⁴ The name, which finally even gained acceptance, resembled the SVZ' name – "Schweizerische Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung" (SZV) –, and described a project which mainly aimed at eliminating the organizational flaws.¹⁶⁹⁵ In doing this, the project complemented the "Projekt Keller" which had focused on additional financial means for Switzerland's tourism promotion,¹⁶⁹⁶ and thereby solved the two problems – too few financial means and organizational problems –, which had set in motion all the efforts for reorganization in the middle of the 1920s. The administration's intention to come to terms with the question of the reorganization occurred throughout the preparatory works. After Pilet-Golaz had presented and elaborated on the envisioned central organization, basing on the empowerment of the SVZ, in parliament in September 1936, he presided over a conference in May 1937 at the occasion of which some suggestions of the SHV for the project of the EAV were discussed.¹⁶⁹⁷ The minutes of this conference reveal clearly, that Pilet-Golaz and the EAV did not hesitate to menace. According to them, the future of the confederation's financial contributions in favour of tourism promotion was endangered, but could be saved if the industry was ready to agree with an organizational unleashing, see the establishment of a

¹⁶⁹³ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_013_01, 1938-1940: "Organisation der gesamtschweizerischen Verkehrswerbung im Ausland", by the EAV to the cantonal representatives, Bern, Februar 1938, p. 7-8.

¹⁶⁹⁴ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_013_01, 1938-1940: "Organisation der gesamtschweizerischen Verkehrswerbung im Ausland", by the EAV to the cantonal representatives, Bern, Februar 1938, p. 8.

¹⁶⁹⁵ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_013_01, 1938-1940: "Organisation der gesamtschweizerischen Verkehrswerbung im Ausland", by the EAV to the cantonal representatives, Bern, Februar 1938, p. 8.

¹⁶⁹⁶ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_013_01, 1938-1940: "Organisation der gesamtschweizerischen Verkehrswerbung im Ausland", by the EAV to the cantonal representatives, Bern, Februar 1938, p. 8-9.

¹⁶⁹⁷ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_008_04, 1936-1937: "Protokollnotiz über die Konferenz betr. Reorganisation der Verkehrswerbung", by [Buchli] of the EAV to the members of the conference, Bern, 26.5.1937, p. 1.

standardized organization.¹⁶⁹⁸ Why did Pilet-Golaz press the industry for a solution so much and exactly at this time? Basically, he gave two reasons:

Firstly, the Werbegemeinschaft had only succeeded in guaranteeing the extraordinary credits by the confederation in favour of tourism (promotion) in the previous years, nothing more. It therefore acted more or less as a "Finanzierungskonsortium".¹⁶⁹⁹ These credits were, however, not guaranteed for the future, so that their continuation needed a fundamental reasoning. In fact, the EAV had to prepare the reasons for their transfer into the budget for 1938 at this point of time, see in spring/summer 1937. Thus, secondly, there was a temporal pressure, as if there was no solution now, it would be probable that additional money for tourism promotion would be hard to obtain in the long term.¹⁷⁰⁰ In short: If Switzerland's tourism industry was not ready to agree upon a solution capable of securing a majority now, there was no guarantee for future money. Pilet-Golaz uttered this openly:

Für sich allein ist das Organisationsproblem nicht von besonderer Wichtigkeit, aber der Zusammenhang mit der Frage der Finanzierung durch Bundesmittel darf nicht übersehen werden. [...] Wir drängen nicht gegen den Willen der Interessenten auf eine Entscheidung; wir können aber unter Hinweis auf die erwähnten Zusammenhänge für die Erhaltung der heute fliessenden Bundesmittel, insbesondere des Spezialkredites von Fr. 500 000, gar keine Garantie übernehmen.¹⁷⁰¹

This was a menace which weighed all the more as, during the previous years, the confederation's financial support for tourism promotion had steadily increased:

Während die Aufwendungen für die Verkehrswerbung aus Bundesmitteln vor ganz wenigen Jahren noch auf Fr. 200 000 als Beitrag an die SVZ beschränkt waren, haben sie für 1936 den Betrag einer vollen Million erreicht, wobei die in der gleichen Zeit erfolgten Erhöhungen der Leistungen von SBB und PTT nicht berücksichtigt sind. Für die Zukunft gesichert ist aber einzig der relativ bescheidene Beitrag an die SVZ, denn schon

¹⁶⁹⁸ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_008_04, 1936-1937: "Protokollnotiz über die Konferenz betr. Reorganisation der Verkehrswerbung", by [Buchli] of the EAV to the members of the conference, Bern, 26.5.1937, p. 7.

¹⁶⁹⁹ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_013_01, 1938-1940: "Organisation der gesamtschweizerischen Verkehrswerbung im Ausland", by the EAV to the cantonal representatives, Bern, Februar 1938, p. 6.

¹⁷⁰⁰ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_008_04, 1936-1937: "Protokollnotiz über die Konferenz betr. Reorganisation der Verkehrswerbung", by [Buchli] of the EAV to the members of the conference, Bern, 26.5.1937, p. 7.

¹⁷⁰¹ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_008_04, 1936-1937: "Protokollnotiz über die Konferenz betr. Reorganisation der Verkehrswerbung", by [Buchli] of the EAV to the members of the conference, Bern, 26.5.1937, p. 7.

der Beitrag an die Werbegemeinschaft ist gefährdet, weil er aus dem Kredit für die Ausländerfahrpreismässigung geschöpft wird. Der Sonderkredit von Fr. 500 000 konnte schon 1936 nur dank ganz besonderer Umstände erhältlich gemacht werden, [...]. Ohne eine ganz besondere und überzeugende Begründung wird es voraussichtlich unmöglich sein, den Kredit für das Jahr 1938 zu retten.¹⁷⁰²

And indeed, until 1938, the confederation's financial support for the country's general tourism promotion had amounted to a million Swiss Francs – that is 15.5 million Swiss Francs of 2009 –,¹⁷⁰³ encompassing the confederation's contribution to the SVZ, its contributions to the Werbegemeinschaft, the contributions of the confederation's transport companies to the Werbegemeinschaft and extraordinary credits. It is important to note that the public expenses shown in figure 32 encompassed only the expenses for the general promotion. This implied the expenses paid by the confederation for touristic promotional campaigns for the whole country, unspecific with reference to the means of transport, for instance. Basically, the SVZ was responsible for the general promotion, but after 1933 the Werbegemeinschaft paid the general campaigns, and after 1936, the extraordinary credits supported these efforts. The whole expenses for the Publizitätsdienst der SBB, its agencies abroad and its campaigns, the SVZ' cost for the main seat (rents, salaries, stationary and office supply, etc.) and its agencies abroad are not included in the sums shown in figure 32! If the confederation's expenses for the Publizitätsdienst der SBB and the fees of the SVZ' private members were taken into account, too – as the federal administration did in its calculations for the message to the parliament in 1939 –, the overall expenses of the confederation for the country's tourism promotion amounted to four million Swiss Francs in 1938 – that is roughly some 62 million Swiss Francs of 2009!¹⁷⁰⁴

¹⁷⁰² Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_008_04, 1936-1937: "Protokollnotiz über die Konferenz betr. Reorganisation der Verkehrswerbung", by [Buchli] of the EAV to the members of the conference, Bern, 26.5.1937, p. 3.

¹⁷⁰³ According to Pfister; Studer, Swistoval, [s.d.] (accessed 11.9.2015), one million Swiss Francs in 1938 equals roughly 15,5 million Swiss Francs in 2009 (deflator: historical wage index).

¹⁷⁰⁴ "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung über die Schaffung einer Schweizerischen Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung. (Vom 17. Januar 1939.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1939, p. 61-84, here 64. According to Pfister; Studer, Swistoval, [s.d.] (accessed 11.9.2015), four million Swiss Francs in 1938 roughly equaled 62 million Swiss Francs in 2009 (deflator: historical wage index).

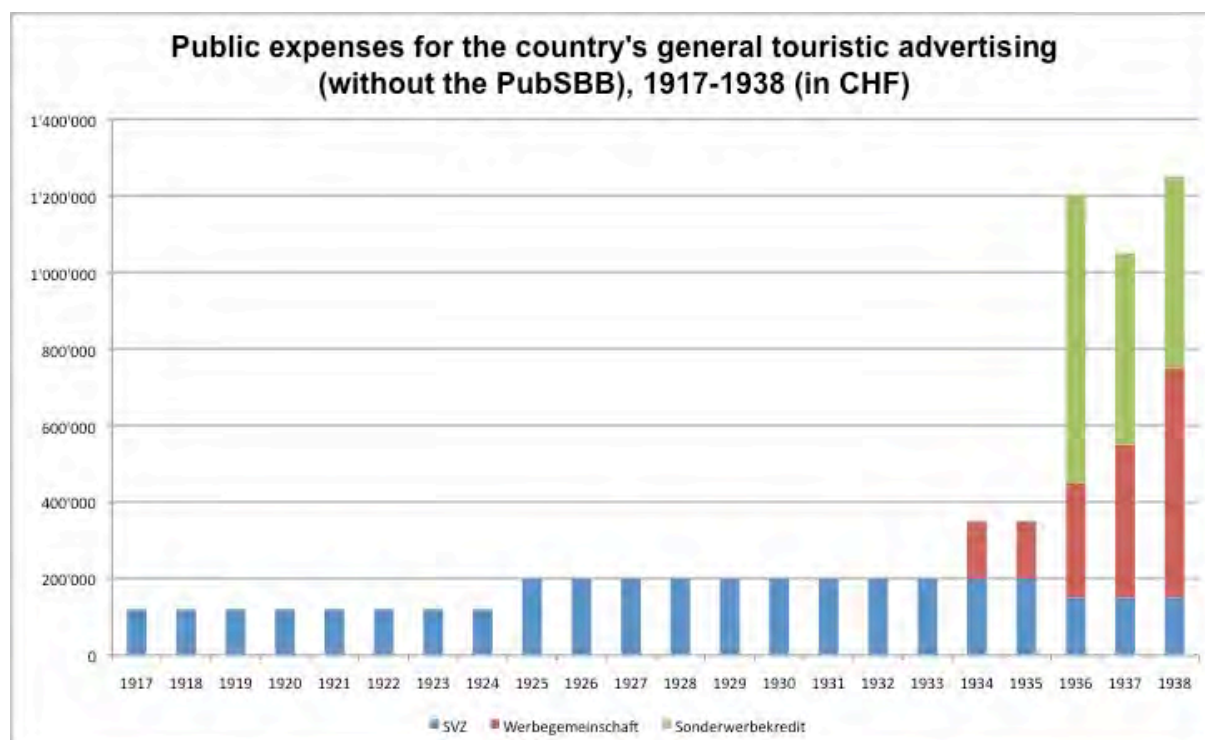


Fig. 32: The confederation's financial support for the country's tourism promotion increased during the Interwar Period, particularly in 1934 and 1936. The legal form for this support ranged from membership fees, over contributions to the *Werbegemeinschaft* by the federal transport enterprises and the EAV to extraordinary credits.

Source: Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_013_01, 1938-1940: "Organisation der gesamtschweizerischen Verkehrswerbung im Ausland", by the EAV to the cantonal representatives, Bern, Februar 1938, p. 4, 7; Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_017_12, 1933: "Uebereinkunft zwischen der Schweizerischen Verkehrszentrale (SVZ) in Zürich, der Generaldirektion der Schweizerischen Post-, Telegraphen- und Telephonverwaltung (PTT) in Bern und der Generaldirektion der Schweizerischen Bundesbahnen (SBB) in Bern zur gemeinsamen Förderung der Verkehrswerbung im Ausland. (Vom 18. September 1933)", by the SVZ, the PTT and the SBB, Zürich / Bern, 18.9.1933, p. 1; "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung über die Schaffung einer Schweizerischen Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung. (Vom 17. Januar 1939.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1939, p. 64.

The *Werbegemeinschaft*, which the EAV joined in 1936, as well as the extraordinary credits increased the confederation's direct involvement in the country's tourism promotion noticeably. Both measures appeared in the middle of the 1930s, when the overnight stays had been falling since 1931,¹⁷⁰⁵ and when, in 1936, the arrivals reached the level of the immediate post-war years, and the overnight stays even heights as in the early 1890s (see chapter 3.1.1 *From boom to overheating: the economic development* and chapter 4.1.1 *The economic development in Switzerland prior to and in the First World War*).¹⁷⁰⁶ The Swiss tourism industry was obviously in need. The parliament reacted on the calls for help from the Swiss tourism industry

¹⁷⁰⁵ Ritzmann-Blickenstorfer, *Gastgewerbe*, 1996, p. 740 (table M1), 741 (table M3).

¹⁷⁰⁶ Müller; Amacher Hoppler, *neutral country*, 2013, p. 108-109.

and passed the extraordinary credit for an extraordinary promotional campaign ("Sonderwerbung") in June 1936.¹⁷⁰⁷ The public expenses for the country's tourism promotion rose consequently, entitling the confederation to control and to interfere in case the financial support was not used adequately.

This new state attitude towards the economy (interference) may explain the governmental-administrative pressure which the EAV put on the Swiss tourism industry between 1936 and 1938. It is noteworthy, however, that this state interference was welcomed by the touristic agents, particularly the hoteliers. Their association, the SHV, namely tried to solve a problem which the association had been dealing with for years: the problem of the free riders. This term described the fact, that not all hoteliers in Switzerland were member of the SHV, but that they also profited from the promotion in favour of the Swiss hotel industry. The members of the SHV paid the association a charge which the association used for promotion.¹⁷⁰⁸ Those hoteliers, who did not pay this charge because they were not member of the SHV, consequently profited. In fact, the charge which the SHV's members paid for promotion covered only some 50 percent of the overall overnight stays in Switzerland.¹⁷⁰⁹ As this fact had been a thorn in the SHV's flesh for a long time, the SHV welcomed a state interference and used this occasion for its preferred solution: It proposed to subordinate *all* Swiss hoteliers to a mandatory advertising tax. This proposition was not a bolt out of the blue, because some cantons – Ticino, Grisons, and Valais – had already introduced such a mandatory advertising tax.¹⁷¹⁰ It also found the support of the head of the EPED, so that the EAV contemplated formulating a message to the parliament concerning a reorganized SVZ accordingly.¹⁷¹¹ The final message, however, foresaw the traditional mode of

¹⁷⁰⁷ "Bundesbeschluss über die Durchführung einer Sonderwerbung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs. (Vom 19. Juni 1936.)", in *Eidgenössische Gesetzessammlung. Amtliche Sammlung der Bundesgesetze und Verordnungen*, Neue Folge, Vol. 52, Bern: Stämpfli, 1937, p. 498.

¹⁷⁰⁸ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_013_01, 1938-1940: "Organisation der gesamtschweizerischen Verkehrswerbung im Ausland", by the EAV to the cantonal representatives, Bern, Februar 1938, p. 10.

¹⁷⁰⁹ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_013_01, 1938-1940: "Organisation der gesamtschweizerischen Verkehrswerbung im Ausland", by the EAV to the cantonal representatives, Bern, Februar 1938, p. 9-10.

¹⁷¹⁰ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_013_01, 1938-1940: "Organisation der gesamtschweizerischen Verkehrswerbung im Ausland", by the EAV to the cantonal representatives, Bern, Februar 1938, p. 9-10.

¹⁷¹¹ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_013_01, 1938-1940: "Organisation der gesamtschweizerischen Verkehrswerbung im Ausland", by the EAV to the cantonal representatives, Bern, Februar 1938, p. 10.

financing,¹⁷¹² that is the financing by means of member fees and state subsidies. Inside the administration, the concept of a mandatory tax for tourism promotion on the national level was rejected despite the few cantonal examples.¹⁷¹³ In the federal administration's opinion, not the tourist should be charged with a tax, but the touristic enterprise in form of a trade tax.¹⁷¹⁴ The administration's jurists had some reservations relating to constitutional law about a tax on a tourist.¹⁷¹⁵ As a consequence, the SHV's plan was unsuccessful.

The EAV decisive action continued with the writing of a message to the parliament. The final message of 17th January 1939 proposed a draft of the organizational articles of association which foresaw that the income of the reorganized SVZ (the SZV) should base on:

- the confederation's expenditures in favour of the SZV,
- the contributions of the members,
- the yields out of the SZV's commercial activities,
- voluntary contributions.¹⁷¹⁶

According to the message, the confederation's expenditures in favour of the SZV would be composed of a fix and a flexible contribution, the later amounting to 50 percent of the members' contributions, but not exceeding 500'000 Swiss Francs – that is 7.8 million Swiss Francs in 2009.¹⁷¹⁷

In summary, the confederation's direct contribution to the SZV would amount to three million Swiss Francs (see 46.6 million Swiss Francs of 2009).¹⁷¹⁸ An indirect support

¹⁷¹² "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung über die Schaffung einer Schweizerischen Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung. (Vom 17. Januar 1939.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1939, p. 61-84, p. 84.

¹⁷¹³ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/86, 3, 1926-1954: Internal report by the EAV to the head of the department, Bern, 19.9.1938, p. 3.

¹⁷¹⁴ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/86, 3, 1926-1954: Internal report by the EAV to the head of the department, Bern, 19.9.1938, p. 3.

¹⁷¹⁵ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/86, 3, 1926-1954: Internal report by the EAV to the head of the department, Bern, 19.9.1938, p. 3.

¹⁷¹⁶ "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung über die Schaffung einer Schweizerischen Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung. (Vom 17. Januar 1939.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1939, p. 61-84, p. 84.

¹⁷¹⁷ "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung über die Schaffung einer Schweizerischen Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung. (Vom 17. Januar 1939.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1939, p. 61-84, p. 77. Conversion according to Pfister; Studer, Swistoval, [s.d.] (accessed 11.9.2015) (deflator: historical wage index).

¹⁷¹⁸ According to Pfister; Studer, Swistoval, [s.d.] (accessed 11.9.2015), three million Swiss Francs in 1939 roughly equaled some 46.6 million Swiss Francs in 2009 (deflator: historical wage index).

would additionally be achieved by the contributions of the confederation's two transport enterprises, the SBB and the PTT, to the SZV.¹⁷¹⁹ Such a financial engagement was obviously not made out of pure altruism and had to be supervised carefully on the part of the confederation. As a consequence, the draft for a federal decree changed the legal status of the new institution in comparison with the SVZ: the SZV should be a corporation under public law ("öffentlich-rechtliche Körperschaft").¹⁷²⁰ With the acceptance of this federal decree by the parliament on the 20th and 21st September 1939 and by the Federal Council on 25th June 1940,¹⁷²¹ the SVZ' successor also from a legal point of view became a public institution. This reflected tourism promotion's ranking as a part of national politics, a scenario which was not intended by the first initiators in the 1910s (see chapter 4.2.3 *First draft of the articles of association: motives and propositions (1913)*), but which became compelling in the federal administration's opinion after 1936. Additionally, it showed the changed importance on the Swiss mobility market, mainly characterized by a rail sector which was challenged by the car – and to a small extent: air – traffic. The competition with the car was one of the factors why the 20 years long resistance of the SBB to hand over the travel agencies abroad to the new institution for tourism promotion broke. This new reality was taken into account by the federal administration when it centralized Switzerland's tourism promotion. As a consequence, the confederation's influence in tourism promotion was definitely higher at the end than at the beginning of the Interwar Period.

As this chapter has revealed the confederation's increasing engagement and support in favour of, but also control of the Swiss tourism industry, we are now able to answer some parts of the leading question (see chapter 1.1 *Leading question*). Particularly, the question why and how the confederation supported, controlled and demanded the country's tourism industry has been clarified:

¹⁷¹⁹ "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung über die Schaffung einer Schweizerischen Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung. (Vom 17. Januar 1939.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1939, p. 61-84, p. 77.

¹⁷²⁰ "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung über die Schaffung einer Schweizerischen Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung. (Vom 17. Januar 1939.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1939, p. 61-84, p. 77.

¹⁷²¹ "Bundesbeschluss über die Errichtung einer Schweizerischen Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung. (Vom 21. September 1939.)", in *Eidgenössische Gesetzessammlung. Amtliche Sammlung der Bundesgesetze und Verordnungen*, Neue Folge, Vol. 56, Bern: Stämpfli, 1941, p. 943-944.

The support concentrated on financial means, which increased particularly from 1933 onwards (Werbegemeinschaft), and which firstly appeared in an indirect way – that is via the SBB's and PTT's contribution to the Werbegemeinschaft –, and from 1936 onwards, in a direct way – that is via the EAV's contribution to the Werbegemeinschaft and the extra credit for tourism promotion, which had been issued in the course of the emergency legislation. In accordance with its contributions, the confederation always sent representatives to the steering organs of the SVZ (see chapter 5.2.1 *The structure of the SVZ*) in order to control the use of the confederation's financial means. In the case of the extra credit, the SVZ even had to render a detailed account of the credit (see chapter 5.2.2.6 *Extra credit of 1936*). What did the confederation demand from the SVZ for this support? Because of tourism's economic importance, the confederation took over the lead in the organization of Switzerland's tourism promotion. After the Werbegemeinschaft helped the SVZ to overcome the acute crisis around 1932, the confederation took the lead, all the more as the different parliamentary instructions in the following years continuously called for more state intervention (see chapter 5.3.2.5 *Postulates 1932-1938: A Federal Department for Tourism?*). Facing the considerable financial means for tourism promotion, the confederation wanted to improve the control over them and headed for a centralized state institution in the second half of the 1930s (see chapter 5.3.2.7 *The EAV takes the lead*). The SVZ had to follow.

5.4 Rebellious tourism industry: Questions of the alien's branch of the police

Tourism basically is a field of economic activity which touches a variety of political questions. Even a marketing organization like the SVZ could not escape the manifold political inclinations, all the more as it was established in times of war and spent its first years of existence in the immediate post-war years. Such transitional phases usually are quite complicated, yet important in terms of juridical considerations, because the exceptional rules of the war period are relinquished or transferred into a new normality which often includes issues of the war period.¹⁷²² With regard to tourism, the field of the alien's branch of the police perfectly exemplifies this. After a

¹⁷²² Frech; Gees; Kropf; Meier, *Bilaterale Arrangements und korporatistischer Entscheidungsprozess*, 2002, p. 250, show this for Switzerland after the Second World War, when the peak associations, which had formed the economic delegations of the confederation during the war, turned into the so called "Permanent Economic Delegations" (Translation by AAH of "Ständige Wirtschaftsdelegationen").

very liberal era which coined 19th century Europe, the First World War brought along the closing of the borders and a hitherto unknown quantity of rules, requirements and bans concerning the crossing of the borders. Obviously, this touched tourism directly and immediately and showed well tourism's dependency on the policy on foreigners. With the "Zentralstelle für Fremdenpolizei", Switzerland founded a federal institution in November 1917 – that is exactly on the same time like the SVZ! –, which newly decided upon the requirements and circumstances for crossing the Swiss border. In the immediate post-war years, this institution secured its legitimacy by following a very restrictive policy on foreigners – much to the tourists' regret.

The SVZ, which functioned as the spokesman of the Swiss tourism industry at that time – that is, until the SFV was founded (see chapter 5.5.3 *The Schweizerischer Fremdenverkehrsverband (SFV)*) –, heavily opposed this restrictive policy. It is here, where the SVZ put all his lobbying-capacity into and heavily defended tourism's interest. In doing so, the SVZ purely behaved like an interest association in the 19th century (see chapter 4.1.2.2 *The Swiss system of interest associations, cartelization, state interference*). As the following lines will show, in its lobbying in favour of Switzerland's tourism industry, the SVZ' was successful. Lobbying was *the* activity of the SVZ which the SVZ focused on in its first years. All the networking and the contacts with the administration (see chapter 5.2.2.2 *Advertising materials and networking*) aimed, finally, at defending the Swiss tourism industry's interests. As the lobbying was one of the SVZ' activities, which were quite complex, we dedicate a whole chapter to the question what the SVZ' activities were. In doing so, we contribute to an answer on how the federal administration controlled and demanded tourism in the Interwar Period (see chapter 1.1 *Leading question*).

As the topic is quite technical in a legal sense, a short historical survey of the legal requirements for tourists and some technical explanations open up this chapter. Thereafter, the SVZ's role will be shed light on by means of some sources, but also by the help of the literature. One scientific contribution heavily lays the base for this chapter: Gast wrote his dissertation about the federal alien's branch of the police ("Eidgenössische Zentralstelle für Fremdenpolizei") in 1997, in particular about its establishment and its first two decades of existence.¹⁷²³ Apart from the fact that

¹⁷²³ Gast, Uriel, *Von der Kontrolle zur Abwehr. Die eidgenössische Fremdenpolizei im Spannungsfeld von Politik und Wirtschaft 1915-1933*, Zürich: Chronos Verlag, 1997.

Gast's analysis also treats a federal institution which came into being at the same time like the SVZ, it ideally contextualizes the SVZ' behaviour, role and inclusion with the administration in the tug-of-war about the questions of the alien's branch of the police. Thus, the political side of and the political interest in tourism did not start as late as 1936. In the field of the federal policy on foreigners, tourism had been an issue since the First World War.

5.4.1 Visa, passports, stamps and taxes: legal requirements for tourists

Travelling in 19th century Europe did not create a lot of problems from a legal point of view. In general, it was not necessary to have a passport,¹⁷²⁴ let alone a visa for crossing the border. In Switzerland, so called "Niederlassungsverträge" regulated the residence of foreigners, his rights to work and to move inside the countries: if he had valid legal documents from his country of origin, a foreigner was given the residence permit and the same rights as a Swiss citizen concerning the practicing of a profession and the freedom of movement.¹⁷²⁵ In Switzerland, the constitution of 1874 prescribed that the cantons and the municipalities decided upon the admission of new immigrants and their naturalization; the confederation only interfered if an immigrant or refugee was politically active.¹⁷²⁶ Thus, a tourist's temporary stay in a Swiss destination did not require any legal permit. A simple border control, which implied a control of the luggage,¹⁷²⁷ awaited a tourist at the Swiss border until 1915, yet there was no obligation to have a visa.¹⁷²⁸

This liberal era abruptly ended at the outbreak of the First World War. In 1915, the confederation tried to take the lead and introduced a federal border and entry control due to its power which the parliament had given to the Federal Council on 3rd August 1914 (see chapter 5.5.1 *The "Vollmachtenregime", 1915-1939*).¹⁷²⁹ The wish for such a nationalization was first uttered by a conference of the cantonal police authorities, but welcomed by the EJPD, because several factors had worsened the

¹⁷²⁴ Maissen, *Geschichte der Schweiz*, 2010, p. 249.

¹⁷²⁵ Hunziker, W.[alter]; Krapf, K.[urt], *Grundriss der Allgemeinen Fremdenverkehrslehre*, Zürich: Polygraphischer Verlag AG, 1942, p. 240.

¹⁷²⁶ Gast, *Fremdenpolizei*, 1997, p. 15.

¹⁷²⁷ Hunziker; Krapf, *Grundriss*, 1942, p. 240.

¹⁷²⁸ Gast, *Fremdenpolizei*, 1997, p. 351.

¹⁷²⁹ Gast, *Fremdenpolizei*, 1997, p. 21, 33. Basing on the "Bundesbeschluss betreffend Massnahmen zum Schutze des Landes und zur Aufrechterhaltung der Neutralität", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. IV, No. 31, 5.8.1914, p. 8-9, the Federal Council received unlimited power for the protection of the country and the upholding of its neutrality.

situation in Switzerland: The food supply began to deteriorate, there were problems with a lot of foreigners who did not possess of any financial means and any legal documents, but, due to the war, could not be sent back or deported anymore, there were the "Niederlassungsverträge" with Germany and Austria which did not suffice in order to deport some "unwelcome elements", and there was the missing control of foreigners between the cantons.¹⁷³⁰ For the tourists, this federal border and entry control implied that a so called "Schriftenkontrolle" was introduced on 25th September 1915.¹⁷³¹ But obviously, it still was possible to enter Switzerland without any legal documents: The cantons had to send a list of foreigners, who have entered Switzerland without any legal documents, to the EJPD every month.¹⁷³² Faced with an ongoing deterioration in the dense situation of the country and articles in the press about "black marketers and war-profiteer",¹⁷³³ the public opinion openly demanded more restrictive entry controls, like, for instance, controls of passports or an identification paper.¹⁷³⁴ The Federal Council reacted on this atmosphere hostile to foreigners by means of his power. On 17th November 1917, it issued a decree about the border control and the control of foreigners ("Verordnung betreffend die Grenzpolizei und die Kontrolle der Ausländer", Ordinance regarding the Police at the Border and the Control of Foreigners), which had several consequences for tourists willing to enter Switzerland:

1. The obligation to have a visa was introduced: In the country of residence where the tourists stayed before they entered Switzerland, the Swiss consulates, embassies or diplomatic missions issued a temporary visa if the tourists possessed of a passport, financial means for their subsistence, and a reference;
2. At the border, the existence of the passport, the visa and the financial means for the subsistence were controlled, and the tourists had to describe their journey in detail at the place of entry;
3. Inside Switzerland, tourists had to:¹⁷³⁵
 - a) register themselves at the cantonal police station of the first

¹⁷³⁰ Gast, Fremdenpolizei, 1997, p. 21, 23.

¹⁷³¹ Gast, Fremdenpolizei, 1997, p. 24.

¹⁷³² Gast, Fremdenpolizei, 1997, p. 25.

¹⁷³³ Translation by AAH of "Schieber und Kriegsgewinnler".

¹⁷³⁴ Gast, Fremdenpolizei, 1997, p. 28, 31-32.

¹⁷³⁵ If not indicated otherwise, the following list of the tourists' duties bases on: Gast, Fremdenpolizei, 1997, p. 35.

destination and it was their host's duty to announce their arrival and stay to the local police,

b) possess a so called "Kontrollkarte", which was valid for the whole country, could be prolonged and which allowed them to temporarily stay in Switzerland.¹⁷³⁶

c) report to the local police station of the old and to register at the new local police station at the new destination in case of a change in the place of residence which lasted longer than 24 hours,

d) to get a stamp ("Abmeldestempel") by the local police of the last place of residence in case of a departure,

Additionally, the alien's branch of the police regularly controlled the guest-lists of hotels and pensions;

4. At the border, all documents and particularly the stamp was controlled when the tourists departed.¹⁷³⁷

Obviously, this decree heavily expanded the bureaucratic apparatus in Berne, as it aimed at a rigorous control at the border.¹⁷³⁸ At the same time, the decree established the so called "Eidgenössische Fremdenpolizei" which supervised all these activities, but was not yet entitled to issue the visa: this act was still left to the consulates and embassies!¹⁷³⁹

Apart from the decree of November 1917, the federal authorities were not ready to liberalise the measures and instruments which they had created during the war, because different threats were too menacing, in their opinion: Bolshevism, the unclear situation in Germany, the general strike in Switzerland and "unwelcome elements".¹⁷⁴⁰ The federal administration thereby formulated all the social, economic and political realities which were considered threats and which formed part of a wider "Überfremdungsdiskurs".¹⁷⁴¹ At the beginning of the 20th century, the political elite warned about the threat of the Swiss cultural, economic and political peculiarities

¹⁷³⁶ Gast, Fremdenpolizei, 1997, p. 37.

¹⁷³⁷ Gast, Fremdenpolizei, 1997, p. 35.

¹⁷³⁸ Gast, Fremdenpolizei, 1997, p. 34, 36.

¹⁷³⁹ Gast, Fremdenpolizei, 1997, p. 39.

¹⁷⁴⁰ Gast, Fremdenpolizei, 1997, p. 353.

¹⁷⁴¹ Skenderovic, Damir, "Fremdenfeindlichkeit", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2012, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D16529.php> (accessed 5.1.2015).

through foreigners. This attitude mounted to a real discourse about the domination by foreign influences at the beginning of the First World War when it also found its way into the administration and its language.¹⁷⁴² In the immediate post-war years, the federal authorities were especially afraid of a domination by foreign influences through Germans and Italians,¹⁷⁴³ the so called "unwelcome elements". Thus, the federal administration hold the supervision over the border control and the establishment provisions on the federal level.¹⁷⁴⁴ Accordingly, the federal alien's branch of the police focused on the deportation of "unwelcome elements", the hindrance of a further immigration and the control over the cantonal policies in the immediate post-war years.¹⁷⁴⁵ A liberalization of the cross-border traffic was therefore delayed until the end of 1921.¹⁷⁴⁶ The lobbyists for tourism in Switzerland demanded, however, an immediate release. Under their pressure, the Federal Council got through some liberalizations against the will of Heinrich Rothmund, the head of the "Zentralstelle für Fremdenpolizei" of many years' standing.

Facing an excessive crowd of people of civil refugees and in order to improve the survey of "unwelcome elements", the Federal Council decided to centralize the visa competence in the hand of the federal alien's branch of the police in Berne: From 1st February 1919 onwards, all Swiss consulates and diplomatic missions had to present their entry approvals to the federal alien's branch of the police, which finally decided upon them.¹⁷⁴⁷ Meanwhile, the firm controls inside Switzerland were uphold. As a consequence, a tourist's entry to Switzerland could turn into a long-lasting and harassing affair,¹⁷⁴⁸ so that the SVZ reacted quickly. It intervened at the Federal Council by means of letters, petitions and direct contacts in order to decentralize the visa competence again, but only succeeded partially: On the one hand, Swiss ambassadors were allowed to sign a visa for a short-term stay independently from May onwards, and on the other hand, applications for curing and relaxation reasons did not necessitate a medical certificate from April 1919 onwards.¹⁷⁴⁹ These half-hearted liberalization measures did, however, not calm down the Swiss tourism industry, so that another petition by the SVZ to the Federal Council

¹⁷⁴² Skenderovic, *Fremdenfeindlichkeit*, 2012.

¹⁷⁴³ Gast, *Fremdenpolizei*, 1997, p. 355.

¹⁷⁴⁴ Gast, *Fremdenpolizei*, 1997, p. 353.

¹⁷⁴⁵ Gast, *Fremdenpolizei*, 1997, p. 75.

¹⁷⁴⁶ Gast, *Fremdenpolizei*, 1997, p. 76.

¹⁷⁴⁷ Gast, *Fremdenpolizei*, 1997, p. 64.

¹⁷⁴⁸ Gast, *Fremdenpolizei*, 1997, p. 77.

¹⁷⁴⁹ Gast, *Fremdenpolizei*, 1997, p. 78.

of 6th June 1919 led to a Federal Council's decision for liberalization and decentralization on 19th June 1919.¹⁷⁵⁰ As this decision provoked some criticisms in the parliament, the Federal Council complemented his decision by an "Ergänzungsbeschluss" on 11th July 1919, resulting in an

Abbau der Grenzformalitäten und der Einreiseerschwerisse zugunsten des freien Verkehrs und der Fremdenverkehrsindustrie, aber strenge Kontrolle der Aufenthalts- und Niederlassungsgesuche unter Beachtung der als bedrohlich empfundenen wirtschaftlichen Überfremdung und der Arbeitslosigkeit.¹⁷⁵¹

All in all, the federal decrees of June and July 1919 represented a success of the touristic lobby.¹⁷⁵² The liberalization of June and July 1919 implied the following for tourism in Switzerland:

1. A far-reaching decentralization of the visa competence in June:
 - a) the Swiss missions abroad were newly allowed to issue the entry approvals for a limited duration independently,
 - b) all Swiss embassies in Europe were newly allowed to issue the entry approvals valid for two months independently,
 - c) the Swiss consulates in countries where no political and economic danger came from (Italy and Germany were considered to be a threat for the Swiss labour market, expressed in the term "wirtschaftliche Überfremdung"¹⁷⁵³) were newly allowed to issue the entry approvals valid for two months independently;
 - d) the Swiss missions in countries overseas were newly allowed to sign the passports for Switzerland for the duration of six months maximum.¹⁷⁵⁴
2. Even more liberalization measures for entering Switzerland in July.¹⁷⁵⁵
 - a) All Swiss consulates in France, Italy, Great Britain, the Netherlands, the Scandinavian states and Portugal were newly allowed to sign the passports for the duration of two months maximum;
 - b) The diplomatic missions in Berlin and Vienna were newly allowed to establish their own passport departments, yet the officials running them had to come from the federal alien's branch of the police;

¹⁷⁵⁰ Gast, Fremdenpolizei, 1997, p. 78, 81, 86.

¹⁷⁵¹ Gast, Fremdenpolizei, 1997, p. 88-90.

¹⁷⁵² Gast, Fremdenpolizei, 1997, p. 87.

¹⁷⁵³ Gast, Fremdenpolizei, 1997, p. 376.

¹⁷⁵⁴ Gast, Fremdenpolizei, 1997, p. 86-87.

¹⁷⁵⁵ Gast, Fremdenpolizei, 1997, p. 90.

- c) In exceptional cases, the cantons were newly allowed to prolong the duration of the stays to the amount of up to ten days independently.¹⁷⁵⁶
- 3. A more exact control of the duration of the stays ("Aufenthaltsfristen") from July onwards;
- 4. The entry to and the departure from Switzerland still had to take place at the same place at the border.¹⁷⁵⁷

Although the decrees from June and July 1919 broadly included the SVZ' demands, the situation for the tourists were not simplified at once. Apart from Rothmund's obstructionism which implied that he simply did not communicate the federal decree of June 1919 to the Swiss diplomatic deputies abroad, the embassies and consulates were not prepared to the new phase of Swiss policy on foreigners and applied the new rules very differently.¹⁷⁵⁸ Moreover, a lot of visa applications also were approved with a certain delay by the Swiss diplomatic deputies.¹⁷⁵⁹

The touristic lobbyists' criticism continued after these federal decrees. Principally aiming at a full *cancellation of the obligation to have a visa* for tourists,¹⁷⁶⁰ they repeated their demands again and again between 1919 and 1921 (see below). The Federal Council, which broadly supported the liberalization for tourists issued a last emergency decree by means of his power in November 1921. The "Verordnung über die Kontrolle der Ausländer"¹⁷⁶¹ (Ordinance regarding the Control of Foreigners) of 29th November 1921 turned the traditional system of visa inside out.¹⁷⁶² While the competence to sign a visa was given back to the cantons, the meaning of a visa changed: It was no longer a federal permit to stay for foreigners, but it was reduced to a simple permit to cross the border.¹⁷⁶³ As a consequence, a foreigner had to let approve a stay in Switzerland only when the duration for registration (three months for tourists, eight days for employees) ended.¹⁷⁶⁴ A tourist could consequently stay in

¹⁷⁵⁶ Gast, Fremdenpolizei, 1997, p. 90.

¹⁷⁵⁷ Gast, Fremdenpolizei, 1997, p. 90.

¹⁷⁵⁸ Gast, Fremdenpolizei, 1997, p. 93.

¹⁷⁵⁹ Gast, Fremdenpolizei, 1997, p. 93-94.

¹⁷⁶⁰ Gast, Fremdenpolizei, 1997, p. 168.

¹⁷⁶¹ "Verordnung über die Kontrolle der Ausländer. (Vom 29. November 1921.)", in *Amtliche Sammlung der Bundesgesetze und Verordnungen der schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft*, Neue Folge, Vol. 37, Bern: Stämpfli & Cie., 1921, p. 825-833.

¹⁷⁶² Gast, Fremdenpolizei, 1997, p. 180.

¹⁷⁶³ Gast, Fremdenpolizei, 1997, p. 180.

¹⁷⁶⁴ Gast, Fremdenpolizei, 1997, p. 180.

Switzerland without any approval, as long as he did not stay longer than three months – a case which may have been valid for a lot of tourists. This change in the visa system, which fully contradicted Rothmund's original opinion, was backed up by the international – the League of Nations strongly supported liberalization¹⁷⁶⁵ – and national efforts of Switzerland to liberalize the border crossing. The Federal Political Department, responsible for the foreign policy, reserved the right to lead Switzerland's foreign policy as it did not only object the missing flexibility of the federal alien's branch of the police, but principally supported the cancellation of the obligation to have a visa for tourists.¹⁷⁶⁶ In fact, Switzerland had agreed upon a special visa with France, Great Britain, North America, Belgium and the Netherlands since 1920, with Italy, Japan, China, Liechtenstein, Portugal, Central and South America, Norway and Germany since 1921.¹⁷⁶⁷ The Swiss tourism lobby was therefore approximately in line with the official Swiss foreign policy.

It is noteworthy, that the agreements usually were bi- and not multilateral. Switzerland obviously negotiated with every single country because this allowed to specifically consider the threats which the respective country generated for Switzerland. This strategy soon had the effect that Switzerland closed the border for Germans in autumn 1923 after France had occupied the Ruhr area in January and the increasing inflation in Germany in the first half of 1923 let a lot of Germans try to enter Switzerland.¹⁷⁶⁸ Although the border was partially opened in December of the same year again – only a month after the crushing of the Hitler-Ludendorff-Putsch –, the Swiss tourism industry suffered heavy losses.¹⁷⁶⁹ Germany – together with Italy – was the country, which Switzerland was mostly afraid of in terms of the "Überfremdung".¹⁷⁷⁰ A selective policy which took such fears into consideration was, however, not limited to Switzerland: While the League of Nations and export-oriented branches of the economy boosted an opening of the borders, France, Switzerland, the USA and Germany issued prohibitive laws in the field of residence and immigration between 1920 and 1925.¹⁷⁷¹ All in all, the trend was in favour of tourism, see liberalization advanced.

¹⁷⁶⁵ Gast, Fremdenpolizei, 1997, p. 353-354.

¹⁷⁶⁶ Gast, Fremdenpolizei, 1997, p. 175-176.

¹⁷⁶⁷ Gast, Fremdenpolizei, 1997, p. 173.

¹⁷⁶⁸ Gast, Fremdenpolizei, 1997, p. 242.

¹⁷⁶⁹ Gast, Fremdenpolizei, 1997, p. 244-245.

¹⁷⁷⁰ Gast, Fremdenpolizei, 1997, p. 355.

¹⁷⁷¹ Gast, Fremdenpolizei, 1997, p. 353-354.

The liberalization era between 1921 and 1925 was followed by another period of relative freedom in the field of the border-crossing and the policy on foreigners. In 1928/29, when the topic newly occurred in the sources of the SVZ, the liberal handling of the crossing of the border based on the upward trend and the economic relaxation of the second half of the 1920s.¹⁷⁷² Basically, the confederation strove after the stopping of a domination by foreign influences, for which the confederation got the "Oberhoheit über die Zulassung von Ausländern" that is the supreme authority over the acceptance of foreigners, and made the acceptance of foreigners dependable from the ability of the Swiss labor market to absorb foreign employees and workers.¹⁷⁷³ The confederation thereby obviously aimed at the protection of the domestic labor market.¹⁷⁷⁴

5.4.2 Touristic criticisms of the federal alien's branch of the police

From point of view of the Swiss tourism industry, the liberal pre-war order should be reached again as soon as possible. The fact that the completely destroyed European tourism would develop differently compared to the development prior to the war was understood by the touristic experts and lobbyists, but they did not have any idea about the new form how things would happen. As Schumacher showed for the Swiss hoteliers, the SHV froze in a retrospective orientation and considered the crises as a temporary disturbance of normality.¹⁷⁷⁵ The tourism lobby's efforts fully aimed at the return of this normality, which, however, was never to happen. The fact that the measures taken and the demands repeatedly formulated by the tourism lobby often were very similar showed its missing flexibility. Yet, this erratic behaviour corresponded with the inflexible, xenophobic behaviour of the "Eidgenössische Fremdenpolizei", which often aimed at the exact opposite of what the tourism lobbyists aimed at. The opposition was personalized in the two institutions' heads. Gast named Junod as the "Gegenspieler Rothmunds" who "jeden erdenklichen Hebel angesetzt habe, um die frühere Freizügigkeit und im Reiseverkehr wiederherzustellen".¹⁷⁷⁶ What were the SVZ' main points in its criticism of the federal alien's branch of the police?

¹⁷⁷² Gast, Fremdenpolizei, 1997, p. 355.

¹⁷⁷³ Gast, Fremdenpolizei, 1997, p. 355.

¹⁷⁷⁴ Gast, Fremdenpolizei, 1997, p. 355.

¹⁷⁷⁵ Schumacher, Krise, 1997, p. 83.

¹⁷⁷⁶ Gast, Fremdenpolizei, 1997, p. 77.

5.4.2.1 Cancellation of the duty to have a visa, no taxes, no chicanes (early 1920s)

In the immediate post-war period, the SVZ took up the often uttered complaints by tourists about the harassing treatment at the border. Its criticisms were quite sharp as the SVZ only formulated what the general opinion was: It was considered necessary to open and simplify the controls at the borders and the traffic into Switzerland.¹⁷⁷⁷ As Gast has pointed out, the petitions, letters and personal contacts of the SVZ started already in 1919 as a reaction to the centralization of the visa competence in Berne which delayed the answers to entry-applications and provoked harassing treatments of tourists at the border.¹⁷⁷⁸ In August 1919, the board of management of the SVZ decided to send a petition to the Federal Council which based on some experiences by tourists entering Switzerland: English tourists, for instance, had to present a "Leumunds- und Gesundheitszeugnis und einen Nachweis der Subsistenzmittel [...] und ein Formular mit 22 Fragen [...]."¹⁷⁷⁹ The fact that tourists had to enter and leave Switzerland at the same border crossing station also provoked the touristic lobbyists' anger, similarly the slow execution by the Swiss consulate in Paris.¹⁷⁸⁰ The most important demand, however, was the cancellation of the duty to have a visa, an obligation which was only liberalized for countries overseas which did not menace the Swiss labor market in this time.¹⁷⁸¹

The topics were repeatedly subject to the general assemblies, for instance in the central speech by Quattrini at the occasion of the general assembly in 1920. According to Quattrini, the SVZ had contacted the Federal Council in order to simplify the entry into Switzerland for the tourists, but the alien's branch of the federal police only partially accepted the SVZ' wishes.¹⁷⁸² In the police' opinion, the tourists did not stay away because of the Swiss regulations, but because of the foreign restrictions and the foreign exchange rates.¹⁷⁸³ For the SVZ, the problems still based on the Swiss legal requirements for an entry.¹⁷⁸⁴ Such opposite views characterized the

¹⁷⁷⁷ Gast, Fremdenpolizei, 1997, p. 354.

¹⁷⁷⁸ Gast, Fremdenpolizei, 1997, p. 77.

¹⁷⁷⁹ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: "Protokoll der Vorstandssitzung vom 29. August 1919 [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Bern, 29.8.1919, p. 3.

¹⁷⁸⁰ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: "Protokoll der Vorstandssitzung vom 29. August 1919 [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Bern, 29.8.1919, p. 2.

¹⁷⁸¹ Gast, Fremdenpolizei, 1997, p. 345, 354.

¹⁷⁸² BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: "Protokoll der III. Generalversammlung. [...] den 7. Juni 1920 [...]", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Bern, 7.6.1920, p. 4.

¹⁷⁸³ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: "Protokoll der III. Generalversammlung. [...] den 7. Juni 1920 [...]", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Bern, 7.6.1920, p. 4.

¹⁷⁸⁴ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: "Protokoll der III. Generalversammlung. [...] den 7. Juni 1920 [...]", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Bern, 7.6.1920, p. 4.

relationship between the SVZ and the federal alien's branch of the police around 1920. Accordingly, the general assemblies of 1920 and 1921 each passed a resolution with respect to the topic.

In 1920, the following resolution was unanimously passed by the general assembly:

Der hohe Bundesrat wird ersucht, die bestehenden Vorschriften über die Kontrolle der Ausländer in dem Sinne zu erleichtern, dass für die Ein- und Ausreise einzig die Vorweisung des visierten Passes verlangt wird und dass für die Fremdenkontrolle im Inland einzig die Vorschriften in Art. 16 der bundesrätlichen Verordnung vom 17. November 1919 Anwendung finden, unter Ausschluss jeglicher Taxerhebung.¹⁷⁸⁵

Basically, the resolution demanded the cancellation of the duty to have a visa and the cancellation of the taxes which the tourists had to pay when registering in Switzerland.

Similarly, in 1921, the general assembly asked the Federal Council for the following: A tourist should be freed from the duty to enroll at the first destination, the consulates should be freed from the duty to collect extensive fiches, and the visa-competence should finally be given back to the cantons.¹⁷⁸⁶ It is noteworthy, that a proposition to demand the full closing of the federal alien's branch of the police was rejected by the SVZ' general assembly!¹⁷⁸⁷ This showed that the SVZ did not offend the federal alien's branch of the police, because it was fully aware of its dependence: if the SVZ completely annoyed the federal alien's branch of the police, it would only worsen its position for future demands. Junod seems to have been able to balance out the extreme positions inside the SVZ in order to friendly and diplomatically present the SVZ' wishes to the federal alien's branch of the police, the Federal Council or the federal administration. This strategy proved successful, as the border controls were reduced inexorably.¹⁷⁸⁸

¹⁷⁸⁵ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: "Protokoll der III. Generalversammlung. [...] den 7. Juni 1920 [...]", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Bern, 7.6.1920, p. 4-5.

¹⁷⁸⁶ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: "Procès-verbal de la IVme Assemblée Générale [...] le 6 juin 1921 [...]", by the Association nationale pour le développement du tourisme, Berne, 6.6.1921, p. 3.

¹⁷⁸⁷ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: "Procès-verbal de la IVme Assemblée Générale [...] le 6 juin 1921 [...]", by the Association nationale pour le développement du tourisme, Berne, 6.6.1921, p. 2-3.

¹⁷⁸⁸ Gast, Fremdenpolizei, 1997, p. 354.

Another, related subject which provoked discussions in the Swiss tourism industry was the country's customs policy. Switzerland revised its tariffs in 1921 to the detriment of the tourists according to the tourism experts: The SVZ' Verkehrsrat therefore passed a resolution which focused at simplification of the formalities which a tourist obviously had to let go by at the border. The resolution stated the following:

Der hohe Bundesrat wird gebeten, mit allem Nachdruck dahin zu wirken,

dass die Zollformalitäten sowohl bei der Ein- als bei der Ausreise seitens beider angrenzenden Staaten im gleichen Grenzbahnhof erfüllt werden können;

dass in den durchgehenden Zügen und Wagen die Zollrevision des Handgepäcks und die Passkontrolle in den Wagen selbst vorgenommen werde;

dass durch die kürzlich getroffenen Massnahmen betreffend Anwendung des neuen Zolltarifs der internationale Reise- und Fremdenverkehr nicht gefährdet werde.¹⁷⁸⁹

The customs policy also provoked discussions inside the SVZ in the early 1930s when the tariffs for printed materials rose.¹⁷⁹⁰ The SVZ' treatment of the customs policy did not astonish because the working program of 1918 explicitly named it as a field of activity of the SVZ' transport department (see chapter 5.2.2.1 *The working program*).

In summary, the case of the policy on foreigners as well as the case of the customs policy showed that the national politics heavily influenced tourism in Switzerland. Thus, the SVZ, although a marketing organization primarily, automatically also took on a political role. And it did not deny the later! It even used the political dimension as a base for its marketing activities: The minutes of the general assembly of 1923 stated that the SVZ had published a printed note which was added to the whole

¹⁷⁸⁹ ST-Archive, [no reference number]: "Entwurf. Vierter Jahresbericht für den Zeitraum vom 1. Januar bis 31. Dezember 1921", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Zürich, [1922], p. 7; see also (in French): BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 4-6, 1919: "Procès-verbal de la séance [...] 5 décembre 1921 [...]", by the Verkehrsrat, Berne, 5.12.1921, p. 5.

¹⁷⁹⁰ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 36, 1933-1940: "PROTOKOLL der XV. Generalversammlung vom 9. Juni 1932 [...]", by Jatón, secretary, and Häberlin, first vice-president, of the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, [Zürich], 9.6.1932, p. 3.

correspondence destined at abroad and described that Switzerland did not levy any luxury and residence taxes on tourists.¹⁷⁹¹

5.4.2.2 Identity cards and the requirements of the Swiss labour market in 1928

The ongoing liberalizations for tourists changed the focus of the federal alien's branch of the police: Instead of the repelling of foreigners basing on mainly political considerations, the needs of the Swiss labour market prescribed the contingents of foreigners who were allowed to enter Switzerland.¹⁷⁹² Basing on the upward trend in the economic development of the country, this did not automatically imply a repulsion of foreigners. In contrast, some economic branches heavily depended on foreign workers and employees. In the exploitation of granite, marble, lime and sandstone, the percentage of foreigners among the labour force in this branch amounted to 37,6 percent in 1930!¹⁷⁹³ The hotellerie absorbed nine percent of all entry and residence permits of the foreign labour force in Switzerland, or twelve percent of the foreign seasonal workers in 1928.¹⁷⁹⁴

On 18th January 1929, the duty to have a visa was fully cancelled.¹⁷⁹⁵ This based on the one hand on the fact that the post-war migration had stopped and that, on the other hand, the not yet integrated refugees had got the so called "Nansen passport",¹⁷⁹⁶ an "identification card for displaced persons".¹⁷⁹⁷ The federal alien's branch of the police did not fully give up its former motive – the fight against the "Überfremdung" –, but the means to reach it was no longer the repulsion of foreigners at the border – which automatically also touched the tourists –, but a restrictive policy of residence inside Switzerland.¹⁷⁹⁸ Thereby, the tourism lobbyists' predominant claim became obsolete or, in their opinion, they succeeded. Yet, the contact between the SVZ and the federal alien's branch of the police did not stop. In fact, the content of the discussions only changed slightly, because the SVZ continued

¹⁷⁹¹ ST-Archive, [no reference number]: "Fünfter Jahresbericht für den Zeitraum vom 1. Januar bis 31. Dezember 1922", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Einsiedeln, [1923], p. 19.

¹⁷⁹² Gast, *Fremdenpolizei*, 1997, p. 355.

¹⁷⁹³ Gast, *Fremdenpolizei*, 1997, p. 289.

¹⁷⁹⁴ Own calculations basing on Kammerer; Müller; Tanner; Woitek, Online Datenbasis, [s.d.], table F.14a "Visa and Residence Permits to Employed Foreigners by Category, Branches and Gender 1926-1946" (accessed 26.8.2014).

¹⁷⁹⁵ Gast, *Fremdenpolizei*, 1997, p. 275.

¹⁷⁹⁶ Gast, *Fremdenpolizei*, 1997, p. 355.

¹⁷⁹⁷ Sverdrup, Harald Ulrik, "Fridtjof Nansen", in *Encyclopaedia Britannica. Encyclopaedia Britannica Online Academic Edition*, 2013, URL: <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/402678/Fridtjof-Nansen> (accessed 16.7.2013).

¹⁷⁹⁸ Gast, *Fremdenpolizei*, 1997, p. 355.

to fight for a fully liberalized crossing of the border as it had reigned prior to the First World War. Thus, in 1928, a discussion about the acceptance of an identity card started. Although Junod had wanted to and taken steps to make its acceptance possible, the French identity card was not accepted as a substitute for the French passport.¹⁷⁹⁹ Rothmund explained the EJPD's strategy that the visa-requirements depended on the labour market.¹⁸⁰⁰ So, in 1928, when the Swiss labour market was not tight, the EJPD agreed with the suspension of the obligation to carry a passport and accepted the so called "Touristenkarte", even without mutuality!¹⁸⁰¹ This card, however, became invalid in the same year,¹⁸⁰² and the reciprocity was usually a hotly debated object in the negotiations with the different countries.¹⁸⁰³ Nevertheless, in 1931, Rothmund announced to endeavor to accept the identity cards, without giving a guarantee that it would already come into force in the summer.¹⁸⁰⁴ Riesen, CEO of the central office of the Hotelierverein in Basel, thereby explained that the system of identity cards was already in full swing in Basel, as the Swiss "Militärbüchlein" was accepted by the French authorities for crossing the border.¹⁸⁰⁵ Until December 1931, the French and Belgian identity cards were finally accepted, after the SVZ, the SBB and the Hotelierverein had demanded it from the EJPD.¹⁸⁰⁶ Meanwhile, Germany prohibited its citizens from travels to Switzerland by means of a tax of some 100 Mark and a minimal amount of some 200 Mark to take along in case of a departure from the country.¹⁸⁰⁷ Further demands for simplifications at the border were rejected by Rothmund as the later excluded a full suspension of all restrictions because the Swiss labour market would worsen immediately.¹⁸⁰⁸

¹⁷⁹⁹ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 34, 1930-1955: "Protokoll der Sitzung [...] 23. April 1931 [...]", by the Verkehrsrat, [Zürich], 23.4.1931, p. 3.

¹⁸⁰⁰ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 34, 1930-1955: "Protokoll der Sitzung [...] 23. April 1931 [...]", by the Verkehrsrat, [Zürich], 23.4.1931, p. 1, 4.

¹⁸⁰¹ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 34, 1930-1955: "Protokoll der Sitzung [...] 23. April 1931 [...]", by the Verkehrsrat, [Zürich], 23.4.1931, p. 4.

¹⁸⁰² Gast, Fremdenpolizei, 1997, p. 275.

¹⁸⁰³ Gast, Fremdenpolizei, 1997, p. 173.

¹⁸⁰⁴ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 34, 1930-1955: "Protokoll der Sitzung [...] 23. April 1931 [...]", by the Verkehrsrat, [Zürich], 23.4.1931, p. 4.

¹⁸⁰⁵ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 34, 1930-1955: "Protokoll der Sitzung [...] 23. April 1931 [...]", by the Verkehrsrat, [Zürich], 23.4.1931, p. 1, 4.

¹⁸⁰⁶ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 34, 1930-1955: "Protokoll der Sitzung [...] 14. Dezember 1931 [...]", by the Verkehrsrat, Zürich, 14.12.1931, p. 5.

¹⁸⁰⁷ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 34, 1930-1955: "Protokoll der Sitzung [...] 14. Dezember 1931 [...]", by the Verkehrsrat, Zürich, 14.12.1931, p. 4-5.

¹⁸⁰⁸ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 34, 1930-1955: "Protokoll der Sitzung [...] 6. Mai 1932 [...]", by the Verkehrsrat, [Zürich], 6.5.1932, p. 4.

At the end of the 1920s, the longstanding claim of the SVZ as the spokesman of the Swiss tourism industry was finally approved. Switzerland's means of fighting the "Überfremdung" newly focused on a restrictive policy of residence which did not touch tourists as much as the repulsions at the border had done. The SVZ' success in lobbying, however, showed a first step towards the politicization of the Swiss tourism industry, which gained momentum in the 1930s (see chapter 5.5.4 *Politicization of tourism in Switzerland*).

5.5 Subject or object? Tourism and the Swiss foreign trade policy. From the "Vollmachtenregime" to the clearing system and the foundation of the SFV

Apart from the quarrels with the federal alien's branch of the police, the Swiss tourism industry was also exposed to the general economic situation in the tourists' countries of origin as well as to Switzerland's economic-political framework. Although an extensive history of the Swiss foreign trade policy shall not be the subject of discussion here, some aspects of it must be examined in order to understand its implications for tourism in Switzerland. Among others, the Interwar Period saw two modes of state interference in the economy: the "Vollmachtenregime" and the clearing system. While the first was a measure originating in the First World War, the later saw its ascent in the 1930s and produced an immediate result in the Swiss touristic-political landscape. In 1934, a second tourism association on the national level was founded, which took over the representation of the country's tourism industry in the clearing negotiations: the "Schweizerischer Fremdenverkehrsverband (SFV)" (Swiss Tourism Federation). This new association mainly represented the Swiss tourism industry in the clearing negotiations and thereby became its political lobbyist, while the SVZ remained in charge of the country's marketing. Yet, the country's marketing indisputably contributed to the identity of Switzerland. And this was in no ways an unpolitical action, in contrast, all the more as it took place in such an economically, politically and culturally explosive time like the Interwar Period.

This sub-chapter therefore focuses on the SVZ as an object of broader political developments as well as it fathoms out its room for manoeuvre and political organization. In all cases, the SVZ was involved in all three issues. The sources, as a consequence, witness this involvement partially as they refer only to some of the "Vollmachten" (powers) or a special, disputed aspect of a clearing agreement. The

latter were usually discussed in the meetings of the board of management of the SFV.

5.5.1 The "Vollmachtenregime", 1915-1939

Shortly after the outbreak of the First World War, the Swiss parliament entitled the Federal Council with extraordinary power by means of the "dringliche Bundesbeschluss betreffend Massnahmen zum Schutze des Landes und zur Aufrechterhaltung der Neutralität" on 3rd August 1914.¹⁸⁰⁹ This federal decree gave the unlimited power to the Federal Council in order to undertake all measures which were necessary for securing the country's safety, integrity, neutrality, credit and economic interests, particularly the provision of the basic needs, and conceded him an unlimited credit for these purposes.¹⁸¹⁰ In point of view of state organization this decree had a very important consequence: The Federal Council was not bound to the constitution when exercising his power anymore, but took on the role of the legislator, that is the parliament's basic role.¹⁸¹¹ As a consequence, a so called "Notrecht" came into being which had been issued by the executive authority (not the legislative one anymore!) in the form of roughly a thousand regulations by the Federal Council.¹⁸¹² In 1919, the Parliament prolonged the extraordinary power, cancelled it in 1921, but the already issued decrees remained in force.¹⁸¹³ The World Economic Crisis provoked again several extraordinary powers ("ausserordentliche Vollmachten"), mainly in the economic sector. Intended for a short duration, they were prolonged in 1937 and were finally outstripped by some even further-reaching powers in 1939.¹⁸¹⁴ With respect to tourism, the devaluation of the Swiss Franc to the amount of 30 percent by the Federal Council was important. It based on the federal decree "Bundesbeschluss über die Wiederherstellung des finanziellen

¹⁸⁰⁹ Kley, Andreas, *Verfassungsgeschichte der Neuzeit. Grossbritannien, die USA, Frankreich, Deutschland und die Schweiz*, Dritte Auflage, Bern: Stämpfli Verlag AG Bern, 2013, p. 339.

¹⁸¹⁰ The literal citation of Kley, *Verfassungsgeschichte der Neuzeit*, 2013, p. 339 reads as follows: The federal decree "erteilte 'dem Bundesrate unbeschränkte Vollmacht zur Vornahme aller Massnahmen, die für die Behauptung der Sicherheit, Integrität und Neutralität der Schweiz und zur Wahrung des Kredites und der wirtschaftlichen Interessen des Landes, insbesondere auch zur Sicherung des Lebensunterhaltes, erforderlich werden', und räumte ihm 'unbegrenzten Kredit zur Bestreitung der Ausgaben' ein." Kley refers to the following federal decree: "Bundesbeschluss betreffend Massnahmen zum Schutze des Landes und zur Aufrechterhaltung der Neutralität", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. IV, No. 31, 5.8.1914, p. 8-9, here 9, articles 3 and 4.

¹⁸¹¹ Kley, *Verfassungsgeschichte der Neuzeit*, 2013, p. 340.

¹⁸¹² Kley, *Verfassungsgeschichte der Neuzeit*, 2013, p. 341.

¹⁸¹³ Kley, *Verfassungsgeschichte der Neuzeit*, 2013, p. 341.

¹⁸¹⁴ Kley, *Verfassungsgeschichte der Neuzeit*, 2013, p. 350.

Gleichgewichts des Bundeshaushaltes in den Jahren 1936 und 1937" issued on 27th September 1936,¹⁸¹⁵ and brought a relaxation to the Swiss tourism industry, as it made a trip to Switzerland cheaper to the amount of one third at once (see chapter 5.1.1 *The economic development: the effects of the gold standard*). During the Second World War, the "Vollmachtenregime" unleashed its full power, as it was more centralistic, authoritarian and anti-liberalistic than in the First World War.¹⁸¹⁶ Therefore, the term is mainly connoted with the Second World War, but a lot of decrees which were in force after 1939 dated back to the First World War or the Interwar Period.¹⁸¹⁷ Additionally, the Swiss Federal Council made use of a so called "Dringlichkeitsrecht", when decisions had to be made urgently in times of need. In this case, the constitution foresaw the exclusion or postponement of the referendum,¹⁸¹⁸ so that the people or the cantons could not or only later intervene in a matter.¹⁸¹⁹ The Federal Council also applied this right during the First World War and the Interwar Period.¹⁸²⁰ Thus, the parliament as the legislative body – and therewith the democratic control – could be circumvented. Both, the "Vollmachten" (powers) as well as the "Dringlichkeitsrecht" were often applied in the 1930s.¹⁸²¹

5.5.2 The clearing system and its impact for tourism 1934-1939

Due to Frech, we possess a well written description and analysis of the clearing system, a system of agreements which organized the economic exchange of goods, services and capitals between two countries from the World Economic Crisis onward. It ended the more or less free trade era prior to the crisis and developed into its opposite: When the clearing system was in full swing, most of the economic activities were regulated. And Switzerland did not stand behind: It was the first country worldwide which signed a clearing agreement – with Austria and Hungary notably.¹⁸²² Between 1931 and 1949, Switzerland signed agreements with 26 states.¹⁸²³ The

¹⁸¹⁵ Kley, *Verfassungsgeschichte der Neuzeit*, 2013, p. 351.

¹⁸¹⁶ Kley, *Verfassungsgeschichte der Neuzeit*, 2013, p. 366.

¹⁸¹⁷ Kley, Andreas, "Vollmachtenregime", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2013, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D10094.php> (accessed 14.6.2013).

¹⁸¹⁸ Kley, *Vollmachtenregime*, 2013.

¹⁸¹⁹ Kley, *Verfassungsgeschichte der Neuzeit*, 2013, p. 374.

¹⁸²⁰ Kley, *Verfassungsgeschichte der Neuzeit*, 2013, p. 366.

¹⁸²¹ Kley, *Verfassungsgeschichte der Neuzeit*, 2013, p. 374.

¹⁸²² Frech, *Clearing*, 2001, p. 30.

¹⁸²³ Hug, Peter; Kloter, Martin, "Der 'Bilateralismus' in seinem multilateralen Kontext. Die Aussenpolitik der Schweiz zur Sicherung ihres Aussenhandels und Zahlungsverkehrs 1920/30–1958/60", in Hug, Peter; Kloter, Martin (ed.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang des Bilateralismus. Schweizerische Aussen- und*

original intention of being pro-active in order to make a profit soon turned into the opposite: In forced negotiations and re-negotiations Switzerland repeatedly had to accept unfavourable conditions. All in all, however, tourism belonged to the winners of the clearing agreements.¹⁸²⁴ The Swiss government tried to secure Switzerland as a production site in order to pay other groups of creditors like tourism.¹⁸²⁵ Tourism was preferred because it had a positive effect on the situation on the job market, and because it suffered from the postponed devaluation of the Swiss Franc.¹⁸²⁶ Finally, it prevented the Swiss balance of payments to become more negative as it usually was.¹⁸²⁷

But what was the clearing system exactly? How did it work? Which impacts did it have for tourism? According to Frech, the term "clearing" originally described the settlement between banks.¹⁸²⁸ In the 1930s, however, the meaning of this term was transferred to the settlement between nation states, as the actual foreign exchange was eliminated for cross-border payments.¹⁸²⁹ There were instead two closed cycles of currencies, one in each country. Principally, a sum of money can be paid out to an exporter only to the amount to which imports had been made, that's why the exchange rate has to be fixed.¹⁸³⁰ Thus, exports and imports should be roughly equal, otherwise a waiting period results.¹⁸³¹ In practice, this implied that a central office listed the imports and exports. First, the Swiss National Bank uphold a clearing account for this matter, but then, Switzerland founded the so called "Schweizerische Verrechnungsstelle (SVSt)" in order to carry out the first agreement with Germany signed on 26th July 1934.¹⁸³² Consequently, a Swiss importer paid his liabilities to

Aussenwirtschaftspolitik 1930-1960: Rahmenbedingungen, Entscheidungsstrukturen, Fallstudien, Zürich: Chronos Verlag, 1999, p. 13-139, here 56, cited in Frech, Clearing, 2001, p. 31. These countries were: Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Romania, Greece, Turkey, Chile, Deutsches Reich, Italy, Spain, Poland, Iran, Slovakia, Belgium, Denmark, the Netherlands, Norway, Finland, France, Croatia, Great Britain, Argentina, Egypt, Sweden and Portugal.

¹⁸²⁴ Frech, Clearing, 2001, p. 289.

¹⁸²⁵ Frech, Clearing, 2001, p. 290.

¹⁸²⁶ Frech, Clearing, 2001, p. 75.

¹⁸²⁷ According to Frech, Clearing, 2001, p. 40-41, the bottom line of the Swiss balance of trade was negative in 1933, 1934, 1935, 1937 and 1939; during the Second World War, it probably was positive, but: „Bis heute existiert [...] keine offizielle Zahlungsbilanzstatistik für die Kriegsjahre, weil die Bundesbehörden und die Nationalbank aufgrund des Widerstands der Schweizer Wirtschaft keine entsprechenden Daten erhielten.“

¹⁸²⁸ Frech, Clearing, 2001, p. 32.

¹⁸²⁹ Frech, Clearing, 2001, p. 32.

¹⁸³⁰ Frech, Clearing, 2001, p. 32-33.

¹⁸³¹ Frech, Clearing, 2001, p. 33.

¹⁸³² Frech, Clearing, 2001, p. 33, 62.

the SVSt, the SVSt informed its German counterpart, the so called "Deutsche Verrechnungskasse (DVK)",¹⁸³³ which paid the sum out to the German exporter who had originally sold his product to the Swiss importer. Equally, a Swiss exporter got his credits from the SVSt, which had got the money from the Swiss importers. Frech visually summarized the clearing system as follows:

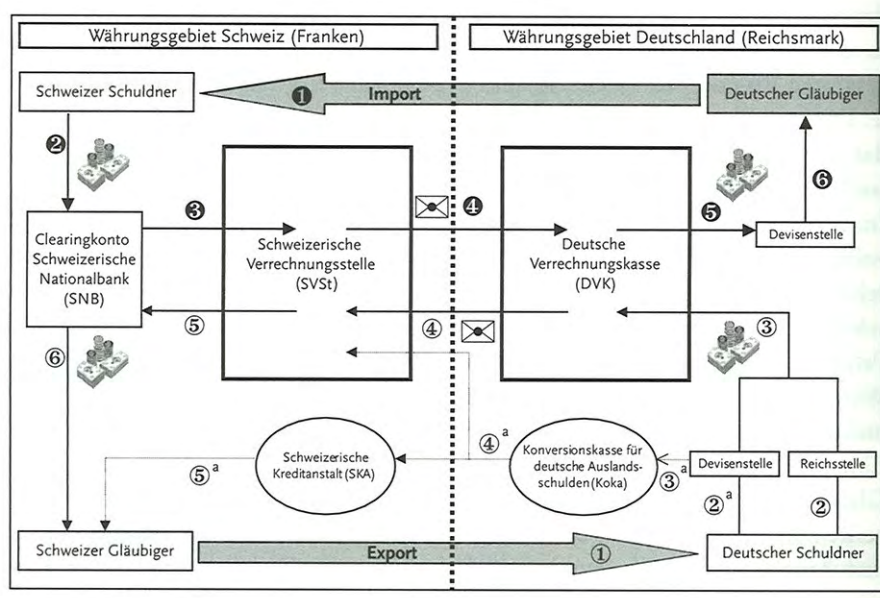


Fig. 33: Visualization of the clearing between Switzerland and Germany.

Source: Frech, Clearing, 2001, p. 34.

Basically, tourism between Germany and Switzerland was subject to the clearing. It happened, however, that besides that, a certain part of it was allowed to be paid in free foreign exchange.¹⁸³⁴ As a consequence, German tourists in Switzerland were allowed to make their payments in free foreign exchange in most cases (see chapter 5.5.3.2 *The SFV and the clearing negotiations*). Although Switzerland's first clearing agreement partners were Austria and Hungary, the most important trading partner for Switzerland was Germany.¹⁸³⁵ Switzerland on its part received the most tourism payments of Germany until 1935.¹⁸³⁶ Between 1934 and 1939, three clearing agreements regulated the German-Swiss touristic exchange, complemented by an additional clause, a stipulation as well as a "Zusatzvereinbarung" (additional agreement) which all based on these three clearing agreements and which also fixed crucial rules for tourism.

¹⁸³³ Frech, Clearing, 2001, p. 34.

¹⁸³⁴ Frech, Clearing, 2001, p. 255.

¹⁸³⁵ Meier, Martin, "Clearing", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2003, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D13779.php> (accessed 14.1.2014).

¹⁸³⁶ Frech, Clearing, 2001, p. 236.

1. The "*Verrechnungsabkommen*" of 26th July 1934: Already in the first clearing agreement with Germany, dating from 26th July 1934, tourism played a certain role: It was the second considered position which the Swiss National Bank (SNB) had to pay out money to apart from the clearing for commodities produced in Switzerland and interests on Swiss claims.¹⁸³⁷ Half a year later, on 8th December 1934, an *additional clause* to this first agreement stated the regulations for tourists more precisely: Firstly, it prescribed in detail what each German citizen willing to travel to Switzerland was allowed to bring along: 700 Reichsmark in the first calendar month, 500 Reichsmark in the second as well as in the third calendar month, possibly more in case of a stay in a sanatorium when it was stipulated by a medical officer; in all cases, the money was supposed to be collected by instalments.¹⁸³⁸ Secondly, tourism was linked to Switzerland's imports of German coal: The payments for coal imports from Germany were sorted out and transferred to a special account for tourism ("*Reiseverkehrs-konto*").¹⁸³⁹ Thus, the payments for German coal determined tourism.¹⁸⁴⁰ By means of this linkage, Switzerland could assure itself of two economic goods and services respectively which were crucial for the surviving of it's economy. Due to its importance, a quota for coal had been fixed in Switzerland from 6th May 1932 onwards.¹⁸⁴¹ On the one hand, the country's energy system still based on coal – households and the industry used it as the main fuel even in the Second World War.¹⁸⁴² On the other hand, the country's touristic enterprises depended on German tourists who formed the most important group of foreign guests in quantitative terms in the Interwar Period.¹⁸⁴³ Obviously, Switzerland did not have a great room for manoeuvre. In contrast, it's negotiating position was weak,¹⁸⁴⁴ so that it had to accept unfavourable conditions. The linkage between coal and tourism ended on 30st June 1937.¹⁸⁴⁵ In between, however, the entry for German tourists was regulated as follows:

¹⁸³⁷ Ferralli, *Der deutsch-schweizerische Verrechnungsverkehr*, 1955, appendix A.

¹⁸³⁸ Ferralli, *Der deutsch-schweizerische Verrechnungsverkehr*, 1955, appendix A.

¹⁸³⁹ Ferralli, *Der deutsch-schweizerische Verrechnungsverkehr*, 1955, appendix A.

¹⁸⁴⁰ Ferralli, *Der deutsch-schweizerische Verrechnungsverkehr*, 1955, p. 89.

¹⁸⁴¹ Ferralli, *Der deutsch-schweizerische Verrechnungsverkehr*, 1955, p. 89.

¹⁸⁴² Marek, Daniel, "Energie", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2006, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D26220.php> (accessed 13.1.2014).

¹⁸⁴³ Tissot; Moser, *Binnenwirtschaft, Tourismus und Landwirtschaft*, 2012, p. 559.

¹⁸⁴⁴ Marek, *Energie*, 2006.

¹⁸⁴⁵ Ferralli, *Der deutsch-schweizerische Verrechnungsverkehr*, 1955, appendix A.

2. The "*Verrechnungsabkommen*" of 17th April 1935: Until spring 1935, the "Reiseverkehrs-konto" had generated a deficit,¹⁸⁴⁶ meaning that Switzerland had not imported enough coal from Germany for paying out the Swiss tourism industry's claim. As a consequence, the second clearing agreement of 17th April 1935 foresaw a limit for tourism to the amount of this deficit, all the more as the confederation had given tourism an advance on this deficit.¹⁸⁴⁷ The linkage coal – tourism urged some additional negotiations because the ratio was not balanced. These negotiations turned around the question, how the Swiss imports of coal could be increased in favour of the "Reiseverkehrs-konto" and how the credit balance of this account could be decreased.¹⁸⁴⁸ Therefore, on 27th September 1935, another novelty was introduced by means of a *stipulation*: the voucher system.¹⁸⁴⁹ When entering Switzerland, German tourists got vouchers which could be used to pay the Swiss hotels. The Swiss tourism industry had proposed the voucher system and considered it as successful.¹⁸⁵⁰ This system, however, was hotly debated in 1936 – it even led to the one-sided cancelling of the tourism agreement by Germany in May 1936 –, yet renewed in the first "*Zusatzvereinbarung* [...] zum Verrechnungsabkommen vom 17.4.35", dating from 6th July 1936: A part of tourism, which was not subject to the clearing, see free, was carried out by means of vouchers.¹⁸⁵¹ The Swiss creditors were allowed to exchange their bonds in hotel vouchers, too.¹⁸⁵² This first "*Zusatzvereinbarung*" also maintained the linkage coal – tourism, whereby it stated a quota for the second half of the year 1936.¹⁸⁵³

3. The "*Verrechnungsabkommen*" of 30st June 1937: The third clearing agreement, dating from 30st June 1937, which switched from the naming of absolute sums to percentages, abandoned the linkage coal – tourism.¹⁸⁵⁴ Rather, percentages were

¹⁸⁴⁶ Ferralli, Der deutsch-schweizerische Verrechnungsverkehr, 1955, appendix A.

¹⁸⁴⁷ Ferralli, Der deutsch-schweizerische Verrechnungsverkehr, 1955, appendix A.

¹⁸⁴⁸ Ferralli, Der deutsch-schweizerische Verrechnungsverkehr, 1955, p. 90.

¹⁸⁴⁹ Ferralli, Der deutsch-schweizerische Verrechnungsverkehr, 1955, appendix A.

¹⁸⁵⁰ [Schweizerischer Fremdenverkehrsverband] (ed.), *Dr. Fritz Ehrensperger zum Gedächtnis, [1883-1938]*, Zürich: City-Druck AG, 1938, p. 35.

¹⁸⁵¹ Ferralli, Der deutsch-schweizerische Verrechnungsverkehr, 1955, appendix A. After Switzerland and Germany had stopped the issue of travel documents at the end of 1935, Germany cancelled the stipulation in May 1936. The first "*Zusatzvereinbarung*" of 30.6.1936, however, re-introduced the voucher system.

¹⁸⁵² Ferralli, Der deutsch-schweizerische Verrechnungsverkehr, 1955, appendix A.

¹⁸⁵³ Ferralli, Der deutsch-schweizerische Verrechnungsverkehr, 1955, appendix A. The quota summed up to some 21 million Swiss Francs of 1936. According to Pfister; Studer, Swistoval, [s.d.] (accessed 23.10.2015), 21 million Swiss Francs in 1936 roughly equaled some 340.7 million Swiss Francs in 2009 (deflator: historical wage index).

¹⁸⁵⁴ Ferralli, Der deutsch-schweizerische Verrechnungsverkehr, 1955, appendix A.

fixed for the part of tourism, which needed an authorization ("genehmigungspflichtigen" Verkehr), and the part, which was free ("freie[r]" Verkehr).¹⁸⁵⁵ In summary, between June 1936 and June 1939, the value of German tourists entering Switzerland was allowed to sum up to some 1.8 billion Swiss Francs (of 2009).¹⁸⁵⁶ Finally, from 12th December 1936 onwards, when a third "Zusatzvereinbarung" was signed, the per-head-quota which travelers were allowed to bring along with them were reduced constantly.¹⁸⁵⁷ This constant deterioration of the conditions for Germans coming to Switzerland showed that Germany really did not want its citizens to leave the country.

When we compare the 1.8 billion Swiss Francs (of 2009), which were generated by German tourists, with the estimated overall performance of tourism between 1936 and 1939, the share regulated in the clearing agreements with Germany is not that high. Frech stated for the period 1936 to 1939 the following estimated shares of tourism to the balance of payments:

1936: 110 million Swiss Francs (approx. 1.8 billion Swiss Francs in 2009)
 1937: 180 million Swiss Francs (approx. 2.8 billion Swiss Francs in 2009)
 1938: 170 million Swiss Francs (approx. 2.6 billion Swiss Francs in 2009)
 1939: 130 million Swiss Francs (approx. 2.0 billion Swiss Francs in 2009).¹⁸⁵⁸
 Total: 1936-1939: 590 million Swiss Francs (approx 9.2 billion Swiss Francs in 2009)

Of the total of some 590 million Swiss Francs, the German share of some 108 million Swiss Francs accounted therefore for one sixth roughly. Considering that the 108 million Swiss Francs (1.8 billion Swiss Francs of 2009) covered the period 30th June 1936 to 30th June 1939, see three years, and Frech's estimations four years, the share was probably higher. The point, however, was, that the time-consuming

¹⁸⁵⁵ Ferralli, Der deutsch-schweizerische Verrechnungsverkehr, 1955, appendix A. Accordingly, between 30th June 1937 and 30th June 1938, some 42 million Swiss Francs were fixed for tourism (10,8 Mio. needing an authorization, 31.2 Mio. free), and some 45,6 million Swiss Francs for the adjacent period between 30th June 1938 and 30th June 1939 (12 Mio. needing an authorization, 33,6 Mio. free). According to Pfister; Studer, Swistoval, [s.d.] (accessed 23.10.2015), 42 million Swiss Francs in 1937 roughly equaled some 657 million Swiss Francs in 2009, 45.6 million Swiss Francs in 1938 equaled some 709 million Swiss Francs in 2009 (deflator: historical wage index)

¹⁸⁵⁶ 1936/37: 21, 1937/38: 42, 1938/39: 45,6 million Swiss Francs. According to Pfister; Studer, Swistoval, [s.d.] (accessed 11.9.2015), 108.6 million Swiss Francs in 1936 roughly equaled some 1.8 billion Swiss Francs in 2009 (deflator: historical wage index).

¹⁸⁵⁷ Ferralli, Der deutsch-schweizerische Verrechnungsverkehr, 1955, appendix A.

¹⁸⁵⁸ Frech, Clearing, 2001, p. 41. All conversions according to Pfister; Studer, Swistoval, [s.d.] (accessed 11.9.2015) (deflator: historical wage index).

clearing negotiations outstripped the SVZ' sources and lobbying capacity. As a consequence, another touristic-political institution in Switzerland was founded parallel to the SVZ: the Schweizerischer Fremdenverkehrsverband (SFV).

5.5.3 The Schweizerischer Fremdenverkehrsverband (SFV)

Although the history of the SFV, which changed its name to "Schweizerischer Tourismus Verband" (Swiss Tourism Federation) in 1991,¹⁸⁵⁹ has not been written, this analysis is not the place to do it. The following lines focus the SFV only with respect to the SVZ. Analyzing the SFV's contribution to the Swiss identity or political economy of the Interwar Period (and/or later), however, would be a rewarding undertaking. It would not only complement the network of personalities of the Swiss touristic-political scene, but also deepen the knowledge about the topics which the SVZ and the SFV have treated in the 1930s, as for instance the centralization of the touristic-political organizations, the closing of the borders in Europe, the high price-level in Swiss tourism, or the tariffs for touristic services in Switzerland. In short, it could result in a history of *the* touristic peak association which the SVZ never fully succeeded in being prior to 1932, but which made very similar experiences like the SVZ.

5.5.3.1 The foundation of the SFV and its relationship with the SVZ

With relation to the SVZ, the establishment of the SFV must be seen as a further proof for the SVZ' weakness. The foundation of the SFV in 1932 fell exactly in that year, when the SVZ found itself in a veritable crisis (see chapter 5.3.2 *The financing between 1933 and 1939*). In fact, the SFV very quickly became the touristic peak association like the SHIV or SBV (see chapter 4.1.2.2 *The Swiss system of interest associations, cartelization, state interference*).

It's main task was to represent Switzerland's touristic interests in the clearing negotiations with Germany and to inform the Swiss population about tourism's economic importance (see below). Moreover, it represented those touristic agents who did not only wait for the old times to come again. In contrast, born in a period of crisis, the SFV embodied the touristic association which considered the nasty economic development a chance for a renewal and the beginning of a changed and

¹⁸⁵⁹ Swiss Tourism Federation, *The STF Plays an Important Role in Swiss Tourism*, [s.d.], URL: http://www.swisstourfed.ch/index.cfm?parents_id=1150 (accessed 17.1.2014).

changeable future.¹⁸⁶⁰ Like the SHV, which considered the crisis as a disturbance in what had been normality prior to the First World War, the SFV based its way of thinking on the same prerequisites as the SHV did.¹⁸⁶¹ The beauty of Switzerland's nature served both organizations as the anchor of a promising future while, on the same time, it guaranteed a certain continuity in history, as the country's nature – which implied the Alps – was seen as something unique with brilliant perspectives.¹⁸⁶²

But why was such a peak association founded? Did the SVZ not represent the interest of all touristic agents in Switzerland? Despite Schumacher's analysis of the SFV's behaviour in the World Economic Crisis, the literature is very poor about the reasons for the establishment of the SFV. According to Schumacher, the reason for a touristic peak association was the missing unity of tourism.¹⁸⁶³ According to the SFV's first annual report, the international restrictions on foreign currencies lead to the foundation of the SFV:

Seit Mitte 1931, als die internationalen Devisenschwierigkeiten entstanden, wurden die Zahlungsbilanzen führender Länder einer besonderen Ueberprüfung unterzogen und man fand vielerorts, dass man der Bedeutung des internationalen Reiseverkehrs und den damit verbundenen Kapitalverschiebungen viel zu wenig Beachtung geschenkt habe.¹⁸⁶⁴

In fact, in July 1931, Germany had introduced some currency restrictions which hit Switzerland's tourism industry heavily because German citizens did not get any foreign currency anymore.¹⁸⁶⁵ While this measure should help Germany to get control over its debts – a "Sieben-Mächte-Konferenz" of Germany's main creditors, among others the USA, the Netherlands, Switzerland and Great Britain were about to give Germany time to pay its credits back –, Switzerland cancelled its trade agreement with Germany in February 1932.¹⁸⁶⁶ In the corresponding discussions, Switzerland had threatened to introduce a forced clearing which provoked a heavy antipathy in Germany.¹⁸⁶⁷ Although it remained a threat, the Federal Council met the demands of

¹⁸⁶⁰ Schumacher, *Krise*, 1997, p. 83.

¹⁸⁶¹ Schumacher, *Krise*, 1997, p. 83.

¹⁸⁶² Schumacher, *Krise*, 1997, p. 83.

¹⁸⁶³ Schumacher, *Krise*, 1997, p. 88.

¹⁸⁶⁴ Schweizerischer Fremdenverkehrsverband, *Schweizerischer Fremdenverkehrsverband 1932/1933*, Nachdruck des ersten Jahresberichtes zum 75-Jahr Jubiläum, Uster: Buchdruckerei Eugen Weilenmann, [1934], p. 7.

¹⁸⁶⁵ Frech, *Clearing*, 2001, p. 51.

¹⁸⁶⁶ Frech, *Clearing*, 2001, p. 45, 50, 48-49.

¹⁸⁶⁷ Frech, *Clearing*, 2001, p. 49.

the Swiss tourist and export industries and demanded more foreign currency for German tourists from the German government.¹⁸⁶⁸ On 29th June 1932, a trade agreement fulfilled these demands in the short run.¹⁸⁶⁹ Meanwhile, the banks rejected to be replaced by the Swiss government in the future negotiations.¹⁸⁷⁰ These political developments were important because they took place exactly in the months before the SFV's foundation. They may have influenced a man who was active in the banking sector and tourism. Fritz Ehrensperger, president of the Wengernalp- und Jungfraubahn, as well as director of the Bank Guyer-Zeller in Zurich,¹⁸⁷¹ seemed to have pulled through an idea on his own. Like Keller, who authored the "Projekt Keller" (see chapter 5.3.2.3 *The statesman independent proposal: the "Projekt Keller"*), Ehrensperger linked his professional background and interests with his engagement for tourism. Again, an individual – and not the most prominent one – succeeded in bringing a solution to a problem, which had seethed among some touristic agents in Switzerland (see chapter 4.1.2.3 *Further characteristics of the federal administration*). Different obituaries confirm that the SFV had been Ehrensperger's idea.¹⁸⁷²

Ein Man von einzigartigem Sinn für die praktische Verwirklichung grosskonzipierter Ideen: unvergessen, wie er, als er anfangs 1932 die Krise hereinbrechen sah, den Entschluss fasste, bei Behörden und Volk die Einsicht für die überragende volkswirtschaftliche Bedeutung des Fremdenverkehrs zu wecken; wie er darauf durch die Gründung des Schweizerischen Fremdenverkehrsverbandes, die Organisation der Verkehrskongresse in Zürich, Bern und Montreux gegen einen Strom von Widerständen seinen Willen durchsetzte.¹⁸⁷³

In contrast to the SVZ' establishment, the foundation of the SFV seemed to be a real coup:

Unvergesslich bleibt mir Dr. Ehrenspergers Gründung des Schweizerischen Fremdenverkehrsverbandes. Eines Nachts kam ihm der Gedanke. Am andern Morgen telephonierte er an alle Interessenten. Am Mittag war er bei Stadtpräsident Dr. Zimmerli und Oberst Oskar Hauser in Luzern, am Nachmittag bei seinen Freunden in Interlaken und Bern, am dritten Tage in der Westschweiz und in der Zentralschweiz, am vierten in

¹⁸⁶⁸ Frech, Clearing, 2001, p. 51-52.

¹⁸⁶⁹ Frech, Clearing, 2001, p. 52.

¹⁸⁷⁰ Frech, Clearing, 2001, p. 50.

¹⁸⁷¹ Schumacher, Krise, 1997, p. 94.

¹⁸⁷² [Schweizerischer Fremdenverkehrsverband], Ehrensperger zum Gedächtnis, 1938, p. 7, 23, 54.

¹⁸⁷³ [Schweizerischer Fremdenverkehrsverband], Ehrensperger zum Gedächtnis, 1938, p. 54.

der Ostschweiz und im Bündnerlande. Am achten Tage nach der Geburt seiner Idee wurde im 'Schweizerhof' in Bern das Gründungskomitee bestellt. Andern Tages hatte er die Statuten, Zirkulare und dgl. ausgearbeitet und versandt. Wenige Tage darnach wiederum fand die konstituierende Generalversammlung statt. Kaum erdacht, was Fritz Ehrenspergers Kind aus der Taufe gehoben!¹⁸⁷⁴

Apart from the glorifying rhetoric inherent to obituaries, these citations show that the SFV's foundation seemed to be an immediate, quickly launched act of a prominent character who had an excellent network in the touristic scene of Switzerland, so that he was able to find colleagues and support within a week. The worsening relations with Germany may have influenced his daily work at the bank and the railways, so that he drew his conclusions. On 16th July 1932,¹⁸⁷⁵ the SFV was founded, and quickly took over the representation of the country's tourism industry in the clearing negotiations. The SFV based on the conviction that a determined touristic representation in these negotiations was missing. After a listing of state interferences in trade and tourism the annual report of 1932/33 lamented over the splintered responsibilities for tourism in Switzerland and came to the conclusion, that it was needed an organization which would defend tourism's over-all interests. "Der Werdegang aller Gewerbe, die aus dem Reiseverkehr ihren Wohlstand schöpfen, wurde eben ungenügend beachtet und den organisierten Interessenvertretungen der übrigen Wirtschaftsverbände geopfert."¹⁸⁷⁶ The last clause alluded to the Swiss peak associations which became very important in the clearing negotiations. The SFV obviously intended to become Switzerland's touristic peak association, at least for the clearing negotiations. And, indeed, Ferralli granted the SFV that it had been tourism's lobbyist in the preparatory works of the agreements as well as it had supervised the instructions for the paying-outs in tourism.¹⁸⁷⁷ Thus, the international lobbyist for the Swiss tourism industry was the SFV from the early 1930s onwards. The first action taken by the young institution was, accordingly, to be accepted as a lobbyist for tourism, which it succeeded in:

¹⁸⁷⁴ [Schweizerischer Fremdenverkehrsverband], Ehrensperger zum Gedächtnis, 1938, p. 23.

¹⁸⁷⁵ Hunziker, W.[alter], "Zehn Jahre Schweizerischer Fremdenverkehrsverband. Jubiläumsbericht erstattet vom Verbandsdirektor Dr. W. Hunziker an der Generalversammlung des Verbandes vom 10. Oktober 1942", in Schweizerischer Fremdenverkehrsverband, *Zehn Jahre Schweizerischer Fremdenverkehrsverband*, Zürich: Art. Institut Orell Füssli A.-G., 1942, p. 19-61, here 21.

¹⁸⁷⁶ Schweizerischer Fremdenverkehrsverband, *Fremdenverkehrsverband*, [1934], p. 7.

¹⁸⁷⁷ Ferralli, *Der deutsch-schweizerische Verrechnungsverkehr*, 1955, p. 48.

Unsere erste Beschäftigung konzentrierte sich auf die Eingaben an den Bund um die Einreihung des Reiseverkehrs nach der Schweiz in die Handelsabkommen mit Ländern, die Devisenschwierigkeiten besitzen, aber im Handelsverkehr mit der Schweiz Überschüsse erzielen. So wurden wir zur Vernehmlassung in den Vorkonferenzen zu den Verhandlungen mit Deutschland aufgefordert und haben unsere Interessen wahren können.¹⁸⁷⁸

In fact, the SFV regularly took part in the clearing negotiations with Germany as part of the Swiss negotiation delegation. Prior to the additional clause of 8th December 1934 (see chapter 5.5.2 *The clearing system and its impact for tourism 1934-1939*), the SFV's president, Fritz Ehrensperger, travelled three times to Berlin.¹⁸⁷⁹

Undoubtedly, this touched the SVZ' sphere of activity. How were their relationships? Considering the SVZ' ongoing discussions about a centralization in the early 1930s, the foundation of another touristic-political institution may have amazed. Indeed, the plans for a touristic lobby organization were not hidden from the SVZ. In contrast, several functionaries of the SVZ were active in the SFV right from the beginning, among others Junod, the SVZ' director, Seiler, president of the SHV, or von Almen, hotelier on the Kleine Scheidegg.¹⁸⁸⁰

Inspected by the SVZ and the Publizitätsdienst der SBB, the SFV quickly felt the existing institutions' power and power demands respectively. In fact, two years after the SFV's foundation, the SFV, the SVZ and the Publizitätsdienst der SBB signed an agreement about the allocation of responsibilities in tourism in Switzerland. The content of this agreement – which was renewed in 1942 as a "Gentlemen's agreement"¹⁸⁸¹ – very much resembled the agreement between the SVZ and the Publizitätsdienst der SBB of 1921 (see chapter 5.2.3.2 *The agencies abroad*). Again, it was a market sharing, albeit between three players this time. Appendix 7.2 *Agreement between the SVZ, the SBB and the SFV about the allocation of responsibilities in tourism in 1934* reads the whole agreement. In short, it assigns the economic interest defending to the SFV, the advertising to the SVZ and the following of what was prescribed by law to the Publizitätsdienst der SBB.¹⁸⁸² All of them

¹⁸⁷⁸ Schweizerischer Fremdenverkehrsverband, Fremdenverkehrsverband, [1934], p. 12.

¹⁸⁷⁹ STV-Archiv, PROTOKOLLE Vorstandssitzungen 1934-1938, 1955-1962: "Bemerkungen zu den Traktanden" [of the meeting of the SFV's board of 14th December 1934], by unknown author to [Ehrensperger], Bern, 8.12.1934, p. 1.

¹⁸⁸⁰ Schweizerischer Fremdenverkehrsverband, Fremdenverkehrsverband, [1934], p. 3, 7.

¹⁸⁸¹ Hunziker, Zehn Jahre, 1942, p. 31, 36.

¹⁸⁸² Schweizerischer Fremdenverkehrsverband, Fremdenverkehrsverband, [1934], p. 9.

agreed upon that a common roof-organization was not necessary in order to fulfill their respective tasks.¹⁸⁸³ In one respect, it seemingly clarified a hitherto blurred delineation of contents: According to the agreement, the SFV renounced all journalistic activity, because this was reserved to the SVZ. However, article three highlighted the SFV's aim to inform the Swiss public about tourism's importance within the economy.¹⁸⁸⁴ Did this support the SVZ' efforts to be responsible for the advertising in foreign countries, and not at home anymore, then? No, the blurred border between advertising in foreign countries and at home for the SVZ remained, in fact. Some guiding principles which had been written previous to the agreement showed the splitting hairs: According to those guiding principles, the SVZ should advertise at home in order to *encourage* travels, while the SFV should *inform* the Swiss public about tourism's importance for the whole economy.¹⁸⁸⁵ Consequently, the SVZ was allowed to continue its advertising at home. Only this market sharing agreement finally allowed the SVZ a formal collaboration with the SFV: On 26th March 1934, the board of management of the SVZ decided that the SFV got a seat in that organ, albeit only as a consultative member which was not entitled to decide.¹⁸⁸⁶

Yet, several sources show that the intentions in the agreement did not always stand the practical work of daily life. On 17th February 1934, Fritz Ehrensperger, the SFV's president at that time,¹⁸⁸⁷ had lost faith in the agreement as he wrote to his colleague Max Gafner, member of the board of the SFV.¹⁸⁸⁸ After a meeting with Bittel, the SVZ' director from 1933 onwards, Ehrensperger had the impression that the agreement was only made to suppress his initiatives, see the SFV. Bitterly, he complained about Bittel:

Das ist der Geist all dieser Neuen. Das Sachliche ist nur Vorwand - das Persönliche ist alles. Darum weiss ich, dass jede Vereinbarung nur gemacht und verlangt wird, um jede

¹⁸⁸³ Schweizerischer Fremdenverkehrsverband, Fremdenverkehrsverband, [1934], p. 9.

¹⁸⁸⁴ Schweizerischer Fremdenverkehrsverband, Fremdenverkehrsverband, [1934], p. 9.

¹⁸⁸⁵ STV-Archiv, G.A. zwischen SVZ/SBB/SFV 1940, 1940: Letter by Leibundgut of the trading department of the EVD to the Kantonal-Bernischen Handels- und Industrie-Verein, Bern, 25.1.1934, appendix.

¹⁸⁸⁶ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 34, 1930-1955: "Protokoll der Sitzung [...] 26. März 1934 [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Zürich, 26.3.1934, p. 10.

¹⁸⁸⁷ Schweizerischer Fremdenverkehrsverband, Fremdenverkehrsverband, [1934], preliminary pages.

¹⁸⁸⁸ STV-Archiv, G.A. zwischen SVZ/SBB/SFV 1940, 1940: Letter by Ehrensperger to Gafner, St. Moritz, 17.2.1934, p. 1.

Initiative von mir zu erdrücken –; es geht nur gegen mich.¹⁸⁸⁹ [Underlined according to Ehrensperger]

Ehrensperger was so bitter about Bittel because the later had been obviously released when he had learned that Ehrensperger would not play a key role at the planned, second transport congress,¹⁸⁹⁰ the SFV's effective means to get publicity.¹⁸⁹¹ His complaints about "the new ones" – he probably meant some new leading figures in the Swiss touristic-political scene – may also have hidden a certain frustration as his ideas did not gain acceptance. The agreement's regulation in which all signing parties agreed upon a roof-organization was, in Ehrensperger's opinion, a "Kampfansage an die überwiegende öffentliche Meinung" (fight against the mainly public opinion).¹⁸⁹² In other words: the public would have preferred a roof-organization, in his opinion. Another reason for his complaints may have been the similar personal affair which the SVZ had shaken a year before, when Junod resigned after ongoing criticisms of his person (see chapter 5.3.2.2 *Criticisms, the hoteliers' uprising and automobilism: the Zentralkommission*). The personal animosities obviously did not halt before the SFV either. In 1936, personal intrigues were regretted,¹⁸⁹³ and a member of the board meant in a meeting: "Wenn etwas unheilvoll ist in unserer Verkehrspolitik, so die Tatsache, dass man häufig wegen bestimmter persönlicher Rücksichten nicht zu sprechen wagt."¹⁸⁹⁴

Apart from such personal intrigues, the financing problems also caught up with the SFV. According to the president, the SFV had very limited financial sources, so that it sometimes hindered the daily work:

Es ist einfach nicht mehr angängig, dass wir uns z.B. immer vor Einberufung einer Vorstands- oder Ausschusssitzung fragen müssen, ob diese vom finanziellen Gesichtspunkt aus betrachtet, auch zu verantworten ist, und wir mangels Finanzmittel gelegentlich auch auf eine Sitzung verzichten müssen. Die Sammlung statistischen

¹⁸⁸⁹ STV-Archiv, G.A. zwischen SVZ/SBB/SFV 1940, 1940: Letter by Ehrensperger to Gafner, St. Moritz, 17.2.1934, p. 2.

¹⁸⁹⁰ STV-Archiv, G.A. zwischen SVZ/SBB/SFV 1940, 1940: Letter by Ehrensperger to Gafner, St. Moritz, 17.2.1934, p. 2.

¹⁸⁹¹ Hunziker, Zehn Jahre, 1942, p. 57-58.

¹⁸⁹² STV-Archiv, G.A. zwischen SVZ/SBB/SFV 1940, 1940: Letter by Ehrensperger to Gafner, St. Moritz, 17.2.1934, p. 1.

¹⁸⁹³ STV-Archiv, PROTOKOLLE Vorstandssitzungen 1934-1938, 1955-1962: "Protokoll der Vorstandssitzung des Schweizerischen Fremdenverkehrsverbandes vom 28. August 1936 [...]", by the board of management of the SFV, Zürich, 28.8.1936, p. 15.

¹⁸⁹⁴ STV-Archiv, PROTOKOLLE Vorstandssitzungen 1934-1938, 1955-1962: "Protokoll der Vorstandssitzung des Schweizerischen Fremdenverkehrsverbandes vom 28. August 1936 [...]", by the board of management of the SFV, Zürich, 28.8.1936, p. 17.

Materials und dessen wissenschaftliche Verarbeitung waren uns ebenfalls bisher mangels Finanzmittel nicht möglich.¹⁸⁹⁵

In order to secure the association's existence and activities, the SFV's president proposed to apply for a federal subvention by offering the EPED far-reaching rights in the SFV.¹⁸⁹⁶ Although it should have been a pro-forma contract, it proposed, that the head of the EAV should get the right to make the final decision.¹⁸⁹⁷ The SFV would be indemnified in turn.¹⁸⁹⁸ This, however, provoked a strong opposition inside the SFV's committee, mainly driven by the representative of an automobile club, Delaquis.¹⁸⁹⁹ His powerful pleas for a non-governmental association did not exclude the collaboration with the authorities.¹⁹⁰⁰ But, according to him, the form of the collaboration was crucial.¹⁹⁰¹ Instead of a contract which turned the SFV into a subordinate of the EPED he was not strictly against an indemnification.¹⁹⁰² A detail which finally lead to a contract with the EPED, so that the EPED indemnified the SFV for the handling of special questions with some 324'000 Swiss Francs (of 2009)¹⁹⁰³ from 1st October 1936 onwards.¹⁹⁰⁴ The outsourcing of tasks by the confederation in exchange for a subsidy – like the SHIV set an example of in 1869 – obviously still played in the late 1930s (see chapter 4.1.2.2 *The Swiss system of interest associations, cartelization, state interference*).

¹⁸⁹⁵ STV-Archiv, PROTOKOLLE Geschäftsleitender Ausschuss 1934-1949, 1963-1980: "Protokoll der Ausschuss-Sitzung des Schweizerischen Fremdenverkehrsverbandes vom 28. August 1936 [...]", by the committee of the SFV, Zürich, 28.8.1936, p. 6.

¹⁸⁹⁶ STV-Archiv, PROTOKOLLE Geschäftsleitender Ausschuss 1934-1949, 1963-1980: "Protokoll der Ausschuss-Sitzung des Schweizerischen Fremdenverkehrsverbandes vom 28. August 1936 [...]", by the committee of the SFV, Zürich, 28.8.1936, p. 2-3.

¹⁸⁹⁷ STV-Archiv, PROTOKOLLE Geschäftsleitender Ausschuss 1934-1949, 1963-1980: "Protokoll der Ausschuss-Sitzung des Schweizerischen Fremdenverkehrsverbandes vom 28. August 1936 [...]", by the committee of the SFV, Zürich, 28.8.1936, p. 2-3.

¹⁸⁹⁸ STV-Archiv, PROTOKOLLE Geschäftsleitender Ausschuss 1934-1949, 1963-1980: "Protokoll der Ausschuss-Sitzung des Schweizerischen Fremdenverkehrsverbandes vom 28. August 1936 [...]", by the committee of the SFV, Zürich, 28.8.1936, p. 3.

¹⁸⁹⁹ STV-Archiv, PROTOKOLLE Geschäftsleitender Ausschuss 1934-1949, 1963-1980: "Protokoll der Ausschuss-Sitzung des Schweizerischen Fremdenverkehrsverbandes vom 28. August 1936 [...]", by the committee of the SFV, Zürich, 28.8.1936, p. 2, 8, 10.

¹⁹⁰⁰ STV-Archiv, PROTOKOLLE Geschäftsleitender Ausschuss 1934-1949, 1963-1980: "Protokoll der Ausschuss-Sitzung des Schweizerischen Fremdenverkehrsverbandes vom 28. August 1936 [...]", by the committee of the SFV, Zürich, 28.8.1936, p. 10.

¹⁹⁰¹ STV-Archiv, PROTOKOLLE Geschäftsleitender Ausschuss 1934-1949, 1963-1980: "Protokoll der Ausschuss-Sitzung des Schweizerischen Fremdenverkehrsverbandes vom 28. August 1936 [...]", by the committee of the SFV, Zürich, 28.8.1936, p. 10.

¹⁹⁰² STV-Archiv, PROTOKOLLE Geschäftsleitender Ausschuss 1934-1949, 1963-1980: "Protokoll der Ausschuss-Sitzung des Schweizerischen Fremdenverkehrsverbandes vom 28. August 1936 [...]", by the committee of the SFV, Zürich, 28.8.1936, p. 2, 8.

¹⁹⁰³ According to Pfister; Studer, Swistoval, [s.d.] (accessed 11.9.2015), 20'000 Swiss Francs in 1936 roughly equaled 324'000 Swiss Francs in 2009 (deflator: historical wage index).

¹⁹⁰⁴ Hunziker, Zehn Jahre, 1942, p. 41.

In any case, this episode showed first and foremost the SFV's desire to come closer to the federal administration for economy's sake. When the financial means were missing, the touristic associations turned to the confederation about a subvention or another legal instrument for securing financial support. Their independent, liberal credo, however, was uphold. This, too, reminds us of the former Manchester liberals, who faced a moral paradox when they were in need of state support (see chapter 4.1.2.2 *The Swiss system of interest associations, cartelization, state interference*). Delaquis attacked a draft of the contract with the EPED although he had supported the task of getting into contact with the EPED in that matter before.¹⁹⁰⁵ Such a balancing act coined the whole discussion: The SFV's president had to find a solution between committee members who considered the SFV as a "Kampforganisation [...], namentlich auch den Behörden gegenüber" and members who considered a head official of a federal department in their midst as a "bessere und unmittelbare Kontaktnahme mit dem zuständigen Chefbeamten und eine in beidseitigem Interesse liegende aufrichtige und vertrauensvolle Zusammenarbeit."¹⁹⁰⁶ In the end, the financial argument won: The sum which the SFV was indemnified with by the confederation, in fact, enabled the SFV to open its statistical-scientific department in 1936 finally.¹⁹⁰⁷

It is obvious: The SFV made very similar experiences like the SVZ. It does not astonish, therefore, that even some activities of the SFV and the SZV overlapped – despite all market sharing agreements. On 7th July 1934, the SFV begged the Federal Council for the introduction of a tax on the passports of Swiss citizens in order to intensify touristic advertising abroad, third-party insurance for foreign cars or the balancing out of the ups and downs of important foreign exchanges.¹⁹⁰⁸ This would have been a direct interference in the SVZ' main task, the advertising abroad.

¹⁹⁰⁵ STV-Archiv, PROTOKOLLE Geschäftsleitender Ausschuss 1934-1949, 1963-1980: "Protokoll der Ausschuss-Sitzung des Schweizerischen Fremdenverkehrsverbandes vom 28. August 1936 [...]", by the committee of the SFV, Zürich, 28.8.1936, p. 4.

¹⁹⁰⁶ STV-Archiv, PROTOKOLLE Geschäftsleitender Ausschuss 1934-1949, 1963-1980: "Protokoll der Ausschuss-Sitzung des Schweizerischen Fremdenverkehrsverbandes vom 28. August 1936 [...]", by the committee of the SFV, Zürich, 28.8.1936, p. 4-5, 8.

¹⁹⁰⁷ Hunziker, *Zehn Jahre*, 1942, p. 41.

¹⁹⁰⁸ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/86, 25, 1934-1960: Letter by Bovet, head of the Federal Chancellery, to the Schweizerischer Fremdenverkehrsverband, Bern, 28.12.1934, p. 1.

The Federal Council rejected the SFV's suggestions finally not without pointing to the – in his opinion – good work of the SVZ in this field.¹⁹⁰⁹

The agreement between the SFV, the SVZ and the Publizitätsdienst der SBB as well as the similar experiences showed that the organization of touristic interest defending in Switzerland was an ongoing subject of discussion and could be prolonged or enlarged very suddenly. Each new player on the stage tried to position its new field of activity, which forced the existing players to defend or sharpen their profiles. Thus, when the SFV positioned itself as the representative of Swiss tourism in economic respect, the SVZ was downsized to the national marketing organization. Yet, the missing financial means also hindered the SFV in a satisfying carrying out of these tasks. The first years of the young SFV therefore resembled the SVZ' experience.

5.5.3.2 The SFV and the clearing negotiations

The minutes of the meetings of the board of management of the SFV for the years 1934 to 1938 reveal that the clearing agreements with Germany among others were central points of discussions in this organ. The meetings served as a forum for discussions about the question what the SFV should request in the next negotiations and what could be sacrificed. Accordingly, the SFV's delegate was entitled by the board of management which on its part had consulted the committee. In the end, all Swiss peak associations had to address the federal authorities and to make their demands constantly.¹⁹¹⁰ In tight collaboration with Minister Walter Stucki (1888-1963), head of the trading department of the EVD,¹⁹¹¹ the SFV prepared the clearing agreements with Germany.

In this respect, it is interesting to note that the linkage coal – tourism, which had been introduced in an additional clause to the first clearing agreement (see chapter 5.5.2 *The clearing system and its impact for tourism 1934-1939*), was firstly rejected by the SFV. Originally, this linkage had been proposed by Germany – and

¹⁹⁰⁹ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/86, 25, 1934-1960: Letter by Bovet, head of the Federal Chancellery, to the Schweizerischer Fremdenverkehrsverband, Bern, 28.12.1934, p. 2-3.

¹⁹¹⁰ Frech, Clearing, 2001, p. 72.

¹⁹¹¹ Bonjour, Edgar; Stamm, Konrad, "Stucki, Walter", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2013, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D6700.php> (accessed 21.1.2014); Stamm, Minister Walter Stucki, 2013.

stamped as unacceptable by the SFV.¹⁹¹² The reason for this negative judgment was explained as follows:

Die Schweiz importiert aus Deutschland für höchstens 40 Millionen Franken Kohle. Der Reiseverkehr übersteigt diesen Betrag um ein Mehrfaches. Mit 60 Millionen dürfte er eher zu niedrig als zu hoch eingeschätzt werden. Eine Verkoppelung würde also eine schwere Unterbindung des Reiseverkehrs bedeuten, die im Winter besonders für den Kanton Graubünden zu einer unannehmbaren Situation führen würde. Herr Dr. Ehrensperger warnt dringend vor der Verkoppelung mit irgend einer Ware.¹⁹¹³

As mentioned above, things were to turn out quite differently. On 8th December 1934, the additional clause to the first clearing agreement with Germany fixed the linkage coal-tourism. As Frech pointed out: Switzerland negotiated seriously, but Germany finally dictated the conditions, which had to be accepted by Switzerland.¹⁹¹⁴ For the sake of unproblematic relations, the Swiss government and the representatives of the economy like the SFV accepted the unfavourable conditions in order to prevent a damage done to their interests.¹⁹¹⁵ The development of German tourists travelling to Switzerland, however, turned out to be better than expected. In April 1935, the minutes of a meeting of the board of management reported, that the Swiss importers of coal wished a higher use of German coal by the Swiss tourism industry.¹⁹¹⁶ Three reasons had resulted in an uncomfortable imbalance between tourism and coal. Firstly, more German tourists had entered Switzerland than expected; secondly, the coal import had decreased heavily; thirdly, the coal imported from Upper Silesia was Polish and not German and was not included in the clearing agreement.¹⁹¹⁷ The Swiss importers of coal requested, therefore, that the SFV would ask its members to increase the import of German coal because this would

¹⁹¹² STV-Archiv, PROTOKOLLE Geschäftsleitender Ausschuss 1934-1949, 1963-1980: "Protokoll der Sitzung des Ausschusses vom 15. November 1934, [...]", by the committee of the SFV, Zürich, 15.11.1934, p. 1.

¹⁹¹³ STV-Archiv, PROTOKOLLE Geschäftsleitender Ausschuss 1934-1949, 1963-1980: "Protokoll der Sitzung des Ausschusses vom 15. November 1934, [...]", by the committee of the SFV, Zürich, 15.11.1934, p. 1.

¹⁹¹⁴ Frech, Clearing, 2001, p. 284.

¹⁹¹⁵ Frech, Clearing, 2001, p. 284.

¹⁹¹⁶ STV-Archiv, PROTOKOLLE Vorstandssitzungen 1934-1938, 1955-1962: "Protokoll der ersten Vorstandssitzung vom 12. April 1935 [...]", by the board of management of the SFV, Montreux, 12.4.1935, p. 4.

¹⁹¹⁷ STV-Archiv, PROTOKOLLE Vorstandssitzungen 1934-1938, 1955-1962: "Protokoll der ersten Vorstandssitzung vom 12. April 1935 [...]", by the board of management of the SFV, Montreux, 12.4.1935, p. 4.

guarantee German tourists.¹⁹¹⁸ Two years later, the SFV had completely revised its opposition to the linkage coal-tourism.¹⁹¹⁹ Moreover, the linkage had turned out to be a privilege for tourism because it secured a certain amount of German tourists who could not have been expected otherwise.¹⁹²⁰

Additionally, the introduction of funding bonds and the voucher system was discussed. The first experiences with the agreement of 6th June 1936 were ambivalent. On the one hand, the overnight-stays of German and Swiss tourists had decreased compared to the previous year.¹⁹²¹ Bad weather, chicanes at the border and unpleasant articles in the press were mentioned as further reasons for the dreadful state.¹⁹²² Indeed, a circular of the German Reichsbahn had reported about the outbreak of polio in Switzerland, so that Germany forbade his citizens to travel to Switzerland.¹⁹²³ In fact, in 1936 and 1937, the registered cases of poliomyelitis increased from some 80 (1934) and 245 (1935) to some 1'269 (1936) and 1'494 (1937) only to fall to some 283 (1938) and 521 (1939) cases afterwards.¹⁹²⁴ On the other hand, the agreement was welcomed by the SFV's president, Max Gafner, because it secured a certain amount of German tourists who were allowed to travel to Switzerland.¹⁹²⁵ The agreements, however, always indicated a nominal condition. This did not mean that this was the reality! Yet, the contingents were made full use

¹⁹¹⁸ STV-Archiv, PROTOKOLLE Vorstandssitzungen 1934-1938, 1955-1962: "Protokoll der ersten Vorstandssitzung vom 12. April 1935 [...]", by the board of management of the SFV, Montreux, 12.4.1935, p. 4.

¹⁹¹⁹ STV-Archiv, PROTOKOLLE Vorstandssitzungen 1934-1938, 1955-1962: "PROTOKOLL der Vorstandssitzung des Schweizerischen Fremdenverkehrsverbandes vom 20. Juni 1936 [...]", by the board of management of the SFV, Luzern, 20.6.1936, p. 3.

¹⁹²⁰ STV-Archiv, PROTOKOLLE Vorstandssitzungen 1934-1938, 1955-1962: "PROTOKOLL der Vorstandssitzung des Schweizerischen Fremdenverkehrsverbandes vom 20. Juni 1936 [...]", by the board of management of the SFV, Luzern, 20.6.1936, p. 3.

¹⁹²¹ STV-Archiv, PROTOKOLLE Vorstandssitzungen 1934-1938, 1955-1962: "Protokoll der Vorstandssitzung des Schweizerischen Fremdenverkehrsverbandes vom 28. August 1936 [...]", by the board of management of the SFV, Zürich, 28.8.1936, p. 10.

¹⁹²² STV-Archiv, PROTOKOLLE Vorstandssitzungen 1934-1938, 1955-1962: "Protokoll der Vorstandssitzung des Schweizerischen Fremdenverkehrsverbandes vom 28. August 1936 [...]", by the board of management of the SFV, Zürich, 28.8.1936, p. 5.

¹⁹²³ STV-Archiv, PROTOKOLLE Vorstandssitzungen 1934-1938, 1955-1962: "Protokoll der Vorstandssitzung des Schweizerischen Fremdenverkehrsverbandes vom 7. Oktober 1936 [...]", by the board of management of the SFV, Bern, 7.10.1936, p. 6.

¹⁹²⁴ Bundesamt für Statistik, *Statistik und Geschichte. Historische statistische Tabellen der Schweiz. Gesundheit*, online,

<http://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/portal/de/index/dienstleistungen/history/01/00/14/03.html> (accessed 6.1.2015), Tab. 14.3.1.1.2.4 "Gemeldete Fälle von Kinderlähmung (Poliomyelitis) nach Kantonen 1914-1958".

¹⁹²⁵ STV-Archiv, PROTOKOLLE Vorstandssitzungen 1934-1938, 1955-1962: "Protokoll der Vorstandssitzung des Schweizerischen Fremdenverkehrsverbandes vom 28. August 1936 [...]", by the board of management of the SFV, Zürich, 28.8.1936, p. 7.

of, see that the agreement portrayed the real situation quite well. Only 2.5 and 2.6 percent of the contingents were not used in July and August 1936:

July 1936

Actual paying-outs for the free tourism

(from Germany to Switzerland):	4	million CHF (100%)

./ Not used money destined for this free tourism	0.1	million CHF (2.5%)

Result = actually used contingent "free tourism"

(rounded)	3.9	million CHF (97,5%)

Contingent for tourism requiring a license	0.661	million CHF

August 1936

Actual paying-outs for the free tourism

(from Germany to Switzerland):	3.8	million CHF (100%)

./ Not used money destined for this free tourism	0.1	million CHF (2,6%)

Result = actually used contingent "free tourism"

(rounded)	3.7	million CHF (97,4%)

Contingent for tourism requiring a license	0.4	million CHF.

Tab. 8: *The contingents for German tourists were made full use of in summer 1936.*

Source: STV-Archiv, PROTOKOLLE Vorstandssitzungen 1934-1938, 1955-1962: "Protokoll der Vorstandssitzung des Schweizerischen Fremdenverkehrsverbandes vom 28. August 1936 [...]", by the board of management of the SFV, Zürich, 28.8.1936, p. 9.

A crucial moment, however, was the devaluation of the Swiss Franc in September 1936. This event did not only reduce the tourism destination Switzerland in price, but it made the coal more expensive (see chapter 5.1.1 *The economic development: the effects of the gold standard*). The SFV expected, therefore, more tourists from non-clearing countries like Great Britain or the USA and less from Germany and Italy¹⁹²⁶ – unless the Swiss tourism industry would increase its prices, a scenario the SFV

¹⁹²⁶ According to STV-Archiv, PROTOKOLLE Vorstandssitzungen 1934-1938, 1955-1962: "Protokoll der Vorstandssitzung des Schweizerischen Fremdenverkehrsverbandes vom 7. Oktober 1936 [...]", by the board of management of the SFV, Bern, 7.10.1936, p. 5, Germany – and Italy – were supposed not to send more tourists because the devaluation made the imports for Switzerland (e.g. coal) more expensive.

feared.¹⁹²⁷ The foreign tourists reacted on the devaluation as foreseen: While the number of Germans fell from 287'022 in 1936 to 270'307 in 1937, the number of Britons rose from some 130'110 to some 283'917 tourists in the same period.¹⁹²⁸ The Swiss tourists, the predominant group since 1914, rose in numbers from some 1'847'000 tourists in 1936 to some 1'959'000 tourists in 1937,¹⁹²⁹ because a trip to a foreign country became more expensive with a devaluated Swiss franc. The devaluation also provoked a change in the comparatively friendly treatment of tourism by the leaders of the negotiation delegation. According to the SFV, the financial creditors – banks, small investors¹⁹³⁰ – succeeded in convincing individual Federal Councilors and Minister Stucki that tourism had got a relief with the devaluation and could be put last now.¹⁹³¹ Such an inner-Swiss quarrel between the different groups of creditors and economic sectors coined the clearing negotiations in general.¹⁹³²

On 30th June 1937, when the linkage coal-tourism was abandoned, the SFV accepted its faith: According to different members of the board, the situation was not satisfying, but nothing better could have been achieved because the negotiations had been extraordinarily difficult: In their opinions, the SFV suffered a war on two fronts: Germany, as well as the other Swiss delegations, namely the financial creditors.¹⁹³³ Indeed, the Swiss tourism industry was the only group which could guarantee its claim for a credit in the agreement.¹⁹³⁴ Nevertheless, the number of German tourists in Switzerland was described as insufficient.¹⁹³⁵ Moreover, while Italy chicaned its citizens when they applied for a passport so that an extremely negative tourism

¹⁹²⁷ STV-Archiv, PROTOKOLLE Vorstandssitzungen 1934-1938, 1955-1962: "Protokoll der Vorstandssitzung des Schweizerischen Fremdenverkehrsverbandes vom 7. Oktober 1936 [...]", by the board of management of the SFV, Bern, 7.10.1936, p. 5.

¹⁹²⁸ Bundesamt für Statistik, Historische statistische Tabellen, online, Tab. 10.2.1.6.

¹⁹²⁹ Bundesamt für Statistik, Historische statistische Tabellen, online, Tab. 10.2.1.6.

¹⁹³⁰ Frech, Clearing, 2001, p. 72.

¹⁹³¹ STV-Archiv, PROTOKOLLE Geschäftsleitender Ausschuss 1934-1949, 1963-1980: "Protokoll der Ausschuss-Sitzung des Schweizerischen Fremdenverkehrsverbandes vom 19. April 1937 [...]", by the committee of the SFV, Bern, 19.4.1937, p. 2.

¹⁹³² Frech, Clearing, 2001, p. 71.

¹⁹³³ STV-Archiv, PROTOKOLLE Vorstandssitzungen 1934-1938, 1955-1962: "Protokoll der Vorstandssitzung des Schweizerischen Fremdenverkehrsverbandes vom 3. September 1937 [...]", by the board of management of the SFV, Bern, 3.9.1937, p. 19.

¹⁹³⁴ STV-Archiv, PROTOKOLLE Vorstandssitzungen 1934-1938, 1955-1962: "Protokoll der Vorstandssitzung des Schweizerischen Fremdenverkehrsverbandes vom 3. September 1937 [...]", by the board of management of the SFV, Bern, 3.9.1937, p. 16.

¹⁹³⁵ STV-Archiv, PROTOKOLLE Vorstandssitzungen 1934-1938, 1955-1962: "Protokoll der Vorstandssitzung des Schweizerischen Fremdenverkehrsverbandes vom 3. September 1937 [...]", by the board of management of the SFV, Bern, 3.9.1937, p. 17-18.

balance ("Tourismusbilanz") resulted for Switzerland, the clearing negotiations with Romania and Hungary were only in progress and not very promising: Both countries hardly had the necessary resources at their disposal to equal the trade of goods.¹⁹³⁶

For some destinations in Switzerland, the staying away of the German tourists implied a loss of an important part of their guests.

<u>Country of origin</u>	<u>21st-31st December</u>		
	<u>1936</u>	<u>1935</u>	<u>Difference</u>
Switzerland	69'298	58'624	+10'674
Germany	37'276	45'596	-8'320
France	28'710	16'130	+12'580
Italy	4'556	1'524	+3'032
Austria	2'229	1'143	+1'086
Great Britain	32'219	18'634	+13'585
Netherlands	21'398	11'702	+9'696
Belgium	10'665	3'730	+6'935
Czechoslovakia	1'206	753	+453
Hungary	910	349	+561
USA	1'512	787	+725
Other	4.819	4.201	+618
Total	214'798	163'173	+51'625

Tab. 9: *Overnight-stays in the canton of Grisons between 21st and 31st December 1936 according to the guests' countries of origin. The devaluation of the Swiss Franc made Switzerland cheaper for non-clearing countries like Great Britain, France, the Netherlands or Belgium. The minus in the Germans' overnight-stays might have based, among others, on an outbreak of polio in Switzerland.*

Source: STV-Archiv, PROTOKOLLE Geschäftsleitender Ausschuss 1934-1949, 1963-1980: "Protokoll der Ausschuss-Sitzung des Schweizerischen Fremdenverkehrsverbandes vom 16. Januar 1937 [...]", by the committee of the SFV, Zürich, 16.1.1937, p. 3.

Note: The column "Difference" was added by AAH for clarity's sake and is not shown in the indicated source.

When the German Jews were forbidden to leave Germany, the canton of Grisons and particularly Schuls-Tarasp felt this heavily.¹⁹³⁷ A part of the loss, however, was compensated by more Britons and Dutch visiting Switzerland.¹⁹³⁸ Indeed, the same development had taken place in winter 1936, too, so that the constant complaints about the staying away of German tourists must be qualified. A look at a short, but

¹⁹³⁶ STV-Archiv, PROTOKOLLE Vorstandssitzungen 1934-1938, 1955-1962: "Protokoll der Vorstandssitzung des Schweizerischen Fremdenverkehrsverbandes vom 3. September 1937 [...]", by the board of management of the SFV, Bern, 3.9.1937, p. 19.

¹⁹³⁷ STV-Archiv, PROTOKOLLE Vorstandssitzungen 1934-1938, 1955-1962: "Protokoll der Vorstandssitzung des Schweizerischen Fremdenverkehrsverbandes vom 17. März 1938 [...]", by the board of management of the SFV, Zürich, 17.3.1938, p. 3-4.

¹⁹³⁸ STV-Archiv, PROTOKOLLE Vorstandssitzungen 1934-1938, 1955-1962: "Protokoll der Vorstandssitzung des Schweizerischen Fremdenverkehrsverbandes vom 17. März 1938 [...]", by the board of management of the SFV, Zürich, 17.3.1938, p. 4.

touristically very important period of time in the canton of Grisons showed an intact demand: Between 21st and 31st December 1936 – that is after the devaluation of the Swiss Franc –, the numbers of overnight-stays mentioned in table 9 were reported in the canton of Grisons: Compared with the previous year 1935, the increase in overnight-stays summed up to some 31.6 percent. The fall in the Germans' overnight-stays – which might have based on the German ban hereinafter the outbreak of polio in Switzerland – was obviously by far balanced by the increase in the overnight-stays of the other nationalities! The minus of some 8'320 overnight-stays by the Germans was equaled by the overnight-stays of the Swiss, the French, the Italians, the British or the Dutch alone. It is not astonishing, that the minutes of the meeting of the SFV' committee reported that "[e]in Ansturm wie in diesem Winter ist kaum je erlebt worden."¹⁹³⁹ In the canton of Grisons, such fluctuations were common in the Interwar Period: According to Kessler, it happened that an increase of overnight-stays to the amount of over 100 percent within five years was followed by a decrease of the overnight-stays to the amount of some 75 percent.¹⁹⁴⁰ Nevertheless, the problems with Germany as clearing partner filled the minutes of the meetings of the SFV' board of management. Numerous questions of detail had to be discussed like, for instance, the fact that Germany did not translate the agreement into practice properly. As a result, German tourists in Switzerland did not have enough money or hotel vouchers, or the German tourists' consumption was reduced because the vouchers were not redeemable.¹⁹⁴¹ As the vouchers could not be redeemed at a local bank, but had to be sent to a central "Gutscheinkontrolle", the system was very complex and far from being comfortable for the German tourists.¹⁹⁴² Another problem was the allegedly wrong quotas which Germany allocated to the different touristic regions of Switzerland.¹⁹⁴³ In particular the French- and the Italian-speaking parts of

¹⁹³⁹ STV-Archiv, PROTOKOLLE Geschäftsleitender Ausschuss 1934-1949, 1963-1980: "Protokoll der Ausschuss-Sitzung des Schweizerischen Fremdenverkehrsverbandes vom 16. Januar 1937 [...]", by the committee of the SFV, Zürich, 16.1.1937, p. 9.

¹⁹⁴⁰ Kessler, *Der Tourismus*, 2000, p. 98.

¹⁹⁴¹ STV-Archiv, PROTOKOLLE Vorstandssitzungen 1934-1938, 1955-1962: "Protokoll der Vorstandssitzung des Schweizerischen Fremdenverkehrsverbandes vom 17. März 1938 [...]", by the board of management of the SFV, Zürich, 17.3.1938, p. 4.

¹⁹⁴² STV-Archiv, PROTOKOLLE Vorstandssitzungen 1934-1938, 1955-1962: "Protokoll der Vorstandssitzung des Schweizerischen Fremdenverkehrsverbandes vom 17. März 1938 [...]", by the board of management of the SFV, Zürich, 17.3.1938, p. 4.

¹⁹⁴³ STV-Archiv, PROTOKOLLE Vorstandssitzungen 1934-1938, 1955-1962: "Protokoll der Vorstandssitzung des Schweizerischen Fremdenverkehrsverbandes vom 17. März 1938 [...]", by the board of management of the SFV, Zürich, 17.3.1938, p. 4.

Switzerland and the spring and autumn destinations respectively felt neglected: in their opinion, the winter destinations were treated preferably.¹⁹⁴⁴

In summary, tourism's involvement in the Swiss foreign trade policy in the 1930s found expression in two noteworthy points: Firstly, tourism was traded against German coal and thereby developed into a strategically product of economic-political importance because it reduced the negativity of the Swiss balance of payments. Secondly, the SVZ's crisis of 1932/33 produced a gap in terms of power politics with respect to the lobbying for Switzerland's tourism industry, so that a couple of touristic business persons founded a second touristic-political interest association, the SFV. The latter quickly developed into *the* peak association for the Swiss tourism industry, which weakened the SVZ' relative position and favored its "nationalization" (see chapter 5.6.4 *Nationalization accomplished?*).

5.5.4 Politicization of tourism in Switzerland

In summary, in the 1930s, tourism in Switzerland became more and more subject to discussions which had a strong political background, as for instance the clearing negotiations with Germany. This process strengthened tourism's inclination in politics as it had started in the field of the federal alien's branch of the police in the 1920s (see chapter 5.4 *Rebellious tourism industry: Questions of the alien's branch of the police*), so that we observe a process of politicization of tourism in the Interwar Period, particularly in the 1930s. Focusing on the aspect of the foreign trade policy, it became clear that tourism had turned into a branch of the economy which could not be neglected, moreover, which was necessary for the surviving of other economic activities like the Swiss coal importers and the industry which used coal as a fuel. Thus, the clearing agreements with Germany influenced tourism in Switzerland in different ways: On the one hand, the volume of tourism by Germans travelling to Switzerland was regulated by quotas, absolute numbers and relative ratios, hindered by restrictions and chicanes at the border. On the other hand, these regulations, which enabled Switzerland to get German coal, were reached in time-consuming negotiations which required a lot of resources and knowledge. The Swiss negotiation

¹⁹⁴⁴ STV-Archiv, PROTOKOLLE Vorstandssitzungen 1934-1938, 1955-1962: "Protokoll der Vorstandssitzung des Schweizerischen Fremdenverkehrsverbandes vom 3. September 1937 [...]", by the board of management of the SFV, Bern, 3.9.1937, p. 17.

delegation was composed of delegates of the country's peak associations, which tourism did not possess of in the beginning of the 1930s. The lack of a political lobby urged Fritz Ehrensperger on to found the SFV in 1932, which quickly became the Swiss tourism industry's peak association. The SFV's foundation based, among others, on the crisis which the SVZ found itself in 1932 (see chapter 5.3.2 *The financing between 1933 and 1939*). Apart from its taking part in the clearing negotiations with Germany, the SFV aimed at informing the Swiss public about tourism's importance and thereby forced the SVZ to reposition itself and to sharpen its profile, which resulted in a diversification of the Swiss touristic-political scene. The SVZ was downsized to the national marketing organization, the Publizitätsdienst der SBB defended its territory successfully. Although the SFV challenged the SVZ' position, their experiences resembled each other: The first years of existence were coined by defining their position against the background of the other touristic associations, and with the insight, that the aims could not be reached with the financial means at hand. Within a couple of years, the associations in tourism turned to the confederation because of their economic need, but, on the same time, uphold their liberal credo of being independent from the state. This behaviour mirrored the older Swiss peak association which were founded in the 19th century. In the Interwar Period, the federal administration welcomed the SFV's and SVZ' advances and took advantage of their paradox situation: It offered financial support, but claimed for its rights in the associations' organs. In this way, the administration strengthened its position in the touristic associations, its influence grew. If this was a conscious strategy or rather by coincidence is not clear. It is a fact that the confederation's support for touristic advertising and lobbying increased in the 1930s after the touristic associations SVZ and SFV had approached the federal administration for financial support. Although the federal administration had not actively looked for this interference, it acted quickly when the parliament had given it the task of doing so. All in all, the administration's increasing engagement in the country's touristic marketing and lobby organizations corresponded with the requirements of a country heavily fragmented in economic, cultural and social terms. Having a right to say in the national marketing organization which also marketed Switzerland in Switzerland was useful in any events.

5.6 Centralization accomplished: The Schweizerische Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung (SZV) (1939-1942)

As chapter 5.3.2.7 *The EAV takes the lead* revealed, the centralization of Switzerland's tourism promotion accelerated when the EAV took the lead in 1936. As a result, the Swiss parliament approved the transferring of the SVZ into a corporation under public law, the Schweizerische Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung (SZV) in 1939.¹⁹⁴⁵ This new national marketing organization ended two decades of dualism between the SVZ and the Publizitätsdienst der SBB – not to say two decades of pluralism, as the establishment of the SFV only partially eliminated the parallels in the touristic-political scene of Switzerland. Both, parliamentarians and public officials of the federal administration proposed solutions, but the claim for a central institution never subsided. In contrast, the increasing nationalistic atmosphere in the 1930s as well as the menacing economic situation in tourism in Switzerland supported those suggestions which tended towards the state, see the confederation. The allegedly modest financial means of the SVZ and the SFV hindered the fulfilling of their tasks so much that a state interference was asked for actively. How did the confederation receive this? Was it willing to meet the demands?

This question leads us back to the leading question of this analysis: How and why did the confederation support, promote, control, demand and instrumentalize the tourism in Switzerland during the first half of the 20th century? This chapter tries to reconstruct the establishment of the SZV from the confederation's perspective (administration's perspective) while focusing on the motives, reasons and actual actions of the confederation. Accordingly, this sub-chapter mainly bases on different sources like internal notes or letters and reports by public officials, but, secondarily also on minutes of the meetings of the different organs of the SVZ, the SFV and of the Publizitätsdienst der SBB. All crucial decisions were finally summed up in the Federal Council's message to the parliament in 1939.¹⁹⁴⁶

¹⁹⁴⁵ The abbreviations resemble each other very much; yet, the exact order of the characters makes the difference. During the period 1917 to 1939, the "SVZ" was in power, between 1939 and 1955 the "SZV".

¹⁹⁴⁶ "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung über die Schaffung einer Schweizerischen Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung. (Vom 17. Januar 1939.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1939, p. 61-84, p. 61-84.

5.6.1 The establishment of the SZV

On 20th and 21st September 1939, the Federal Assembly established the SZV by means of the "Bundesbeschluss über die Errichtung einer Schweizerischen Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung. (Vom 21. September 1939.)" (Federal Act about the foundation of a Swiss Association for the Development of Traffic), which came into force on 1st July 1940.¹⁹⁴⁷ In opposition to its predecessor SVZ, the SZV contained two novelties. Firstly, its legal status had changed from an association of private law to a corporation under public law. Secondly, the former agencies of the SBB abroad did not belong to the later anymore, but instead formed an integral part of the new SZV. Therewith, the discussions about the financing and the dualism in Switzerland's tourism promotion, which had lasted for twenty years, came to an end. Against the background of the numerous attempts at centralizing and unifying the Swiss tourism promotion which the previous chapters elaborated on, these novelties depicted milestones in the institutional aspect of Switzerland's tourism promotion. The federal decree fixed the SZV in a very short manner:

Following the SVZ' structure, the SZV consisted of a general assembly, a board of management, an executive committee, a main office and an auditor (article 1).¹⁹⁴⁸ Seated in Zurich, a branch office in Lausanne and agencies or branch offices in countries abroad secured the representation on the spot and in the French-speaking part of Switzerland (article 1). The 20 years long quarrels about the selling of tickets by the SBB was finally solved by three lines which fixed that the agencies abroad should be called "Schweizer Verkehrsbureau" (in the language of the country of the agency or the branch office) and, if tickets were sold there, "Schweizer Verkehrsbureau. Amtliche Agentur der Schweizerischen Bundesbahnen" (article 1). An extra agreement should regulate the new relationship between the SBB and the SZV (article 2). Any further details were settled in some organizational articles of association which had to be approved by the Federal Council (article 1). The confederation's influence was omnipresent, as it had to approve the organizational

¹⁹⁴⁷ "Bundesbeschluss über die Errichtung einer Schweizerischen Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung. (Vom 21. September 1939.)", in *Eidgenössische Gesetzessammlung. Amtliche Sammlung der Bundesgesetze und Verordnungen*, Neue Folge, Vol. 56, Bern: Stämpfli, 1941, p. 943-944. The date of the coming into force was decided by the Federal Council's decision on 25th June 1940.

¹⁹⁴⁸ If not indicated otherwise, this part refers to the "Bundesbeschluss über die Errichtung einer Schweizerischen Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung. (Vom 21. September 1939.)", in *Eidgenössische Gesetzessammlung. Amtliche Sammlung der Bundesgesetze und Verordnungen*, Neue Folge, Vol. 56, Bern: Stämpfli, 1941, p. 943-944.

articles of association (article 1) and to supervise the management of the SZV (article 3). These rights and duties were conceded to the confederation thanks to its contribution of some 38.9 million Swiss Francs (of 2009) – that is 2'500'000 Swiss Francs in 1939¹⁹⁴⁹ – per year in addition to a variable contribution of some 50 percent of the private contributions. This variable contribution should not be paid by the confederation or federal institutions ("eidgenössische Anstalten") like the SBB or PTT and should not exceed 500'000 Swiss Francs per year – that is 7.8 million Swiss Francs of 2009 (article 4).¹⁹⁵⁰ The legal form of the SZV was an corporation under public law (article 1), its aim described as the boosting of tourism, its main task the organization and carrying out of the touristic advertising of Switzerland in foreign countries and at home (article 2). Interestingly, the difference between advertising in foreign countries and at home remained and was not settled definitively in favour of one or the other. In contrast, the SZV was explicitly responsible for the advertising abroad *and* in Switzerland! That the advertising in Switzerland would soon become of a certain importance in the Second World War, was probably not intended. Yet, the dividing lines which divided Switzerland in the second half of the 1930s culturally, politically and economically may have shown the need of an institution capable of unifying the country or at least trying to do so. Did the confederation follow the same line when it proposed to the Federal Assembly its message about the foundation of the SZV?

5.6.2 The confederation's motives

After twenty years of attempts to improve the country's tourism marketing and lobbying, it is of interest to ask why the confederation finally accepted the SZV as a corporation under public law in 1939. Although a full state solution had not been discussed continuously, a central institution with varying grades of state participation had been subject to discussions permanently. Which were the confederation's motives for the establishment of the SZV? The question can best be answered by having a look at the Federal Council's message about the foundation of the SZV. The message stated the following motives:

¹⁹⁴⁹ According to Pfister; Studer, Swistoval, [s.d.] (accessed 11.9.2015), 2.5 million Swiss Francs in 1939 roughly equaled some 38.9 million Swiss Francs of 2009 (deflator: historical wage index).

¹⁹⁵⁰ According to Pfister; Studer, Swistoval, [s.d.] (accessed 11.9.2015), 500'000 Swiss Francs in 1939 roughly equaled some 7.8 million Swiss Francs of 2009 (deflator: historical wage index).

Controlling the confederation's financial means spent for tourism promotion:

According to the message, the confederation's financial support for tourism and tourism promotion had steadily grown, yet in a very splintered way: Be it through the SBB or the PTT, extra credits or member fees – in 1938, the confederation spent roughly some 62 million Swiss Francs (of 2009)¹⁹⁵¹ in favour of tourism and tourism promotion (not only for the SVZ!).

The final sums in the budgets for 1938 looked as follows:

	CHF of 1938	CHF of 2009 (approximately)
Publizitätsdienst der SBB	2'410'000	37'455'000
Werbegemeinschaft SVZ-PTT-	600'000	9'325'000
SVZ	550'000	8'548'000
Sonderwerbekredit des Bundes	500'000	7'771'000

Tab. 10: *The budgets of the different institutions and funds of the confederation in favour of Switzerland' tourism promotion were very uneven. In 1938, the SVZ only got half a million Swiss Francs more than the unique Sonderwerbekredit amounted to.*

Source: "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung über die Schaffung einer Schweizerischen Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung. (Vom 17. Januar 1939.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1939, p. 64. The conversion of the absolute data of 1938 into data of 2009 was made by means of Pfister, Christian; Studer, Roman, *Swistoval. The Swiss Historical Monetary Value Converter*, [s.d.], URL: <http://www.swistoval.ch> (accessed 14.9.2015) (deflator: historical wage index).

Table 10 shows the confederation's expenditure for tourism advertising from the confederation's perspective. It is striking that the SVZ as the national marketing organization received nearly the fewest. In fact, the SVZ only got one tenth more than the "Sonderwerbekredit" amounted to. Yet, the sum for the SVZ roughly equaled the sum which the agencies of the Publizitätsdienst der SBB spent for advertising.¹⁹⁵² Thus, until 1938, the SVZ had caught up with the former leader with respect to the advertising expenditures!

The costs of the different advertising instruments used by the Publizitätsdienst der SBB, the Werbegemeinschaft and the SVZ varied heavily. The running and the advertising of the agencies abroad were the most expensive measures (see Fig. 34).

¹⁹⁵¹ According to Pfister; Studer, Swistoval, [s.d.] (accessed 11.9.2015), four million Swiss Francs in 1938 roughly equaled some 62 million Swiss Francs of 2009 (deflator: historical wage index).

¹⁹⁵² According to "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung über die Schaffung einer Schweizerischen Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung. (Vom 17. Januar 1939.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1939, p. 61-84, p. 64, the roughly 2.41 million Swiss Francs (37.455 million Swiss Francs of 2009) in favour of the Publizitätsdienst der SBB included the complete costs of the SBB's agencies, that is, in particular, the agencies' expenditures for advertising of some 448'000 Swiss Francs (6.9 million Swiss Francs of 2009) per year. Calculations according Pfister; Studer, Swistoval, [s.d.] (accessed 26.10.2015) (deflator: historical wage index).

The expenditures for the printing materials, the films or the expositions and fairs nearly disappeared against the background of the total 2.056 million Swiss Francs in 1938 – equalling some 320 million Swiss Francs in 2009¹⁹⁵³ – for the agencies abroad (not including their ad budget!).

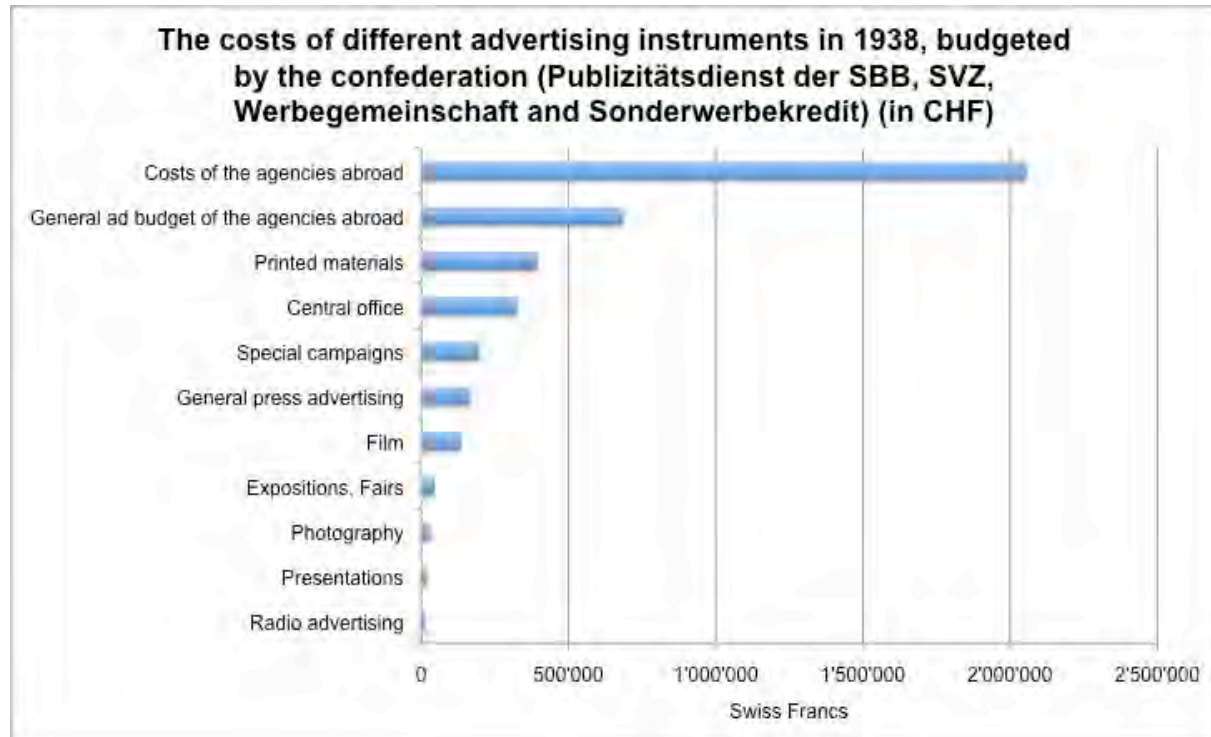


Fig. 34: The agencies abroad were by far the most expensive advertising measure from the confederation's perspective.

Source: "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung über die Schaffung einer Schweizerischen Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung. (Vom 17. Januar 1939.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1939, p. 64.

The total of some four million Swiss Francs – roughly equalling 62 million Swiss Francs of 2009¹⁹⁵⁴ – which the confederation spent in 1938 for tourism advertising and the complex interconnectedness between the different funds and receivers of the money urged the confederation to become active.¹⁹⁵⁵ The four million seemed to have exceeded the critical mark, they had achieved a height which the confederation considered high enough to reform the system and find a new settlement so that all the money could be controlled better. According to the message, the confederation could take responsibility for further federal financial means only under the condition

¹⁹⁵³ According to Pfister; Studer, Swistoval, [s.d.] (accessed 14.9.2015), 2.056 million Swiss Francs in 1938 roughly equaled some 320 million Swiss Francs in 2009 (deflator: historical wage index).

¹⁹⁵⁴ According to Pfister; Studer, Swistoval, [s.d.] (accessed 11.9.2015), four million Swiss Francs in 1938 roughly equaled some 62 million Swiss Francs of 2009 (deflator: historical wage index).

¹⁹⁵⁵ "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung über die Schaffung einer Schweizerischen Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung. (Vom 17. Januar 1939.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1939, p. 61-84, p. 70.

that a new form was founded which allowed a systematic, purposeful and economic work.¹⁹⁵⁶ The confederation had to distribute its credits economically, too, as tourism was not the only sector of the economy receiving subsidies.¹⁹⁵⁷ Consequently, the confederation's motive was to have a better control of the money spent for tourism and tourism advertising. A corporation under public law best enabled the confederation to do so.

The missing coordination of the funds for Switzerland's tourism promotion had direct consequences for the agencies abroad. When the number of French guests decreased in 1938, the Swiss legation in Paris established a "Comité de propagande" in order to promote Switzerland's national exhibition of 1939 in France and, afterwards, to continue the Swiss tourism promotion in France.¹⁹⁵⁸ The aim of this effort was to centralize and rationalize the Swiss tourism promotion in France – exactly the same process as it took place in Switzerland itself.¹⁹⁵⁹

International pressure: With this step to a state organization the confederation reacted to and followed the developments in foreign countries which, according to the confederation, organized their national advertising institutions tightly, with determination and equipped them with considerable financial means.¹⁹⁶⁰ As chapter 2.1 Overview showed, the Interwar Period witnessed the second wave of the establishment of NTO, notably in the Anglo-Saxon countries. Interestingly, with this reference to the foreign countries' efforts in the matter, the confederation exactly repeated the line of reasoning which the initiators of the SVZ had put forward in 1917 (see chapter 4.2.2.3 *The motion of 1911*). In 1939, however, it was not up to some private business persons who warned about the large expenditures for tourism promotion by the competitors, but the confederation itself! The message stated clearly, that Switzerland had to be alert about the foreign countries' efforts in tourism

¹⁹⁵⁶ "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung über die Schaffung einer Schweizerischen Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung. (Vom 17. Januar 1939.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1939, p. 61-84, p. 66.

¹⁹⁵⁷ "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung über die Schaffung einer Schweizerischen Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung. (Vom 17. Januar 1939.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1939, p. 61-84, p. 66, 75.

¹⁹⁵⁸ Garavaglia, *Le rôle des pouvoirs publics*, 2011, p. 84-85, 88.

¹⁹⁵⁹ Garavaglia, *Le rôle des pouvoirs publics*, 2011, p. 88.

¹⁹⁶⁰ "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung über die Schaffung einer Schweizerischen Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung. (Vom 17. Januar 1939.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1939, p. 61-84, p. 66.

promotion and prepared for a hard and ongoing defensive action.¹⁹⁶¹ Thus, the argumentation in favour of an organization for tourism promotion remained the same in 1917 and 1939, but the advocates – the Swiss tourism industry – had been completed with the confederation in 1939. Similarly, further arguments in favour of a centralized institution were put forward by the message: In a vague way and with reference to the then reigning practice in advertising, the EAV meant that a national advertising institution better had an official character.¹⁹⁶² Therefore, the legal form of a corporation under public law suggested itself, all the more as it prevented the SZV from competing with the private travel agencies and because this legal form expressed that the confederation was highly interested in tourism and that therefore it considered tourism advertising as a necessary fiscal-political measure.¹⁹⁶³

Eliminating the dualism: What had lead the confederation to this increased engagement? Apart from these explicitly uttered motives mentioned above, the message listed other reasons for a centralized institution: On the one hand, the Werbegemeinschaft, which the confederation co-financed, had not eliminated the parallels, it was rather a financial consortium.¹⁹⁶⁴ The Werbegemeinschaft had even complicated the situation as it was another organization above the SVZ and the Publizitätsdienst der SBB. This weighed all the more, as, on the other hand, the crucial problem had never been solved: Switzerland's touristic representation abroad was uphold by the SBB's agencies, but those belonged to the SBB and not to the SVZ. This was a problem because the SVZ had the duty to make the general advertising for Switzerland all over the world, but was not allowed to decide upon the agencies on the spot.¹⁹⁶⁵ The numerous attempts at centralizing the two institutions had de facto resulted in increased financial means of the confederation, but not in an improvement of the structure. This contradicted the harsh deflationist fiscal policy

¹⁹⁶¹ "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung über die Schaffung einer Schweizerischen Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung. (Vom 17. Januar 1939.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1939, p. 61-84, p. 66.

¹⁹⁶² "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung über die Schaffung einer Schweizerischen Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung. (Vom 17. Januar 1939.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1939, p. 61-84, p. 68.

¹⁹⁶³ "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung über die Schaffung einer Schweizerischen Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung. (Vom 17. Januar 1939.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1939, p. 61-84, p. 69.

¹⁹⁶⁴ "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung über die Schaffung einer Schweizerischen Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung. (Vom 17. Januar 1939.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1939, p. 61-84, p. 65.

¹⁹⁶⁵ "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung über die Schaffung einer Schweizerischen Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung. (Vom 17. Januar 1939.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1939, p. 61-84, p. 65.

which the government followed, although the four million Swiss Francs for tourism promotion must be labelled as a *quantité négligeable* compared to the 230 million Swiss Francs – roughly 3.5 billion Swiss Francs of 2009¹⁹⁶⁶ – which the Swiss banks had been subsidized with between 1933 and 1935.¹⁹⁶⁷ Against the background of two heavy saving programs which the confederation put into effect between 1934 and 1938 – the program of 1936/37 even intensified the reduction of the administration's expenditures compared to the previous program of 1934/35¹⁹⁶⁸ –, the confederation must have been worried about this development. As a consequence, the EAV immediately started to work when a parliamentary instruction (postulate) kicked off the legislative process. The National Councilor von Almen asked by means of his postulate to establish a centralized institution for Switzerland tourism promotion immediately.¹⁹⁶⁹ The EAV was invited to prepare all organizational and financial prerequisites and to adjust the SBB's publicity section (as a part of their commercial department), so that their agencies abroad could be transferred to the centralized institution.¹⁹⁷⁰ In von Almen's opinion, both measures should help to create a central fund and a central management of all advertising activities abroad.¹⁹⁷¹ His postulate was accepted by the National Council on 30th September 1936.¹⁹⁷² After the EAV had discussed von Almen's claims with all parties interested, it proposed the melting of the SVZ with the SBB's agencies in a new central organization – the SZV.¹⁹⁷³ While this proposition did not mean any changes for the cantonal, regional or local tourist offices and marketing organizations, the suggested solution implied heavy

¹⁹⁶⁶ According to Pfister; Studer, Swistoval, [s.d.] (accessed 11.9.2015), 230 million Swiss Francs in 1933 roughly equaled some 3.5 billion Swiss Francs of 2009 (deflator: historical wage index).

¹⁹⁶⁷ Guex, *Öffentliche Finanzen*, 2012, p. 1106.

¹⁹⁶⁸ Bickel, *Die öffentlichen Finanzen*, 1964, p. 291.

¹⁹⁶⁹ "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung über die Schaffung einer Schweizerischen Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung. (Vom 17. Januar 1939.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1939, p. 61-84, p. 66.

¹⁹⁷⁰ "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung über die Schaffung einer Schweizerischen Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung. (Vom 17. Januar 1939.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1939, p. 61-84, p. 66.

¹⁹⁷¹ "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung über die Schaffung einer Schweizerischen Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung. (Vom 17. Januar 1939.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1939, p. 61-84, p. 66.

¹⁹⁷² "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung über die Schaffung einer Schweizerischen Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung. (Vom 17. Januar 1939.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1939, p. 61-84, p. 66.

¹⁹⁷³ "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung über die Schaffung einer Schweizerischen Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung. (Vom 17. Januar 1939.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1939, p. 61-84, p. 66-67.

changes for the SBB: the loss of their agencies.¹⁹⁷⁴ Although the message foresaw a compensation for the loss of their agencies,¹⁹⁷⁵ the SBB lost a section – including the income-generating selling of tickets in the agencies –, which they had defended for over twenty years! Why did the SBB agree with the transferring of their agencies in 1936 and 1939 respectively?

5.6.3 The SBB's giving way

The kick-off of the administrative process for preparing a centralized organization – the later SZV – took place on 6th September 1936. On this day, the EAV distributed a report to all associations and organizations involved and interested in the establishment of a centralized organization.¹⁹⁷⁶ The report elaborated on the question how a centralization of Switzerland's tourism advertising could look like. The Office had become active at its head's order, the Federal Councilor Pilet-Golaz, who had encouraged to make some studies and surveys about the problems in the Swiss tourism economy. Von Almen's postulate, which was submitted in early summer 1936, set the agenda so that the EAV mainly focused on the organization of the Swiss touristic advertising.¹⁹⁷⁷ The SBB's reaction came quickly and comprehensively: Roughly one month after the distribution of the report, the SBB's board of directors ("Verwaltungsrat SBB") asked the general direction to agree with the transferring of the agencies to a centralized organization under some conditions (see below).¹⁹⁷⁸ Although the general direction's application consisted of ten pages, the reasons for the SBB's final acceptance did not become very clear. The application explicitly gave the following reasons: Firstly, unanimity between the SVZ

¹⁹⁷⁴ "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung über die Schaffung einer Schweizerischen Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung. (Vom 17. Januar 1939.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1939, p. 61-84, p. 67, 69.

¹⁹⁷⁵ "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung über die Schaffung einer Schweizerischen Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung. (Vom 17. Januar 1939.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1939, p. 61-84, p. 67, 72.

¹⁹⁷⁶ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 68, 1926-1939: "ENTWURF. EINUNDZWANZIGSTER JAHRESBERICHT für den Zeitraum vom 1. Januar bis 31. Dezember 1938", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Einsiedeln, [1939], p. 6.

¹⁹⁷⁷ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_009_17, 1936-1938: "Auszug aus dem Berichte des Eidg. Amtes für Verkehr zur Frage der Organisation der schweizerischen Verkehrswerbung", by the EAV, Bern, 3.9.1936, p. 1.

¹⁹⁷⁸ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_006_04, 1928-1937: "An den Verwaltungsrat der Schweizerischen Bundesbahnen. Reorganisation der schweizerischen Verkehrswerbung im Ausland", by Schrafl of the Directorate-General of the SBB to the board of management of the SBB, Bern, 14.10.1936.

and the Publizitätsdienst der SBB had grown in the previous years.¹⁹⁷⁹ Secondly, motoring had gained importance and was about to produce a structural change, which the SBB were fully conscious of and tried to avert.¹⁹⁸⁰ Nevertheless, the application rejected the reproach that automobilists had faced an unwelcoming treatment in the SBB's agencies.¹⁹⁸¹ Thirdly, the SBB aimed at securing their invested capitals abroad in form of the agencies and their services.¹⁹⁸² When they agreed with the transferring of them to a centralized institution, they only did this under the following conditions: The new institution should

- carry out the whole advertising and be fully responsible for it towards the authorities and the country,
- secure the SBB's interest and importance within the country-wide advertising,
- keep the selling of tickets by the agencies,
- compensate the SBB for the assets invested in their agencies abroad and follow the SBB into the rights and duties with respect to the rents and the personnel of the agencies. The personnel should be able to hold its rights.¹⁹⁸³

As it had been the case in previous years, the selling of tickets was a subject of discussion again (see chapter 3.2.5.2 *The selling of tickets*). According to the application, this activity faced several criticisms as it was considered to be uneconomic and competing the private travel agencies.¹⁹⁸⁴ This view, however, was rejected by the SBB because, in their opinion, they collaborated with the private

¹⁹⁷⁹ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_006_04, 1928-1937: "An den Verwaltungsrat der Schweizerischen Bundesbahnen. Reorganisation der schweizerischen Verkehrswerbung im Ausland", by Schrafl of the Directorate-General of the SBB to the board of management of the SBB, Bern, 14.10.1936, p. 4.

¹⁹⁸⁰ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_006_04, 1928-1937: "An den Verwaltungsrat der Schweizerischen Bundesbahnen. Reorganisation der schweizerischen Verkehrswerbung im Ausland", by Schrafl of the Directorate-General of the SBB to the board of management of the SBB, Bern, 14.10.1936, p. 5.

¹⁹⁸¹ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_006_04, 1928-1937: "An den Verwaltungsrat der Schweizerischen Bundesbahnen. Reorganisation der schweizerischen Verkehrswerbung im Ausland", by Schrafl of the Directorate-General of the SBB to the board of management of the SBB, Bern, 14.10.1936, p. 5.

¹⁹⁸² Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_006_04, 1928-1937: "An den Verwaltungsrat der Schweizerischen Bundesbahnen. Reorganisation der schweizerischen Verkehrswerbung im Ausland", by Schrafl of the Directorate-General of the SBB to the board of management of the SBB, Bern, 14.10.1936, p. 8.

¹⁹⁸³ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_006_04, 1928-1937: "An den Verwaltungsrat der Schweizerischen Bundesbahnen. Reorganisation der schweizerischen Verkehrswerbung im Ausland", by Schrafl of the Directorate-General of the SBB to the board of management of the SBB, Bern, 14.10.1936, p. 1-2.

¹⁹⁸⁴ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_006_04, 1928-1937: "An den Verwaltungsrat der Schweizerischen Bundesbahnen. Reorganisation der schweizerischen Verkehrswerbung im Ausland", by Schrafl of the Directorate-General of the SBB to the board of management of the SBB, Bern, 14.10.1936, p. 5.

travel agencies and not against them.¹⁹⁸⁵ Indeed, the SBB had, for the sake of their own interest and on behalf of 63 Swiss transport enterprises, signed agreements about the selling of tickets with 62 big foreign private travel agencies which totally possessed 1'095 branch offices.¹⁹⁸⁶ The total turnover of this net of agencies which sold Swiss tickets abroad amounted to some 24.6 million Swiss Francs in 1930 (roughly some 346 million Swiss Francs in 2009¹⁹⁸⁷), many times the turnover of some 4.89 million Swiss Francs (roughly some 69 million Swiss Francs of 2009)¹⁹⁸⁸ generated by the SBB's agencies in Paris, London, Berlin, New York and Rome.¹⁹⁸⁹ The fact that the private travel agencies got considerable commissions proved their interest in the selling of tickets in the SBB's agencies, as these commissions would have stopped if the selling of tickets in the agencies was cancelled.¹⁹⁹⁰ Additionally, the selling of tickets included a social-political question which mirrored the SBB's awareness of the unions' demands.¹⁹⁹¹ The legal status of the personnel in the SBB's agencies was that of a public official which implied that they belonged to pension and provident funds.¹⁹⁹² The SBB set the condition that this personnel should not suffer

¹⁹⁸⁵ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_006_04, 1928-1937: "An den Verwaltungsrat der Schweizerischen Bundesbahnen. Reorganisation der schweizerischen Verkehrswerbung im Ausland", by Schrafl of the Directorate-General of the SBB to the board of management of the SBB, Bern, 14.10.1936, p. 6.

¹⁹⁸⁶ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_006_04, 1928-1937: "An den Verwaltungsrat der Schweizerischen Bundesbahnen. Reorganisation der schweizerischen Verkehrswerbung im Ausland", by Schrafl of the Directorate-General of the SBB to the board of management of the SBB, Bern, 14.10.1936, p. 6.

¹⁹⁸⁷ According to Pfister; Studer, Swistoval, [s.d.] (accessed 14.9.2015), 24.6 million Swiss Francs in 1930 roughly equaled some 346 billion Swiss Francs of 2009 (deflator: historical wage index).

¹⁹⁸⁸ According to Pfister; Studer, Swistoval, [s.d.] (accessed 14.9.2015), 4.89 million Swiss Francs in 1930 roughly equaled some 69 billion Swiss Francs of 2009 (deflator: historical wage index).

¹⁹⁸⁹ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_006_04, 1928-1937: "An den Verwaltungsrat der Schweizerischen Bundesbahnen. Reorganisation der schweizerischen Verkehrswerbung im Ausland", by Schrafl of the Directorate-General of the SBB to the board of management of the SBB, Bern, 14.10.1936, p. 7.

¹⁹⁹⁰ According to Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_006_04, 1928-1937: "An den Verwaltungsrat der Schweizerischen Bundesbahnen. Reorganisation der schweizerischen Verkehrswerbung im Ausland", by Schrafl of the Directorate-General of the SBB to the board of management of the SBB, Bern, 14.10.1936, p. 7, the commissions amounted to some 1.5 million Swiss Francs in 1930. This roughly equaled some 21 million Swiss Francs in 2009 according to According to Pfister; Studer, Swistoval, [s.d.] (accessed 14.9.2015) (deflator: historical wage index).

¹⁹⁹¹ According to Degen, Bernard, "Gewerkschaften", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2011, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D16481.php> (accessed 17.3.2014), the union of the employees of the Swiss railway companies established a constant secretary in 1894 so that it belonged to the first unions to do so. Thus, the railway companies' employees were traditionally well unionized.

¹⁹⁹² Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_006_04, 1928-1937: "An den Verwaltungsrat der Schweizerischen Bundesbahnen. Reorganisation der schweizerischen Verkehrswerbung im Ausland", by Schrafl of the Directorate-General of the SBB to the board of management of the SBB, Bern, 14.10.1936, p. 7.

from the transferring,¹⁹⁹³ which showed their social-political responsibility. A final reason for the SBB's acceptance, however, astonished: According to the application, the SBB had agreed with their agencies' transferring to a new centralized institution in 1931 already (within the Zentralkommission), yet under the condition that the confederation would be involved and that their agencies would hold a "satisfactory" position.¹⁹⁹⁴ Indeed, both conditions became fulfilled in 1939.

Thus, did the SBB only wait until their conditions were fulfilled? At first sight, this hypothesis cannot be denied. Their year-long defending of their agencies abroad made clear that a centralized advertising organization was only possible if these agencies were not closed down. When von Almen proposed a solution which foresaw a compensation, the SBB's resistance decreased. On the same time, the confederation's increasing influence in Switzerland's tourism advertising suggested a better controllable legal status of all subsidies, credits and fees in favour of tourism promotion. Pilet-Golaz did not hesitate to come to terms with the discussions which had coined the organization of tourism promotion in Switzerland since 1917 – dualism, missing financial means, personal animosities, etc. This increased state interference seemed to have supported an increased acceptance and even an active welcoming of the state. An internal note by Thiessing, the head of the Publizitätsdienst der SBB, of 31st July 1936 stated:

Man könnte geradezu sagen, dass die Zeit reif sei für die Schaffung eines Eidg. Amtes für Verkehrswerbung; nachdem der Bund weitgehend an der Hülfeleistung zugunsten des Fremdenverkehrs beteiligt ist, und sein Einfluss auf diesem Gebiete nicht nur nicht abgelehnt, sondern in steigendem Masse und immer dringender begehrt wird.¹⁹⁹⁵

Obviously, the confederation's dominance, which it had gained by means of its increasing financial support for Switzerland's tourism advertising, played a crucial

¹⁹⁹³ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_006_04, 1928-1937: "An den Verwaltungsrat der Schweizerischen Bundesbahnen. Reorganisation der schweizerischen Verkehrswerbung im Ausland", by Schrafl of the Directorate-General of the SBB to the board of management of the SBB, Bern, 14.10.1936, p. 9.

¹⁹⁹⁴ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_006_04, 1928-1937: "An den Verwaltungsrat der Schweizerischen Bundesbahnen. Reorganisation der schweizerischen Verkehrswerbung im Ausland", by Schrafl of the Directorate-General of the SBB to the board of management of the SBB, Bern, 14.10.1936, p. 10.

¹⁹⁹⁵ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_008_05, 1936: "Zum Postulat von Almen", by Thiessing, [s.l.], 31.7.1936, p. 3.

role.¹⁹⁹⁶ Therefore, in Thiessing's opinion, the confederation was the only institution which had the legislative authority and financial power to unite all interested partners:

Der Bund allein hätte die Autorität und durch gesetzgeberische Mittel die Möglichkeit, alle Kräfte zu vereinigen, jeden Interessenten tributpflichtig zu machen und seine Leistungen in ein bestimmtes Verhältnis zu den Leistungen der Verkehrszentrale zu setzen.¹⁹⁹⁷

According to Thiessing, the confederation's legislative power paved the way for the transferring of the SBB's agencies to a new centralized – and one might add now "nationalized" – institution. This would not only guarantee the agencies' status but also free the SBB from the agencies' costs.¹⁹⁹⁸ These costs amounted to some 13.3 million Swiss Francs of 2009¹⁹⁹⁹ and doubled within three years, so that they roughly consumed two third of the total budget of the Publizitätsdienst der SBB in 1938!²⁰⁰⁰ This was of a certain importance for the SBB insofar as their indebtedness had grown to some 44 billion Swiss Francs of 2009²⁰⁰¹ in 1938 (without the equity capital).²⁰⁰²

In short, the SBB finally agreed with the transferring of their agencies abroad into an institution under public-law, because they had lost ground to the automobile tourism and flying tourism, due to the agencies' costs which increased their indebtedness, the increasing financial state support or interference and the changed attitude towards state involvement: it was not rejected anymore, in contrast, it was asked for and welcomed and the rights, which the confederation "got" thereby, accepted. Pilet-

¹⁹⁹⁶ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_008_05, 1936: "Zum Postulat von Almen", by Thiessing, [s.l.], 31.7.1936, p. 3.

¹⁹⁹⁷ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_008_05, 1936: "Zum Postulat von Almen", by Thiessing, [s.l.], 31.7.1936, p. 3.

¹⁹⁹⁸ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_008_05, 1936: "Zum Postulat von Almen", by Thiessing, [s.l.], 31.7.1936, p. 4.

¹⁹⁹⁹ According to Pfister; Studer, Swistoval, [s.d.] (accessed 14.9.2015), 821'500 Swiss Francs in 1935 roughly equaled some 13.3 billion Swiss Francs of 2009 (deflator: historical wage index).

²⁰⁰⁰ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_008_05, 1936: Letter by von Almen to Pilet-Golaz, Kleine Scheidegg, 28.4.1936, appendix; "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung über die Schaffung einer Schweizerischen Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung. (Vom 17. Januar 1939.)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1939, p. 61-84, p. 64. Both numbers only include the costs for rents, salaries, maintenance, furnishings, etc. and do NOT include the costs for the promotional material and expenditures!

²⁰⁰¹ According to Pfister; Studer, Swistoval, [s.d.] (accessed 14.9.2015), 2.831 billion Swiss Francs in 1938 roughly equaled some 44 billion Swiss Francs of 2009 (deflator: historical wage index).

²⁰⁰² Meyer, H.R., "Die Eisenbahnfinanzen in volkswirtschaftlicher Betrachtung", in Eidgenössisches Amt für Verkehr (ed.), *Ein Jahrhundert Schweizer Bahnen*, Frauenfeld: Huber & Co. Aktiengesellschaft, Vol. 1, 1947, p. 436-445, here 444, cited in Steinmann, Jonas, *Bahnen unter Strom! Die Elektrifizierung der SBB in historischer Perspektive*, Bern: unpublished Lizentiatsarbeit (Universität Bern), 2003, p. 131.

Golaz' determined action and will to break with the year-long discussions about the organization of Switzerland's tourism promotion thereby fell on a futile ground. The turmoil of the First World War, the World Economic Crisis, but also the new modes of transport like the car or the plane may have produced a feeling of uncertainty and new realities, which made necessary new forms of collaboration and attitude towards the state.

5.6.4 Nationalization accomplished?

Thanks to its comprehensive financial engagement in the SZV, the confederation secured itself extensive rights and control in 1939. Although the article of associations stipulated the different organs the rights for certain decisions, the composition of these organs depended on the financial contributions of the SZV's members. And they mirrored a clear hierarchy among the different members: The confederation hold by far the most votes or seats in the respective organs. Its two "Regiebetriebe", the SBB and the PTT, supported this ratio additionally. The dominance of the confederation was overwhelming, so that it even restricted its rights voluntarily because otherwise, the other members' feeling of responsibility would suffer:

En fait, la Confédération et ses régies possèdent presque l'intégralité des voix et non seulement la majorité. Si l'on ne restreint pas le droit de vote des organismes de droit public, on risque d'atténuer le sentiment de la responsabilité des autres participants. Les calculs ont été faits de manière que la Confédération et ses régies détiennent la majorité, mais nous avons voulu éviter que les autres membres n'aient rien à dire.²⁰⁰³

As much as this protection of minorities was noteworthy, as much this self-restriction was exactly calculated. It was fixed, namely, in a field where no crucial decisions were made: "D'ailleurs, il s'agit ici de l'assemblée générale dont les attributions ne sont pas très étendues."²⁰⁰⁴ The other financial contributions stemmed from cantons, municipalities, cantonal transport companies and private enterprises. Thus, the share

²⁰⁰³ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 29, 1936-1941: "Bundesbeschluss betreffend die Errichtung einer schweizerischen Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung. Protokoll der Verhandlungen der ständerätlichen Kommission vom 18. April 1939 [...]", by Tapernoux, secretary of the commission of the Council of States, Zürich, 18.4.1939, p. 1-2.

²⁰⁰⁴ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 29, 1936-1941: "Bundesbeschluss betreffend die Errichtung einer schweizerischen Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung. Protokoll der Verhandlungen der ständerätlichen Kommission vom 18. April 1939 [...]", by Tapernoux, secretary of the commission of the Council of States, Zürich, 18.4.1939, p. 2.

of state institutions and state enterprises dominated. A survey over the different organs of the SZV showed the state's dominance. In the general assembly, for instance, the confederation's share roughly amounted to seven eighths of the total; in the board of management, the confederation, the SBB and the PTT together nearly covered half of the seats while they were complemented by states and state enterprises of the cantonal level: the BLS and the RhB which belonged to the canton of Berne and the Grisons respectively. A "coalition of private interests" was obviously no threat, as Kradolfer, director of the EPED, put it.²⁰⁰⁵ The private members whose contributions were large enough for claiming an own representation in the board of management, for instance, were the national associations of the hoteliers (SHV) and the automobilists (ACS, TCS).²⁰⁰⁶

Organ of the SZV	Extent of state representation [votes or representatives (of total)]
General assembly - Confederation	5520 votes (7520)
Committee - Confederation, SBB and PTT	5 (9)
Board of management - Confederation	5 (23-25)
- SBB	3 (23-25)
- PTT	3 (23-25)
- Cantons, BLS, RhB	4 (23-25)

Tab. 11: *In the SZV, the confederation, the cantons and the state enterprises dominated. In the general assembly, the committee and the board of management, the confederation hold considerable parts of the total votes and seats respectively.*

Source: BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 29, 1936-1941: "Bundesbeschluss betreffend die Errichtung einer schweizerischen Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung. Protokoll der Verhandlungen der ständerätlichen Kommission vom 18. April 1939 [...]", by Tapernoux, secretary of the commission of the Council of States, Zürich, 18.4.1939, p. 3.

In summary, the confederation had never before been engaged in tourism advertising so much as it was the case with its contributions to the SZV. One might conclude that Switzerland achieved a nationalization of its tourism promotion. In fact, the EAV took over the lead in the centralization of the country's tourism advertising in a top-down manner. Nevertheless, to speak of a "nationalization" needs a certain qualification:

²⁰⁰⁵ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 29, 1936-1941: "Bundesbeschluss betreffend die Errichtung einer schweizerischen Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung. Protokoll der Verhandlungen der ständerätlichen Kommission vom 18. April 1939 [...]", by Tapernoux, secretary of the commission of the Council of States, Zürich, 18.4.1939, p. 3.

²⁰⁰⁶ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 29, 1936-1941: "Bundesbeschluss betreffend die Errichtung einer schweizerischen Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung. Protokoll der Verhandlungen der ständerätlichen Kommission vom 18. April 1939 [...]", by Tapernoux, secretary of the commission of the Council of States, Zürich, 18.4.1939, p. 2.

the private members and their contributions should not be forgotten! It also was among the confederation's intention not to demonstrate its full power. In contrast, it aimed at remaining in the background, while exercising its rights in the crucial positions. Therefore, the public-private-partnership which the SZV embodied may be called a product of a "discreet nationalization". Although the SZV was finally established due to the determined action by the EAV, encouraged by Pilet-Golaz, the connotation of a hostile takeover, which might be associated with a nationalization, would be wrong for the case of Switzerland. Too esteemed were the privates' efforts.

5.6.5 Instrumentalization

With the acceptance of the Federal Council's message about the establishment of the SZV the parliament decided to found the SZV on 21st September 1939. The subsequent administrative works necessary to establish such an institution lasted until 1941.²⁰⁰⁷ On 1st January 1941, the SZV became operational but the last members of the board of management were elected only on 21st April 1941.²⁰⁰⁸ On this day, the procedural rules as well as the agreement with the SBB about the transferring of their agencies to the SZV were accepted and two directors were finally elected by the Federal Council: Bittel, the previous director of the SVZ, and Thiessing, the previous head of the Publizitätsdienst der SBB.²⁰⁰⁹ On the recommendation of the board of management of the SZV, Armin Meili (1892-1981)²⁰¹⁰ became president²⁰¹¹ although he faced several critics inside the SZV.²⁰¹² Meili was a well-known character in Switzerland because he directed the Swiss

²⁰⁰⁷ According to Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_016_13, 1941: "Organisationsarbeiten der Schweizerischen Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung seit der Gründung", by Thiessing to the II. department [of the SBB], Bern, 28.4.1941, the different steps were: the federal decree came into force on 1st July 1940, the last general assembly of the SVZ and the constitutive general assembly of the SZV took place on 18th November 1940; on 31st December 1940 the SVZ was dissolved and on 1st January 1941, the SZV became operational.

²⁰⁰⁸ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_016_13, 1941: "Organisationsarbeiten der Schweizerischen Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung seit der Gründung", by Thiessing to the II. department [of the SBB], Bern, 28.4.1941.

²⁰⁰⁹ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_016_13, 1941: "Organisationsarbeiten der Schweizerischen Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung seit der Gründung", by Thiessing to the II. department [of the SBB], Bern, 28.4.1941.

²⁰¹⁰ Schwander, Martin; Wittwer, Hans-Peter (eds), *Der Architekt Armin Meili (1892-1981) und das Kunst- und Kongresshaus Luzern*, Luzern: Kunstmuseum, 1993, p. 85.

²⁰¹¹ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_016_13, 1941: "Organisationsarbeiten der Schweizerischen Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung seit der Gründung", by Thiessing to the II. department [of the SBB], Bern, 28.4.1941.

²⁰¹² Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_016_04, 1940-1942: "Aktennotiz betreffend Wahlvorschlag Direktor Dr. A. Meili für das Präsidium der SZV", by the SVZ to Thiessing and Lienert, [s.l.], 14.8.1940, p. 1-2.

National Exhibition in 1939, where tourism found expression in a huge wall painting entitled "Die Schweiz, Ferienland der Völker".²⁰¹³ The SVZ had ordered the painting which showed Switzerland as a combination of "heimatlicher Archaik" and technical modernity – two poles which did not exclude each other in 1939,²⁰¹⁴ and which resumed to the different topics of the image of Switzerland which the SVZ had promoted abroad during the Interwar Period (see chapter 5.2.4 *The image of Switzerland created abroad*). In short, like its predecessor, the SZV was established during a World War, this time the second one, and it was a legitimate question if the new form of organization would serve the needs. The war which surrounded Switzerland once again transformed the basis for tourism in Europe and in the Western hemisphere. The SZV was forced to focus on the domestic market even more than in the Interwar Period and thereby programmatically supported the demands of the mental defense (see chapter 5.6.5.2 *Patriotism as ground for tourism*). Therefore, it is of interest to analyze, if the SZV in its nature as a state institution published different promotional materials compared to the SVZ.

5.6.5.1 Skiing and its meaning for tourism in Switzerland (1939-1942)

One of the first posters published by the SZV²⁰¹⁵ in the winter season 1940/1941 definitely referred to the state: It showed two soldiers, dressed in white uniforms and each equipped with a rifle, but also an avalanche shovel. Below the slogan "Gesunde Jugend, wehrkräftiges Volk durch Wintersport" six children were skiing in a snowy landscape. The expression on the face of one of the boys showed that he was aware of the gravity of the situation: with an unsmiling expression he focused on something outside the poster, probably the future, in which he would serve the country as a mountain soldier in the snowy Alps of Switzerland. The slogan was quite clear on that: Learn to ski when you are a kid, then you will be prepared for becoming a soldier who will defend his country in the gloomy near future. The state's need was thereby well linked to the Alps, the traditional emblem for tourism in Switzerland. And skiing had turned into a state affair: on the one hand as a training opportunity for the

²⁰¹³ Moos, Stanislaus von, "Peintre officiel maudit. Hans Erni, Konrad Farner und der kritische Landgeist", in Moos, Stanislaus von, *Nicht Disneyland. Und andere Aufsätze über Modernität und Nostalgie*, Zürich: Scheidegger & Spiess, 2004, p. 77-94, here 79.

²⁰¹⁴ Moos, Peintre officiel maudit, 2004, p. 86-87.

²⁰¹⁵ As the SZV became operational on 1st January 1941 – hence, the SVZ existed until 31.12.1940 – the poster still showed the logo of the SVZ. Yet, half of the winterseason 1940/41 obviously took place in 1941 – and the poster's meaning was taken up by the SZV, as the SZV's poster for the summer season 1941 showed.

army, on the other hand as a supporter for the indebted railway companies and hotels. Thereby, the children on the poster imitated the tourists' strive for health. The slogan even started with the corresponding claim. A stay in the fresh air of the sunny Alps became fashionable in the Interwar Period, but referred to a very old aspect of tourism: curing. Thus, the poster well exemplifies the symbiosis of the state's need and its touristic encouragement. Such a mingling of meanings was not limited to Switzerland. In Italy, skiing was considered as a means of strengthening the soldiers who were associated with the alpine troops of the First World War.²⁰¹⁶ The combination of soldiers and children (probably school-children, given their height) referred to a field where state and tourism were in the process of forming a very powerful and influential symbiotic relationship: skiing.



Fig. 35: One of the first posters published by the SVZ/SZV in winter 1940/41 showed that tourism had become a state affair: Skiing prepared the Swiss youth for their service as a (mountain) soldier in the Swiss Alps. Thereby, the poster used two symbols which had hitherto represented tourism: skiing and the Alps. The mingling of these touristic emblems with the duty for the state plainly demonstrated the confederation's needs and its willingness to make use of the touristic know-how of its administration.

Source: National Library, Swiss Posters Collection, online, SNL_SPOR_286 (accessed 4.3.2014).

²⁰¹⁶ de Grazia, Culture of Consent, 1981, p. 176.

Skiing in Switzerland developed from an everyday means of locomotion for hunters, foresters and farmers – their skis used to be called "Fassdauben" and "Schneereifen" – to a form of winter sports at the end of the 19th century.²⁰¹⁷ A Swiss skiing pioneer, Christoph Iselin from Glarus, imported the Norwegian Telemark style which soon was challenged by a Austrian innovation which allowed to fix the whole shoe on the ski and thereby revolutionized the driving technique. The "Stemmschwungtechnik" was born which gave way to the alpine skiing as it is known today. The fans quickly assembled in ski clubs,²⁰¹⁸ first on the local level (Glarus 1893, Berne 1900, Zurich 1901), in 1904 on the national level in the "Schweizerischer Skiverband (SSV)". Instructed by Norwegian students,²⁰¹⁹ the members of these clubs learned the Norwegian technique (Telemark, cross-country skiing and ski jumping), until the English Arnold Lunn introduced the run in 1911. Afterwards, the question of the technique coined the whole development of the ski sport which quickly spread in Switzerland. Around 1900, the first touristic destinations attracted tourists by marketing skiing, all the more as skiing allowed the hotels in the mountainous regions to remain open during winter and thereby created a second season! Consequently, the hoteliers belonged to the first marketers of winter sport activities, supported by the publishers of local newspapers and the traders and producers of equipment for winter sport activities.²⁰²⁰ Additionally, the successful spread of skiing in Switzerland based on the army, which established a mountain troop in the First World War (see below). In the Second World War, the army organized ski camps for school-children and the so called "militärischer Vorunterricht" ("military pre-lessons"), where large parts of the population got in contact with skiing. Skiing became a mass phenomenon, however, only with the construction of technical aids for the ascent. After the first ski lift was installed in Davos in 1934, cableways boomed from the 1950s onwards. It was then that skiing fully became a popular sport which was spread in all levels of society in Switzerland. In the Interwar Period, skiing had not reached all social strata yet, although it was found often in ads by the SVZ in this

²⁰¹⁷ If not indicated otherwise, this part refers to Müller, Reto, "Skisport", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2011, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D26210.php> (accessed 11.4.2014).

²⁰¹⁸ According to Busset, *La relation travail-loisir*, 2005, p. 264-265, the clubs were important in making the new winter activity known among the tourists as well as among the locals.

²⁰¹⁹ Norwegian instructors also taught in France according to Dalmaso, Anne; Boulat, Régis, "Un nouveau tissu industriel né du tourisme alpin: le cas de Rossignol (1907-1970)", in Gigase; Humair; Tissot, *Le tourisme comme facteur*, 2014, p. 59-74, here 62.

²⁰²⁰ Busset, *La relation travail-loisir*, 2005, p. 265-267.

time. The ski-clubs in the canton of Fribourg, for instance, united small groups of enthusiastic skiers, mainly people from the cities.²⁰²¹

The development of ski lifts and cableways in Switzerland shows that the boom of the cableways in Switzerland took place in the years following the Second World War, starting around 1946 and booming in the second half of the 1950s.²⁰²² In how far was the skiing infrastructure built in the Interwar Period, then? Until 1908, cog and funicular railways in the mountainous region transported skiers to the top of the mountains or to a spot where they could start their run. As cog and funicular railways were built, first and foremost, for the touristic summer season (see chapter 3.1.2 *Transport: the conquest of the mountains*), and, additionally, also in cities, their importance and meaningfulness for the development of skiing in Switzerland is limited. Their development, however, was impressive as appendix 7.3 *Numbers of companies of cog railways and funicular railways in Switzerland, 1871-1939* shows. While the number of cog railways rose from 1 in 1871 to 15 in 1939, the number of funicular railways developed from 1 in 1877 to 53 in 1939.²⁰²³ The important thing about this development is, that there were mainly these two types of technical aids for skiers during the Interwar Period.

The first means of transport which were built for the transport of skiers onto the mountains were "funis", cableways and ski lifts. Funis were huge sledges pulled by a ropeway.²⁰²⁴ They were fixed in Switzerland between 1924 and 1940, the maximum of some 23 funis was reached in the winter season of 1939/40.²⁰²⁵ A lot of them were replaced by ski lifts soon because the later possessed a higher transport capacity.²⁰²⁶ Between 1908 and 1939, meanwhile, the newly opened cableway companies (excluding the renovations) only amounted to six companies with

²⁰²¹ Philipona Romanens, Anne, *Le développement du ski dans le canton du Fribourg (1930-1960)*, Fribourg: Chaire d'histoire contemporaine de l'Université de Fribourg, 1999, p. 30, 54.

²⁰²² For the technical development of the cableways see Bundesamt für Kultur, *Schweizer Seilbahninventar. Seilbahnen in der Schweiz. Hintergrund*, 2011, online <http://www.seilbahninventar.ch/texts.php?page=his&lang=de> (accessed 4.4.2014).

²⁰²³ Kammerer; Müller; Tanner; Woitek, Online Datenbasis, [s.d.], table N.4 "Normalspur-, Schmalspur-, Zahnrad-, Drahtseil- und Strassenbahnen: Anzahl Bauunternehmungen, Baulängen der Bahnlinien und elektrifizierte Strecken 1844-1945" (accessed 4.4.2014).

²⁰²⁴ Bundesamt für Kultur, *Seilbahninventar*, 2011.

²⁰²⁵ Bundesamt für Kultur, *Seilbahninventar*, 2011.

²⁰²⁶ Bundesamt für Kultur, *Seilbahninventar*, 2011.

pendular movement ("Pendelbetrieb").²⁰²⁷ Between 1908 and 1963, however, this figure rose to some 70 companies with pendular movement.²⁰²⁸

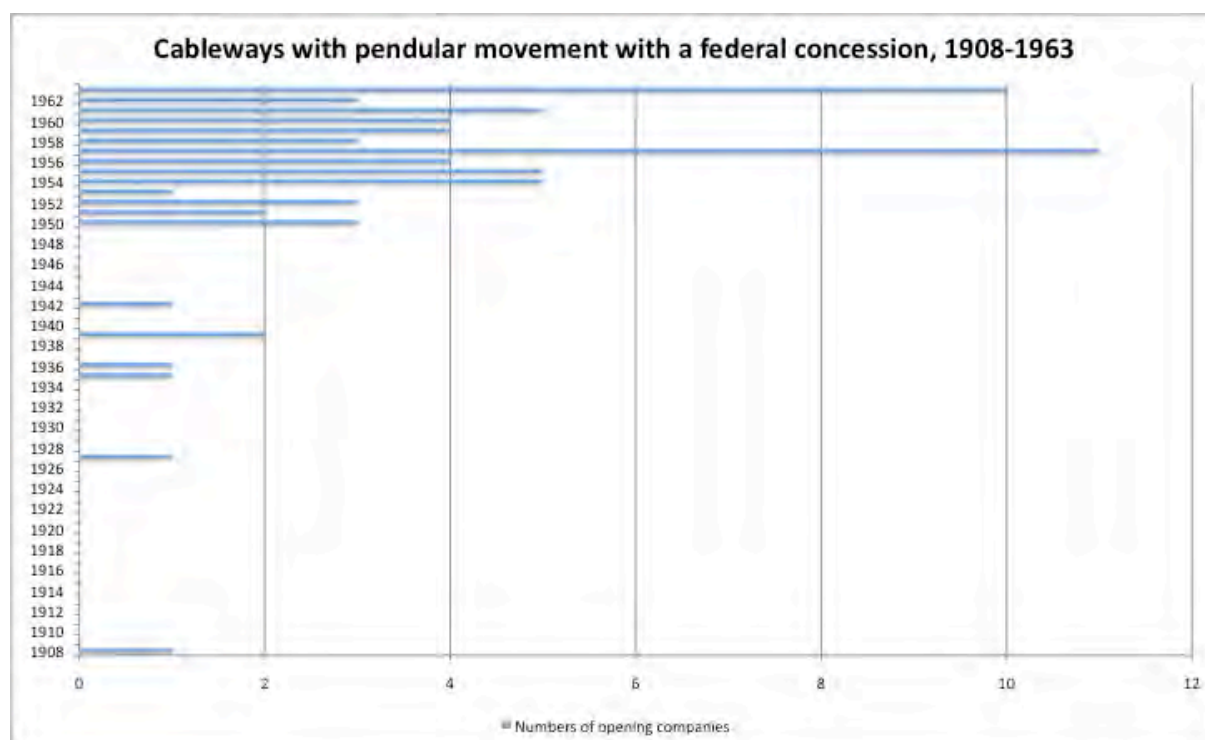


Fig. 36: The first technical aids originally destined at the transport of skiers on top of the mountains were cableways (with pendular movement) and ski lifts. They boomed from the 1950s onwards. In the Interwar Period there were only five built in Switzerland.

Source: Zuberbühler, Luftseilbahnen, 1964, p. 321-361.

The cableways in circulation mode ("Umlaufbahn") were constructed only after 1944; between 1944 and 1963 some 128 companies of that type (excluding the renovations) opened in Switzerland.²⁰²⁹

²⁰²⁷ Zuberbühler, Paul, "Die vom Bund konzessionierten Luftseilbahnen", in Eidgenössisches Amt für Verkehr (ed.), *Ein Jahrhundert Schweizer Bahnen*, Vol. 5, Frauenfeld: Verlag Huber & Co. Aktiengesellschaft, 1964, p. 321-361, here 354.

²⁰²⁸ Zuberbühler, Luftseilbahnen, 1964, p. 354-361.

²⁰²⁹ Winkler, Fritz, "Luftseilbahnen mit Umlaufbetrieb", in Eidgenössisches Amt für Verkehr, *Ein Jahrhundert*, 1964, p. 362-383, here 370-383.

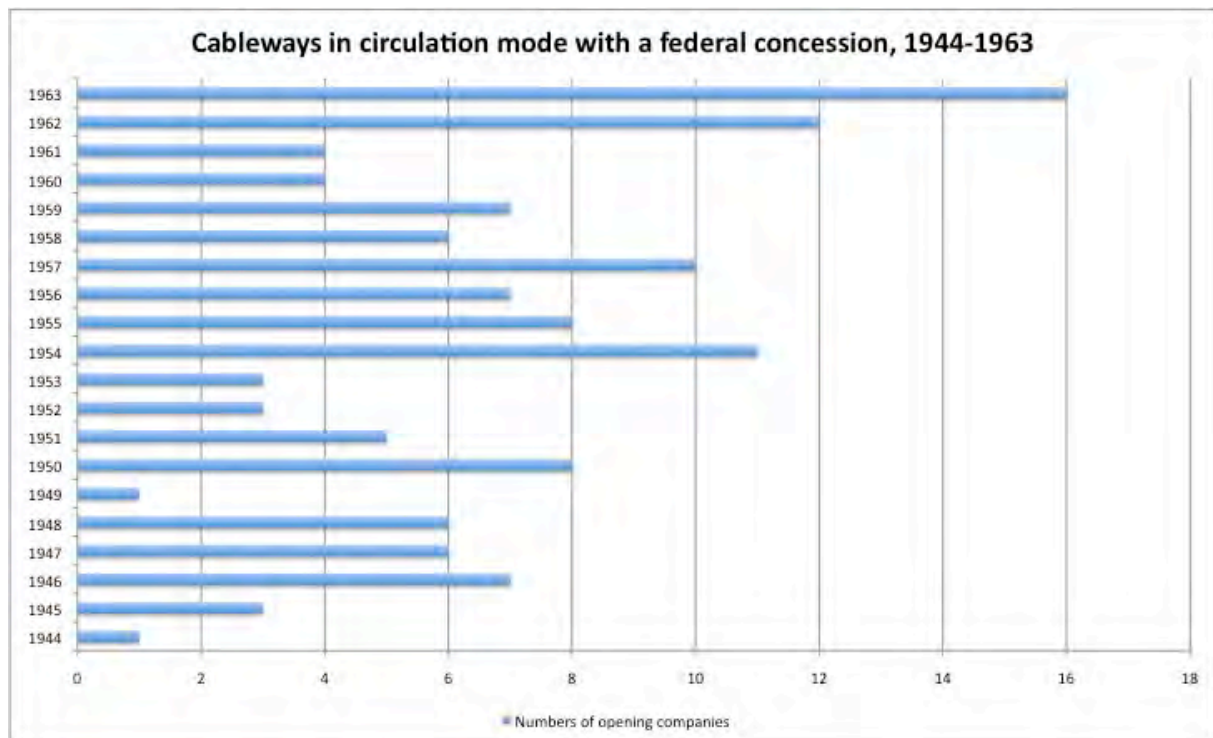


Fig. 37: The cableways in circulation mode followed those with pendular movement. They were built only after 1944.

Source: Winkler, Umlaufbetrieb, 1964, p. 362-383.

The first ski lift in Switzerland opened in 1934 in Davos, at the end of 1961, there were around 310 ski lifts in Switzerland.²⁰³⁰ The development of the cableways and ski lifts made clear that the Interwar Period was the initial phase for skiing, in which the potential of skiing had been recognized, but in which skiing had not yet reached all societal strata. All the more, it was marketed – among others, by the SVZ.

While the SZV's promotional material constantly encouraged skiing, the ads and brochures published by the SVZ had clearly paved the way for this activity.

Increasingly, skiing symbolized the winter season. While hockey, curling and ice skating appeared on a brochure on the winter season 1937/38,²⁰³¹ skiing dominated the SZV's promotional material for the winter seasons afterwards. The slogan for the winter season 1943/44 read: "Das ganze Volk fährt Ski"²⁰³². According to the sources, however, skiing had been present from 1931 onwards in the minutes of the board of management or of the committee of the SVZ. The first mentioning of skiing

²⁰³⁰ Zehnder, Roland, "Zur Geschichte der schweizerischen Bergbahnen", in Eidgenössisches Amt für Verkehr, Ein Jahrhundert, 1964, p. 3-41, here 41.

²⁰³¹ SVZ, *Ereignisse in der Schweiz 1937-1938*, Zürich: [s.n.], 1937.

²⁰³² NB, V 4800, Schweiz. Verkehrszentrale ab 1939. No. 17a. Schweiz Tourismus. Prospekte: "Die Schweiz im Winter 1943/44", by SVZ, Zürich, [1943].

in the SVZ' organs appeared in 1931 to wit in a negative sense. Junod, the SVZ' manager, explained that Switzerland had lost its pioneering position in skiing because it had not a standard skiing technique.²⁰³³ He claimed for skiing courses, all the more as the hotel industry would profit from them insofar as, for instance, in Vorarlberg and Tyrol, where a distinct skiing technique was taught, the hotels were well occupied.²⁰³⁴ As a consequence, Junod had contacted the Swiss Ski Association ("Association Suisse de Ski") in order to unify the methods taught in Switzerland.²⁰³⁵ He feared that Switzerland's reputation would suffer because some articles in English newspapers had suggested that the skiing lessons in Tyrol were much more effective than in Switzerland.²⁰³⁶ He concluded: "Il y a là un facteur de propagande important et pour ne pas perdre son avance, la Suisse doit arriver à l'unité des méthodes de ses concurrents."²⁰³⁷ With that, the SVZ contributed to the discussion about the right skiing technique, which also had been suggested by the SHV²⁰³⁸ and which coined the development of skiing.²⁰³⁹ Moreover, it completed the discussion with the aspect of touristic advertising. Meanwhile, the SHV organized a ski course in order to unify the methods,²⁰⁴⁰ leading to a handbook ("manuel") called *La Technique unifiée suisse*.²⁰⁴¹ The SVZ remained active in the matter of the unification of the skiing methods, so that in 1934, the incorporation of the Swiss ski schools by the SVZ was discussed.²⁰⁴² This undertaking failed finally in 1938 due to missing financial means on the part of the SVZ which was not ready to pay the Swiss ski schools a yearly contribution, although it paid them subsidies for chosen projects like a course for ski instructors or an inspection of some ski schools.²⁰⁴³ That a fusion of the country's national propaganda institution with the national association of the ski schools was

²⁰³³ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 72, 1931: "Protokoll der Sitzung des Vorstandes vom 24. November 1931, [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Zürich, 24.11.1931, p. 3.

²⁰³⁴ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 72, 1931: "Protokoll der Sitzung des Vorstandes vom 24. November 1931, [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Zürich, 24.11.1931, p. 3.

²⁰³⁵ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 34, 1930-1955: "Protokoll der Sitzung, [...] 9. Juni 1932 [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Zürich, 9.6.1932, p. 5.

²⁰³⁶ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 34, 1930-1955: "Protokoll der Sitzung, [...] 9. Juni 1932 [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Zürich, 9.6.1932, p. 5.

²⁰³⁷ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 34, 1930-1955: "Protokoll der Sitzung, [...] 9. Juni 1932 [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Zürich, 9.6.1932, p. 5.

²⁰³⁸ Philipona Romanens, *développement du ski*, 1999, p. 139.

²⁰³⁹ Müller, *Skisport*, 2011.

²⁰⁴⁰ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 34, 1930-1955: "Protokoll der Sitzung, [...] 9. Juni 1932 [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Zürich, 9.6.1932, p. 5.

²⁰⁴¹ Philipona Romanens, *développement du ski*, 1999, p. 139.

²⁰⁴² BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 34, 1930-1955: "Protokoll der Sitzung, [...] 17. August 1933 [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Zürich, 17.8.1933, p. 1-2.

²⁰⁴³ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 35, 1935-1940: "Protokoll der Ausschusssitzung vom 8. September 1938 [...]", by the committee of the SVZ, Zürich, 15.9.1938, p. 8.

discussed, however, showed the importance of skiing. The collaboration reached not only a level with respect to the content, see the promotion of skiing in Switzerland, but an institutional one.



Fig. 38: In order to make skiing popular, different marketing strategies were applied, among others some "Trockenskikurse".

Source: "Cours de gymnastique sur ski", in *Edelweiss*, 3me année, 1936, No. 17, [no pages indicated].

Apart from this institutional perspective, skiing as a sportive activity needed some time to become dominant in the SVZ' visual language. In 1938, the SVZ' agencies in Milan, London, Paris and Brussels, promoted skiing in Switzerland by means of "Trockenskikursen", where people exercised on the dry (see Fig. 38), oral presentations and films.²⁰⁴⁴ For a long time, skiing was connoted with discovery, adventure, or the fascination for speed – in short: with values commonly attached to leisure practices.²⁰⁴⁵ In the 1930s, however, the perspective on sports – including skiing – changed. In the course of the mental defense, the different sporting activities were reinterpreted as the modern version of the military tradition of the old confederates.²⁰⁴⁶ Marcacci speaks of a "militarisation du sport en Suisse", which based on the will to "renforcer l'encadrement de la jeunesse et promouvoir l'activité physique en fonction de la défense nationale", partially following the Nazis' principles and methods, and basing on the mediocre performance of the Swiss athletes on the occasion of the Olympic Games in 1936.²⁰⁴⁷ Yet, rejecting the neighbouring totalitarian states' support of elite sports, the federation refused to increase state control over the elite sports and, instead, focused on the autonomy of the sports

²⁰⁴⁴ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 35, 1935-1940: "Protokoll der Vorstandssitzung vom 3. November 1938 [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Zürich, 17.11.1938, p. 4.

²⁰⁴⁵ Marcacci, Marco, "Institutionnalisation et 'militarisation' du sport en Suisse (1914-1945)", in Jaccoud, Christophe; Busset, Thomas (eds.), *Sports en formes. Acteurs, contextes et dynamiques d'institutionnalisation*, Lausanne: Éditions Antipodes, 2001, p. 35-50, here 39-40.

²⁰⁴⁶ Marcacci, "militarisation" du sport, 2001, p. 45-46.

²⁰⁴⁷ Marcacci, "militarisation" du sport, 2001, p. 46-47.

associations, aiming at the sportive activity of the broad population (and not of a few top sportspersons).²⁰⁴⁸ As a result, the different sporting activities were used as a means of normalization of people who should guarantee the national cohesion as qualified citizen and soldier.²⁰⁴⁹ Skiing fully satisfied this policy, as the following lines show.

With the growing political tensions in Europe, the connection between the Swiss army and the Swiss youth brought along the skiing in the SVZ'/SZV's advertising (see Fig. 35, entitled "Gesunde Jugend, wehrkräftiges Volk durch Wintersport"²⁰⁵⁰). In fact, the army heavily boosted the development and spreading of skiing in Switzerland.²⁰⁵¹ After the EMD had organized the first military ski courses in 1908, it charged the Swiss Ski Association with the organization of these courses in 1911.²⁰⁵² In 1930, the Swiss Ski Association introduced a youth organization (Organisation de jeunesse OJ),²⁰⁵³ which contributed to the spreading of skiing in the (male) population: "Le sport du ski qui se développe dans le cadre de la F[édération] S[uisse de] S[ki] est un sport qui s'adresse à tous."²⁰⁵⁴ Since the introduction of the military pre-lessons in 1941, Swiss men were trained for their military services by means of skiing.²⁰⁵⁵ It was up to the SZV to advertize this. The SVZ's director, Bittel, considered the SVZ' encouragement of the Swiss population for skiing as crucial for the army's success: "Die S.Z.V. hat um den Stand der Skitüchtigkeit der Armee ein nicht geringes Verdienst."²⁰⁵⁶ In 1943, finally, skiing reached the whole population, at least mentally, according to the SZV's advertising: A film called "Ein Volk fährt Ski" was very successful in Switzerland as well as abroad.²⁰⁵⁷ Thus, the mental ground for the skiing boom after the Second World War was prepared. The SZV spared no effort to put the film's suggestive title into practice. For the winter season of 1941/42, the SZV

²⁰⁴⁸ Weber, Pierre-André, Sager, Fritz, "Von Wehrmännern zu Sporttalenten. Zur Entwicklung der schweizerischen Politik für Leistungs- und Spitzensportförderung", in *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte*, Vol. 65, No. 2, 2015, p. 249-267, here 252-253; Gamper, Michael, *Die Schweiz in Form. Sport und Nation in einem kleinen Land*, München: Carl Hanser Verlag, 2005, p. 34.

²⁰⁴⁹ Gamper, *Die Schweiz in Form*, 2005, p. 34.

²⁰⁵⁰ Translated in the general sense: Healthy youth, fit for military service by means of winter sport.

²⁰⁵¹ Philipona Romanens, *développement du ski*, 1999, p. 193.

²⁰⁵² Philipona Romanens, *développement du ski*, 1999, p. 133-134.

²⁰⁵³ Philipona Romanens, *développement du ski*, 1999, p. 170.

²⁰⁵⁴ Philipona Romanens, *développement du ski*, 1999, p. 191.

²⁰⁵⁵ Philipona Romanens, *développement du ski*, 1999, p. 61, 63.

²⁰⁵⁶ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/86, 20, 1941-1962: "Protokoll der Ausschuss-Sitzung vom [...] 22.10.41 [...] und [...] 23.10.41 [...]", by the committee of the SZV, Zürich, 22./23.10.1941, p. 11.

²⁰⁵⁷ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 65, 1940-1946: "Protokoll der 7. Vorstandssitzung vom 10. Dezember [...]", by the board of management of the SZV, Bern, 10.12.1943, p. 5.

resumed its message of the previous winter season: The Swiss youth was again encouraged to spend their holidays in the Swiss mountains. In order to improve the hotels' and cableways' key figures, the winter holidays were even prolonged!²⁰⁵⁸ A moralizing text in a corresponding brochure explained how the prolonged holidays should be used: Little Klaus did not want to let the prolonged holidays passing by in vain.²⁰⁵⁹ As a consequence, he took a "Ferienabonnement" of the railways (Holiday railway ticket) which entitled him to ski cheaper and thereby rendered his service to a "big deal", see a national affair, because – according to the text – the Swiss of tomorrow should be courageous, healthy and tried and tested in the mountainous winter – to the parents' delight.²⁰⁶⁰ As a consequence, the SZV launched a campaign which offered ski lessons for Swiss young people for free in January 1943. Targeting the youth was, however, not a pioneering act, as the foundation of the "organisation de jeunesse (OI)" of the Swiss Ski Association showed (see above). Skiing turned from pleasure into a national, patriotic act, as the SZV inscribed itself in the states' needs. This development mirrored the skiing's development from an activity codified by the English to a Swiss activity in the Interwar Period, whereby the state's will to turn skiing into a Swiss sport was strong.²⁰⁶¹ The use of skiing in the army very much supported this image: "tout Suisse, tout soldat doit être un skieur."²⁰⁶² In doing so, the army defined skiing as a healthy sport, because skiing was exercised on the fresh air, in the mountains, and necessitated a physical effort.²⁰⁶³ The SZV's offer enabled the Swiss to consume and impregnated them with the image of skiing as a sport which made better – see patriotic and healthy – citizens out of them. Both aspects – consumerism and national imaginary – constituted mechanisms which national identity was created with in many countries (see chapter 1.2.1.2 *Cultural History*).²⁰⁶⁴

²⁰⁵⁸ According to a poster by the SZV of 1941, the winter holidays were prolonged. The slogan of the poster read: "Les vacances d'hiver prolongées à nous la neige et le soleil". See National Library, *Swiss Posters Collection*, online, BCV Da 103 (accessed 29.4.2014).

²⁰⁵⁹ SVZ, *Verlängerte Winterferien*, Zürich: [s.n.], [1941].

²⁰⁶⁰ SVZ, *Verlängerte Winterferien*, Zürich: [s.n.], [1941].

²⁰⁶¹ Philipona Romanens, *développement du ski*, 1999, p. 165.

²⁰⁶² Philipona Romanens, *développement du ski*, 1999, p. 165.

²⁰⁶³ Philipona Romanens, *développement du ski*, 1999, p. 162.

²⁰⁶⁴ Campbell, *Darkest Alaska*, 2007, p. 9; Baranowski; Furlough, *Introduction*, 2001, p. 7; Baranowski, *An Alternative*, 2003, p. 562.



Fig. 39: Ski lessons for free in 1943: The SZV helped to teach the Swiss youth to be courageous and healthy citizens. The marketing organization plainly functioned as the federal administration's link to the population as it addressed the Swiss as tourists – but aimed in fact at the population's physical capacity.

Source: National Library, Swiss Posters Collection, online, SNL_SPOR_323 (accessed 28.4.2014).

5.6.5.2 Patriotism as ground for tourism

The duty for the Swiss citizens to travel their own country for economic and cultural reasons witnessed an intensification in the spring and summer campaigns. In 1941, the slogan "Gang, lueg d'Heimet a" ("Go, see your mother country") – in dialect! – made even more explicit what the poster "Gesunde Jugend, wehrkräftiges Volk durch Wintersport" ("Healthy youth, fit for military service by means of winter sport") had made allusion to. Apart from the economic need for the indebted tourism industry, a trip to a Swiss region formed the consciousness about the mother country and helped to produce patriotic feelings. The slogan very much appealed to the schools which profited from a corresponding program by the SZV for school trips.²⁰⁶⁵ The SZV distributed 2050 German, 720 French and 230 Italian posters each in spring and summer 1941.²⁰⁶⁶ With this measure, the SZV was fully in line with the Federal Council's intention of defending the country mentally (see chapter 5.1.2 *The federal administration and the interest associations intertwine*). The mental defense had been required from the Federal Council in 1938: "Von allen Seiten erhob sich immer dringender der Ruf, auch die geistigen Kräfte des Landes zu mobilisieren und für die

²⁰⁶⁵ Schweizerische Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung (SZV), *Erster Geschäftsbericht der Schweizerischen Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung für den Zeitraum vom 1. Januar bis 31. Dezember 1941*, [Zürich], [1942], p. 32-35.

²⁰⁶⁶ Schweizerische Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung (SZV), *Erster Geschäftsbericht*, [1942], p. 34.

geistige und politische Selbstbehauptung unseres Staates einzusetzen."²⁰⁶⁷

According to different parliamentarians, the authoritarian regimes in the neighbouring countries threatened the Swiss democracy and the national coherence of the Swiss population.²⁰⁶⁸ Given the decrease of foreign guests in the Second World War,²⁰⁶⁹ the domestic market was the only one which the SZV could really work on, see advertise there.²⁰⁷⁰ This limitation produced an interesting effect. The centralization had achieved its aim and had led to a powerful organization for touristic advertising that only waited for starting. Restricted by the territorial limitations determined by the war, the SZV's power could only be used inside Switzerland. The SZV in collaboration with the touristic-political scene of Switzerland perceived the Second World War as a laboratory of the touristic future.²⁰⁷¹ Equipped with know-how, money and experience, the SZV's behaviour in the Second World War resembled a drive at full speed while applying the brakes. The advantages of the organizational reorganization had produced a successful SZV which, however, could only start after the Second World War. The international context changed once again, then, but the fact that the SZV has successfully survived until today suggests that the centralization had created an institution capable of managing the different requirements of different times.

5.7 Preliminary results

The title of chapter 5 *Institutionalization: the SVZ 1917-1939* claims that an institutionalization of the SVZ took place between 1917 and 1939. This claim is tightly interconnected with the leading question of this study: Why and how did the

²⁰⁶⁷ "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung über die Organisation und die Aufgaben der schweizerischen Kulturwahrung und Kulturwerbung. (Vom 9. Dezember 1938)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 2, No. 50, 1938, p. 985-1035, here 985-986.

²⁰⁶⁸ "Botschaft des Bundesrates an die Bundesversammlung über die Organisation und die Aufgaben der schweizerischen Kulturwahrung und Kulturwerbung. (Vom 9. Dezember 1938)", in *Bundesblatt*, Vol. 2, No. 50, 1938, p. 986, 988.

²⁰⁶⁹ According to Müller; Amacher Hoppler, neutral country, 2013, p. 109, the worst year was 1940 when the arrivals fell on 2 million arrivals per year, a mark which only had been cut in 1915 (1,7 million). According to BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 68, 1926-1939: "DREIUNDZWANZIGSTER und letzter JAHRESBERICHT für den Zeitraum vom 1. Januar bis 31. Dezember 1940", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Stäfa, [1941], p. 2, the structure of the tourists in Switzerland changed completely in this year, as the foreign guests stayed away overwhelmingly, while the domestic tourism remained at the previous level or even increased in some regions and for a given time period.

²⁰⁷⁰ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 68, 1926-1939: "DREIUNDZWANZIGSTER und letzter JAHRESBERICHT für den Zeitraum vom 1. Januar bis 31. Dezember 1940", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Stäfa, [1941], p. 7.

²⁰⁷¹ Schumacher, Krise, 1997, p. 91.

confederation support, promote, control, demand and instrumentalize tourism in Switzerland during the first half of the 20th century? This chapter helped to clarify a considerable part of this question.

Firstly, why and how did the confederation support, control, demand and instrumentalize tourism in the Interwar Period? As chapter 4.4.2 *The message of 16th March 1917: reasons for the confederation's engagement in favour of the SVZ* showed, the confederation supported the SVZ mainly because of tourism's economic interconnectedness with other economic sectors, the falling profit rates in the hotel industry, the concurrence among the touristic agents, who considered this concurrence as destructive, and tourism's suitability to help to reconstruct the economic life after the First World War. During the Interwar Period, this engagement did not ease off. In contrast, tourism increasingly gained the federal administration's awareness in that period, because it affected more and more policies: On the one hand, the restrictive rules issued by the Eidgenössische Fremdenpolizei during and after the First World War complicated the crossing of the border for tourists and chicaned the tourists. The SVZ heavily fought against this unfavourable setting and thereby contributed to a liberalization of the rules by the federal alien's branch of the police. On the other hand, the change on the mobility market produced an automobile sector, which searched for a better backup in the federal institutions and for opportunities to better defend its interest against the dominant SBB which thereby came under pressure. The tourism promotion was an ideal place to do so, because the automobile lobby had been engaged in the SVZ right from the beginning and automobile tourism was increasing during the Interwar Period. It is therefore that, in 1933, the PTT and, later, the EAV entered the Werbegemeinschaft, a consortium which financed Switzerland's tourism promotion abroad from 1933 onwards, and in which the SVZ de facto functioned as the body which carried out the decisions taken by the Werbegemeinschaft. This downsizing of the SVZ was underlined by the establishment of the SFV – and the SVZ' crisis (see below) – in 1932, which quickly became *the* peak association of Switzerland's tourism industry. In doing so, the confederation heightened its influence in the country's tourism promotion indirectly (SBB, PTT) and directly (EAV). On the same time, tourism became an important factor in the clearing agreements with Germany because tourists were traded against German coal, which Switzerland still depended upon in the 1930s. Thus, in the 1930s, tourism was taken into consideration by the confederation in its financial

policy, its transport policy as well as in its foreign trade policy. In the first and the second case, the means of this engagements were subsidies, extra credits or fees which always included a membership, in the SVZ or the Werbegemeinschaft. In the third case, the delegates of the SVZ, but mainly of the SFV, took part in the negotiation delegations for the clearing negotiations with Germany. All these engagements by the confederation in favour of tourism changed the confederation's attitude towards the SVZ. From 1933 onwards, that is with the increased financial support, the positive attitude which had reigned hitherto turned into a determined attitude. With the financial support, the confederation demanded the promotion of some topics like the automobile tourism, price reductions or skiing for the Swiss people, which would contribute to the image of Switzerland as affordable destination but also to uniting the Swiss people and boosting domestic tourism. Facing the sheer amount of the financial support in 1938, the confederation seemed to have loosened the control. Basing on this loss of overview, it demanded a state organization, which would unite all the former receivers of the subsidies or extra credits – notably the Publizitätsdienst der SBB, the SVZ and the Werbegemeinschaft – in favour of tourism. How did this demanding on the part of the confederation take place? On the one hand, tourism was empowered institutionally by the establishment of the EAV, which was founded in order to bundle all questions relevant to tourism in 1935. On the other hand, a change of the person in charge from the Federal Councilor Haab, who had defended the SBB's agencies abroad against the SVZ' attempts to take them over, to the Federal Councilor Pilet-Golaz, who did not uphold this defense, led to a more determined action by of the confederation. The car lobby's success and the SBB's shrinking room for manoeuvre, which finally let the SBB transfer their agencies abroad to the new state organization (SZV) supported Pilet-Golaz' determined course of action. This way of proceeding was even more stressed at the beginning of the Second World War, when the confederation instrumentalized the SVZ/SZV in order to unite the Swiss people by means of skiing (mental defense). Although skiing had been practiced mainly by the wealthy foreign guests for a long time, it perfectly lend itself for creating a national identity and fostering the national cohesion in Switzerland, because, since the early 1930s, skiing was spread among the broad population via the army and its youth organization. In 1942/43, girls also were allowed to take part in the ski lessons for free, which the SZV promoted. This focus

on the Swiss youth and the national identity leads us to the other part of the leading question:

Secondly, how did the confederation (SVZ) promote Switzerland and why? While in the 1920s, the SVZ' visual language referred to former elements of advertising, mainly the sublime mountains and the luxurious railways, the way of doing so increasingly based on a modern means of advertising: the photography. This ambiguity between the traditional values and the modern means of advertising expressed the state of the SVZ very well. In its constant fights for legitimacy and financial means, the SVZ did not succeed. While it successfully lobbied for the liberalization of the rules issued by the federal alien's branch of the police (see above), the SVZ produced modest promotional materials in the beginning and did not show a new image of Switzerland, rather copied the images created by the local tourist offices or the hoteliers in the course of the 1920s. This modest independency from the other touristic agents with regard to the visual language was mirrored in the institutional state of the SVZ. Dissatisfaction among the touristic-political scene in Switzerland with the SVZ' work was widespread and provoked a veritable crisis of the SVZ around 1932. As mentioned above, the SVZ constantly fought for a higher legitimacy – notably in dissociating itself from the Publizitätsdienst der SBB, which de facto was the leading marketer of Switzerland, but which was an important member of the SVZ on the same time because the confederation urged the SBB to do so. Increasing deficits, which appeared parallel to the economic crisis, prohibited the marketing campaigns which would have been necessary after the exit of Germany and the Sterling-block out of the gold standard (which let the overnight stays and the arrivals fall sharply). The SVZ therefore turned to the Swiss as domestic tourists and promoted holiday trips in Switzerland with considerable price reductions. Therefore, the image of Switzerland changed from the mondane luxury of the Belle Epoque and the 1920s to the affordability of this luxury in the 1930s. This change in the image started with the new organization of Switzerland's tourism promotion in the form of the Werbegemeinschaft. And this was not a coincidence. With the confederation's increased awareness of tourism (see above) and the change of the federal councilor in charge, who aimed at a public institution for tourism promotion, the nationalization of the SVZ (in the SZV) appears as a determined action. Nevertheless, Pilet-Golaz' determination concentrated on the longlasting discussions about the organization of Switzerland's tourism promotion. Although he wanted to come to terms with these

discussions, he never forgot and esteemed the private members contribution's to the SVZ. Therefore, the process which transferred the SVZ into an institution under public law in 1939 – the SZV –, can be labeled a "discreete nationalization" at most. This process of an institutionalization can also be read as a process of politicization of tourism, so that the history of the SVZ very much fits into the narrative of the Swiss interest association and their intertwining with the federal administration in the 1930s.

6 Conclusion

6.1 Summary

The present study aimed at giving reasons for the question, why and how the confederation interfered and was involved in tourism promotion in Switzerland in the first half of the 20th century. It checked this idea by analyzing the establishment and development of the national tourist office, the Schweizerische Verkehrszentrale SVZ. The analysis based on comprehensive holdings of sources of different archives in Switzerland. The sources suggested themselves for an administrative-historical approach, so that an institutional history of Switzerland's first national tourist office between 1917 and 1939 resulted. These two dates marked the beginning and the end of the analysis, yet a close look at the SVZ' past history as well as an outlook on the first years of the SVZ' succeeding institution (until 1942) became necessary for a better understanding. Similarly, a bird's eye view on the development of national tourist offices all over the world helped to contextualize the Swiss development. It encompasses, however, the late 19th and the whole 20th century. In order to impart the crucial institutions, backgrounds, and contexts, the following lines summarize the previous chapters chronologically. It is in chapter 6.2 *Results*, that the leading question is answered in detail.

In comparison with other countries of the Western hemisphere, Switzerland belonged to those countries which pioneered the establishment of national tourist offices. After the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and France had opened a national tourist office in 1908 and 1910, Switzerland felt forced to catch up with them in order to remain at the top of the European touristic destinations at that time. The parliamentary postulate which asked for a national tourist office was submitted in parliament in 1911 and was put into practice within six years. The SVZ was established in 1917 as an association of private law which did not exclude that the confederation and the SBB belonged to its most important members. On the one hand, the confederation did not only pay an ordinary fee, but it functioned as the supervisory body, too. On the other hand, the SBB, a state-owned "Regiebetrieb", belonged to the SVZ as a normal member while they functioned as a competitor. The Publizitätsdienst der SBB, in fact, had been marketing Switzerland since its foundation in 1904. The dualism between the Publizitätsdienst der SBB and the SVZ,

which arose with the establishment of the national tourist office, lasted for over two decades, between 1917 and 1939. Competition, however, was not new for touristic promoters of Switzerland.

The opening of the Gotthard tunnel in 1882²⁰⁷² shook the balance between Switzerland's touristic regions. The new line did not only open a new route to Italy, but it opened a new sightseeing tour in Switzerland which did not touch the French-speaking part anymore. Four business persons originating from this region counteracted by founding the Syndicat pour les intérêts de la Suisse romande et du Jura-Simplon (JS) in 1893. The Syndicat aimed at bringing more American and English tourists to the French-speaking part of Switzerland by marketing their region in London where most of the American and English tourists planned their tours. The regional railway company, the JS, planned the same and opened a "bureau de publicité et de renseignements" in Lausanne and a branch office in London in 1893. Echenard, one of the Syndicat's initiators who directed the luxurious Savoy Hotel in London, run this first agency, which came under the roof of the JS in 1894. The strive for "officialdom" coined the efforts right from the beginning as the Syndicat repeatedly attempted to come under the auspices of the JS. In 1904, the JS was taken up in the SBB, its publicity department became the so called Publizitätsdienst der SBB. The Publizitätsdienst implied for the SBB a net of branch offices abroad and started a cooperation with other touristic agents like hoteliers, local tourist offices or representatives of other transport companies in the form of a consultative commission, the Beratende Kommission für den Publizitätsdienst der SBB. It represented the first forum for debate of the touristical marketing scene of Switzerland, although the SBB were and remained the leading figure. The experience of its branch offices all over the world and the income due to the selling of tickets made the Publizitätsdienst der SBB a very powerful marketer of Switzerland. Due to these advantages, the SBB were not ready to let their Publizitätsdienst be incorporated into the planned national tourist office which came to be the SVZ in 1917.

The power of the Publizitätsdienst der SBB manifested itself in the preparatory works for the SVZ already. The SBB firstly denied the necessity of establishing a national tourist office which the two National Councilors Alexander Seiler and

²⁰⁷² Schwabe, Hansrudolf; Amstein, Alex, *3x50 Jahre. Schweizer Eisenbahnen in Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft*, Basel: Pharos-Verlag, 1997, p. 96.

Alexandre Emery had asked for in their postulate. Then, after heavy pressure by the EDI, the SBB did not deny the necessity of a NTO anymore, as long as their Publizitätsdienst was not touched, and finally supported the SVZ financially as the EDI had built up their support into a moral question. This resistance by the SBB delayed the process of establishing a national tourist office, which, however, also based on the First World War which absorbed the relevant persons. The "Verkehrsamt" – this was the working title until the establishment – was mainly created by a couple of persons from the hoteliers' association SHV, the local tourist offices' association VSV, and the federal administration who created the articles of association in a friendly and uncomplicated atmosphere. By focusing on the persons involved in the preparatory works, the present study could show a tight cooperation between private associations and the federal administration when establishing Switzerland's national tourist office. The Swiss NTO thereby followed the experiences which several national interest associations had made, too.²⁰⁷³ While most of the federal departments accepted the planned "Verkehrsamt" without great enthusiasm, the EDI which was in charge of the preparatory works welcomed it. The private associations which formed the final constitutive body, the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, founded in 1916, ranged from professional lobby groups like the Schweizerischer Hotelier-Verein and the Verband Schweizerischer Verkehrsvereine, to interest groups like the Automobil-Club der Schweiz and the Touring-Club der Schweiz, to regional associations like the Pro Gottardo and the Pro Sempione. Although the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs exclusively aimed at establishing a "Verkehrsamt", crucial questions were not clarified prior to the establishment. When the place of the seat was decided upon at the occasion of the constitutive assembly, a dispute arose between Zurich, the winning city, and Basel, which had plead for becoming the SVZ' main seat. The federal administration was called for mediation. This role, in fact, was attributed to the confederation several times in the course of the preparatory works. The federal administration was not only asked for mediating the regional conflicts inside Switzerland (e.g. between the Gotthard region, the Lake Geneva region or the canton of Ticino), but also the competition between the touristic agents like transport companies or hotels who all marketed their place, service or region on their own and

²⁰⁷³ Degen, Verbände, 2012; Humair, The Long Depression and its impact on Swiss tourism, [2011], p. 13.

thereby faced numerous competitors. It seemed to that the Swiss tourism industry thereby adapted to Humair's model of an organized capitalism,²⁰⁷⁴ see that the Swiss tourism industry started to organize itself, albeit later compared to other economic sectors like the industry, the trade or the agriculture. The role as a mediator intended for the federal administration deserves attention insofar as the confederation's involvement was demanded by the Swiss tourism industry. It was not the confederation which became active! Thus, although the SVZ could rely on a certain goodwill inside the federal administration, the confederation had not asked for influencing it! Repeatedly, it even rejected its mediating role intended to it by refusing to take full responsibility: Thus, the confederation refused to vote on the place of the seat because this was a highly discussed topic between different regions and cities in Switzerland. Apart from the regional and commercial competitions another competing field opened up during the preparatory works: the railway's dominance was challenged by the automobile and the plane. Although of negligible importance before 1920, automobile tourism – and later the national airline Swissair – positioned itself by engaging in the SVZ. The SVZ therefore united those touristic agents who did not completely feel represented by the ads made by the Publizitätsdienst der SBB. As a consequence, a dualism between the SVZ and the Publizitätsdienst der SBB coined Switzerland's touristic marketing from 1917 onwards.

That the tourism industry organized itself later than the other Swiss (peak) associations based on several reasons: After former attempts to organize tourism promotion in Switzerland had not appeared prior to 1902,²⁰⁷⁵ international pressure only rose around 1910; as national associations were members of the SVZ, they first had to develop themselves into national associations, a process which in some cases lasted several decades. Until 1917, collaboration inside the Swiss touristic scene was selective, for a limited time or reduced to a specific topic or purpose, there was no need of a tighter collaboration, all the more as the SVZ' main task, the marketing, developed into a real science only in the first two decades of the 20th century. Finally, the development of automobile tourism made a corresponding advertising necessary. The SBB's campaigns did not satisfy the winners of automobile tourism, that is, in tendency, the representatives of the luxurious hotel industry. Like the

²⁰⁷⁴ See Humair, *The Long Depression and its impact on Swiss tourism*, [2011], p. 13.

²⁰⁷⁵ Although the VSV was established in 1893, it cannot be seen as the first comprehensive national tourist organization, because it only cared about the LTOs and not about other touristical agents. The same counts for the SHV.

hoteliers' national association, the automobile associations were constant members of the SVZ. With regard to home affairs, the foundation of the SVZ was seemingly anachronistic because the SVZ united employers and employees one year before the general strike shook Switzerland – apart from uniting French-, Italian and German-speaking representatives of hotels, transport companies and local tourist offices. This anachronism showed the Swiss tourism industry's orientation towards international touristic developments rather than towards domestic political problems. But it also showed that the confederation had caught an eye on the tourism industry. In fact, one of the confederation's motives to support the SVZ was that the confederation considered tourism as a help for the reconstruction of the Swiss economy after the war.

During its first years of existence, the automobile's rise did not leave tracks in the SVZ, except that its first director, Albert Junod, was member in the TCS. Instead, the SVZ had to define its nature, elect its organ, develop the working program, approve the organ's procedural rules and the first campaigns, and to find its geographical extent. The board of management as well as the Verkehrsrat consisted of representatives from different regions, different state levels (private associations, city council, federal delegates) and different professions (managers, federal public officials, free professionals, industrialists). The working program prescribed the tasks and topics for each department in detail, so that the departments did not cooperate and a fragmentary output resulted. Accordingly, the first promotional publication did not appear prior to 1920, which is three years after the establishment! Until then, the SVZ distributed promotional materials published by other touristic agents. Afterwards, the SVZ promoted Switzerland by means of posters – paintings and black and white photographs –, brochures, flyers, films, presentations and leaflets. While these means of advertising corresponded to the contemporary state of the art in advertising,²⁰⁷⁶ the image promoted abroad copied the image which the railway companies, LTOs and hoteliers were marketing. In the 1920s, the SVZ' visual language further on encompassed traditional values by using the modern means of the photography, so that an ambiguous image of Switzerland resulted. In the 1930s, the main message promoted by the SVZ was that Switzerland was affordable for everybody. In 1936, the Swiss population was directly addressed in order to encourage the Swiss to travel their mother country, thereby being fully in line with a

²⁰⁷⁶ Delley, *pays de vacances des peuples*, 2005, p. 46, 48, 58, 64, 72, 75, 84.

lot of other countries of the Western world.²⁰⁷⁷ Overwhelmingly, however, the natural beauties and predominantly the mountains were used to attract the tourists, a very traditional image. The posters came to hang up all over the Western hemisphere, which is where the SVZ or the Publizitätsdienst der SBB hold branch offices. Clearly, the later had more experience in promoting Switzerland abroad when the SVZ was established. This did not hinder, however, the SVZ to open own branch offices in order to be on the spot – a characteristic which was considered to be crucial for commercial success by contemporaries. With regard to the geographical extent of the net of the agencies, the SVZ and the Publizitätsdienst der SBB regulated the market in 1921. In 1939, the SVZ and the SBB were present in the main capitals of Europe as well as in Cairo, a center for English tourists. Due to missing financial means, the SVZ cooperated with Swiss diplomats, chambers of commerce, associations abroad and foreign travel agencies and transport companies in order to distribute its promotional material. These agents promoted Switzerland abroad parallel to the Publizitätsdienst der SBB, the SHV and private travel agencies which were entitled to sell tickets. Parallel to the agencies abroad, the SVZ also opened a branch office in Lausanne in order to be present in a second part of Switzerland. This representation in the French-speaking part of Switzerland legitimated the SVZ' existence as a national undertaking and guaranteed an appropriate communication in Latin countries like France or Italy. Although criticized by Eastern Switzerland, the branch office in Lausanne was even strengthened through the transfer of the whole economic and statistical department to Lausanne.

This geographical expansion was quite expensive. Although it was foreseen in the articles of association, not every project was realized. The SVZ' financing turned out to be a constant concern. Against the background of the dualism with the Publizitätsdienst der SBB, there were year-long discussions about more federal subsidies for the SVZ. It is important to note that the SVZ begged for more federal financial means – and thereby accepted that the confederation had a right to have a say in the SVZ and supervised it! In 1932/33, the Councilor of States Keller succeeded in finding new financial means for the SVZ. His project, labelled "project Keller", took into consideration that the confederation was not ready to pay more long-term subsidies, but punctual aid, and that the winners from automobile tourism should pay more for the country's tourism marketing. While the PTT had literally

²⁰⁷⁷ Löfgren, *Know your Country*, 2001, p. 138; Schumacher, *Ferien*, 2002, p. 292.

waited for supporting the SVZ' promotion, because it run a bus service throughout the country and because its head did not feel represented in the SBB's marketing, the Schweizerischer Hotelier-Verein agreed with a higher contribution for the SVZ only under the condition that Junod, the manager, be replaced. Facing increasing critics at the end of the 1920s, he resigned in 1932 and thereby paved the way for the "Werbegemeinschaft" of the SVZ, the SBB and the PTT, a contract which resulted from Keller's project and which functioned as a financial consortium for the country's tourism promotion. Its tasks were the management of a common fund which the promotion abroad was financed with, and which entitled the SBB's agencies abroad to name themselves as "Swiss Tourism Office and Official agency of the Federal Railways", and to propose a project for a standardized and centralized tourism promotion of Switzerland. The duties of the Werbegemeinschaft also explicitly encompassed the marketing of automobile and flying tourism. Switzerland's tourism promotion therefore based on a new form of financing from 1933 onwards, which also implied a new level of state involvement as the Gemeinschaftsfonds was funded by the SVZ, the SBB and the PTT. As the PTT and the SBB were two state enterprises, the tourism promotion abroad de facto depended on the confederation. This new fact was strengthened in 1936, when the EAV joined the Werbegemeinschaft and, by means of its contribution, increased the state money for tourism promotion abroad to the amount of one fourth! This increase in federal subsidies was backed up by several parliamentary instructions which all demanded a centralization of Switzerland's institutions of tourism promotion. When the EAV was founded in 1935, it quickly took the lead in centralizing Switzerland's tourism promotion efforts and in ending the dualism between the SVZ and the Publizitätsdienst der SBB. An extra credit for tourism promotion issued in 1936 – after Germany had cancelled the "Reiseverkehrsabkommen" – showed tourism's importance in the federal foreign (trade) and economic policy once more, so that the SVZ' successor was established in 1939: the Schweizerische Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung (SZV), a corporation under public law which united the agencies abroad of the Publizitätsdienst der SBB and the SVZ. That the dualism in Switzerland's tourism promotion was finally overcome based on new personal settings as well as on changed circumstances: While automobile tourism gained importance, the country's railway companies fought with ongoing financial problems which weakened their room for manoeuvre. Meanwhile, tourism was traded against

coal in the clearing agreements with Germany and thereby took on a quite important role as coal was still used as the main fuel by households and the industry in Switzerland then.²⁰⁷⁸ Finally, a change in the decision-making authority and of the responsible Federal Councilor accelerated the centralization. Pilet-Golaz was less enthusiastic about the SBB's Publizitätsdienst as was his predecessor Haab, and the EAV was in fact established in 1935 in order to have an office responsible for all questions relevant to tourism inside the federal administration! This minimized the distance between Switzerland's touristic agents and the federal administration.

The SVZ, however, had been trying to stay in constant contact with the administration since its establishment; it was considered as one of its main activities and became that activity, which the SVZ most likely succeeded in. Immediately after the First World War, the restrictive policy on foreigners by the federal alien's branch of the police opened up a conflict line between the federal administration and the SVZ. Thereby, Heinrich Rothmund, the head of the "Zentralstelle für Fremdenpolizei" and the SVZ' manager, Junod, developed into each other's opposite number because Rothmund's and Junod's institutions followed contradictory goals. While the SVZ demanded a quick liberalization of the formal requirements for foreigners originating back into the First World War, the federal alien's branch of the police wanted to not relinquish the requirements in order to fight Bolshevism, the so called "Überfremdung"²⁰⁷⁹ of Switzerland and, at the end of the 1920s, the adjustment of the immigration to the exigencies of the Swiss labour market. The measures issued by the federal alien's branch of the police – they based on a comprehensive control of a tourist's financial means, luggage, and passport at the border and a time-consuming supervision inside Switzerland – did not explicitly aim at but nevertheless touched the tourists. In 1915, a legal document newly had to be shown when entering Switzerland, in 1917, the duty to have a visa was introduced, in 1919, the "Zentralstelle" in Berne newly approved the visas issued by the Swiss consulates and diplomatic missions. For a tourist, this implied a long waiting time. By means of letters, petitions and direct contacts addressed at the Federal Council the SVZ tried to decentralize the visa competence, a measure which the Federal Council supported, in fact. Yet, as the SVZ tried to re-establish the situation prior to the First World War when a tourist was allowed to cross the Swiss border without showing a

²⁰⁷⁸ Marek, Energie, 2006.

²⁰⁷⁹ Translation by AAH: Domination by foreign influences.

passport or an identity card, the SVZ continued to criticize the federal alien's branch of the police: It fought against chicanes at the border and constantly aimed at the full cancellation of the duty to have a visa in the early 1920s. Thereby, the SVZ was fully in line with the Federal Council's intention which followed the encouragements for liberalization by the League of Nations. Consequently, the SVZ functioned like a pacemaker for the liberalization in the requirements for tourists by the Swiss national government. The authority for issuing a visa was decentralized – see: given back to the cantons – in 1921, and the obligation to have a visa was cancelled in 1929. At the end of the 1920s, identity cards were partially accepted, the Nansen-Pass had "legalized" the stateless persons, the stream of refugees had run dry, and Rothmund rather focused on the exigencies of the Swiss labour market than on the domination by foreign influences. For this new aim, a restrictive policy of residence suggested itself better than a repulsion of foreigners at the border. Although the SVZ was repeatedly rejected, it finally succeeded in liberalizing a tourist's border-crossing and stay in Switzerland.

In contrast to the sometimes hostile attitude in the communication with the federal administration on behalf of the federal alien's branch of the police, the SVZ uphold friendlier relations with the EPED and, from 1935 onwards, with the EAV, subordinated to the EPED. The 1930s saw an increasingly tight collaboration between the SVZ and the federal administration in the field of the federal foreign trade policy. Put differently, state interference in the economy increased in this decade, basing on two modes: the extraordinary powers and the clearing system. At the beginning of the First World War, the parliament had entitled the Federal Council with extraordinary power in order to secure Switzerland's safety, integrity, neutrality, credit and economic interests, particularly the provision of the basic needs, and conceded him an unlimited credit for these purposes.²⁰⁸⁰ Consequently, the Federal Council was allowed to circumvent the parliament. By means of this power, the national government devaluated the Swiss Franc to the amount of one third in September 1936. Tourism also was involved right from the beginning in the clearing agreements which Switzerland started to sign with a lot of countries in the 1930s and during the Second World War. The clearing system fixed the rates of exchange and forbade the transfer of a currency into another country. Consequently, large parts of the economic life had to be regulated in negotiations. In the German-Swiss clearing,

²⁰⁸⁰ Kley, *Verfassungsgeschichte der Neuzeit*, 2013, p. 339.

tourism was compensated for coal between 1934 and 1937, a business which roughly covered one sixth of the estimated contribution of tourism to the balance of payments. The high presence which the clearing negotiations required outstripped the SVZ' sources and lobbying capacity. Due to this lack, a new touristic-political institution was founded: Fritz Ehrensperger established the "Schweizerischer Fremdenverkehrsverband (SFV)" in a very determined action in 1932. The SFV's main task was to represent the Swiss tourism industry in the negotiation delegation consisting of delegates of the country's peak associations as well as the head of the trading department of the EVD, Walter Stucki. In order to prevent even more parallels in the organization of Switzerland's tourism industry, the fields of activity were divided up between the SVZ, the SFV and the Publizitätsdienst der SBB. As a consequence, the SVZ was definitively downsized to the marketing, while the SFV focused on the political lobbying and, as a consequence, became *the* peak association of the Swiss tourism industry. Similar to the SVZ, however, the missing financial means hindered the SFV to carry out all its intended tasks, so that it also turned to the confederation for financial help. By means of the contributions to the SVZ and the SFV, the confederation increasingly gained influence in these associations, leading to a politicization of tourism in Switzerland in the 1930s. It is noteworthy again, that the SVZ and the SFV called for the confederation's support and that it was not the confederation or the federal administration which became active at first!

Until 1938, the financial support by the confederation for the general tourism promotion roughly summed up to one million Swiss Francs (of 1938) or 15.5 million Swiss Francs of 2009.²⁰⁸¹ Although of negligible importance if compared to federal subsidies for the banking sector,²⁰⁸² for instance, the mentioned financial means in favour of tourism promotion occupied the confederation insofar as they made a trustworthy control necessary which was not guaranteed anymore. The interconnectedness of different funds and receivers for Switzerland's tourism promotion had grown confusing, so that the confederation was ready to pay further support only under the condition that the system would be reformed. Facing the foreign countries' efforts in the field and the unresolved problem of the SBB's agencies which did not belong to the SVZ, Pilet-Golaz aimed at a definite solution. When the National Councilor von Almen asked for a standardized institution for

²⁰⁸¹ According to Pfister; Studer, Swistoval, [s.d.] (accessed 14.9.2015), 1 million Swiss Francs in 1938 roughly equaled some 15.5 billion Swiss Francs of 2009 (deflator: historical wage index).

²⁰⁸² Guex, Öffentliche Finanzen, 2012, p. 1106.

tourism promotion in 1936, the EAV proposed to establish a state enterprise which should unite the SBB's agencies abroad with the SVZ. After twenty years of resistance, the SBB finally agreed with such a solution because they got compensated for their former agencies and which, noteworthy, were sold to a state institution so that the legal status of the agencies' personnel – the status as public officials – remained. Additionally, the SBB acknowledged the increasing competition by the automobile and the plane. The second federal transport company which run a net of bus services throughout Switzerland, the PTT, also became a member of the new institution so that the confederation and its two transport enterprises hold a majority of the seats in most of the organs. The other contributions were paid by private enterprises, national associations, cantons and municipalities. The SVZ' successor, the "Schweizerische Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung" (SZV), established in 1939, centralized the country's tourism promotion which continued to be destined at the foreign and the domestic public. With the outbreak of the Second World War, the SZV' campaigns supported the confederation's needs – like healthy soldiers who were tried and tested in the Swiss Alps. Children – mainly boys – were encouraged to learn to ski in order to serve the mother country as a soldier later. Although skiing had appeared on publications of the SVZ throughout the 1930s, the state now claimed for it and thereby turned skiing into a patriotic act. Skiing became a state affair, promoted by the SZV. In doing so, the SVZ popularized skiing which large parts of the (male) society had come in contact with thanks to the army.²⁰⁸³

6.2 Results

The leading question of this study de facto implies three different questions. In order to clarify them, we unbundle them and answer them in three parts. A fourth part discusses the underlying thesis of an institutionalization of the SVZ, which is opened up by chapter 5 *Institutionalization: the SVZ 1917-1939*.

Firstly, to start with chronologically, one part of the leading question turns around the date of establishment. Why did the confederation help to support – see: finance – a national tourist office in 1917, which is exactly in that year of the First World War, when the nutritional and energetic situation of Switzerland deteriorated²⁰⁸⁴ and,

²⁰⁸³ Philipona Romanens, *développement du ski*, 1999, p. 193.

²⁰⁸⁴ Pfister, *Energiekrise*, 2016, (forthcoming); Pfister, *Nahrungsengpass*, 2016, (forthcoming).

hence, the Swiss administration was mainly occupied with securing the basic needs of the Swiss population?

On the one hand, with the submission of the parliamentary proceeding calling for a NTO in 1911, the creation of the SVZ was put on the confederation's agenda due to external developments: the international pressure of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and France to open an NTO and thereby attracting more tourists around 1910, the perception of a crisis – in other words: the falling profits in the hotel industry – among the touristic scene in Switzerland, the exacerbation of the competition – in particular, the interregional competition inside Switzerland – and the misrepresentation of the touristic agents other than the railway companies in view of the SBB's advertising of Switzerland. In fact, the Swiss automobile associations and the hoteliers' associations were powerful members of the SVZ right from the beginning. Due to their importance and knowledge, the SBB always were included, too, albeit against their resistance. But parallel institutions without an institutionalized contact were not tolerated by the confederation. A financial support of the SBB for the SVZ was therefore considered compulsory by the confederation. Thus, the confederation took on the role of a mediator between the different touristic agents and regions and opposing political groups (e.g. the Verkehrsrat comprised members from the whole political spectrum). This was noteworthy insofar as the SVZ thereby appeared anachronistic. In 1918, Switzerland witnessed the culmination of social and political frictions in the form of the general strike. The going-together of employers and employees, agents of the German-, Italian- and French-speaking parts of Switzerland, and cities and rural destinations in the SVZ showed that the confederation was aware of tourism's capability to contribute to the reconstruction of the Swiss economy after the First World War.

The confederation's reasons for its support for a NTO mirrored the touristic sector's situation, which had deteriorated considerably during the four year of war. Therefore, on the other hand, the "official" – see the confederation's – reasons for the establishment of the SVZ were tourism's high interconnectedness with other economic sectors, the falling profits in the hotel industry, the saving of national income, as the touristic sector had become heavily capitalized in the Belle Epoque,²⁰⁸⁵ and tourism's capability for minimizing the damages of the war (see chapter 4.4.2 *The message of 16th March 1917: reasons for the confederation's*

²⁰⁸⁵ Humair; Gigase; Lapointe Guigoz; Sulmoni, success story, 2014, p. 16.

engagement in favour of the SVZ). This last point explains the confederation's engagement in favour of the SVZ insofar, as a contribution by the confederation to the SVZ became an investment into the future. Interestingly, this argumentation was also given for the French NTO at the occasion of a reorganization in 1916,²⁰⁸⁶ and was widespread among the allies, which started to organize a congress on that subject on the same time (see chapter 2.1 *Overview*).²⁰⁸⁷

Additionally, read against the background of the development of the federal administration, the year 1917 is once again noteworthy, because the SVZ' establishment thereby appears with some delay on the foundation of other Swiss interest associations. The SVZ de facto united the Swiss touristic scene's interest – a process which the other Swiss economic sectors like the industry, the agriculture and the trade had experienced in the second half of the 19th century. How can this temporal difference be explained? Chapter 4 *Establishment of the SVZ (1911 – 1917)* revealed that a uniting of the touristic interests on the national level and with the nation state's engagement developed into a necessity in the contemporaries' opinion only around 1910. The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, France, Switzerland and Italy – all alpine countries – represented the first, pioneering wave of NTOs, which was followed by a second wave concentrating on the Anglo-Saxon world during the Interwar Period, and a third wave after the Second World War spreading the institution of a NTO all over the world. The years of establishment showed in most cases that the national administrations had recognized tourism as an economic sector which was worthy of financial engagement. The fact, that the members of the NTOs were national associations, transport enterprises and hoteliers explains the temporal difference, too: The national associations – like the hoteliers' interest associations, or the touring clubs – had to come into existence and to institutionalize before they could become a member of a NTO. This mostly took place in the Belle Epoque. Simultaneously, the organization of the tourism promotion began on a very modest scale, on a temporary base in the beginning and by modest means. The state authority's attitudes towards such approaches meandered between reservation, benevolent acceptance and active welcoming throughout the first half of the 20th century. Only the international concurrence which was overheated prior to the First World War urged the touristic agents to definitively institutionalize their former,

²⁰⁸⁶ Larique, débuts et déboires, 2007, p. 79.

²⁰⁸⁷ "Un congresso delle nazioni alleate e amiche", in *Le Vie d'Italia*, No. 1, settembre 1917, p. 29.

incomprehensive attempts of collaboration. Thus, the international pressure seemed to be a pacemaker for their cooperation inside Switzerland. The statistical, scientific advertising strategies which were developed in the field of marketing at the time promised to come to terms with the perceived increased competition. That the touristic agents turned to the nation state in this case, bases, at least in the Swiss case, exactly on this perception of an increased competition: The touristic agents called for mediation by the confederation, all the more as new developments like the automobile tourism had to be taken into consideration. The latter was de facto inexistent prior to the First World War and had a bad reputation.²⁰⁸⁸ But a lot of automobile clubs belonged to the founding members of the NTOs in order to improve their image. That the representatives of these clubs found the ideal place for lobbying in favour of the car needed some time, which finally explains tourism's delay in founding an interest association in comparison with other economic sectors of the Swiss economy.

The foundation in times of (an impending) crisis and the feeling of an overheated concurrence or the privat nature of the initiative for a Swiss NTO mirrored thereby the developments, which had coined the development of the Swiss interest associations and parts of the federal administration.²⁰⁸⁹ The history of the SVZ therefore fits into the narrative of the Swiss system of interest associations, where the interests of an economic sector were bundled in order to lobby for it and to defend its interest. For tourism, the time to cooperate had come in 1917 basing on the reasons mentioned above.

Secondly, the other part of the leading question mainly focuses on the SVZ' behaviour after its establishment, particularly its first two decades of existence between 1917 and 1939. Why and how did the confederation support, control, demand and instrumentalize tourism in Switzerland in this period?

The confederation's initial engagement for the SVZ continued during the Interwar Period, because tourism affected or was affected by more and more policies, notably by the federal alien's branch of the police in the 1920s, the foreign trade policy in the clearing negotiations with Germany in the 1930s, and in the course of the mental defense prior to and during the Second World War. Parallel to these

²⁰⁸⁸ Merki, *Der holprige Siegeszug*, 2002, p. 426.

²⁰⁸⁹ See for instance Humair, *The Long Depression and its impact on Swiss tourism*, [2011], p. 13; Busset, *Bureau fédéral de statistique*, 1995, p. 8.

inclusions of tourism in politics, the confederation increasingly supported the tourism promotion in financial terms, leading to a partial reorganization of the country's tourism promotion in 1933 (project Keller, Werbegemeinschaft). While this reorganization did not solve the two long-lasting problems in the structure of the country's tourism promotion – the dualism between the Publizitätsdienst der SBB and the SVZ, and the missing financial means for the SVZ –, it brought, at least, more financial means for Switzerland's tourism promotion – to wit from the part of the automobile sector, namely the PTT. By means of membership fees, subsidies and an extra credit, the confederation supported Switzerland's tourism promotion and thereby intervened in tourism indirectly and directly. These different kinds of supports complicated the control, so that in 1938, the confederation was ready to provide new financial means only under the condition that the SVZ be transferred in an institution under public law. Thus, parallel to the increase in the financial support for the SVZ and the tourism promotion, the confederation heightened its control, yet in a moderate way. The confederation's intervention in Switzerland's tourism promotion rather found expression in a demanding attitude, which meant that – within the scope of the Werbegemeinschaft – the SVZ rather carried out what the confederation wished to from 1933 onwards. The years 1932/33 represented a turning point in the SVZ' history, because then, the SVZ was downsized to a marketing organization within the Werbegemeinschaft, and additionally, the SVZ was overrun by the newly found SFV, which came to represent Switzerland's tourism industry in the clearing negotiations with Germany. The establishment of the SFV proved that the SVZ did not fulfill all tasks satisfyingly, see that there was room for another touristic-political association. This weakness of the SVZ around 1932/33 did not come out of the blue. While the SVZ had successfully fought for the liberalization of the rules issued by the federal alien's branch of the police in the early 1920s, its activities remained rather modest afterwards. Moreover, the image of Switzerland, which the SVZ promoted abroad and at home until 1933, evoked a certain ambiguity (see below). The first criticisms arose soon, and the deficits undermined the SVZ' legitimacy further. That NTOs had to fight for their legitimacy and were driven into times of crisis, seemed to have been an international phenomenon, as the cases of the French, Italian and the North American NTOs proved.²⁰⁹⁰ For the SVZ, the outbreak of the World Economic Crisis

²⁰⁹⁰ Larique, *débuts et déboires*, 2007, p. 84-85; Visentin, *Per una storia dei viaggi organizzati*, 2002, p. 92; BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 68, 1926-1939: "VIERZEHNTER JAHRESBERICHT für den Zeitraum

and the exits of Germany and Great Britain out of the gold standard block deteriorated the uncomfortable situation again, as an even larger marketing campaign would have been necessary, which was, however, all the more out of sight due to the deficits. The salvation only came in the form of the Werbegemeinschaft, which provided additional money for the tourism promotion, but which also meant an increased right to have a say on the part of the confederation, in particular its second transport enterprise besides the SBB, the PTT. With the financial support, the confederation demanded the promotion of some topics like the automobile tourism, price reductions or skiing for the Swiss people, which would contribute to the image of Switzerland as affordable destination but also to uniting the Swiss people and boosting domestic tourism. The automobile tourism thereby gained an institutional influence after the resistance against the automobile had decreased from the 1920s onwards.²⁰⁹¹ The tourism promotion was an ideal place to do so, because the automobile lobby had been engaged in the SVZ right from the beginning and automobile tourism was increasing during the Interwar Period. The demanding attitude also found expression in Pilet-Golaz' disdain of the SBB's interests of holding their agencies abroad. With his proposition to found an institution under public law, however, he could satisfy the SBB's conditions for signing over the agencies to this new institution for tourism promotion. As a result, with the outbreak of the Second World War, the confederation possessed a NTO, which was instrumentalized insofar as the confederation instrumentalized the SVZ/SZV in order to unite the Swiss people by means of skiing and trips to see the mother country in the realm of the mental defense. In doing so, during the Second World War, the SZV contributed to create a national identity, which partially referred to former images of Switzerland like the Alps as a hort of freedom, health and strength (alpinism).²⁰⁹² Finally, the Swiss Alps, the long-lasting aim of the foreign tourists' longing, were conquered by the Swiss population – as it was the case with the hotel.²⁰⁹³

Thirdly, how did the confederation (SVZ) promote Switzerland and why? As mentioned above, the SVZ evoked a certain ambiguity in its promotional work in the 1920s, because it promoted traditional values such as the Alps, traditions, luxurious

vom 1. Januar bis 31. Dezember 1931", by the Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, Zürich, 1932, p. 28; Berkowitz, *Making Mass Tourism*, 2001, p. 203.

²⁰⁹¹ Ochsenbein, *Strassenbau*, [2000], appendix.

²⁰⁹² Tissot, *Alpinization*, 59-78.

²⁰⁹³ Schumacher, *Ferien*, 2002, p. 379.

railways, and sportive summer tourists, by using a very modern means of advertising: the photography. In doing so, the SVZ did not create an image which differed from the messages which the hoteliers, the SBB or the local tourists offices promoted, it rather copied their images. Thus, in the 1920s, the SVZ firstly had to build up the knowledge of advertising, while it was constantly fighting for more financial means – with a rather modest success. As a consequence, the SVZ found itself in a veritable crisis in 1932 and did not produce any posters in that year, all the more as its budget turned red for the first time when the World Economic Crisis broke out and when Germany and Britain left the goldstandard. Only in 1933, the situation changed, with the increase of the automobile lobby's power and the Werbegemeinschaft which defined the Swiss as a new target group, in order to replace the missing foreign tourists. The SVZ's weakness in marketing Switzerland was overcome after 1933 with considerable price reductions which should attract the Swiss for a stay in a hotel, the trip by train or by the federal bus service of the PTT. The affordability of a holiday trip dominated the ads in the 1930s, until prior to and during the Second World War, travelling the mother country became a patriotic act.²⁰⁹⁴ In the view of an impending war, the confederation aimed at uniting the Swiss by means of skiing, for instance, which did not only promise the Swiss the luxury of what the English had done in the Belle Epoque – contributing thereby to prepare the Swiss society's development into a consumer society –,²⁰⁹⁵ but which also had the physical training in the alpine air and sun as its object – in favour of the army, which could build upon soldiers trained and tested in the Swiss Alps.

Fourthly, skiing's instrumentalization as a focal point of the national identity found expression in the "nationalization" of the SVZ which had taken place in the Interwar Period. As mentioned in chapter 5.6.4 *Nationalization accomplished?*, the interests of the private touristic agents in the Swiss NTO were not overrun, so that it is more appropriate to speak of a "discreete nationalization", all the more as the private agents repeatedly called for state support (SVZ, SFV)! The institutionalization of Switzerland's tourism promotion showed, however, a politicization of tourism, so that the history of the SVZ very much fits into the narrative of the Swiss interest association and their intertwining with the federal administration in the 1930s – yet

²⁰⁹⁴ This was an international experience according to Löfgren, *Know your Country*, 2001, p. 138.

²⁰⁹⁵ The term "consumer society" is appropriate for describing the Swiss society in the 1960s the earliest, according to Brändli, *Supermarkt*, 2000, p. 12, and Pfister, '1950er Syndrom', 1995, p. 75.

with a certain delay in comparison with the other Swiss peak associations. The interests for tourism promotion gathered shortly prior to the First World War the earliest and became institutionalized in the Interwar Period – be it on the cantonal level²⁰⁹⁶ or on the national level (see chapter 2.3 *Centralization: the Interwar Period*).

Apart from these macro-historical reasons, one micro-historical aspect might have supported the institutionalization and nationalization: The role of some individuals. Although personal animosities coined the daily life of the SVZ and the SFV, personal networks and personal determination seemed to be indispensable to advance the organization of Switzerland's tourism promotion. The two initiators Emery and Seiler submitted a well-supported postulate which passed the parliament at once, Junod resisted Rothmund in favour of a legal liberation of the tourists' border-crossing after the First World War, Keller's project set a new ground for the financing of Switzerland's tourism promotion, Ehrensperger founded the SFV within a week and more or less on his own, and Pilet-Golaz did not consider the SBB's interests as insurmountable hindrances for a centralization anymore. Such crucial personalities stood for a certain type of bargaining, governing and negotiating with issues which coined their reigns. Keller and Pilet-Golaz brought an end to the discussions about the structure of Switzerland's tourism promotion which had lasted for years. They acted as independent personalities who cared about relevant opinion leaders but who did not care about personal animosities. Thus, most of the relevant advancements in the establishment and the institutional development of the SVZ was proposed by a couple of people who often had a good relationship with each other. The animosities and the disagreement came to the surface in the meetings of the SVZ' Verkehrrat – functioning like the "parliament" of the association – consisted of 63 members. Such an inclusion of all interested agents was found in NTOs all over the Western hemisphere. This may be due to the fact that Switzerland belonged to those countries which pioneered in the establishment of NTOs, together with the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, France and Italy. Our thesis of an alpine model, which brought the NTOs all over the world, broadens the term "alpine" to these countries and heavily stresses the transnational nature of touristic innovations, as Tissot has recently shown for the "Alpine Tourist model".²⁰⁹⁷ The NTOs established in the first

²⁰⁹⁶ Brändly, Office cantonal vaudois, 2015, p. 61.

²⁰⁹⁷ Tissot, Alpinization, 2011, p. 71.

two waves often fulfilled claims for a centralization by the touristic agents which hitherto had marketed a place, a region, a means of transport or a country on their own. In order to control the competition and to improve the efficiency, these agents plead for a centralization of the country's tourism promotion, so that a mushrooming era at the end of the 19th century was followed by an era of centralization in the Interwar Period. The centralization of tourism promotion at the national level of a lot of nation states often coincided with a nationalistic, patriotic atmosphere so that a central NTO easily was utilized for state interests (e.g. USA, Switzerland, Germany, Italy).²⁰⁹⁸ The NTOs thereby supported the new phenomenon of domestic tourism as well as new destinations and touristic seasons: swimming in the Mediterranean in summer and skiing in the Alps in winter contrasted with the century-long tradition of spending the winter in the South and of mountaineering in summer. Although several economic, social, cultural and technical advancements had influenced these developments, the NTOs spread the new realities in people's mind, so that a country's beauty newly attracted the domestic population. This was all the more valuable as the nation states increasingly demanded their people's loyalty in the 1930s. The NTOs transmitted these state needs in a comprehensible way, so that a state support of tourism promotion was finally considered an intelligent investment by national administrations and governments. As this study has shown, the Swiss NTO, the SVZ/SZV, did not stand behind in demanding its people's loyalty, although Switzerland's neutrality did not obviously necessitate an indispensable loyalty. Rather, following the most recent history about Switzerland in the 20th century, it makes clear, that the history of the Swiss NTO based on developments which other Western countries experienced, too, although national peculiarities remained.²⁰⁹⁹

²⁰⁹⁸ See for instance, Berkowitz, *Making Mass Tourism*, 2001, p. 204. In authoritarian countries, the utilization of tourism was achieved by means of leisure programs: Baranowski, *Strength Through Joy*, 2004; Baranowski, *Tourism and National Integration*, 2001, p. 213-236; Semmens, *Seeing Hitler's Germany*, 2005; de Grazia, *Culture of Consent*, 1981; for Latvia see: Purs, *State's Attempt*, 2006.

²⁰⁹⁹ Herbert, Ulrich, "Vorwort", in Tanner, *Geschichte der Schweiz im 20. Jahrhundert*, 2015, p. 7-10, here 7-8.

6.3 Outlook

Several times, a topic only was touched but not analyzed. More information about the NTOs worldwide could not be found for this study, but would be interesting. An analysis of the development of NTO's worldwide offers the possibility to compare an institution belonging in one way or the other to the national administration(s). Such an internationally comparing approach would complement the administrative history in any cases. The concentration on NTOs might simplify the task which would be extraordinary challenging because of the national peculiarities such as Switzerland's direct traffic. If analyzed from a transport- or touristic-historical point of view, the Swiss system of direct traffic waits for a description and a lot of explanations. Although opened up, the thesis of an utilization of the SZV through the federal administration – between 1939 and 1955, for instance²¹⁰⁰ – needs further underpinning. Focusing on some individuals may still be rewarding because most of the personalities who were active in the 1930s continued to work in or for tourism in the 1940s and 1950s. A continuation of the biographical approach might be useful therefore – especially for checking the thesis of an instrumentalization. If this thesis also counts for the second half of the 20th century, is highly questionable. As we suggest, the institutionalization came to a halt with the "nationalization" of the SVZ in 1939. The SZV developed, however, further under changing circumstances. The liberalization measures after the Second World War opened the American market definitely, the flying tourism changed the flows of tourists on a worldwide scale while skiing in the mother country boomed in Switzerland thanks to the economic rise of broad levels of society and the infrastructural supply which was enlarged (e.g. by means of the cableways in circulation mode). Meanwhile tourism became a part of the Western consumer society, the phenomenon of national tourist offices spread all over the world. The anticipation and reaction of Switzerland's national tourist office to these developments interests as much as from a touristic-historical point of view than with reference to the country's administrative history. Both approaches promise the capability of complementing the social scientific tourism research which has mainly concentrated on the second half of the 20th century. The economically outstanding years between 1950 and 1980 offer the possibility to analyze a period of economic

²¹⁰⁰ In 1955, SZV was relabelled in SVZ again.

prosperity and its consequences for an institution, although a trend observed in this study suggests, that a lot of national peak associations were founded in times of crisis. If only times of crisis urge the development of society, economy and the state is a question which should not be limited to the organization of tourism promotion. Rather, a multi-faceted perspective might suggest some answers. However, as tourism encompasses such varying topics as advertising, mobility, expectations, international policies, legal requirements for tourists and employees, financing and culture, the research on tourism and its history is a good base to start with.

7 Appendix

7.1 Short biographies of chosen people relevant to the SVZ/SZV

The persons listed below were:

- public officials in the federal administration who were in charge of the SVZ (ex officio),
- members of the Syndicat (without date of birth and date of death),
- members of the initiating associations,
- politicians who engaged themselves in the SVZ or SZV in particular, or
- public officials of the Publizitätsdienst der SBB.

Armbruster, R.	Date of birth and of death unknown: 1901-1907 secretary of Verband Schweizerischer Verkehrsvereine and of the local tourist office of Basel. ²¹⁰¹ 1905 member of the Beratende Kommission für den Publizitätsdienst S.B.B. ²¹⁰²
Beck-Raccaud, Pierre	Date of birth and of death unknown: Business person and lobbyist from the canton of Valais, managing director of the Société de Conserves alimentaires de la Vallée du Rhone, president of the Syndicat des Cultures de la Vallée du Rhone, two associations of the Swiss food industry, and managing director of the Société suisse des Distributeurs automatiques de Papiers, an association of Swiss forwarders of paper towel dispensers. ²¹⁰³ President and first agent of the Syndicat pour les intérêts de la Suisse romande et du Jura-Simplon in Lausanne around 1893, responsible for the foreign tourist traffic from the continent, called "Foreigner Representative of the Jura-Simplon Railway Co". ²¹⁰⁴
Buchli, Paul	1904-date of death unknown: Dr. jur, 1935-49 public official in the EAV, ²¹⁰⁵ 1950-1970 head of the Rhätische Bahn (RhB). ²¹⁰⁶ Member in different organs of cantonal and national associations and institutions in the field of transport/traffic and tourism. ²¹⁰⁷
Chapalay, Jules	Date of birth and of death unknown: business person in

²¹⁰¹ Lehmann, Gedenkschrift, 1918, p. XII.

²¹⁰² Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_051_02, 1903-1905: Letter by the SBB's general management to Armbruster, Bern, 4.8.1905.

²¹⁰³ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_02: 02, 1893-1894: Letter by Ruffieux to the Jura-Simplon Railway, Lausanne, 13.1.1894.

²¹⁰⁴ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_01, 1893: "Extrait du procès-verbal de la séance de la Direction, du 30 Mai 1893", by the manager of the JS to the management of the JS, [s.l.], 30.5.1893.

²¹⁰⁵ Keller, W., *Schweizer Biographisches Archiv*, Vol. 4, Zürich: EPI Verlag Internationaler Publikationen, 1954, p. 544.

²¹⁰⁶ Rhätische Bahn, *125 Jahre faszinierend unterwegs. 125 Jahre Rhätische Bahn. Die Geschichte*, Zürich: Orell Füssli Verlag AG, 2014, p. 26.

²¹⁰⁷ Keller, *Biographisches Archiv*, 1954, p. 544.

	Geneva, published a yearbook of the Swiss trade industry called " <i>Annuaire du Commerce Suisse. Chapalay & Mottier, Genève</i> ". ²¹⁰⁸ In a letter for the JS he was called "councilor of Uruguay". ²¹⁰⁹
Colomb, Émile	1845–1927: ²¹¹⁰ 1868-1877 engineer, 1877-1883 chief inspector and 1883-1889 head of the Suisse Occidentale, 1889-1903 head of the JS, 1903-1906 vice-president of the I. "Kreisdirektion der SBB", 1906-1921 member of the directorate-general of the SBB, responsible for the finances. ²¹¹¹
Contat, Antoine	1869-1927: Dr. jur, 1897-1909 secretary and translator in the EJPD, 1909-1919 secretary and translator in the EDI; 1919-1927 vice-chancellor of the confederation, a function which entitled him to control the French version of the decrees issued by the Federal Council. ²¹¹²
Cottier, Raphael	1891-1974: Dr. jur, 1917-1918 secretary of the federal "Passkontrolle", 1919 secretary of the Schweizerischer Gewerbeverband, from 1920 onwards, active in different positions for the SBB: 1920 deputy general secretary, 1921-1935 general secretary, after 1936-1940 head of the III. "Kreisdirektion" of the SBB. ²¹¹³ 1941-1950 head of the Eidgenössisches Amt für Verkehr. ²¹¹⁴
Dupuis, César	Date of birth and of death unknown: 1893 president of the Syndicat des Intérêts de la Suisse Romande et du JuraSimplon. Prefect of Vevey.
Echenard, Louis	Date of birth and of death unknown: Originated from Bex in the canton of Vaud, first agent of the JS in London, responsible for the transport of tourists from the USA and Britain towards Switzerland, called "agent of the Jura-Simplon Railway Co. – Switzerland-, in England and America, London" from 1893 onwards. ²¹¹⁵ On the same time, Echenard was head of the Hôtel Savoy in London. ²¹¹⁶ Prior to 1892, he had worked for the Midland Railway. ²¹¹⁷
Ehrensperger, Fritz	1883-1938: Founder and first president (1932-1935) of the Schweizerischer Fremdenverkehrsverband. 1918-1930 head

²¹⁰⁸ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_05, [1893]: Letter by Chapalays to Jolissaint, Genève, 19.4.1893.

²¹⁰⁹ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_01, 1893: Letter by Beck-Raccaud, Chapalay and Echenard to the manager of the JS, Vevey, 7.1.1893.

²¹¹⁰ *Diplomatische Dokumente der Schweiz, 1848 ff.*, Online Datenbank Dodis: dodis.ch, Permalink: <http://dodis.ch/P28762> (accessed 31.10.2014).

²¹¹¹ Bonard, Colomb, 1924, p. 351.

²¹¹² Giroud, Frédéric, "Contat, Antoine", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2009, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D21255.php> (accessed 13.1.2015).

²¹¹³ Bruckner, Albert (ed.), *Neue Schweizer Biographie*, Basel: Basler Berichthaus, 1938, p. 315.

²¹¹⁴ Eidgenössisches Amt für Verkehr, *Hundert Jahre*, 1973, p. 53.

²¹¹⁵ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_01, 1893: "Extrait du procès-verbal de la séance de la Direction, du 30 Mai 1893", by the manager of the JS to the management of the JS, [s.l.], 30.5.1893.

²¹¹⁶ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_01, 1893: "Continental Time Table for SAVOY HOTEL & RESTAURANT, LONDON (Winter, 1892-1893)", [s.l.], 1892-1893.

²¹¹⁷ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_05, [1893]: Letter by the representative of the L.D.&C. Railway to Echenard, [s.l.], 1.12.1892.

	of the Bank Guyerzeller AG in Zurich, organizer of the Schweizerische Verkehrskongresse in Zurich, Berne und Montreux (1933-1935) and the guiding spirit of the voucher system in the clearing with Germany. ²¹¹⁸ 1919-1928 member of the board of directors of the Wengernalpbahn and the Jungfraubahn, 1928 vize-president and 1931 president of both railway companies. Member of the Freisinnig-Demokratischen Partei der Schweiz. ²¹¹⁹
Emery, Alexandre	(1850-1931): Hotelier, politician, business person, 1893-1925 president of the section Montreux of the Schweizerischer Hotelier-Verein, 1906-1917 National Councilor, initiator of the Montreux-Palace hotel, member of the board of directors of several hotels in Switzerland and France. ²¹²⁰ Emery was very much engaged in the transport sector (Montreux-Oberland-Bernois railway company) and the hotellerie which let the Swiss riviera (Montreux-Lausanne-Vevey) boom. ²¹²¹ Together with Alexander Seiler, he submitted the motion which asked for the SVZ.
Furrer, Reinhold	1875-1944: Dr. jur., 1905-09 executive secretary of the Gotthard railway, 1909-18 member of the board of management of the juridical department of the SBB's "Kreisdirektion" in Lucerne, 1918 head of the regional post office administration in Berne, 1920 head of the regional telegraph administration. ²¹²² In 1928, Furrer was elected the first director general of the "Schweizerischen Post-, Telegraphen- und Telefonverwaltung (PTT)". ²¹²³ 1935 head of the Zentralamt für den internat. Eisenbahnverkehr, head of the Universal Postal Union. ²¹²⁴
Holzach, F.	Date of birth and of death unknown: Dr., 1901-1907 president of the Verband Schweizerischer Verkehrsvereine and of the local tourist office of Basel. ²¹²⁵ 1918-1925 president of the first board of management of the SVZ and deputy of the manager of the SVZ, Albert Junod, in 1919. ²¹²⁶
Hunziker, Hans	1879-1951. ²¹²⁷ 1908-1920 controlling engineer in the EPED,

²¹¹⁸ [Schweizerischer Fremdenverkehrsverband], Ehrensperger zum Gedächtnis, 1938, p. 34-35.

²¹¹⁹ [Schweizerischer Fremdenverkehrsverband], Ehrensperger zum Gedächtnis, 1938, p. I, 7, 27-28, 34-36, 40.

²¹²⁰ Marion, Emery, Alexandre, 2005.

²¹²¹ Marion, Emery, Alexandre, 2005.

²¹²² Steffen Gerber, Therese, "Furrer, Reinhold", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2006, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D31820.php> (accessed 13.1.2015).

²¹²³ Wyss, Post in der Schweiz, 1987, p. 285.

²¹²⁴ Steffen Gerber, Furrer, Reinhold, 2006.

²¹²⁵ Lehmann, Gedenkschrift, 1918, p. XII.

²¹²⁶ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "I. Jahresbericht der nationalen Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs umfassend den Zeitraum vom 28. November 1917 bis 31. Dezember 1918", [s.l.], 1918, p. 2, 16. According to BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 68, 1926-1939: "NEUNTER JAHRESBERICHT FÜR DEN ZEITRAUM VOM 1. JANUAR BIS 31. DEZEMBER 1926", by Nationale Vereinigung zur Förderung der Reiseverkehrs, Solothurn, [1927], p. 2-3, Holzach was not mentioned anymore.

²¹²⁷ Weibel, Andrea, "Hunziker, Hans", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2006, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D27278.php> (accessed 29.8.2014).

	1920-1926 technical deputy of the head, 1927-1935 head of the EPED. ²¹²⁸ 1935 head of the Eidgenössisches Amt für Verkehr. ²¹²⁹ 1935-1943 director general of the PTT. ²¹³⁰
Hunziker, Walter	1899-1974: Dr. in economics, 1936-1937 secretary, after 1937 head of the Schweizerischer Fremdenverkehrsverband. ²¹³¹ In 1946 titular, in 1959 associate professor at the Hochschule St. Gallen where he established the Seminar für Fremdenverkehr. ²¹³² Similarly, he founded the Schweizerische Reisekasse (REKA) which he presided between 1939 and 1974. ²¹³³ Due to his engagement for the REKA, Hunziker became an internationally known expert for social tourism and an organizer of tourism sciences which began to take shape in these days. ²¹³⁴ After the Second World War, Hunziker repeatedly took part in the Swiss delegation for the trade negotiations with the Federal Republic of Germany. ²¹³⁵
Junod, Albert	1856-1951: 1885-1905 Multiple experiences as a teacher in Italy, Russia and Switzerland enabled him to work as an inspector for the commercial educational system in Switzerland on behalf of the EVD between 1905 and 1914. ²¹³⁶ 1914-1918 general manager of Pro Sempione, 1918-1932 head of the Schweizerische Verkehrszentrale. ²¹³⁷ Diplomatic services for Switzerland in Russia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, England and Italy after the First World War. ²¹³⁸ With respect to tourism, it is remarkable that he was a member of the <i>Touring Club der Schweiz</i> , a lobby organization for the car, and authored a publication on wintersports in Switzerland. ²¹³⁹
Keller, Gottfried	1873-1945. ²¹⁴⁰ Dr. jur., 1912-1943 radical Councilor of States of the canton of Aargau, joined over 200 parliamentary commissions, among others the commission on the SBB (Bundesbahnkommission). ²¹⁴¹ Keller was counted as the "legal conscience" of the Parliament as well as one of the

²¹²⁸ Bruckner, Schweizer Biographie, 1938, p. 315.

²¹²⁹ Eidgenössisches Amt für Verkehr, Hundert Jahre, 1973, p. 53.

²¹³⁰ Weibel, Hunziker, Hans, 2006; Tuason, V., *Herrn Dr. Hans Hunziker zum Abschied als Genraldirektor der PTT-Verwaltung: Überreicht anlässlich der Direktorenkonferenz auf dem Bürgenstock am 8. und 9. September 1943*, Bern: Wertzeichendruckerei, 1943.

²¹³¹ Schumacher, Ferien, 2005, p. 295.

²¹³² Schumacher, Ferien, 2005, p. 295.

²¹³³ Schumacher, Ferien, 2005, p. 295.

²¹³⁴ Schumacher, Ferien, 2005, p. 287.

²¹³⁵ See, for example, BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 76, 1943-1956: "Lt. D. 895.0.AVA. Zahlungsverkehr mit Westdeutschland.- Reiseverkehr", by Probst, vice-director of the trading department of the EVD to the EAV, the SBB, the PTT, the SVZ, and the Postscheckdienst, Bern, 3.5.1950.

²¹³⁶ Tissot, Junod, Albert, 2005.

²¹³⁷ Tissot, Junod, Albert, 2005.

²¹³⁸ Tissot, Junod, Albert, 2005.

²¹³⁹ Aellen, Zeitgenossen-Lexikon, 1932, p. 348.

²¹⁴⁰ Brian Scherrer, Sarah, "Keller, Gottfried", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2008, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D3773.php> (accessed 26.2.2013).

²¹⁴¹ Brian Scherrer, Keller, Gottfried, 2008.

	most eminent radical parliamentarian of his time in the Council of States.²¹⁴² 1928-1931 Swiss delegate in the League of Nations.²¹⁴³ Author of the "project Keller" in 1933, which united the SVZ, the SBB and the PTT in the "Werbegemeinschaft". Important economic advisor and member of the board of directors of large companies in the field of the hotel industry, the shoe- and machine-industry, in the publishing and in the energy sector.²¹⁴⁴ 1922-1943 delegate of the Federal Council in the Schweiz. Hoteltreuhandgesellschaft, after 1935 as president.²¹⁴⁵ Not to be mistaken for Gustave Keller who was a Councilor of States (1922-1930) and member of the government (1911-1922) of the canton of Zurich.²¹⁴⁶
Kradolfer, Paul Max	1891-1968: Bauingenieur, 1932-1935 controlling engineer for the construction of railways in the Eidgenössisches Post- und Eisenbahndepartement, 1935-1936 vice-director of, 1937-1940 head of the Eidgenössisches Amt für Verkehr.²¹⁴⁷ In this function, he supervised the reorganisation in Switzerland's tourism marketing, see the transfer from the SVZ into the SZV.
Kunz, Gottfried	1859-1930: teacher, notary, 1904-1912 member of the cantonal government of the canton of Berne, 1912-1928 president of the board of directors of the Bern-Lötschberg-Simplon Bahn, 1907-1919 radical Councilor of States of the canton of Berne.²¹⁴⁸ Lobbyist for railways and tourism.²¹⁴⁹ 1918-1921 vice-president, 1922-1928 president of the Verkehrsrat of the SVZ.
Maillefer, Paul	1862-1929, Dr. ès lettres, teacher, associate professor for Swiss history at the Université de Lausanne, 1910-1921 mayor of Lausanne, member of the cantonal parliament, 1911-129 radical National Councilor.²¹⁵⁰ In this function Maillefer was counted as a defender of the French-speaking part of Switzerland. He founded the "Revue historique vaudoise", was a member of the board of directors of Pro Sempione (prior to 1914) as well as of railway and electricity companies, vice-president of the SVZ, member of the "Aero-

²¹⁴² Gruner; Frei, Bundesversammlung 1848-1920, 1966, p. 659.

²¹⁴³ Brian Scherrer, Keller, Gottfried, 2008.

²¹⁴⁴ Gruner; Frei, Bundesversammlung 1848-1920, 1966, p. 659.

²¹⁴⁵ Gruner; Frei, Bundesversammlung 1848-1920, 1966, p. 659.

²¹⁴⁶ Bürgi, Markus, "Keller, Gustave", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2007, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D5909.php> (accessed 26.2.2013).

²¹⁴⁷ Brian Scherrer, Sarah, "Kradolfer, Paul", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2007, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D27461.php> (accessed 20.1.2015).

²¹⁴⁸ Gruner; Frei, Bundesversammlung 1848-1920, 1966, p. 190.

²¹⁴⁹ Gruner; Frei, Bundesversammlung 1848-1920, 1966, p. 190.

²¹⁵⁰ Gruner; Frei, Bundesversammlung 1848-1920, 1966, p. 822.

²¹⁵¹ Gruner; Frei, Bundesversammlung 1848-1920, 1966, p. 822.

	Club suisse". ²¹⁵¹
Meili, Armin	1892-1981: architect, 1936-1939 head of the Swiss National Exhibition of 1939, 1939-1955 radical National Councilor, ²¹⁵² 1941-1961 president of the SZV. ²¹⁵³ Meili initiated the Parlamentarische Gruppe für Tourismus (und Verkehr). ²¹⁵⁴
Ruchonnet, Robert ²¹⁵⁵	Date of birth and of death unknown: business person, co-owner of the transport- and travel company "General Forwarding & Shipping Agency. Exchange Office - Change. Agence Maritime & de Voyage. Ruffieux & Ruchonnet. Commissionnaires, Expéditeurs" together with [Emile] Ruffieux. ²¹⁵⁶ Ruchonnet belonged to the Syndicat pour les intérêts de la Suisse romande et du Jura-Simplon which proposed the Jura-Simplon railway company to establish a publicity department under the auspices of this company. ²¹⁵⁷
Ruffieux, [Emile]	1857-1919: originated from Broc in the canton of Fribourg, business person in Lausanne. ²¹⁵⁸ From 1881 onwards, co-owner of the transport- and travel company "General Forwarding & Shipping Agency. Exchange Office - Change. Agence Maritime & de Voyage. Ruffieux & Ruchonnet. Commissionnaires, Expéditeurs" together with Robert Ruchonnet. ²¹⁵⁹ 1896 he was in charge of a trademission to Chile and became artillery colonel in 1906. ²¹⁶⁰ Ruffieux donated a protestant chapel in Siders where he was living between 1900 and 1909. ²¹⁶¹
Seiler, Alexander	1864-1920: Dr. jur., hotelier, eminent person in the hotellerie of Zermatt, 1908 founder of the Seiler Hotels AG (Hotel Victoria, Hotel Beau-Site), 1905-1920 National Councilor of the canton of Valais. ²¹⁶² Together with Alexandre, Emery, he submitted the motion which asked for the SVZ. 1918-1921 president of the first Verkehrsrat. ²¹⁶³

²¹⁵² Hürlimann, Katja, "Meili, Armin", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2008, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D6509.php> (accessed 30.4.2010).

²¹⁵³ Schwander; Wittwer, Der Architekt Armin Meili, 1993, p. 85.

²¹⁵⁴ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/19, 34, 1930-1955: "Protokoll der Sitzung des Vorstandes, [...] 17. November 1930 [...]", by the board of management of the SVZ, Zürich, 17.11.1930, p. 4.

²¹⁵⁵ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_01, 1893: "Procès-verbal de l'assemblée générale du 20 novembre 1893 [...]", by Dupuis, president, and Leyvraz, secretary, of the Syndicat, as well as Dallèves and Duboux, tellers, of the general meeting, Lausanne, 20.11.1893.

²¹⁵⁶ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_02: 02, 1893-1894: Letter by Ruffieux to the Jura-Simplon Railway, Lausanne, 13.1.1894.

²¹⁵⁷ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_02, 1893-1894: Letter by Ruchonnet, Echenard, Ruffieux and Beck-Raccaud to the management of the JS, Lausanne, 28.9.1893.

²¹⁵⁸ Corpataux, G., "Ruffieux", in Türlér; Godet; Attinger, *Historisch-biographisches Lexikon*, 1929, p. 753.

²¹⁵⁹ Archive SBB, GD_PUB_2003/005_014_02: 02, 1893-1894: Letter by Ruffieux to the Jura-Simplon Railway, Lausanne, 13.1.1894.

²¹⁶⁰ Corpataux, Ruffieux, 1929, p. 753.

²¹⁶¹ Corpataux, Ruffieux, 1929, p. 753.

²¹⁶² Truffer, Seiler, Alexander, 2011.

²¹⁶³ BAR, E 57 (-), 1000/921, 2-3, 1917: "I. Jahresbericht der nationalen Vereinigung zur Förderung des Reiseverkehrs umfassend den Zeitraum vom 28. November 1917 bis 31. Dezember 1918", [s.l.], 1918, p. 2.

²¹⁶⁴ Truffer, Bernard, "Seiler, Hermann", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, 2011, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D4969.php> (accessed 20.1.2015).

	His brother, Hermann Seiler (1876-1961), continued the Seiler's dynasty's hotel imperium in Zermatt and Gletsch, and was president of the Schweizerischer Hotelier-Verein between 1928-1945. ²¹⁶⁴
Thiessing, René	1879-1975. ²¹⁶⁵ 1898-1903 studies in literature, philosophy and national economics at the universities of Berne and Berlin, 1903-1910 journalist, among others for the Hotel-Revue of the Schweizerischer Hotelier-Verein, 1910-1927 deputy head of the department for publicity and statistics (Abteilung für Publizität und Statistik), 1927-1940: head of the Publizitätsdienst der SBB, 1941-1945 head of the SZV. ²¹⁶⁶ Thiessing developed the SBB's net of agencies all over the world in the Interwar Period, monitored the agencies's transfer into the SZV and prepared the further development of them under the auspices of the SZV. ²¹⁶⁷

²¹⁶⁵ SWA, Biogr. Thiessing, René: Thiessing René (1879-1975). [Var.loc.] 1945-1975. 1 folder.

²¹⁶⁶ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 66, 1939-1955: "Vorstand 13. 12./13.11.45. PROTOKOLL der 13. Vorstandssitzung vom 12./13. November [...]", by the board of management of the SZV, Basel, 12./13.11.1945, p. 6.

²¹⁶⁷ BAR, E 8100(B), 1972/28, 66, 1939-1955: "Vorstand 13. 12./13.11.45. PROTOKOLL der 13. Vorstandssitzung vom 12./13. November [...]", by the board of management of the SZV, Basel, 12./13.11.1945, p. 6.

7.2 Agreement between the SVZ, the SBB and the SFV about the allocation of responsibilities in tourism in 1934

"Vereinbarung
zwischen
der Schweizerischen Verkehrszentrale, den Schweizerischen Bundesbahnen und
dem Schweizerischen Fremdenverkehrsverband
über
die Aufgabenverteilung für den Fremdenverkehr.

Um ihre Tätigkeit im Interesse des schweizerischen Fremdenverkehrs nutzbringend zu gestalten und um Eingriffe in das gegenseitige Tätigkeitsgebiet zu vermeiden, haben die drei vorgenannten Institutionen folgende Vereinbarung getroffen:

Der Schweizerische Fremdenverkehrsverband übernimmt die Vertretung der mit dem Fremdenverkehr zusammenhängenden gesamtwirtschaftlichen Interessen und damit im Zusammenhang insbesondere:

- a) die Unterstützung der ihm berechtigt erscheinenden Bestrebungen seiner Verbandsmitglieder mit Bezug auf den Fremdenverkehr;
- b) Die Anstrengung geeigneter Massnahmen der Behörden zur Hebung des Fremdenverkehrs;
- c) Die Ueberprüfung der schweizerischen Steuerverhältnisse, der Gebühren und Abgaben verschiedener Art zum Zwecke der Verhütung einer Erschwerung des Fremdenverkehrs;
- d) die Anstrengung von Massnahmen zur Verbesserung der Ausbildung von im Fremdenverkehr tätigen Personen;
- e) die Sammlung und Verarbeitung des zur Erfüllung der vorstehenden Aufgaben erforderlichen Materials aus dem wirtschaftlichen Gebiete des Fremdenverkehrs.

Die Aufgaben der *Schweizerischen Verkehrszentrale* ergeben sich aus den vom schweizerischen Bundesrat genehmigten Statuten der Nationalen Vereinigung zur

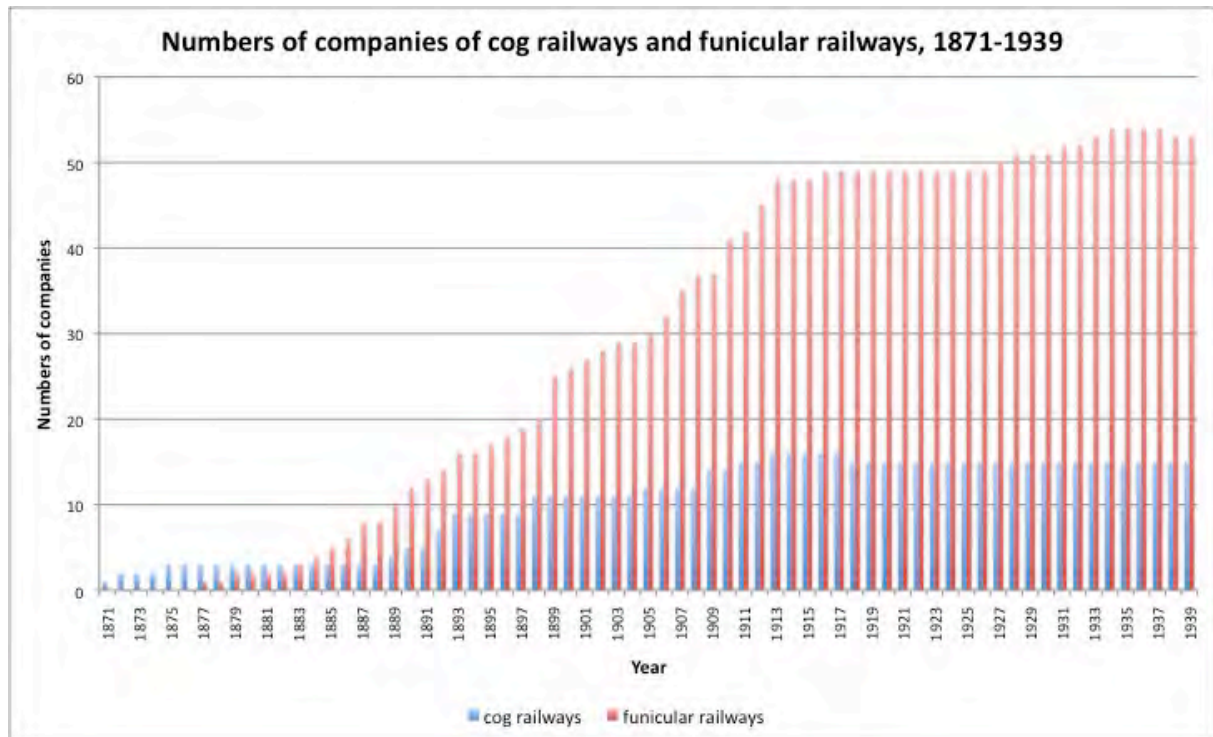
Förderung des Reiseverkehrs, diejenigen der *Schweizerischen Bundesbahnen* aus den einschlägigen gesetzlichen Erlassen. Deren Bearbeitung ist zwischen ihnen durch besondere Vereinbarung geregelt.

Die publizistische Tätigkeit des Schweizerischen Fremdenverkehrsverbandes beschränkt sich auf die Erreichung der unter Ziff. 1 erwähnten Ziele und dabei im besondern auf die Aufklärung der schweizerischen Oeffentlichkeit über die Bedeutung des Fremdenverkehrs im Rahmen der gesamtschweizerischen Wirtschaft. Der Schweizerische Fremdenverkehrsverband verzichtet deshalb auf jegliche Publizität oder Tätigkeit, die der eigentlichen Reisewerbung und der Fremdenverkehrspropaganda dient.

Die Schweizerische Verkehrszentrale, die Schweizerischen Bundesbahnen und der Schweizerische Fremdenverkehrsverband sind darüber einig, dass zur Durchführung ihrer Aufgaben eine gemeinsame Dachorganisation nicht erforderlich ist. Sie erklären sich bereit, Angelegenheiten, die auch den Tätigkeitsbereich einer oder beider andern Institutionen berühren, in gegenseitiger Fühlungnahme zu behandeln."

Source: Schweizerischer Fremdenverkehrsverband, Fremdenverkehrsverband, [1934], p. 9.

7.3 Numbers of companies of cog railways and funicular railways in Switzerland, 1871-1939



Source: Kammerer; Müller; Tanner; Woitek, Online Datenbasis, [s.d.], table N.4 "Normalspur-, Schmalspur-, Zahnrad-, Drahtseil- und Strassenbahnen: Anzahl Bauunternehmungen, Baulängen der Bahnlinien und elektrifizierte Strecken 1844-1945" (accessed 4.4.2014).

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8.4 Personal Communications

- Personal communication by Hans Kaspar Schiesser, VöV, to Anna Amacher Hoppler, Email, 4.6.2012.
- Personal communication by Laurent Egger, NB, to Anna Amacher Hoppler, Email, 17.12.2014.