



Swiss American Historical Society Review

Volume 51 | Number 1

Article 11

2-2015

Full Issue

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/sahs_review

 Part of the [European History Commons](#), and the [European Languages and Societies Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

(2015) "Full Issue," *Swiss American Historical Society Review*. Vol. 51 : No. 1 , Article 11.

Available at: https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/sahs_review/vol51/iss1/11

This Full Issue is brought to you for free and open access by BYU ScholarsArchive. It has been accepted for inclusion in *Swiss American Historical Society Review* by an authorized editor of BYU ScholarsArchive. For more information, please contact scholarsarchive@byu.edu, ellen_amatangelo@byu.edu.

Swiss American Historical Society

REVIEW



Volume 51, No. 1

February 2015

CONTENTS

I. ARTICLES

- The Legacy of Ferdinand A. Brader (Swiss, 1833-1901) 1
Della Clason Sperling
- The Unfinished Project of J.J. Bachofen and the Gender Wars
on the Home Front 18
Marsha R. Robinson
- Natur, Gnade, und “Nein!” Karl Barth and Emil Brunner:
Swiss Theologians in Conflict 31
Samuel J. Youngs
- A Brief History of the Relationship between the Royal House
of Habsburg and the Swiss Confederation 53
Dwight Page
- History Seen through Multiple Lenses: Leo Schelbert’s
Contributions to the Swiss American Historical Society 75
Marianne Burkhard, OSB, JCL

II. BOOK REVIEWS

- Kathleen Wieschaus-Voss, *The Legacy of Ferdinand A. Brader* 81
Reviewed by Leo Schelbert
- Jean-Marc Berthoud, *Pierre Viret: A Forgotten Giant of the Reformation:
The Apologetics, Ethics and Economics of the Bible* 85
Reviewed by Hannah Schultz and Roger Schultz
- R. A. Sheats, *Pierre Viret: The Angel of the Reformation* 85
Reviewed by Hannah Schultz and Roger Schultz
- Fahrid Vladi, *Swiss and Alpine Islands* 88
Reviewed by Robert Sherwood

Articles in the *SAHS Review* are available in full text in

et al.: Full Issue

Copyright © 2015
Swiss American Historical Society

SAHS REVIEW

*Published for the Swiss American Historical Society
by Masthof Press*

EDITORIAL BOARD

Dwight Page, *Bryan College*
Leo Schelbert, *University of Illinois at Chicago*
Jurg Siegenthaler, *American University*
Brian Wages, *Brigham Young University*
Albert Winkler, *Brigham Young University*

BOOK REVIEW EDITOR

Robert Sherwood, *Georgia Military College*

ISSN 0883-4814

Send correspondence and manuscripts to:

Dwight Page, Editor-in-Chief

SAHS Review

Bryan College 7817

721 Bryan Drive

Dayton, TN 37354

www.swissamericanhistoricalsociety.org

Join using PayPal at
swissamericanhistoricalsociety.org/join-today/

For membership application form, see p. 106.



Figure 1. Kaltbrunner Wolkenmeer [Sea of Clouds over Kaltbrunn].

Photo Credit: © Frank Wächter.

The Legacy of Ferdinand A. Brader (Swiss, 1833-1901)

by Della Clason Sperling

The intent of this article is to impart information on the nineteenth-century Swiss artist Ferdinand Arnold Brader (1833-1901), who was born on December 7, 1833, to Johann Baptist Brader (1795-1842) and Anna Maria Steiner [Brader]¹ (1801-1859), in village house no. 51 in Kaltbrunn (see Figure 1).² The location of the

¹The consulting genealogical expert in St. Gallen for our monograph, *The Legacy of Ferdinand A. Brader*, edited by Kathleen Wieschaus-Voss, is Wolf Seelentag, PhD, a leader in Swiss genealogical research projects, who advises that Swiss women during Brader's time retained their maiden names after marriage, i.e., when Brader's mother purchased their new home, no. 50, in 1844, she made the transaction in the surname of Steiner. Thus, the surname of the husband will be referred to within brackets following a married woman's maiden name, and his mother is indicated as Anna Maria Steiner [Brader].

²"Kaltbrunn is first mentioned in 940 as Chaldebrunna." Swiss Federal Statistics Office—STAT-TAB *Ständige und Nichtständige Wohnbevölkerung nach Region, Geschlecht, http://scholar.archive-byu.edu/works/wikipedia/Kaltbrunn/184-1-Gaster, St. Gallen, etc.*



Figure 2. *Wirtschaft zur Dorfbrücke*. Village houses 50 (left) and 51 (right), Kaltbrunn. House no. 50 house was always, and is still, called Dorfbrücke (village bridge); it remains in use, now as the village pub and guest house. Credit: Denkmalpflege des Kantons St. Gallen, Kunstdermälarchiv.

village is at an altitude of 440 meters (1,444 feet), surrounded by the Alps, within the district of See-Gaster, in the Linth River Valley of Canton St. Gallen, which is south of Obersee, a largely Catholic and German-speaking area in the northeast of Switzerland, with Germany to the north and the Rhine Valley leading to Austria and Liechtenstein to the east. About one-third of the canton is still forested, and even now, nearly half of the canton is farmland, a very small percentage of which is alpine pasture, used in the summer months. Brader was baptized the next day, December 8, at the Katholische Kirche in Kaltbrunn, probably in the presence of his two brothers, Franz Aloys and Johann Gustav.

Brader spent the first forty years of his life in Kaltbrunn, where he served as a *modelstecher* (carver of wooden bakery molds for *Lebkuchen*) for the family bakery, which also served as their home in village house no. 50, just across the street from no. 51 (see Figure 2). His mother purchased this building in 1844, following the death of her husband

Published by BYU ScholarsArchive, 2015

in 1842. She reconfigured the former village school into a combination home and bakery for the family, which by then included five children: the three boys, a girl Maria Josefa, and the youngest child, fourth son, and fifth child Josef Sebastian.

On August 28, 1860, Brader married Maria Katharina Karolina Glaus (1833-1904) of Benken, a linear settlement along the Linth River, also in See-Gaster, and adjoining Kaltbrunn. The couple likely lived in the family home/bakery, where Brader continued to work, which is his only known artistic training,³ carving intricate designs into wood with a knife, and backwards at that! On August 20, 1864, Ferdinand and Maria Katharina's only child was born, a son named Carl Ferdinand (d. before 1919).

Other than details about his family,⁴ little else is known about Brader, his wife, or his son until the first mention of him in America, in the February 7, 1879, edition of the *Reading Times* [Pennsylvania], where his name was included in a list of people who had mail awaiting them at the Reading Post Office in Berks County. This information indicates that Brader must have been in Pennsylvania for some time, at least, and our best guess is that he left Kaltbrunn, on his own,⁵ in the early to mid-1870s, but this is the first official record of his whereabouts. Although ship's records of transport from Europe to the states have been extensively examined, no one by this name appears to match our Mr. Brader.

Drawings by Brader, most of which are numbered, span the years from 1879 in Berks County, Pennsylvania, to No. 980 of 1895 in Stark County, Ohio. During his 16 years in America, Brader is believed to have drawn almost 1,000 drawings in graphite (pencil) on commercial wove paper. These drawings were largely of farmsteads, but occasionally of commercial properties and diverse other subjects. In 1892, he began to use colored pencils in addition to graphite, and many of the works of his later years include color. While there are

³ The skill displayed by Brader from his earliest known works, and the rapidity with which his dexterity improved with practice, makes it seem quite likely that Brader received additional artistic instruction before he made his first drawing in Pennsylvania.

⁴ Please consult the "Chronology" by Kathleen Wieschus-Voss, included in this article.

⁵ Nothing else is known about him or his wife and son, including how or why he appears to have decided to make his way to America alone.

https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/sahs_review/vol51/iss1/11

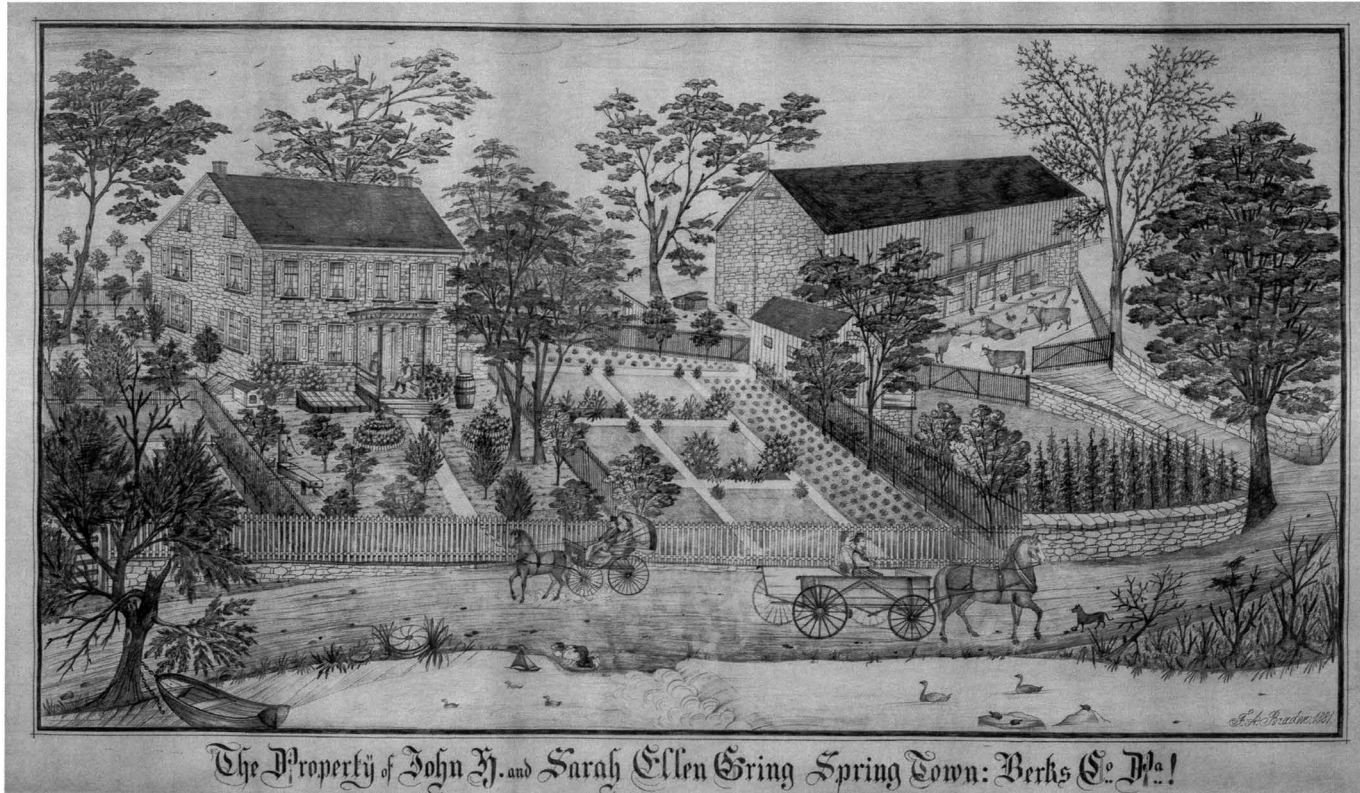


Figure 3. Ferdinand A. Brader. The Property of John H. and Sarah Ellen Gring Spring Town: Berks Co Pa!, graphite on paper, 30 1/2 x 51 in., signed and dated, lower right: F. A. Brader/1881. Hirschl & Adler Galleries, New York. Photo credit: Eric W. Baumgartner.

none that were created solely in colored pencil, there are many in which he continued to use graphite alone or as well.⁶

Brader's earliest-known, dated drawing is *The Property of John Bitting, Cumru Township, Berks County, Pa.*,⁷ where he wrote the date October 30, 1879, below the inscription above, the only drawing known from that year. Brader usually signed his work in the lower left or right-hand corner,⁸ and he often dated it within the inscription. Brader added his own consecutive No., beginning in 1881 with *The Property of Benjamin S. and LucyAnn L. Ritter Exeter Town. Berks Co.*, which he numbered No. 160, suggesting that he had previously applied the Nos. 1 to 159 to earlier drawings, all of them in Pennsylvania, in the southeastern corner of the state around Berks County, which was his base in that state from 1879 to 1883. (See Figure 3.)

One fascinating aspect of this study is that a few of these drawings still hang in the place in which they were originally hung, now with the progeny of the farmers who commissioned them from Brader, up to the fifth generation, and in the house pictured in the drawing. Additionally, the researchers gathered amazing stories that have been passed on through the succeeding generations. Eye-witness accounts of Brader's time on the farm are recounted often, fascinating, very old stories, some filled with intrigue as he may have sought to collect his fee in exchange for the finished work, when the client may have had something entirely different in mind!

Lately, we have begun refer to our dear Swiss artist as Mr. Brader,⁹ out of respect for him: his inventive nature, as he continually set new challenges for himself, the speed and accuracy with which he

⁶ For more information, please see the essay in our monograph, "Brader's Materials: How did he do it?"

⁷ Please note that our curator Kathleen Wieschhaus-Voss chose to respect Brader's sometimes eccentric spelling and punctuation, but to follow her best interpretation for the spacing between his words.

⁸ See entry in "Chronology" for the year 1885.

⁹ This predilection for the moniker "Mr. Brader" was begun by our consulting retired paper conservator, Suesanna K. Voorhees, long a staunch champion of Brader's drawings, several of which she worked on meticulously and as sparingly as possible. Her observant eye and efforts to preserve Mr. Brader's mark have been very influential and enormously important, leading us to recognize subtleties in his use and combination of both graphite and colored pencil, which had previously gone unremarked. Her great appreciation for his inventiveness and his constant challenges to himself, especially in recognizing his remarkable ability to project his mind above the scene, in a place he could never have attained physically, has been remarkably helpful. https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/sahs_review/vol51/iss1/11

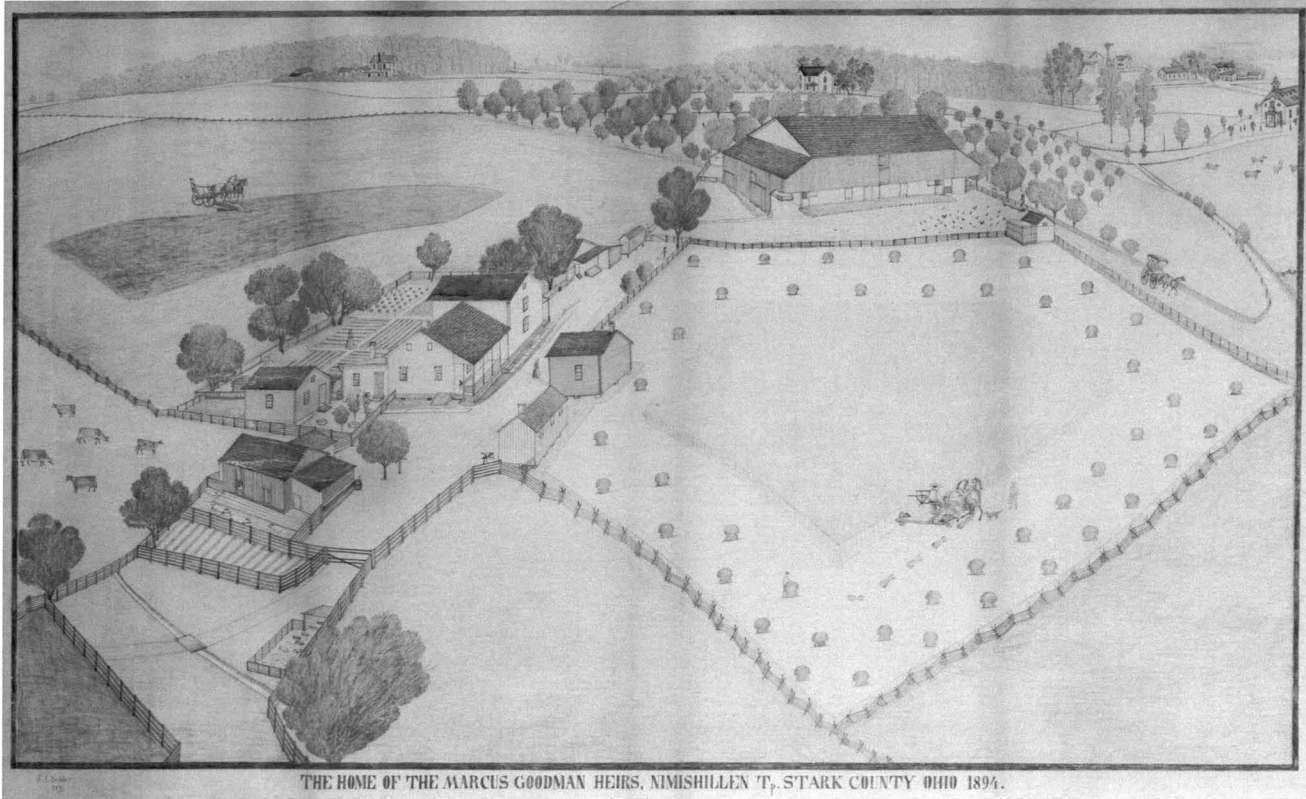


Figure 4. Ferdinand A. Brader, The Home of the Marcus Goodman Heirs, Nimishillen Twp Stark County Ohio 1894., No. 959, graphite and colored pencil on wove paper, 31 1/2 x 50 1/2 in., signed and numbered, lower right: F. A. Brader/No 959. Credit: Timothy Reese

drew, his pioneering spirit, and his austere way of life, none of which ever seemed to unnerve him. We know very little about his physical appearance, except that he was probably short, about five feet tall. He chose to depict himself more realistically in his three self-portraits when he showed himself standing in the road talking with another man, often with a dog romping nearby. In these instances, both men are dapperly dressed in jacket, trousers, and hat, with the more Brader-like man usually sporting facial hair of a long moustache and a small, pointed beard, and sometimes also a cane. Brader's moustache and goatee, popular here from around the time of the Civil War, are remembered in more than one family story. And, we have heard he smoked a pipe and that, on at least one occasion, he drank a glass of schnapps!

The most tantalizing question that remains about Ferdinand A. Brader is: where is his journal, record book or combination, thereof? Mr. Brader's careful inscription of his clients' name, village, township, county, state, year, and sequential number on the majority of his drawings suggests that these were done with care and consistency, and probably also recorded. (See Figure 4.) He additionally labeled most of them as a particular type of property, whether residence, property, farm, etc. And, intermittently, he drew a commercial property, such as *George Dilger's Brewery and Residence, Louisville Stark Co: Ohio 1885* and two public institutions, both of which he drew in the early 1890s. *Portage County Infirmary* of 1892 is the only subject Brader drew three times, and the drawing of the Stark County Infirmary is one of only two extant works known to have been drawn in 1895. And, now and then, he provided an enigmatic title for a work, whether *Our Home!* without even a surname,¹⁰ or *This is My Father's Farm . . . David Krabill*, which does include a name. Brader numbered many of his drawings, from No. 160 to 254 in Pennsylvania, between 1881 and 1883, and from No. 357 to 980, between 1884 and 1895 in Ohio.¹¹ Our only clue to the existence of such a record is the book placed on

¹⁰ Fortunately, the family of Henry Swallen, who owned this farm when Brader drew it in 1886, was able to trace the location of this work, even when it was out of the family's purview; the present owner, his great-great-grandson, purchased it and thereby returned it to the family.

¹¹ There are many drawings that have not yet been located. However, Kathleen Wieschaus-Voss has compiled an exhaustive "Checklist of Landscape Drawings by Ferdinand A. Brader," which includes every known fact about even a hint of a drawing, in a chronological and eminently usable form, following the *(continued on next page)*
https://scholararchive.byu.edu/sahs_review/Vol51/Iss1/11

the ground beside Mr. Brader, to his right, in the second of his three self-portraits, *Residence of Daniel and Marj Rohn. Wadsworth Tp. Medina Co. Ohio 1889*, which is signed and numbered, lower left: F. A. Brader/643.

Mr. Brader almost seems to have traveled about our two adjoining states on a sort of undefined mission, going from place to place, as often recommended by his clients, repeatedly among Swiss immigrants and other German-speaking families in both states, requesting room and board, eating with his host family, but preferring to sleep in the barn of whichever farmstead he might have been drawing, rather an austere existence. However, we do know that in his later years, or from 1891 forward, he sought both food and shelter during the winters at both the Portage County (1891/92) and Stark County (1892/93, 1893/94, and 1894/95) Infirmaries. When registering at the Stark County Infirmary on August 11, 1894, quite early for “winter,” he was described as “destitute and suffering with acute asthma.” During that last winter in America, Mr. Brader resided at that infirmary until the last day of 1895, or for 16 1/2 months.

In one family’s story, we hear that, as Brader passed through the Stark County township of Osnaburg in the 1890s, he knocked on a door and asked for work because he was so hungry. Since the woman who answered the door did not really have need of any work for which she might pay him, she prepared food for him and, in turn, he drew an incredibly intricate floral design on a large piece of white cloth. She saved that cloth, just as Brader had drawn upon it with his pencil, until her granddaughter was arranging her wedding many years later; then the two of them sat down and stitched along Brader’s lines to create the family treasure, known as *The Werley Family Quilt*. This is the only work by Brader not executed on paper, and it is unique in his oeuvre.

In November 1895, while staying at the Stark County Infirmary, Brader received news of the death of his eldest brother, Franz Aloys, in 1888, seven years earlier, and of an inheritance left to his wife and to each of his four siblings. Additionally, Aloys left a sum to Ferdinand

illustrations of the 88 works in the book. With the clues in the known Nos. and dates, plus almost every location, K. Wieschaw-Voss has been able to make defining decisions in circumscribing and ordering the drawings by year and No. The search continues . . .

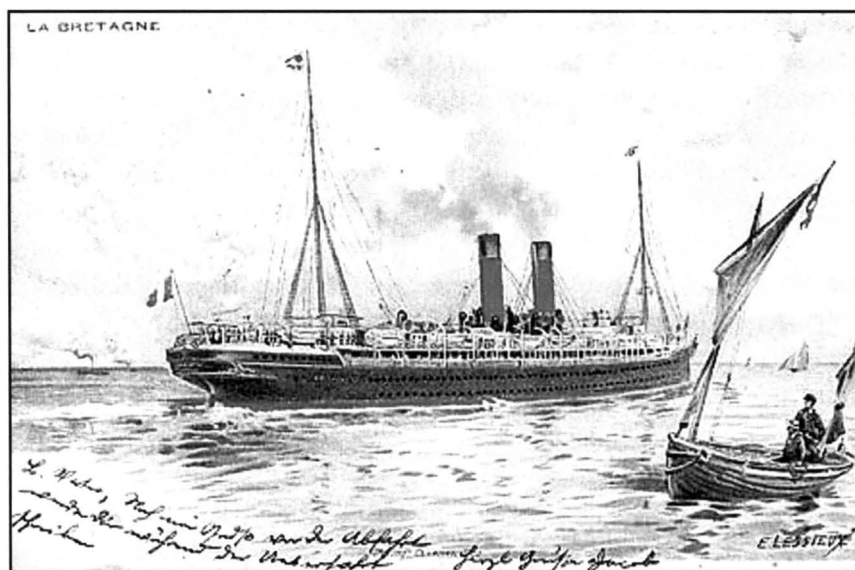


Figure 5. SS La Bretagne (1886-1912), a trans-Atlantic French liner in the fleet of the Compagnie Générale Transatlantique, whose maiden voyage took place in 1886, as she first steamed on her permanent route from Le Havre to New York. Our Mr. Brader traveled from Ohio to the port of New York, where he boarded the SS La Bretagne on January 25, 1896, arriving in Le Havre six days later, on February 2, and in Switzerland, a few days after that. Credit: Emile-Louis Lessieux (French, 1848-1925) La Bretagne, watercolor on paper, reproduced on an official CGT postal card. By Compagnie Générale Transatlantique [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons.

in recognition of his “good services” in the family bakery. Shortly thereafter, he learned of the death of his closest Swiss friend, William Tanner (born Basel, 1824) on December 9, 1895. Brader attended his funeral in nearby Alliance, and on December 31, he left the Stark County Infirmary.

On January 20, 1896, Brader left Canton and on the 25th, he sailed from the port of New York aboard the SS *La Bretagne* (Figure 5) bound for LeHavre. The transatlantic steamer chugged into the French port on February 2, and Brader went to Switzerland.¹² His subsequent movements and whereabouts remain unknown, until December 20, 1900,

¹² From a letter Brader wrote back to America, we know that he arrived in Switzerland “a few days later,” by February 6 or 7, 1896.
https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/sahs_review/vol51/iss1/11

when court records of the *Staatsarchiv St. Gallen* (the State Archive of the Canton of St. Gallen) declare Ferdinand Brader *verschollen*, “lost and missing, without a trace,” disappeared and seemingly vanished, having last been heard of on June 17, 1900. This sad and empty news was confirmed on December 24 in the *Amsblatt des Kantons St. Gallen* (the Official Journal of the Canton of St. Gallen).

Mr. Brader’s work is of particular interest at this moment, because of the culmination of a three-year enterprise, led by Kathleen Wieschaus-Voss and her bevy of volunteers, which has resulted in an exhibition at three venues in Stark County, Ohio, and a rigorously researched 252-page monograph on Brader, both called *The Legacy of Ferdinand A. Brader*. The publisher of the book is the Center for the Study of Art in Rural America. The four-color monograph is lavishly illustrated with full images of each drawing exhibited, and is divided into useful sections: context, life, drawings, and exhibition, with tan-edged pages setting off the 78 exhibited works, each with a large illustration and significant text. An additional section includes Andrew Richmond’s supporting exhibition, which places Brader’s work within an historical American context. Kathleen Wieschaus-Voss edited the volume and contributed a wonderfully informative introduction, as well as a detailed chronology of Brader’s life and a checklist of his 215 landscape drawings arranged by year, from 1879 to 1895. Every known work, of which she is aware, has an entry, even if all that is known is a single fact, such as a possible location or an owner’s name. Kathleen Wieschaus-Voss worked exhaustively to follow every lead, having known most of the owners, their farms and drawings for many years, and the results are splendid.

In addition, the Foreword and Afterword are by Leo Schelbert, Emeritus Professor, University of Illinois at Chicago, himself also a native of Brader’s hometown of Kaltbrunn. In between his two explanatory bookends are nine essays by members of the world-wide community of scholars. These enlighten the reader to specific areas of Brader’s life as an artist in our country, examining the historical perspectives of these drawings and contributing to our understanding of the proud and successful immigrant farm families, his clients, who wanted a record of their own achievement, their farms, to display in their parlor for all to admire. One essay provides information on mold carving, as part of a baker’s training at a Swiss bakery, and another

explores the relationship of illustrations in the county atlases to Brader's drawings, which representations appear to herald the arrival of Brader and his views of these Pennsylvania and Ohio farmscapes. There is a fascinating and very detailed examination of genealogical records, as well as village and state archives, concerning Brader's family. His materials are examined and explained, both within an historical context and as Brader actually used them in his drawings themselves. During the years spent gathering information for the exhibition and locating drawings, Kathleen Wieschaus-Voss located an additional 115 drawings from the list of 110, with which she began, and three more have already turned up, one of which was sold at Christie's New York in January 2015, plus two additional drawings. Thus, the total of landscape drawings by Brader stands at 218, out of a possible 981-1,000+.

A trio of exhibitions in Canton and North Canton, Stark County, Ohio, presents the works by Brader. Stark is the perfect place for this showcase, because this county was his base in Ohio, from 1885 to 1895, as Berks County had been for him in Pennsylvania. Brader spent these final years in Stark County, where he produced at least 118 known works, the most drawings in any of the counties he visited in his peripatetic journey from southeastern Berks County, Pennsylvania, to northeastern Ohio.

The main exhibition, at the Canton Museum of Art, focuses on his life story, beginning in Switzerland, and presents a major retrospective of the drawings Brader made in Pennsylvania and Ohio, while he dwelt in America, exhibiting 38 farmscapes plus five small commemorative drawings. The other larger venue, the McKinley Presidential Library & Museum, highlights ten depictions, which include Brader's beloved trains, thirteen other large landscapes, plus the Werley quilt. Eleven of Brader's drawings in graphite and colored-pencil, done between 1892 and 1895, including a commemorative drawing, were on view at the Little Art Gallery in the North Canton Public Library until January 8, 2015. The other larger venue, the McKinley Presidential Library & Museum, highlights nine depictions of Brader's trains, plus 14 other drawings, within his largely residential and farmstead landscapes. In addition, the McKinley has the Werley quilt on display. Both the Canton Museum and the McKinley exhibitions opened on December 4, 2014, and close on March 15, 2015. Nine of Brader's drawings from between https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/sahs_review/vol51/iss1/11

1892 and 1895, in which he employed colored pencils, in addition to graphite, and some of which feature one-room schoolhouses, were on view at the Little Art Gallery in the North Canton Public Library until January 8, 2015. However, both of the exhibitions at the Canton Museum of Art and the McKinley Presidential Library & Museum remain open through March 15, 2015.¹³ All told, generous lenders made possible the exhibition of 70 of Brader's large landscape drawings; plus eight floral drawings, either birth, baptismal, or marriage remembrances; and the unique quilt, the largest exhibition of his works ever seen.

This exhibition and the accompanying monograph provide an opportunity for examination of what truly is the legacy of Ferdinand A. Brader—his fascinating and charming drawings, filled with life and joy, intricately detailed remembrances of a time gone by.

A Chronology of the Life of Ferdinand A. Brader

By Kathleen Wieschaus-Voss

1833 December 7, Birth of Ferdinand Arnold Brader, in village of Kaltbrunn, canton St. Gallen, Switzerland to his father Johann Baptist Brader (1795-1842) [*Handelsmann* (a tradesman or merchant)], son of Othmar Brader and Maria Anna Thoma [Brader] of Kaltbrunn, and his mother Anna Maria Steiner [Brader] (1801-1859), daughter of Egid Steiner [a potter] and Maria Elisabeth Fah [Steiner] of Kaltbrunn. His parents married April 4, 1824, in 1826 bought village house no. 51, where he lived with his two older brothers, Franz Aloys Brader (1825-1888) and Johann Gustav Brader (1831-1875).

December 8, Baptism as Ferdinand Arnold Brader at *Katholische Kirche*, Kaltbrunn, St. Gallen. Baptismal sponsors Aloys Steiner and A. Maria Steiner, possibly relatives of his mother.

¹³ Please see website www.braderexhibit.com for additional information: reviews of monograph and exhibitions, extensive information on conservation and, recently discovered reprints of XIXth-century newspaper articles, family photographs, and the entire unfolding story of the exciting odyssey on our peripatetic Mr. Brader.

1836 June 3, Birth of his sister Maria Josefa Brader (1836–1895). His father adds extension to their home.

1839 August 14, Birth of his younger brother, the fifth and last child, Josef Sebastian Brader (1839-1879).

1842 December 4, Death of his father Johann Baptist Brader.

1844 His mother Anna Maria Steiner [Brader] purchases house no. 50, called *Dorfbrücke* (village bridge), across the street from no. 51. She converts part of the building into a bakery. The *Dorfbrücke* had been used as the village school from 1807 to 1843, where it is likely that the five children in Brader's family were students. They later attended the new school, built in 1842.

1849 March 9, Marriage of eldest brother Franz Aloys to Maria Rosa Felizitas Zweifel of Maseltrangen, St. Gallen.

1855 April 23, Marriage of older brother Johann Gustav to Maria Rosa Waldburgh Fah of Kaltbrunn.

1859 April 26, Death of his mother Anna Maria Steiner [Brader].
November 12, Younger brother Josef Sebastian [always referred to as Sebastian] marries Maria Anna Karolina Zahner and takes over operation of the family bakery.

1860 August 14, Birth of niece Maria Josepha Caroline "Charitas" Brader (1860-1943), daughter of Josef Sebastian Brader and Maria Anna Karolina Zahner [Brader]. August 28, Ferdinand marries Maria Katharina Karolina Glaus (1833-1904) of Benken, St. Gallen.

1863 Sebastian leaves Kaltbrunn, with wife and young daughter and boards a ship in Liverpool, England, bound for America. He arrives in America, at the port of New York, on February 13, 1863, and joins 4th regiment New York Cavalry of the Union Army, February 20, 1863. Apparently his wife and daughter had returned to Kaltbrunn before his ship, the SS *Etna*, left Liverpool.

1864 June 12, Sebastian is wounded in Civil War battle in Virginia, and passes the next 15 years in military hospitals.

December 20, Birth of son, Carl Ferdinand Brader (1864-before 1919) to Ferdinand A. Brader and his wife Maria Katharina Karolina Glaus [Brader].

1875 August 20, Death of older brother Johann Gustav.

1879 February 7, First documented mention of Brader in the United States. The *Reading Times* prints a list of people who have letters awaiting them at the Reading, Berks County, Pennsylvania, post office. No records found of his travel to United States. July 10, First pencil drawing in Berks County. He will complete 90 more drawings in less than one year, according to "Varieties," *Reading Eagle* (Reading, Pa.), 5 June 1880. p. 1. October 30, Draws and dates *The Property of John Bitting*, Cumru Township, Berks County, earliest known dated drawing. December 6, Death of brother, Josef Sebastian Brader, who had been wounded in Virginia and had moved around in military hospitals, and died on furlough. He was buried in Togus National Cemetery, Togus, Kennebec County, Maine.

1880 January 19, Local newspaper praises drawing of *The Property of Fred. R. & Esther Bechtel* in "Lead Pencil Sketch of a Farm," *Reading Eagle* (Reading, Pa.) 19 January 1880. p.1.

1881 First numbered drawing, No. 160, for *The Property of Benjamin S. and Lucy Ann L. Ritter* in Exeter Township. Draws properties in Berks County, in the townships of Bern, Exeter, Spring, and Topton.

1882 Draws in Berks County, in the townships of Bern, Elsass, Exeter, Fleetwood, Oley, Rockland. and Tulpehocken.

1883 Leaves Berks County after drawing *The Property of Miller M. Evans*, No. 254, in Spring Township. Draws a farm in Lancaster County, in West Cocalico Township, and several in Lebanon County, in South Lebanon Township, before leaving southeastern Pennsylvania and heading west toward Ohio. Arrives in western Pennsylvania and

Published by BYU ScholarsArchive, 2015 17

draws farms in Somerset County, in Brothersvalley and Allegheny Townships, and in Allegheny County, in Aleppo, Franklin, and Sewickley Townships. Likely passes the winter of 1883/1884 in Pennsylvania. Completes about 260 drawings in Pennsylvania in the five and a half years between July 1879 and 1884.

1884 Draws last property in Pennsylvania in Beaver County, Pennsylvania *The Property of John and Elizabeth Haemmerle* in Economy Township. Arrives in Ohio and draws *The Property of Christian and Margaretha Aeling*, No. 357 in Dover Township, Tuscarawas County, and *The Property of Peter Berger* in Knox Township, Columbiana County. Completes about 50 drawings in 1884.

1885 Continues his sequential numbering system, and the consistent use of his signature, F. A. Brader, in the lower left or lower right corner of his drawings. Draws farm in Rose Township, Carroll County. Draws properties in Stark County, in the townships of Nimishillen, Osnaburg; and in Tuscarawas County, in Bolivar and Lawrence Townships. Completes about 64 drawings in 1885.

1886 Draws properties in Stark County in the townships of Canton, Jackson, Lake, Nimishillen, Paris, and Washington; and in Tuscarawas County, in Lawrence Township; in Portage County, in Randolph and Suffield Townships; in Summit County, in Springfield Township. Completes about 52 drawings in 1886.

1887 Draws in Stark County, in the townships of Jackson, Lake, Lawrence, Paris, Plain, Marlboro, Nimishillen and Washington. Draws *Residence of James E. Wilson*, No. 557, in Brimfield Township, Portage County. Completes about 53 drawings in 1887.

1888 Draws properties in Stark County, in townships of Jackson, Lake, Lawrence, Osnaburg, Paris, Plain, Robertsville, and Tuscarawas; in Wayne County, in the townships of Baughman and Chippewa; and, in Medina County, in Wadsworth Township. April 10, Death of eldest brother Franz Aloys in Kaltbrunn, of which Brader does not learn until November 1895. Completes about 64 drawings in 1888.

1889 Draws properties in Medina County, in Wadsworth Township; in Wayne County, in Chippewa; in Stark County, in Nimishillen and Washington Townships. Completes about 60 drawings in 1889.

1890 Draws properties in Carroll County, in Rose Township; and, in Stark County, in the townships of Nimishillen, Osnaburg, Paris, Pike, Plain, and Sandy. Completes about 72 drawings in 1890.

1891 Draws properties in Stark County, in the townships of Canton, Lexington, Marlboro, Nimishillen, and Perry; in Portage County, in the townships of Atwater, Deerfield, and Franklin. December 12, Enters Portage County Infirmary in Ravenna, Ohio. Completes about 49 drawings in 1891.

1892 Begins to incorporate colored pencils into his drawings, with a small floral drawing, dated January 19, 1892; completes three drawings of the Portage County Infirmary, all with colored pencil. April 19, Leaves Portage County Infirmary. Draws farms in Portage County, in Ravenna Township; Stark County, in the townships of Marlboro, Lexington, Nimishillen, and Washington; and in Tuscarawas County, in Sandy Township. November 14, Enters Stark County Infirmary in Canton, Ohio, gives former residence as Marlboro, and says he is “sick.” Completes about 70 drawings in 1892.

1893 May 25, Leaves Stark County Infirmary. Draws farms in Stark County, in townships of Lake, Marlboro, Nimishillen, Paris, and Washington. November 25, Enters Stark County Infirmary, gives former residence as Marlboro, “sick.” Completes about 40 drawings in 1893.

1894 June 5, Leaves Stark County Infirmary. Draws in Stark County, in townships of Lake, Marlboro, Nimishillen, Perry, Plain, and Washington. August 11, Enters Stark County Infirmary “destitute and suffering with acute asthma.” Completes about 32 drawings in 1894.

1895 Draws at least one farm in Stark County, the *Homestead of Mr. and Mrs. John Kleiver*, No. 980, his last-known drawing of a farmstead. Sometime during the year, he also completed an untitled

drawing of the Stark County Infirmary. November, While at the Stark County Infirmary, Brader learns of the death of his brother Franz Aloys, in 1888, and of the inheritance his brother left to him. December 9, Death of his closest friend, William Tanner (born Basel, 1824) of Alliance. A few days later, takes train to Alliance and attends Tanner's funeral. December 31, Leaves Stark County Infirmary, apparently not officially discharged. Draws about 9 drawings in 1895, all in Stark County.

1896 January 20, Leaves Canton for Pittsburgh, where he books passage to Europe; arrives New York City January 21, and leaves on the French ocean-going liner SS *La Bretagne* January 25, arriving in Le Havre on February 2, and in Switzerland a few days later, February 6 or 7.

1901 December 20, Official declaration in court minutes, *Staatsarchiv St. Gallen* (the State Archive of the Canton of St. Gallen), that Ferdinand Brader is *verschollen*, "lost and missing, without a trace," having been last heard of on June 17, 1900.

December 24, Newspaper announcement in *Amtsblatt des Kantons St. Gallen* (the Official Journal of the Canton of St. Gallen) that Ferdinand Brader is *verschollen*, "lost and missing, without a trace."

1919 September 27, Official declaration in court minutes, *Staatsarchiv St. Gallen*, (the State Archive of the Canton of St. Gallen) that Carl Ferdinand Brader, the son of Ferdinand Brader, artist, and Katharina Karolina Glaus, is *verschollen*, "lost and missing, without a trace," having been last heard of in 1887. The remaining assets of the inheritance are given to the *Waisenamt Kaltbrunn* (Official Organization for the Orphans of Kaltbrunn).

October 6, Newspaper announcement in *Amtsblatt des Kantons St. Gallen* that Carl Ferdinand Brader too, as was his father, is *verschollen*, "lost and missing, without a trace."

“The Unfinished Project of J.J. Bachofen and the Gender Wars on the Home Front”¹

by Marsha R. Robinson

“All my reading and studies, considered in the light of day, struck me as insignificant, as meager food for the soul, as irrelevant to the fulfillment of what is immortal in us.”

“A time inevitably comes when the scholar seriously examines his studies for their relation to the supreme truths. He becomes aware of a desire, an urgent need, to come a little closer to the eternal meaning of things.”

“Sometimes it even seems to me that something of the divine, eternal meaning of human ideas will be revealed to me at the end of this road. If it is true, as Aristotle says, that like can be grasped only by like, then the divine can only be apprehended by a divine mind, and not by the rationalistic self-conceit that sets itself above history.”

“It is one of my profoundest convictions that without a thorough transformation of our whole being, without a return to ancient simplicity and health of soul, one cannot gain the merest intimation of the greatness of those ancient times and their thinking, of those days when the human race had not yet, as it has today, departed from its harmony with creation and the transcendent creator.”

“I see more and more that one law governs all things, and that primordial man planned and regulated his earthly life with the regularity, as it were, of animal instinct.”

Sources: Johann Jakob Bachofen, “My Life in Retrospect,” in *Myth, Religion, and Mother Right* translated by Ralph Manheim from *Mutterrecht und Urreligion* (1926) edited by Rudolf Marx (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1967): 16.

¹ This essay is an extension of an idea published by the author in *Matriarchy, Patriarchy and Imperial Security in Africa: Explaining Riots in Europe and Violence in Africa* (Lexington Books, 2012). The author is grateful for the support that she has received for her research over the years from the Ohio State University, Otterbein University and Miami University. She is also grateful to the Swiss American Historical Society for the opportunity to share this research and for the encouragement that she received at its 2014 annual meeting held at the Athenaeum of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

The Legal Historian Who Lived in Interesting Times

Johann Jakob Bachofen gestated and was born in one of the more turbulent years of European history. 1815 was the year in which patrician families like those of his father and of his mother reasserted their sovereignty over a brief democratic interlude led by Napoleon Bonaparte.² It was a year in which Klemens von Metternich concluded the Congress of Vienna wherein titled families triumphed in conserving their political positions after a sanguine lesson from the majority population, namely that European nobility was created as an obligatory relationship of the elite few to sustain the humanity and economic security of the majority during times of great economic upheaval and re-ordering of global trade. Bachofen sensed a reincarnation of a historic social contract that was authentic in the early Industrial Age as it was true after the collapse of the ancient Roman Empire.

Bachofen came of age in Basel, Switzerland, when many in Europe continued to smart from the lessons of inter-class mutual obligation, sustainable human dignity and economic opportunity during the revolutions of the 1830s in Poland, Belgium, and France. For a moment, an echo of the Habsburg alliance with the House of Bourbon manifested itself in the ascendance of Louis-Philippe to the French throne in the July Revolution of 1830.

By the time he was a young man of 30 years, Bachofen had completed his studies in Switzerland, in Germany, in Paris, and in England. He had a doctorate in law, specializing in ancient Roman law with extensive study of French and British law. Among his professors, there is an interesting juxtaposition of law professors. One was Pelligrino Rossi and another was Friedrich Karl von Savigny. The American philosopher Joseph Campbell paid attention to the influence of jurist and historian Savigny on Bachofen, noting that this inspiring professor of the history of law . . . 30 years before had matched the brothers Grimm on their world-celebrated pioneering

² “Bachofen was born December 22, 1815, in Basel, where both his father’s family and his mother’s family had been established and respected since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. “Burgomasters and city counselors were numbered among his ancestors.” Joseph Campbell, “Introduction,” in Johann Jakob Bachofen, *Myth, Religion, and the Right from Mutterrecht und Urreligion* (1926), trans. Ralph Manheim, ed. Rudolf Pfeiffer (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1967), xxxiv.

careers in Germanic philology, mythology, and folklore.”³ As for Professor Rossi, Bachofen described him as an insincere constitutionalist. Bachofen and Rossi traveled along similar paths, but the results were quite dissimilar. Rossi had been a professor in Switzerland around the time of Bachofen’s infancy. Bachofen studied with Rossi in Paris, and “Rossi fell on the second day after my arrival” in Rome during the 1848 Italian Revolution.⁴ No doubt Bachofen had hoped to converse at least one more time with his professor who had returned to his natal city as French ambassador to Rome and then had become a chief minister to Pope Pius IX. Bachofen noted that Rossi used to have bodyguards in Paris because of his role in the French revolutions.⁵ Rossi’s was not an inordinate fear. When Bachofen heard of Rossi’s assassination in the Italian Revolution, he experienced a moment when the ideal world of the scholarly Academy clashed violently with the harshness of the real world.

Those revolutionaries in Italy played the midwife to a new intellectual persona in Bachofen, one that was born in the Motherland of Rome. In his autobiographical essay, Bachofen recalled two moments. One was an assault on the safety of his person when “a little later in Tivoli I received a good deal of undesired attention from the populace, which suspected me of being a French spy; and finally, on my journey homeward, I beheld the breakdown of all order.”⁶ This was not the organized warfare about which one read in von Clausewitz. This may have been Bachofen’s first glimpse of anarchy and his first personal appreciation of the Reign of Terror in the French Revolution. There is one other event that may have been traumatic for a scholar of ancient Roman history. “Wherever Garibaldi appeared with his flaming red shirt and coal-black stallion, escorted by a Negro on a white horse, every hat in the quarter was tossed into the air.”⁷ Here was Garibaldi, battle-trained in the Gaul of his day, Uruguay, crossing the Rubicon of his day, the Atlantic, to take his place in the Triumvirate of his day, namely that of Count Cavour, Mazzini and Garibaldi, in order to take over the

³ Campbell, “Introduction.”

⁴ Bachofen, “My Life in Retrospect,” 6, 14.

⁵ Edward Stillingfleet Cayley, *The European Revolutions of 1848* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1856), I: 298-305.

⁶ Bachofen, “My Life in Retrospect,” 15.

⁷ Bachofen, “My Life in Retrospect,” 14-15.

capital of the Holy Roman Empire. More often, the white horse has been assigned to Garibaldi, and Bachofen's version of the horse colors has not been confirmed as of this writing. The inversion of black and white in Bachofen's description represented the economic order of his day, but a true scholar of Roman history would have recognized the African allusion to the Severan Dynasty from Libya that ruled the late Roman Empire in the second and third centuries CE. Given these possible incongruities between the ideals of academia and the realities of revolution, Bachofen may have lived through enough traumatic events to experience post-traumatic stress and a scholarly nervous breakdown of a degree that we can now describe as nausea after the philosophies of Jean-Paul Sartre and Soren Kierkegaard.⁸

Bachofen went to Italy to study Etrurian tombs. Instead, some aspect of his own academic naïveté died during his stay in Italy, and he returned to Switzerland with what I believe is the impetus for his most renowned theory of Mother Right. He had seen and experienced something that was very wrong with modern civilization and he must have searched for a corrective.

Mother-Right as Myth-History

Bachofen returned eventually to his natal city from the Roman motherland, and he married a twenty-year-old in 1865 after losing his maternal parent in 1856. In between these momentous events involving female relatives, Bachofen presented a novel theory on September 24, 1856 to the German Philologists, Orientalists and Scholars Society, an idea he would later publish as *Das Mutterrecht* in 1861. Damian Valdez summarizes Bachofen's effort. "In it he developed his grand conception of the struggle in the ancient world, a stage he called 'the antiquity of antiquity,' between the spiritual 'Father-Right' and the "earth-bound, material and corporeal Mother-Right,' as universal stages in human history," ideas which Valdez and others summarize as "the most exciting myth of the nineteenth-century."⁹ Why? Quite simply, writes Valdez in

⁸ Jean-Paul Sartre, *La Nausée* (Paris: Gallimard, 1938); Søren Kierkegaard, *Fear and Trembling, and the Sickness unto Death* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1954).

⁹ Damian Valdez, "Bachofen's Rome and the Fate of the Feminine Orient," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 70, no. 3 (July 2009): 421.
https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/sahs_review/vol51/iss1/11

2009, because “Mother-Right contradicts everything to which we are accustomed.”¹⁰

Mother-Right is such a contradiction that Bachofen’s exhaustive search for evidence of matriarchy in classical Greco-Roman myths and histories by persons such as Herodotus, Pliny, Strabo, Plutarch, Aristotle, Ovid, Virgil and Cicero has been dismissed as non-historical. Many of the sources that Bachofen used fail to follow the rules of history established by Leopold von Ranke in the nineteenth century. Bachofen experienced something that many scholars of African, indigenous American, Asian, and pre-Roman European history also encounter. The odd thing about such dismissals is that modern anthropologists and sociologists have documented that these are all regions in which more female friendly and gender-egalitarian societies have existed and continue to exist. Some Western scholars have documented these societies, many by reviewing literature or by using methods acceptable to social scientists, including William Oliver Farnsworth, Clair Hayden Bell, Raymond Thomas Smith, Heide Göttner-Abendroth, and Peggy Reeves Sanday.¹¹ Others, such as Deborah B. Gewitz, Peter Davies, Robert Briffault, Julius Evola, and Fei Wu, have expanded upon Bachofen’s approach.¹² Perhaps this is appropriate since Bachofen was also considered to be an early anthropologist.

What is clear is that Valdez’s observation that Mother-Right is an exciting idea that contradicts what is generally known has merit. Early twentieth-century journalist Catherine Gasquoigne Hartley wrote in

¹⁰ Valdez, “Bachofen’s Rome,” 421.

¹¹ William Oliver Farnsworth, *Uncle and Nephew in the Old French Chansons de Geste: a Study in the Survival of Matriarchy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1913); Clair Hayden Bell, *The Sister’s Son in the Medieval German Epic: a Study in the Survival of Matrilineity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1922); Raymond Thomas Smith, *The Matrifocal Family: Power, Pluralism and Politics* (New York: Routledge, 1996); Heide Göttner-Abendroth, *Matriarchal Societies: Studies on Indigenous Cultures across the Globe* (New York: Peter Lang, 2012); and, Peggy Reeves Sanday, *Women at the Center: a Modern Matriarchy* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002).

¹² Deborah B. Gewitz, *Myths of Matriarchy Reconsidered* (Sydney: University of Sydney, 1988); Peter Davies, *Myth, Matriarchy and Modernity: Johann Jakob Bachofen in German Culture* (New York: DeGruyter, 2010); Robert Briffault, *The Mothers: the Matriarchal Theory of Social Origins* (New York: Macmillan, 1931); Julius Evola, *Il matriarcato nell’opera di J.J. Bachofen* (Rome: Fondazione Julius Evola, 1989); Fei Wu, “The Myth of Matriarchy: a Genealogy of Western Matriarchal Thought (I),” *Society: Chinese Journal of Sociology* 34, no. 2 (2014): 33-59.

1914 that “this great supporter of women was a dreamer, rather than a calm and impartial investigator” for “he enfolded his arguments in a garment of pure fiction” and “the rhapsodies of a poet.” Hartley judged “the impossibility of accepting Bachofen’s mythical account of its origin.”¹³ Nearly a century later, Hartley’s critique was reprised by Cynthia Eller who also found Bachofen’s myth to be less than progressive, writing “how is it possible that the myth of matriarchal prehistory could ever serve other than a conservative, regressive, even fascist political agenda?”¹⁴ To be fair, when Bachofen penned *Das Mutterrecht*, he was not thinking of the National Socialist German Workers’ Party or of the National Fascist Party.

It would be unfair to give all of the impetus for Mother-Right to the 1848 Italian Revolution. Some of it can certainly be attributed to his time spent in England.

Mother-Right as Allegory

In our age of rational science, after historians took to the methods of von Ranke with evidence-based history rather than reasoned history by natural philosophers, many of us in the profession may have forgotten that Bachofen presents himself as an heir to a Socratic line of academic inquiry. Therefore, truth is not in the validation of myth as history; rather, truth is validated by the allegory which is its translation device.

Peter Davies gave a sympathetic eye to Bachofen on Bachofen’s terms. “Bachofen sees the root of all human cultural development in a religious conflict between male and female principles that extends its influence over legal structures and the regulation of family life.”¹⁵ Davies sees that Bachofen was after something better than what many people were experiencing in Europe. Bachofen was looking for “what is origi-

¹³ C. Gasquoigne Hartley, *The Age of Mother-Power: the Position of Woman in Primitive Society* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1914): 7.

¹⁴ Cynthia Eller, “Matriarchy and the Volk,” *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 81, no. 1 (March 2013): 189. See also, Eller, *The Myth of Matriarchal Prehistory: Why an Invented Past Won’t Give Women a Future* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2000) and *Gentlemen and Amazons: the Myth of Matriarchal Prehistory, 1861-1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).

¹⁵ Peter Davies, “Myth and Maternalism in the Work of Johann Jakob Bachofen,” *German Studies Review* 28, no. 3 (October 2005): 503.
https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/sahs_review/vol51/iss1/11

nally a state of relative harmony” even though such a state “degenerates into abuses and corruption, and is in its turn overthrown and repressed by the extreme patriarchal societies of the ancient world, namely Hellenistic Greece and Imperial Rome.” Davies argues that Bachofen, “the conservative Swiss Christian patrician,” was looking for some higher degree of humanity, one that transcends the earthly materialism of “Muttertum” and promotes the more spiritual or “geistig” principles of “Vatertum.” The Roman Empire fell because it became decadent and focused on the “matriarchal conditions.”¹⁶ Valdez argues that Bachofen blamed the fall of Rome on its return to material, matriarchal values.

I want to believe that this was Bachofen’s way of addressing the rising materialism of capitalism, consumerism and the Industrial Revolution. Perhaps Bachofen saw Rossi’s assassination as a human sacrifice on the altar to Materialism. In the old, Roman-influenced political-economic order, only the elite aspired to conspicuous consumption; however, as Cavour and Mazzini understood the European-dominated global economy, this kind of nostalgia for the old patrician way weakened the Italian states. Valdez argues this in a slightly different way, saying that “Bachofen’s own intense preoccupation with the universality and inescapability of this confrontation between the feminine-material and the masculine-spiritual principles” led to the fall of “the ancient world’s greatest phenomenon: Rome and its empire.”¹⁷ I think this is too literal an interpretation. Bachofen was in Italy, if not still in Rome, when Pope Pius IX fled the Vatican. Mazzini of the modern Triumvirate took up residence in part of the Papal compound for a time. This was simply wrong in a patrician’s eyes, but it was a traumatic reality for Bachofen.

“The matriarchal period is indeed the poetry of history by virtue of the sublimity, the heroic grandeur, even the beauty to which woman rose by inspiring bravery and chivalry in men, by virtue of the meaning she imparted to feminine love and the chastity and restraint that she exacted of young men.” [83]

“Let us never forget that when the power to perform high deeds flags, the flight of the spirit falters also, and incipient rot permeates all spheres of life at once. [84]

¹⁶ Davies, “Myth and Maternalism,” 503.

¹⁷ Valdez, “Bachofen’s Rome,” 425.

“We began by showing matriarchy to be a universal phenomenon, independent of any special dogma or legislation. Now we can go further in our characterization and establish its quality of natural truth. Like child-rearing motherhood, which is its physical image, matriarchy is entirely subservient to matter and to the phenomena of natural life, from which it derives the laws of its inner and outward existence; more strongly than later generations, the matriarchal peoples feel the unity of all life, the harmony of the universe, which they have not yet outgrown...” [91]

“Hellenism is hostile to such a world.” [89]

“Matriarchy is followed by patriarchy and preceded by unregulated heterism.” [93] The progress from the maternal to the paternal conception of man forms the most important turning point in the history of the relations between the sexes...the triumph of paternity brings with it the liberation of the spirit from the manifestations of nature, a sublimation of human existence over the laws of material life.” [109]

“By and large the decline in women’s virtue sets in when the men begin to look down on them, when with advancing civilization the males develop a foppishness for which our own cultivated times have coined so many euphemistic terms. The progress of civilization is not favorable to woman.” [171]

From Johann Jakob Bachofen, *Mutterrecht und Urreligion* (Myth, Religion, and Mother Right: Selected Writings of J. J. Bachofen) translated by Ralph Manheim (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1967).

Mother Right as Homeopathy for Social Peace

Bachofen’s treatment of interpersonal violence in *Das Mutterrecht* and his nostalgic yearnings for harmonious social relationships make it at once one of the most promising feminist and one of the most dangerous misogynist social treatises of the Romantic Era.

At times, Bachofen walks in step with French Revolutionaries Olympe de Gouges, author of the “Declaration of the Rights of Woman and the Citizen,” and British ex-patriot Mary Wollstonecraft, author of the “Vindication of the Rights of Woman” and “Vindication of the Rights of Man,” when he proclaimed the poetic nobility of the matriarchal age. As he progresses in his chapters, he dedicates one to the story of the people of Lemnos in which the women murdered the men who abandoned them for Thracian slave women. In this story, a matriarchy existed because men were away so much that women ruled the local

economy, tended the fields and used weapons to defend the home. These same powerful women later killed their unfaithful husbands. This story in the age of mercantile capitalism, warfare and colonialism could teach men to fear the women upon whom they depended while they were away at sea. This was a Hellenic story.

At other times, his passages seem to endorse male dominance over women, and a chilling, disturbing, violent dominance at that. In the Lycia chapter, Bachofen culls stories of non-Hellenic people from Asia Minor, Africa and Southern Europe who do not practice monogamous heterosexual relationships in which many men use a woman until she is exhausted. He also gives stories from Strabo, a Hellene, in which brothers seek their father's assistance in enforcing the brothers' incestuous relationship with their sister.¹⁸ This story can be used to teach men to believe that gang rape is a right protected by patriarchal authorities. By 1870, Bachofen was presented in at least one American periodical as a scholar who naturalized the communal ownership of women.¹⁹

These are just two points that, like homeopathic medicines, are poisonous even if Bachofen intended a social cure. Bachofen was not unique in presenting information that normalized violent heterosexual relationships. Sir John Lubbock was known for writing that marriage originated as a violent relationship. "It had nothing to do with mutual affection or sympathy; that it was invalidated by any appearance of consent; and that it was symbolized, not by any demonstration of warm affection on the one side and tender devotion on the other, but by brutal violence and unwilling submission."²⁰ Lubbock justified marital rape.

These scholars present evidence that can be used to justify marital rape, gang rape, and incest and this begs the question of what was happening in the domestic scene. I do not have the language skills to review German sources on the topic. Anna Clark's book, *The Struggle for the Breeches: Gender and the Making of the British Working Class*, is a transformative history of domestic and interpersonal violence between

¹⁸ Bachofen, *Mutterrecht und Urreligion*, 137.

¹⁹ Anon. "The Genesis of Marriage: Its Origin Traced to Captivity in War," *Circular*, November 14, 1870.

²⁰ Sir John Lubbock, *The Origin of Civilisation and the Primitive Condition of Man* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1898): 111.

1780 and 1850.²¹ A November 1853 article from the *Morning Chronicle* gives an indication: “Since the commencement of the present month, the metropolitan police-courts have sat nineteen days; and during that period, our reports of the proceedings of these tribunals record no fewer than sixteen cases of the same crime. This is a startling social phenomenon. . . . History tells us of certain mental epidemics.” The crime was wife-beating which the author defined as “a complex system of atrocities, in which we find the husband, almost as a matter of course, mauling, kicking, bruising, and stamping upon his wife.” Here are some of the cases:

- November 1. “We recorded the case of Grinny, charged at Lambeth with cutting his wife’s throat.” She testified against him after she was discharged from the hospital.
- November 2. “Lindsay was charged with a ferocious assault on a poor prostitute who, not accepting his advances, was fearfully beaten on the face and eyes.”
- November 4. “[Mr.] Hooker, convicted at Hammersmith of kneeling on and strangling his wife.”
- November 5. “Brooke was convicted at Hammersmith of smashing his wife.”
- November 8. “The disgusting case of M’Namara whose wife, ten days afterwards was scarcely able to quit the hospital to give evidence. This man had beat her and cut his victim till she was found apparently lifeless, and weltering in a pool of blood.”
- November 11. “We meet at Worship-street with a wretch named Walker, who, on some trifling dispute, assaults a female, stamps upon, and kicks her, tears all her clothes off her, leaving her an offence to public decenc—and all this in the

²¹ Anna Clark, *The Struggle for the Breeches: Gender and the Making of the British Working Class* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).
https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/sahs_review/vol51/iss1/11

presence of a large mob, who by their passive acquiescence, assented to this practical vindication of the rights of man.”

- November 19. “At Worship-street one DeLane is convicted of a furious assault on his wife. He had been in the habit of beating her—it was his custom, but on this occasion, because she had just been confined [a mid- to late-stage of pregnancy], he introduced two prostitutes into his house, and half-murdered the poor creature for their amusement.”²²

The reporter described the “unmanly violence” which produced “eyes smashed out, limbs dislocated, throats cut—of kicks and stripes, and murderous atrocities.” The writer included that “the tacit approval of neighbors lends a peculiarly revolting aspect to the matter.” England had laws against such violence, and the author believed that the six months at hard labor were insufficient deterrents. The author also advocated that flogging, something that was common in the British military and navy for some non-violent crimes, should be the punishment so that wife-beaters could feel what it was like to be beaten “to fainting, and literally within an inch of his life, on the very spot which he desecrated by kicking, stamping on, gouging, and tearing the naked form of her whom he has sworn to love and cherish.”²³ The author is clear that the punishment ought to meet the same level of violence suffered by the victims. “Unless we can check this wholesale system of woman mutilating, society itself must relapse into its primitive barbarism.”²⁴ By this the author was referring to the era that Bachofen described as pre-matriarchal and pre-civilisation. “The monsters we have to control are not men.” This violence was occurring in what Bachofen would refer to as a Hellenic patriarchal society where men were victorious in reaching a higher spiritual plane of religion. In fact, an English newspaper reported in 1856 that there was a Christian sect in the Whitehall district of London that promoted wife-beating. “The Rev. George Bird, formerly rector of Cumberworth, near Huddersfield, has established himself there, and drawn together a congregation; to

²² Anon. “Wife murdering in London,” *Littell’s Living Age* (Jan 21, 1854).

²³ Anon. “Wife murdering in London.”

²⁴ Anon. “Wife murdering in London.”

whom he preaches the doctrine that it is perfectly Scriptural for a man to beat his wife.” After one of his parishioners was sentenced to a month of hard labor for beating his wife, Rev. Bird “delivered a course of lectures” in which “he contends that it is a man’s duty to rule his own household and that if his wife refuse to obey his orders, he is justified, according to the law of God, in beating her in order to enforce obedience.”²⁵

Meanwhile, in the United States, Rev. Hubbard Winslow and Mrs. John Sanford published *The Lady’s Manual of Moral and Intellectual Culture* in which Rev. Winslow advocated that a woman ought to show “appropriate reverence and homage to her husband” which sounds like a form of religious worship.²⁶ Winslow referred to Olympe de Gouges’ assassination. “The female Quixote broke her lance in vindicating the ‘Rights of Women,’ and no one sympathized in her defeat.”²⁷ Winslow seems to agree with Rev. Bird. “A dictatorial and unyielding disposition is characteristic of man.”²⁸ After Winslow’s lessons on how women are to worship their husbands, a step beyond Bachofen’s Hellenism, Mrs. John Sanford advised women who were visiting a suffering female friend that “surely, religion never seems more lovely, or is more truly sublime, than when she stifles the cry of pain, and wipes the drops of anguish from the sufferer’s brow,” and that the visitor is not to tell people about the injuries that she had seen on her friend whose marriage suffered from “want of congeniality.” Mrs. Sanford taught that it was very wrong, even by ordinary persons, to carry domestic secrets beyond our own walls” because the form of Christianity that Winslow taught “encourages no meddling interference, it asks for no human sympathy.”²⁹ Bachofen’s Hellenic triumph of male-dominant spiritual religion over female-friendly matriarchal values was complete in these particular Christian communities. Winslow’s reference to the French Revolution of 1789 is interesting. It shows that he chose to advocate violence against women as a definition of manhood.

²⁵ Anon. “Article 17 – no title,” *Saturday Evening Post*, November 29, 1856: 6.

²⁶ Rev. Hubbard Winslow and Mrs. John Sanford, *The Lady’s Manual of Moral and Intellectual Culture* (New York: Leavitt and Allen, 1854): 16.

²⁷ Winslow and Sanford, *The Lady’s Manual*, 362

²⁸ Winslow and Sanford, *The Lady’s Manual*, 49.

²⁹ Winslow and Sanford, *The Lady’s Manual*, part 2, 44-45.

Conclusion: The Unfinished Work

Bachofen observed a trend in Greco-Roman history. He called it a Hellenic struggle against matriarchy. Bachofen preferred the harmonious society of the early matriarchal age when men lived in harmony with women. In his mind, neither male-dominance nor female-dominance produced stable societies. This is as far as Bachofen, the patrician Basel philosopher, could take his readers. Johann Jakob Bachofen's work of restoring harmony between genders is unfinished.

Miami University



Emil Brunner (left) and Karl Barth (right).

Natur, Gnade, und "Nein!"

Karl Barth and Emil Brunner: Swiss Theologians in Conflict

*by Samuel J. Youngs**

Swiss Reformation theology, somewhat ironically, takes its most unifying and significant direction from a Frenchman, Jean Calvin. In 1541, "John" Calvin brought his unique form of leadership

*B.A., University of South Florida; M.A., Religion, Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary (South Hamilton, MA); Ph.D. (ABD), Theology and Religious Studies, King's College, University of London. Mr. Youngs currently serves as Instructor of Christian Studies at Bryan College in Dayton, TN. He has published reviews and/or articles in the following academic journals: *Philosophia Christi*, *Reviews in Religion and Theology*, *American Theological Inquiry*, *Journal of Religious History*, *The Journal of Comparative Theology*. He also serves as the Book Reviews Editor for *American Theological Inquiry*.
https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/sahs_review/vol51/iss1/11

and theology to Geneva.¹ The monumental nature of Calvin's theological career forever left its impress and guaranteed a perennial home for "Reformed theology" in Switzerland. Idiosyncratically, *Reformed theology* does not refer to some universal, systematic "theology of the Reformation" (Reformation theology, far from being universal, could be quite conflictual and polymorphous²) but rather to specific and dominant tropes of most Reformation Christian thought, perhaps best summarized by the *solae* of the Lutherans: *Sola Fidei* (Faith Alone), *Sola Gratia* (Grace Alone), *Solus Christus* (Christ Alone), *Soli Deo Gloria* (Glory to God Alone).³ If we wanted to distill this theological trajectory in one sentence, it could read something like: *God's gracious act of salvation comes to us solely by Christ and our faith in him, and for these gracious gifts,⁴ to God alone belongs the glory.*

This is an exclusionary theology; it is a theology of non-compromise. Without any glance to the right or to the left, it thunderously declares that it is God, and God alone, who gives direction, who is the truth of life and all eternity, and who has acted in history (mainly through Christ) to bring humanity to a place of salvation. For John Calvin and many other Reformed thinkers, God is the sole determiner of salvation and truth: "[In Calvin] God's gifts do not amount to a salary for services rendered, but are pure graciousness on God's part. As a consequence it makes for greater adoration of God and a more thorough self-abandonment to divine Providence, without any forethought or afterthought of merits or rewards."⁵ This theological legacy is one of absolute and radi-

¹ The likes of Zwingli and Bullinger had of course spearheaded the Reformation in Switzerland, but Calvin's historical legacy, as well as his theological significance, far eclipses these two figures. See Bruce Gordon, *The Swiss Reformation* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2002), esp. pp. 147-190. Cf. also Alister McGrath, *Christian Theology: An Introduction* (Oxford University Press, 2011 ed.), pp. 47-48.

² For an excellent recent study, see Brad S. Gregory, *The Unintended Reformation: How a Religious Revolution Secularized Society* (Harvard University Press, 2012), esp. Chapters 2 and 4.

³ *Sola Scriptura*, the treatment of scripture as the major authoritative source for faith and practice, is also often numbered with the *solae*. These, and related Reformation principles, were most clearly and famously set out in The Augsburg Confession (see, e.g., Article IV).

⁴ For Reformed theology, both Christ and the faith required to have saving knowledge of Christ are both, equally, gifts from God (without any human origination).

⁵ George H. Tavard, *The Starting Point of Calvin's Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing, 2000), pp. 185-186. In this vein, there is no divide (*continued on next page*)

cal dependence on the divine, with extreme suspicion toward any hint of reliance on human power, faculties, or institutions.

In the 20th century that legacy endured in the vast theological movement inaugurated by Karl Barth (1886-1968), who is often hailed as the era's greatest Protestant mind.⁶ Dubbed variously as neo-orthodoxy, dialectical theology, or theology of crisis, Barth's thought dominated the theological scene of Europe and North America in the period surrounding the World Wars, with significant force continuing up to the present day. Barth was a powerful thinker, and that power was nowhere more forcefully displayed than in theological combat, where he set out to dismantle those perspectives which he thought dangerous to a proper perspective on the sovereign grace of God. Above all, Barth was determined to sniff out and assail any vestige of modernist liberalism in theology. This is one of the principal reasons why Barth's theological orbit is referred to as *neo-orthodoxy*, for between the Reformation and his own day, particularly during the post-Enlightenment era, Barth perceived the orthodoxy of Christianity's past to have been eclipsed by that great enemy of Reformed thought: the augmentation of human reason and the diminishing of God's saving revelation.⁷ Above all, Barth had no patience for so-called "natural theology," a subdivision of Christian thought that constructed its theological axioms without reference to the Bible, basing its insights solely on human reason, experience, and knowledge of the world.⁸ Barth found such reliance on humanity's own capabilities to be dangerous in the extreme.

between the thought of John Calvin and Martin Luther. There are many penetrating studies available, among them the now-classic Philip S. Watson, *Let God Be God! An Interpretation of the Theology of Martin Luther* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1947). In many ways, the Reformation tied particularly this current in its theology back to Augustine. See e.g. B.B. Warfield's *Calvin and Augustine* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company, 1956).

⁶ "The Swiss writer Karl Barth is now virtually universally regarded as the greatest Protestant theologian of the twentieth century, and possibly since the Reformation" (McGrath, *Christian Theology*, p. 76). Cf. John Webster, *Karl Barth* (London: Continuum, 2000), p. 1; Webster claims that Barth is "the most important Protestant theologian since Schleiermacher."

⁷ See Karl Barth's *Die protestantische Theologie im 19. Jahrhundert* (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1947/1952).

⁸ For succinct critical discussion on the definition and scope of natural theology, see Stephen Spencer, "Is Natural Theology Biblical?" *Grace Theological Journal*, Vol. 9.1, pp. 59-62 (1988); cf. also John Macquarrie, "Natural Theology," in *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Modern Christian Thought*, ed. Alister McGrath (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), p. 402.

But his theological positions, owing to their uncompromising nature, could be contentious. As we will see in this study, Barth famously clashed with another Swiss neo-orthodox figure, Emil Brunner, over just this range of issues. Their academic firefight, perhaps the most public and aggressive debate of its kind in contemporary theology, highlights key issues which arise from the very heart of the Swiss Reformed tradition: Does humanity play any part at all in the knowing of God or in the process of receiving divine grace? Is there no truth of God to be found anywhere but in God's own direct revelatory acts? Is a human solely a broken and passive creature, completely and utterly transformed by a sovereign act of divine power? Barth and Brunner offered what may seem to be only slightly different answers to these questions, but Barth's castigation of Brunner's views turned out to be notably extreme. This study aims to describe how it was not only the Reformed heritage of Barth's theology which occasioned his outrage, but also a vital and contemporary problem for the church in his day: the rise of Nazism and the compromise of many Christians in the face of it. Our task, then, will be primarily descriptive, seeking to unfold the intersecting layers of high-level theological concern and historical circumstance that produced Barth and Brunner's famous clash.

Barth's "Strange New World"

Barth was born in 1886, in Basel. His father taught theology in various capacities, and the young Karl attended confirmation classes gladly; his family background and religious upbringing whetted his burgeoning appetite for knowledge, and he resolved to study theology.⁹ His education took him variously to Bern, Berlin, Tübingen, and Marburg (though he, somewhat infamously, never attained an earned doctorate). His theological development proceeded under the auspices of leading German Protestant scholars, such as Adolf von Harnack. In the context of Barth's university years, theological liberalism held sway. Throughout the foregoing two centuries, science and historical criticism had brandished their axes in the shade of age-old doctrinal axioms, chopping away at the mighty trees of supernaturalism, divine

⁹ Ederhard Busch, *Karl Barth: His Life from Letters and Autobiographical Texts*, trans. John Bowden (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976), 30-32. Also Webster, *Karl Barth*,

transcendence, and the notion of an inspired canon of scripture.¹⁰ In short, the emergence of a critical historical consciousness, the success of the sciences, and the march of secularism had rendered the Christian faith moorless in the wide oceans of academic inquiry.¹¹ These momentous shifts in the bedrock of faith resulted primarily from a movement away from a thick *theocentrism* (where God and God's revelation are the sources and norms of all theological knowledge) to an express *anthropocentrism* (where the concerns of man and the discoveries of rational inquiry, apart from revelation, become directive). Roger Olson sums up the implicit perspective of liberal Protestantism: "The human, not God, stands at the center of the proud edifice of knowledge."¹²

In the Christian past, it was humanity's brokenness, owing to their sinful—or "fallen"—state, that inhibited them from knowing God on their own; humans were seen as dependent on God for both true knowledge and eternal salvation. But under *neo-Protestantism*—a common moniker for the liberal-modernist line of thinking—such venerable notions are jettisoned; it is no longer solely by the gracious act of God that man could gain knowledge of the divine, but rather "[there] is always something which can be affirmed about man for which he is not with ultimate practical seriousness dependent upon God but which he himself brings, as it were, in his own name and by his own right to the relations between them."¹³ A soaring optimism derived from human reason defined the neo-Protestant tide in which Barth was academically immersed.

However, an intense period of intellectual discord lay just ahead for him. Following university, he began serving as a pastor in the town

¹⁰ Along with the felling of these axioms, core doctrinal affirmations of Christianity were repudiated or severely redefined, e.g. Adam's transmission of original sin to all humanity; the virginal conception of Jesus; the atoning death on the cross; the historical resurrection of Jesus, etc.

¹¹ Historical surveys of these developments are legion. The following are representative as well as general enough to be useful to the non-specialist; from a *cultural historical* viewpoint, see Richard Tarnas, *The Passion of the Western Mind* (New York: Ballantine, 1991), pp. 248-354; Peter Watson, *Ideas: A History of Thought and Invention from Fire to Freud* (New York: Harper, 2005), pp. 458-549; from an expressly theological viewpoint, see William E. Placher, *A History of Christian Theology* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1983), Chapters 15 and 17; Roger Olson, *The Journey of Modern Theology* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2013), pp. 31-211.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 98. Cf. also *ibid.*, pp. 72-97.

¹³ Paul Lehmann, "Barth and Brunner: The Dilemma of the Protestant Mind," *The Journal of Religion*, Vol. 30, 2, p. 120 (April 1940):
https://scholar.archive.byu.edu/bahs_review/vol51/iss1/11

of Safenwil in the Swiss canton of Aargau. And it was here that the rigors of pastoral care and intense engagement with the biblical texts began to shake Barth to his core. The “bourgeois religious ethos of his teachers” seemed to ring remarkably hollow outside the halls of the great universities,¹⁴ and he was “driven to rethink and challenge all that he had been taught.”¹⁵ Barth’s allegiance to liberal theology had started to falter somewhat in previous years, owing to Barth’s support for labor movements and socialism,¹⁶ but now two colossal developments forever confirmed his departure from this school of thought. First, in plunging into the pastoral and kerygmatic study of the Bible, Barth famously claimed to uncover a “strange new world” there,¹⁷ a world that he described in increasingly ecstatic and radical terms, a “wild” and “original” world that fundamentally overthrew any liberal attempt to augment man and diminish God, or to seek out the divine and name it in human terms.¹⁸ The second development arose from the historical circumstances surrounding the advent of the Great War, when many of Barth’s theological instructors “signed a declaration of support for the Kaiser,”¹⁹ and thus, in Barth’s eyes, unveiled the foundationally flawed nature of their theology. Looking upon his teachers’ glaring compromise with German imperialism, Barth found that he could “[no longer] accept their ethics or dogmatics, their Biblical exegesis, their interpretation of history.”²⁰

The impact of Barth’s radical new orientation was first felt in the publication of his book *Der Römerbrief*, a powerful commentary on

¹⁴ Webster, *Karl Barth*, p. 4.

¹⁵ Rodney Holder, *The Heavens Declare: Natural Theology and the Legacy of Karl Barth* (West Conshohocken, PA: Templeton Press, 2012), p. 16. See also Olson, *Journey of Modern Theology*, p. 302.

¹⁶ “Barth’s liberal assurances were initially undermined by his exposure to the Swiss social democratic movement, then at its height” (Webster, *Karl Barth*, p. 4); cf. also Placher, *History of Christian Theology*, p. 292.

¹⁷ See Karl Barth, “The Strange New World Within the Bible,” in *The Word of God and the Word of Man*, trans. D. Horton (Gloucester: Peter Smith, 1978).

¹⁸ See e.g. Barth’s correspondence in this timeframe with his friend and fellow pastor Eduard Thurneysen in *Revolutionary Theology in the Making*, trans. James D. Smart (John Knox Press, 1964), especially p. 43 (Barth to Thurneysen, Sept. 27, 1917).

¹⁹ Webster, *Karl Barth*, p. 4.

²⁰ Barth, *God, Gospel, and Grace*, trans. James McNab, *Scottish Journal of Theology Occasional Papers* No. 8 (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1959), p. 57; also idem., *The Humanity of God*, trans. J.N. Thomas (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1960), p. 14. Cf.

the book of Romans that emphasized *in extremis* the other-worldly and untamable nature of the Christian faith:

The Gospel proclaims a God utterly distinct from men. Salvation comes to them from Him, because they are, as men, incapable of knowing Him, and because they have no right to claim anything from Him. The Gospel is not one thing in the midst of other things, to be directly apprehended and comprehended. The Gospel is the Word of the Primal Origin of all things, the Word which, since it is ever new, must ever be received with renewed fear and trembling.²¹

The tone of the *Römerbrief* (in both its initial 1919 and heavily revised 1922 manifestations) is anti-liberal on every level, defying all notions which suppose divine revelation might be tamed by human standards or pre-defined by the idealistic and idolizing power of human reason.²²

Dialectic Over Compromise

We see then that Barth's unique point of departure is an express repudiation of any theology of *compromise*. Liberalism, in Barth's view, had compromised the doctrinal core of the Christian faith, and thus found itself easily compromised in the face of the Kaiser's war policies. And we can see exactly what Barth thought had been compromised when we look again at a passage from the *Römerbrief*: "Men hold the truth imprisoned in unrighteousness.[...] [They] become to themselves what God ought to be to them. [...] Forgetting the awful gulf by which they are separated from Him, they enter upon a relation with Him which would be possible only if he were not God."²³ By ensconsing God within categories of historical, scientific, or rational justification, liberal theology sets God "in the midst of other things" as though he could be studied, probed, measured, and declared in accordance with human intellect and wisdom. For Barth, this will not do. His Reformed Swiss heritage blazes through in his *radical affirmation of the grace of God*; God saves mankind be-

²¹ *The Epistle to the Romans* (Oxford University Press, 1968 ed.), p. 28.

²² Olson, *Journey of Modern Theology*, p. 303: "Throughout the commentary on Romans [Barth] emphasized the otherness of God, the gospel as a message humans cannot tell themselves, the difference between time and eternity and salvation as wholly a gift of God that cannot be in any sense a human achievement."

²³ *Epistle to the Romans*, p. 244
https://scholar.archive.byu.edu/sahs_review/vol51/iss1/11

cause God is gracious; knowledge of God only comes through God's gracious revealing of himself. Because of the polarity between God and man (rather than a continuum between them, as envisioned in liberal thought), Barth's early theology promoted a *dialectical* method of doing theology; this means that Barth proceeded with constant, oscillating attention paid to two seemingly contradictory facts: the utter lostness of man and the supreme majesty of God. Grace, for Barth, must be radical because of the "infinite qualitative distinction" between God and man, a notion that he takes up from Kierkegaard.²⁴ This vast gulf between sinful creature and holy Creator, traversable only by divine grace, was, for Barth, "the theme of the Bible and the essence of philosophy."²⁵

Though the commentary on Romans was a powerful opening volley for Barth's assault on liberalism, his major contribution to Christian thought is not solely polemical but also constructive. His neo-orthodox commitments resuscitated many of the core themes of classic Reformed theology, but did so in often startling new ways, combining tremendous intellectual energy, a deep reading of pre-Enlightenment theology, and soaring rhetoric that, especially later in Barth's career, turned more toward powerful descriptions and confessions of theological truth, rather than defenses of it in the academic sense.²⁶ Around 1930, Barth moved away somewhat from the harsh dialecticalism of his early theology, focusing more intently on the gracious acts of God toward humanity (as attested in scripture) and less on the disjunction between the world and God. It was following this more positive, analogical way of speaking about God and humanity that Barth began work on his *magnum opus*, the voluminous *Church Dogmatics (Kirchliche Dogmatik)*.²⁷ This was his systematic theology, covering all arenas of Christian doctrine, in dialogue with both past thinkers and present concerns. And, though it

²⁴ For more on Barth's dialectical emphasis, and his indebtedness to Kierkegaard's formulation of dialectic, see Olson, *Journey of Modern Theology*, p. 304; A. Crabtree, "Some Recent Trends in Swiss Theology," *The Baptist Quarterly*, Vol. 12.5, p. 144 (January 1947); Helmut Gollwitzer, "Introduction," in Barth's *Church Dogmatics: A Selection*, trans. G.W. Bromiley (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), p. 8; Julia Watkin, *Kierkegaard* (London: Continuum, 1997), pp. 99-101.

²⁵ Barth, *Epistle to the Romans*, p. 10.

²⁶ Webster, *Karl Barth*, p. 7.

²⁷ Another key work which served as a turning point in these stages of Barth's career was his book on Anselm of Canterbury, *Fides Quaerens Intellectum*, trans. I.W. Robertson (London: SCM Press, 1960). The conversation surrounding the (*continued on next page*)

was unfinished by the time of Barth's death, the thirteen volumes of the *Dogmatics* contain statements on Christology, the Trinity, the church, and salvation that fundamentally recalibrated the discussion of those doctrines by all subsequent theologians.²⁸

But alongside all such contributions to wider topics in Christian theology, Barth's fundamental orientation concerning knowledge of God remained forever colored by his strong reaction to liberalism's theological compromises. This is reflected immediately at the start of Volume 1 of the *Dogmatics* (appearing in 1932), for, rather than starting with the standard prolegomena on epistemology or historical hermeneutics, Barth thunderously declares that theology need not (and, in fact, cannot) justify itself from any basis or foregoing commitments other than the diligent proclamation of the acts of God and testimony to the "Word of God."²⁹ In many ways, this radical confessionalism freed theology from the strictures of having to justify itself according to the academic standards of worldly inquiry. However, Barth's intense separation of God from man, and thus of theology from any other form of academic discourse, has sometimes been read negatively:

Prolegomenal discussion often seeks to construct a platform [outside theology—in history, philosophy, etc.] from which theology can be launched[....] Why does Barth refuse to travel this path? His refusal has often been read as signaling theology's withdrawal into a closed,

various "stages" of Barth's theological development is quite academically cantankerous. This author follows the assessment of Swiss Catholic Hans Urs von Balthasar (*The Theology of Karl Barth*, trans. J. Drury [New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston, 1971]) that Barth displays two prominent shifts in his theology: the first from liberalism to his dialectical phase and the second from his more negative dialectics to his more constructive focus on analogy as a way of speaking about God. Barth himself seems to have agreed with this delineation of his own theological career: see Barth, *The Humanity of God*, pp. 44-45. See also Olson's judicious discussions of Barth's development in *Journey of Modern Theology*, pp. 305n12, 307n15.

²⁸ For instance, Karl Barth (along with the Catholic thinker Karl Rahner) is widely recognized for re-vivifying the doctrine of the Trinity, making it central to Christian discourse in a manner virtually unprecedented in church history; see Stanley Grenz, *Rediscovering the Triune God: The Trinity in Contemporary Theology* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress Press, 2004), Chapter 2; also *Trinitarian Theology After Barth*, eds. Myk Habets & Phillip Tolliday, Princeton Theological Monographs 148 (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2011).

²⁹ See Barth, *Church Dogmatics* I/1, section 1 and 2. Cf. also, Webster, *Karl Barth*, p. 53; Olson, *Journey of Modern Theology*, pp. 307-308; Holder, *The Heavens Declare*, pp. 111-113; https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/sahs_review/vol51/iss1/11

isolated world—into what Barth himself rather troublingly called its “self-enclosed circle” into which “there can be no entering...from without” ([CD] I/1, p. 42).³⁰

The self-enclosed circle of theology remains closed for Barth because, in his perspective, the *word of God* does not refer to the words of scripture itself (which would then be subject to textual and historical science), but to “an act which God undertakes.”³¹ For Barth, there are no conditions that humans can cultivate which make possible God’s revelation; on their own, nothing of God can be known to them. For Barth, God is wholly *self-revealing*, meaning that God creates the conditions for revelation as well as the possibility of even receiving that revelation.³² Again, we note the theme: it is wholly and solely God, in grace, that makes knowledge of the divine possible.

Barth’s radically stated perspective also, especially in the first volume of the *Dogmatics*, targeted “religion” and “natural theology,” both of which Barth saw as dangerous notions of humanity somehow domesticating God and acquiring knowledge of God through means other than God’s self-revelation. Barth famously and imperiously proclaimed “Religion is unbelief.”³³ But this extreme statement must be understood by realizing that, for Barth, “religion” stands for the idolization of non-divine things; thus, in Barth’s usage, religion stood for something that historic Christian orthodoxy had opposed.

But in the case of “natural theology,” Barth was confronting an area of Christian thought with a powerful pedigree in the history of the church. Natural theology, as we’ve noted, is simply the notion that aspects of the knowledge of God (though far from complete or salvific) can be perceived and rationalized by human beings and seen in the works of God, such as the design and sustenance of the created order. Barth, however, rejected even this possibility, critiquing natural theology along the same strident lines that he criticized liberal theology:

Natural theology is the doctrine of a union of man with God existing outside God’s revelation with Jesus Christ.[...] [This] sphere

³⁰ Webster, *Karl Barth*, p. 54; cf. also *ibid.*, p. 51.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

³² Barth’s greatest exposition of this weighty theological points can be found in *Church Dogmatics*, II/1, pp. 18-178.

arises and exists in the fact that man depends on himself over against God. But this means that in actual fact God becomes unknowable to him and he makes himself equal to God. For the man who refuses his grace, God becomes the substance of the highest that [man] himself can see, choose, create, and be. It is of this that he gives an account in natural theology (CD II/1, p. 168).³⁴

Barth's maturing theology became increasingly stark in its articulations of these points. Because of man's fallen state, Barth denied the possibility of any sort of "point of contact" that man possessed in-and-of himself; God creates the receptivity to his revelation as a point of his revelatory action.

As a leader of the counter-movement to liberal theology, Barth had amassed a strong following of other, like-minded theologians. But his resonant assault on the idea of any human receptivity, knowledge, ability or operation in the process of seeking and knowing God would bring him into sharp conflict with another Swiss neo-orthodox thinker. Emil Brunner, a longtime admirer and friend of Barth's, rose to offer challenge, claiming that, in this one aspect at least, Barth had gone too far.

Knowledge, Nature, and *Nein!*

Brunner's disagreement with Barth simmered through the early portions of their careers, mostly overshadowed by the many theological points they had in common. J.E. Humphrey well sums the foundational points of agreement between Brunner and Barth:

[The] fact that Holy Scripture alone is regarded as the source and norm of the church's proclamation; that this proclamation is understood as a message centering alone in the free and sovereign grace of God who comes with salvation to enslaved man; that salvation is offered in the cross of Christ; that the Holy Spirit enables the assimilation of the word of the cross; and that Christian action on the part of the church and of the individual believer is always under the primary command of God.³⁵

³⁴ See further Holder, *The Heavens Declare*, p. 18.

https://shoaharchive.byu.edu/SAHS_Review/vol51/iss1/47-48.

However, in the first chapter of Brunner's magisterial work on Christology, which first appeared in 1927, we can note a keen difference between Barth and Brunner's thoughts on the issue of "general revelation." General revelation refers, theologically, to the notion that some knowledge of God could be gleaned from the created order, from humanity's interiority (conscience, rationality), and from history itself. Of course, for Barth, a rejection of natural theology means a rejection of general revelation—there is no revelation other than the specific self-revelation of God, entirely within the gamut of God's sovereign grace; man sees nothing of God on his own; man is utterly lost. Brunner would agree that God's revelation is not to be found in "the human soul" but "this does not mean, however, that the Christian faith altogether denies this idea of 'universal revelation....[and] this does not mean that it is unable to discern traces of truth in all forms of religion and traces of God in all existence and in all thought.'"³⁶ Brunner goes even further; in thick contrast to Barth's assessment of "religion as unbelief," he states that the unredeemed person ("natural man") does in fact possess truth, though that truth is "distorted." With this affirmation Brunner could then claim, "No religion in the world, even the most primitive, is without some elements of truth."³⁷ Brunner attests that man's *natural reason* is able to achieve *a knowledge of the divine* that he characterizes as a kind of "twilight knowledge."³⁸

Brunner should not be misunderstood. He overtly declares the supremacy and finality of true faith in Christ. Scattered elements of truth may be blindly stumbled upon by those lost in sin, but the only mediation of true saving grace and knowledge is through the specific time-and-space events constituting the life, teachings, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ.³⁹ However, he also implied, even if only in the most limited of senses, a co-operative or interlocking relationship between the natural state of human consciousness and God's revelation: "The locus in which revelation and the spirit of man meet each other...consists in receptivity... The negative point of contact [*Berührungspunkt*] is a consciousness of vital need which is at the same time a consciousness of guilt."⁴⁰

³⁶ Brunner, *The Mediator: A Study of the Central Doctrine of the Christian Faith*, trans. Olive Wyon (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1947), pp. 30-32.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

³⁹ This powerful agreement with historic Christian orthodoxy, as well as the Reformation thematic center of Brunner's book *The Mediator*, is

All of these affirmations—the scattered fragments of truth available to religion, sinful humanity, and the human consciousness aware of its own guilt—seemed to Barth to verge on that very error which he had dedicated himself to defeating: the combination of God’s revelation with an “and”, that is, with something “in addition to” or “alongside it.” For Barth, anything supplementary to God’s self-revelation, no matter how fragmentary or distorted, was still a pivotal step down the road of liberal neo-Protestantism or worse: “Even if we only lend our little finger to natural theology, there necessarily follows the denial of the revelation of God in Jesus Christ.”⁴¹

Across various letters and publications, this disagreement between Barth and Brunner grew to a steadily more feverish pitch between 1927 and 1934. Their interactions tended to follow a pattern during this time: Brunner would state his nuancing of his own position; Barth would critique this and claim it to be heading down a decidedly dangerous path; Brunner would qualify and explicate further;⁴² Barth would counter that the qualifications do not matter because the orientation of Brunner’s language and thought still pointed in the wrong direction (toward a theology of “revelation-and-something else”).⁴³ Throughout their discussions, Brunner extends the olive branch of peace and consistently bemoans the “scandal” their quarrel has become in the wider world of theology.⁴⁴ But in contrast to Brunner’s insistence that “their views are not that far apart,” Barth declares that “what exists between us... is a question of an Either-Or, which one cannot remove by friendly sentiments.”⁴⁵

⁴⁰ Brunner, *The Philosophy of Religion from the Standpoint of Protestant Theology*, trans. A.J.D. Farrer and Bertram Lee Woolf (New York: Scribners, 1937); cited in Hart, *Karl Barth vs. Emil Brunner*, p. 82.

⁴¹ CD II/1, p. 173.

⁴² A major factor in these correspondences, as we see throughout the presentation by Hart in *Barth vs. Brunner*, is the interpersonal clash occasioned by “Barth’s bluntness and Brunner’s sensitivity” (Hart, 35[-36]). Brunner was often driven to respond to Barth after Barth had felt he had concluded his piece on a matter, which would exasperate Barth and drive him to pen replies which stung Brunner.

⁴³ Beyond doubt, one of the most thorough and neutral recountings of these varied correspondences and debates between Barth and Brunner is John W. Hart’s *Karl Barth vs. Emil Brunner: The Formation and Dissolution of a Theological Alliance, 1916-1936* (New York: Peter Lang, 2001), esp. pp. 81-169.

⁴⁴ Personal correspondence from Brunner to Barth; see Hart, *Barth vs. Brunner*, 148-150.

In 1934 Brunner published a monograph entitled *Natur und Gnade* [*Nature and Grace*] in which he sought to lay their debate out in the open as clearly as possible.⁴⁶ He hoped to delineate his and Barth's differences of opinion, as well as set his own positions against the areas where he thought that Barth had gone awry. It is clear that, though we know from personal correspondence that Brunner found Barth's teaching against natural theology to be "not entirely biblical and...not entirely Reformed," he hoped the publication would allow for some form of reconciliation ("co-partnership" and "fellowship") between Barth and himself, so that they might be able to "struggle" together for the sake of the biblical message.⁴⁷ Despite Brunner's hopes, this was not to be the case. The publication of *Nature and Grace* set off the most explosive stage in the Barth-Brunner controversy.

The monograph is not very long, and its goals are simple enough: it sets out to describe six allegedly incorrect theses of Barth and counter them with six theses of Brunner's own. For the purposes of this exposition, we will only have space to examine theses (and counters) 1, 2, and 5. We can list these in short enough order:

(1) Barth's Position: "The image of God in which [mankind] was created is obliterated entirely."⁴⁸

Brunner's Counter-Position: The image of God has two aspects: "one formal and one material." The material aspect refers to man's standing before God and true knowledge of God; this has been lost by the fall into sin.⁴⁹ But the formal aspect remains. The formal aspect refers to humanity's unique ability to be spoken to and communicated with, and it also refers to humanity's capacity for responsibility. Since a human subject can be addressed by God, it can receive God's revelatory communication (something that non-human animals cannot do).⁵⁰

⁴⁶ An English translation of Brunner's monograph, as well as Barth's reply to it, are now happily found in a single volume: *Natural Theology: Comprising 'Nature and Grace' by Professor Dr. Emil Brunner and the reply 'No!' by Dr. Karl Barth*, trans. P. Fraenkel (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2002 ed.). Footnoted references to these texts will be designated simply and separately as *Nature and Grace* and "No!".

⁴⁷ Personal correspondence from Brunner to Barth, in Hart, *Barth vs. Brunner*, p. 150.

⁴⁸ "Nature and Grace," p. 20.

⁴⁹ See Humphrey's exposition of Brunner's theological anthropology, *Emil Brunner*, pp. 66-69.

(2) Barth's Position: "[Every] attempt to assert a 'general revelation' of God in nature, in the conscience and in history, is to be rejected outright."⁵¹

Brunner's Counter-Position: "The world is a creation of God. In every creation the spirit of the creator is in some ways recognizable. The artist is known by all his works. . . .Wherever God does anything, he leaves the imprint of his nature upon what he does. Therefore the creation of the world is at the same time a revelation, a self-communication of God. The same is true of what is usually called 'conscience' . . ."⁵²

(5) Barth's Position: There is no "point of contact [within humanity] for the saving action of God. For this would contradict the sole activity of the saving grace of Christ, which is the centre of the theology of the Bible and the Reformation."⁵³

Brunner's Counter-Position: "No one who agrees that only human subjects but not sticks [sic] and stones can receive the Word of God and the Holy Spirit can deny that there is such a thing as a point of contact for the divine grace of redemption. This point of contact is the formal *imago Dei* [image of God] . . . [the] capacity for words [*Wortmächtigkeit*] and responsibility."⁵⁴

Analyzing the theses indicates quite clearly that (1) and (5) are essentially related to a single issue: the image of God in man. This leaves (2) to shoulder the question of God's revelation in nature, conscience, etc. In short, what we have here, between Barth and Brunner, are the questions we started with in our brief glance at Calvin and Reformed thought: Does man receive God's grace, or must God receive it for him? Is God only knowable through direct acts of gracious revelation, or can knowledge of him be gained through other means as well? The Swiss

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 20.

⁵² Ibid., pp. 24-25. Cf. Brunner's very similar early discourse in *The Mediator*, esp. pp. 30-33 and footnotes. Brunner is also very careful at this point in *Nature and Grace* to indicate that "the revelation in creation is not sufficient" for salvation, and that sinful humanity takes that natural revelation and twists it into idolatrous forms of worship; thus only true (that is, corrected) natural knowledge of God can be found once one has been saved by Christ and become a part of his church (pp. 26-27).

⁵³ Ibid., p. 21.

inheritance in theology, especially in its Reformed manifestations, is hugely centered upon and colored by these queries.

What, then, did Barth have to say to these points by Brunner? Brunner expressed trepidation about Barth's reaction to *Nature and Grace*, especially when he did not see any kind of immediate response from Barth.⁵⁵ They exchanged some tense letters, one of which Barth concluded with, "Humanly-speaking as before, with sincere greetings, but theologically-speaking with the deepest imaginable concerns."⁵⁶ Then came Barth's formal published reply, sporting quite possibly the shortest title in the history of theological writing: "*Nein!*" ("No!").

Barth's aggressive response refuses any real stage of debate, for he does not even want to accept the theses that Brunner ascribed to him in *Nature and Grace*. (Barth does not directly deny the theses, however, and he certainly does not agree with any of Brunner's counter-theses.) Rather, Barth wants to stand above the whole discussion; for him, natural theology is not even really worthy of being discussed and debated by "true theologians." With characteristic austerity Barth proclaims

By 'natural theology' I mean every (positive *or* negative) *formulation of a system* which claims to be theological, i.e. to interpret divine revelation, whose *subject*, however, differs fundamentally from the revelation in Jesus Christ and whose *method* therefore differs equally from the exposition of Holy Scripture.⁵⁷

Jesus Christ and Holy Scripture—these are the central lynchpins around which all theological statements must revolve for Barth. By making this initial statement about himself and his theological method, Barth writes as though he has removed himself from any possible critique along the lines that Brunner presents. He is then content to simply assail Brunner's counter-theses.

Barth's strategy for dismantling Brunner's vision is to claim that, from a Reformed theological perspective, each one of the counter-theses jeopardizes a properly radical perspective on divine grace. Any hint of any human contribution or co-working with God, either in the course

⁵⁵ Hart, *Barth vs. Brunner*, pp. 153-154.

⁵⁶ Personal correspondence from Barth to Brunner, in *ibid.*, p. 156.

⁵⁷ Barth, "'No!' Reply to Emil Brunner," pp. 74-75. Cf. Hart, *Barth vs. Brunner*,

of knowing God or salvation,⁵⁸ is wholly unacceptable. Concerning (1), "Barth thinks that either the formal/material distinction is irrelevant or it leads to a human contribution to salvation."⁵⁹ What does this mean? Brunner has affirmed, along with Calvin, that man is a sinner through-and-through and can do nothing for his salvation. For Barth, however, anything, even a merely formal human capacity, that is anterior to the gracious, saving act of God is the equivalent to a "contribution" to their salvation. Barth claims that when Brunner talks about humanity's *Wort-mächtigkeit* [capacity for words], which is the "formal aspect" of the *imago Dei*, Brunner is implying that this is actually a capacity for revelation [*Offenbarungsmächtigkeit*].⁶⁰ Barth is not saying that a communicative and rational ability does not distinguish man from the animals; of course it does. But being distinguished from the animals by such a capacity does not mean that man is *suited to receive God's revelation* because of that capacity: "Even as a sinner man is man and not a tortoise. But does that mean that his reason is therefore more 'suited' for defining the nature of God than anything else in the world?"⁶¹ It is along these same lines that Barth attacks Brunner's notion of a "point of contact"—the idea of the communicative capacity being what allows a person to receive God's revelation. To Barth, this is either nonsensical or else it is "a remainder of some original righteousness, an openness and readiness for God" which would contravene the proper teaching on humanity's enslavement to sin and thus undermine the singularity of divine grace.⁶²

When it comes to discussing the knowledge of God in creation, Barth notes keenly that Brunner had failed to explicate in what sense

⁵⁸ It is important to recognize that in Reformed Protestant traditions, the "noetic effects" of sin make *true knowledge of God* tantamount to *salvation*, and vice versa. Only the saved person knows God. For a recent examination of Reformed objections to natural theology (although almost purely from an epistemological angle) see Michael Sudduth, *The Reformed Objection to Natural Theology* (Burlington, VA & Surrey, UK: Ashgate Publishing, 2013).

⁵⁹ Hart, *Barth vs. Brunner*, p. 158.

⁶⁰ Barth, "No!", pp. 79-80.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 88-89. Joan O'Donovan has also summed this point well: "Brunner, as Barth is quick to notice, is unable to sustain his formal definition of person, being compelled by his dialectic of nature and grace to elaborate the formal *imago* in terms of material capacities of knowing God's nature and will" ("Man in the Image of God: The Disagreement Between Barth and Brunner Reconsidered," *Scottish Journal of Theology*, Vol. 41, 1998, pp. 1-15).
https://scholarship.byu.edu/sahs_review/vol51/iss1/11

God might be known in this way. Barth thinks that either the person is knowing only an idol, which is not knowledge of God at all, or they would be knowing God, and this they would be doing apart from grace, thus endangering a proper view of gracious salvation yet again!

Barth believes [this part of Brunner's argument] validates his suspicion of Brunner's material/formal distinction: what the natural person will "somehow" know by herself is either her own projections or else the true God. If it is the true God (as Brunner intends), even if this knowledge is darkened by sin, this means that there are two kinds of revelation, one with and the other without the Holy Spirit.⁶³

The only other option from this compromise of grace would be that what is perceived in nature is only a hugely distorted knowledge of God, and this, says Barth, would mean that "the God revealed in nature is not known to, but rather is very much hidden from man. What would then become of the *theologia naturalis*?"⁶⁴

Conflict in Context—Reformed Heritage and the Rise of Hitler

In short, to every stage of Brunner's "ands" (God's revelation in Jesus Christ *and* general revelation in creation *and* humanity's *Wortmächtigkeit*), Barth issues an emphatic *nein!* Though Brunner had at no point indicated any sort of desire to compromise the Reformed understanding of Christian salvation, this was the crime with which Barth continuously charged him.

The debate has been evaluated variously in the decades since, with many commentators seeing Brunner as too lacking in clarity and Barth as too abundant in criticism. But far from wanting to posit a suggestion on whether Barth or Brunner had the better theological position, this paper sees their famous debate as a key illustration of an explosive intersection between two strands in Swiss theological history. The first concerns the more distant past; as alluded to at the beginning of the paper, it is the heritage of uncompromising Reformed theology. This is the one we have seen exemplified throughout the study thus far. But there is something more at play in the conflict between Barth and Brunner, and this second element concerns the far

⁶³ Hart, *Barth vs. Brunner*, p. 159.

more immediate past—the *rise of Hitler and Christian complicity with Nazism*. In many senses, Barth and Brunner’s conflict, and the sometimes hyper-aggressive tenor of it, cannot be understood without both these backgrounds.

John Calvin’s theological legacy is both rich and embattled. Doctrines like double-predestination⁶⁵ and God’s causing and directing of painful events for the sake of a mysterious providential plan⁶⁶ can certainly occasion critique from other schools of theology. But Calvin’s critics too often neglect his chief concern, which was, to a large extent, the graciousness and glory of God.⁶⁷ The logic of this core Christian tenet underlies practically all of Calvinism’s unique formulations, even in their more radical forms. The thinking goes that the more we acknowledge our helplessness to do anything, or possess anything, or know anything, that contributes to our salvation, then the more God’s grace in saving us is to be praised and the more God’s glory can be seen in its fullest majesty. Barth’s reaction to Brunner, as we clearly saw, continuously directed attention to this central theological fulcrum: God saves us, and he needs nothing from us to do so.⁶⁸ In a sense, then, their debate (at least in Barth’s view) both hinged upon and illustrated this key and distinctive emphasis of Reformed thought and Swiss theological history.

⁶⁵ See John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, ed. by John T. McNeill; trans. from 1559. Lat. ed. by Ford Lewis Battles (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1960), Volume 3:23.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, Volume 1:211-12. Cf. The Westminster Confession, 5:4.

⁶⁷ In many senses, he is unified with Augustine in this orientation: “Both Augustine and Calvin were filled with the sense of sin and their complete dependence upon God for salvation. Their whole attitude was that of the publican: ‘God have mercy on me a sinner’” (J. Marcellus Kik, “Foreword,” in Warfield, *Calvin and Augustine*, p. vi). Cf. also the recent study by Billy Kristiano, *Soli Dei Gloria: The Glory of God in the Thought of John Calvin* (Frankfurt am Main : Lang, 2011).

⁶⁸ Barth employs an extended metaphor which well illustrates the doctrinal importance of this. Barth pictures a man drowning who lacks any ability whatsoever to swim (representing helpless, sinful humanity). A competent swimmer (representing God) dives in and pulls him to the surface—the salvific act here is purely gracious and solely dependent on the competent swimmer. Reflecting on Brunner’s arguments about human capacity, Barth asks, “Has not Brunner added to ‘man’s capacity for revelation,’ to what we have been assured is purely ‘formal,’ something very material: man’s practically proved ability to know God, imperfectly it may be, but nevertheless really and therefore surely no without relevance to salvation? Perhaps he can swim a little after all”

https://scholar.archive.byu.edu/sahs_review/vol51/iss1/11

But finally, and importantly, we turn our attention to the immediate cultural context of the Brunner-Barth debate. It is hugely significant that the zenith of their quarrel emerged concurrently with Barth's continuous denouncements against the group called the "German Christians," referring to those Christian leaders and thinkers in Germany who had not opposed the rise of Hitler and who had accepted Nazi and nationalist German ideology as a fitting partner for the revelatory content of Christianity.⁶⁹ The existence of such a historical movement, of unity between Nazism and avowed Christianity, may still drive contemporary readers to incredulity.⁷⁰ It was, in every way, the fullest expression of a "theology of compromise," the kind so despised by Barth. Trumping both neo-Protestantism and its assorted compromises, the German Christians in one of their earliest official documents dedicated themselves to "the overthrow of *humanitarianism born of the Judaic-Marxist spirit . . .* the emphasizing of a militant faith *in the service* of our God-given German nationality... the purification and preservation of the race . . . the inculcation of a new spirit into our Church leaders. . . ."⁷¹ Barth was enraged and horrified by these "Christian" statements and thereafter drafted what came to be known as the Barmen Declaration, one of the great examples of a *status confessionis* in recent history.⁷² Barth avowed, in the Declaration's very first proposition, that "We reject the false doctrine that the Church could and should recognize as a source of its proclamation, beyond and besides this one Word of God, yet other events, powers, historic figures, and truths as God's revelation."⁷³ A whole body of protesting pastors and theologians (which came to be known as the Con-

⁶⁹ The writings on the emergence of the German Christian movement during the Third Reich are legion. A straightforward historical introduction is Waldemar Gurian's *Hitler and the Christians* (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1981 [reprint]), originally published in Germany under the title *Der Kampf um die Kirche im Dritten Reich*. On the German Christians, see especially Gurian, pp. 67-104

⁷⁰ Incredulity aside, the historical realities are undeniable. Recent significant accounts of the level of theological compromise and complicity can be found in Doris Bergsen, *Twisted Cross: The German Christian Movement in the Third Reich* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996) and *Betrayal: German Churches and the Holocaust*, eds. R. Erickson & S. Heschel (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress Press, 1999).

⁷¹ Gurian, *Hitler and the Christians*, p. 69 (extracts from *Christliche Welt*, 1932, "Directions Regarding Ecclesiastical Affairs").

⁷² See *Kairos: Three Prophetic Challenges to the Church*, edited by R.M. Brown (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), pp. 7-8.

⁷³ *Kairos*, p. 156. The full text of the Declaration can be found in Appendix C. in

fessing Church) adopted this Barthian manifesto, and in so doing they stood over and against the appropriation of Christianity by the German Christians, maintaining that God's church was solely under the lordship of Jesus Christ and subject only to the revelation of God.⁷⁴

Barth interpreted the statement himself (in Barmen on January 6) as being not so much an attack on the German-Christians as a statement against the persistent error tempting the Protestant church throughout its history—the temptation to place a second authority alongside God's revelation in Scripture.⁷⁵

The importance of this cannot be overstated for the Barth-Brunner debate, for Brunner's *Nature and Grace* emerged during the *same year* that the Barman Declaration was drafted and adopted. Brunner's monograph also received a relatively warm reception from many German Christian theologians, a fact not lost on Barth, who viewed it as the absolute worst indication of guilt by association. With these elements of the contemporary situation laid out before us, there is no longer any mystery behind Barth's aggression toward *Nature and Grace*. He sees in it all manner of hints and trajectories that lead, in his mind, inexorably to compromise, at a time when just such compromise was raging throughout the land of Germany.⁷⁶ Barth in fact confesses this much right at the beginning of "*Nein!*":

The reason why I must resist Brunner so decidedly is that I am thinking of the future theology of compromise, that I regard him as its classical precursor, and that I have heard the applause with which all who are of a like mind have greeted his essay, *Nature and Grace*. [...] [The] applause of the 'German Christians' and their ilk... should convince [Brunner] that I am not wantonly branding him a heretic, but this is really how the matter stands.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ See Hart, *Barth vs. Brunner*, pp. 143-149; further Gurian, *Hitler and the Christians*, pp. 106-109.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

⁷⁶ Cf. Barth's protracted discussion here in CD II/1, pp. 172-178, where he discusses both the German Christian movement and the Barmen Declaration retrospectively, binding together very tightly the notions of natural theology and non-Christian ideology. He essentially declares that the former is the necessary door through which the latter must enter in order to corrupt the church, and even goes so far as to claim that "the demand [of German Christians] to recognize" Hitler was a "new form of natural theology" (p. 173).

Conclusion: Barth's "Sentry Duty"

Theologians and historians alike have constantly and zealously examined the Barth-Brunner argument of 1934, and it should be easy to see why. Theologians detect in their feud the constant issues which attend core theological intuitions, especially those of Calvinism and the Swiss Reformed tradition. Historians, of course, appreciate the powerful ways in which the contextual situation colored the energy and mood of their theological exchange.⁷⁸ Brunner, early on in *Nature and Grace*, commented on Barth's tone toward other theologians, which could be persecutorial at times, writing that Barth was like a "loyal soldier on sentry duty at night, who shoots everyone who does not give him the password as he has been commanded, and who therefore from time to time also annihilates a good friend whose password he does not hear or misunderstands in his eagerness."⁷⁹ Several years later, Brunner would remark quite lucidly on Barth's radical appropriation of the Reformers, saying that Barth attributed to them an opposition to natural theology that they themselves never actually espoused,⁸⁰ and there seems to be more than a grain of truth to this observation by Brunner. But from our perspective today, the "sentry duty" of Barth is far more interesting, and far more illustrative, simply taken as it appears at this stage in his theological career. A Swiss theologian, Barth guarded the core of his understanding of Christianity in service to both the past, in a Calvinistic reverence for radical grace, and the present, as the spokesman for the Confessing Church against the compromise of Nazism.

Bryan College

⁷⁸ It should be noted that we are not here claiming that Barth's reply to Brunner was simply contextual, or that he was "venting" on Brunner his anger at the German Christians, or anything else so simplistic. James Barr, in his Gifford Lectures, gives the appropriate nuance: "[It] is wrong to suppose that Barth's polemic against natural theology was conditioned *purely* by the political controversies. I am sure this is not so. All I suggest is that these political circumstances acted as catalyst for the theological disagreement which soon broke out" (*Biblical Faith and Natural Theology* [Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1993], p. 10n10), quoted in Holder, *Heavens Declare*, p. 35.

⁷⁹ "Nature and Grace," p. 16.

⁸⁰ See *Reason and Revelation*, trans. Olive Wyon (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1946), 61-62, and the footnotes. Brunner had noticed that Barth himself confessed to



Insignia of the Royal House of Habsburg.

A Brief History of the Relationship Between the Royal House of Habsburg and the Swiss Confederation

by Dwight Page

When the visitor to Vienna visits the royal palace of the Hofburg, he will note, inscribed on numerous pillars and monuments, the following inscription carved into the crest of the House of Habsburg: *Austriae Est Imperare Orbi Universo* or *Alles Erdereich ist Österreich Untertan*, meaning “The Entire Earth is Subject to the House of Austria.” Never has there been a more true declaration, for in the sixteenth century, during the reign of the Habsburg Emperor Charles V, the sun indeed never set on the Habsburg Empire: most



Virgil reading the Aeneid to the Emperor Augustus, Octavia, and Livia.

Credit: Jean-Baptiste Wicar, painter.

of central Europe, the Netherlands, Spain and the Spanish Empire in Mexico, Central and South America were at that time provinces of the global Habsburg Empire.

Such a prestigious Empire required an equally prestigious mythological and ideological basis. Thus, just as the Emperor Augustus had commissioned Virgil to write *The Aeneid* in order to illuminate the heroic Trojan origins of Rome and to justify Rome's claim to universal lordship over the earth, so did the Habsburg Emperors for centuries commission writers and genealogists to conduct research which would demonstrate that the royal house of Habsburg, like the Julio-Claudian royal house of ancient Rome, was the descendant of heroic and valiant ancestors, predestined by the Fates to rule the earth.¹

The attempts to emphasize the aristocratic and royal descent of the House, and to support the theory with genealogical legends, tales, pseudo-learned fabrications, and family trees, started at the end of the thirteenth century, just when Rudolf of Habsburg, the first of his House to attain European stature and the ancestor of Habsburg world power, established the family for the first time on the German throne of the

¹ Adam Wandruszka, *The House of Habsburg* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1964), 14-16.

Holy Roman Empire. To counteract the propaganda of the enemies of the Habsburgs, who spread about the malicious legend of the “poor Count,” his noble lineage had to be emphasized. Claiming descent from the Hohenstaufens or Salians was impossible, and, moreover, since it was necessary to maintain good relations with the Pope, would have at that time been politically inexpedient. What seemed to later historians of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to be the most impressive point, the ideological and political union between the Habsburgs and the earlier Hohenstaufens, or continuation of the Empire beyond the Interregnum (exemplified by the faithful service rendered to the Hohenstaufens by Rudolf, his father, and grandfather, and—of even greater symbolic force—the fact that Rudolf had been lifted from the font by the last great Emperor of the High Middle Ages, the mighty Frederick II himself), could not count in the eyes of contemporaries as an effective argument to support the Habsburg claims to royal or imperial office.

Therefore, around the beginning of the fourteenth century, and probably among the lowland Swiss followers of the first royal Habsburgs, the legend arose that the Habsburgs were descended from a Roman patrician family, the Colonna, who in turn traced their ancestry through the Counts of Tusculum to the *gens Julia* and thus to the illustrious Julius Caesar. In the fourteenth and part of the fifteenth century the Habsburgs themselves believed in this genealogy. Even in times when the possibility of regaining the throne did not seem imminent, they saw in it support for their unchanging belief in the royal destiny of their family. Like the particular form assumed by the idea of Rome and the renovation-myth (belief in the revival of the Roman Empire) after Dante and after the fall of the Hohenstaufens, the theory suited humanistic learning and modes of thought in the late Middle Ages. At the same time, it was also adapted to the attitude taken by the Popes (and by the Roman nobility dominating the Papacy) to the candidates for the German throne after the interregnum, and particularly to the Habsburgs.

Side by side with the Roman theory soon appeared the Frankish, whose relevance to political aspirations is equally evident. It traced the descent of the Habsburgs from the Franks (occasionally from the Carolingians, but usually through the legitimate dynasty of the Merovingians) directly to the Trojans, thus bypassing the Romans entirely. The propagation of this latter thesis was often accompanied by unmistakable signs of anti-Roman and anti-Italian prejudice. Whereas the Ro-

https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/sahs_review/vol51/iss1/11

man theory focused on the south, on Rome, the capital of the world, the Franco-Trojan theory anticipated union with the west, and the effort of the Habsburgs to legitimize themselves, in opposition to the French royal House, as the true heirs of the Carolingian and Merovingian realm.

Only in the nineteenth century did Franz Ritter von Krones, in his *Grundriss der österreichischen Geschichte*, bring to light the truth about the actual lineage and geographical origin of the royal family of Habsburg:²

The cradle of the Habsburgs lay in fact in Alamannian Switzerland; the family name and historical reputation hark back to the eleventh century. . . . The Habsburg rise to power after the thirteenth century, especially as the House took over the German royal crown and grew steadily richer in land, entailed—as it did for all other great princely Houses—an abundance of genealogical brown studies, often as artificial as they were insignificant, which lost themselves in the dimmest twilight of prehistory.

Thus the reader now understands the reason for the inclusion of this article concerning the royal House of Habsburg in the *Swiss American Historical Society Review*. Traditionally associated with Austria-Hungary, the Habsburgs were in fact world rulers who hailed from Switzerland.



Habsburg Castle in canton Aargau.

The Habsburgs had their first castle in their home canton of Aargau. The forefathers of these Swiss Habsburgs probably came from Alsace, but at the beginning of the eleventh century, one of them, Count Radbot, settled close to what is now Brugg and

ruled his lands from there. According to the story, Radbot had lost his hawk—*Habicht* in German—while hunting in one of the forests of can-

² Franz Ritter von Krones, *Grundriss der österreichischen Geschichte* (Vienna: Adolf Holzhausen, 1889), 302.

ton Aargau. He found it on a hill which seemed perfect for a castle, which he built and named after the bird. However, it was only about eighty years later that the name of the castle was applied to the family which resided there: this first occurs in a document of the year 1108 when the Swiss Count Otto von Havichsberg joined a campaign against the Hungarians.

One of the great paradoxes of history is that this noble family of Swiss descent became a powerful imperial family whose supranational and regal political aspirations were dramatically opposed to the interests of their independence loving homeland, the nascent Swiss Confederation, and whose aggressive policies in their native Swiss territory resulted in the birth of that unique democratic national state. How did small freedom loving Switzerland achieve this amazing triumph over the vast Habsburg Empire, to which it ironically had given birth?

The first answer to this historical question lies in the fact that the medieval Swiss did not know the name of King. Like the Romans of ancient Republican Rome (509 BC-27 BC), the Swiss of the medieval era refused to admit the concept of Kingship in their native land; rather, they would rule themselves through local cantonal councils, much like the ancient Greek city states. The second answer to the question lies in the examination of the relationship between the Swiss Confederation and the Habsburg Empire during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

While during the reign of the first Habsburg Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf the First, the Habsburgs achieved spectacular conquests in southern Germany, Austria and eastern Europe, they were unable to maintain a similar hold from their base in southwestern Germany over neighboring Switzerland. Unlike the other medieval European nations, accustomed since the time of the Roman Empire to obedience and subservience to Emperors, Kings and Sovereigns, reputedly ordained by God with divine rights, the Swiss of the late thirteenth century were unique in their passionate desire to be free and in their remarkable success in the creation of viable democratic institutions. Unlike the French, the Germans and the English, the medieval Swiss needed no Vicar of Christ in the person of a holy Monarch to rule their nation and grant Christian legitimacy to their State; the Swiss preferred to confer with God on a personal direct basis through devout prayer and pilgrimages to the many monasteries and holy shrines which abounded in their land. They sought spiritual purification and wisdom through daily Bible reading and through their expressions of hospitality to the

https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/sahs_review/vol51/iss1/11

stranger and to the oppressed. Switzerland thus became one of the most humanitarian and egalitarian countries of medieval Europe.

The Swiss secured their independence and right to self-determination by forming leagues among themselves. Though similar to other leagues in origin, the Swiss Confederation enjoys the distinction of being the only important organization of its kind to maintain steadfastly its independence against princes and kings, and thereupon to transform a simple and loosely formed league into a unified federal state of a republican and democratic character, capable of withstanding invasion by foreign troops. Like the leagues of the ancient Greek city states, which twice repelled the invasion of Greece by the mighty Persian Empire, the Swiss Confederation has therefore always had a peculiar fascination for the student of free democratic government.³

This unique and impressive work of liberation and expansion was initially performed by German Switzerland, originally a part of the Duchy of Swabia and the Kingdom of Burgundy. The heart of German Switzerland, the three original forest cantons of Uri, Schwyz and Unterwalden, assumed an importance to the ordinary peasant community because they controlled the important mountain pass of the Saint Gotthard to Italy, which the German Hohenstaufen Emperors were anxious to control. The towns of Switzerland shared in the revival of trade and commerce because of their location on the crucial trade route from Italy through these passes to Germany, and because too they were the markets for the products of the forest cantons themselves. In the twelfth century the most important family in German Switzerland was the Zähringer, and when it died out in 1218, the Habsburgs for the most part succeeded it.

As early as 1231, the peasants of the Canton of Uri had been freed by the Hohenstaufen Frederick II's son, King Henry of Germany, from any jurisdiction of the Habsburg counts, and had been subsequently made answerable alone to the imperial jurisdiction—a privilege granting Uri a considerable amount of freedom, since in general there was no such thing as an imperial jurisdiction. Access to the Saint Gotthard may be considered the explanation of this favor extended to the people of Uri by the House of Hohenstaufen. It is also probable that with the growing confusion in Germany during the last of Frederick's reign, the

³ Edgar Nathaniel Johnson and James Westfall Thompson, *An Introduction to Medieval Europe: 300-1500* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1937), 922.

three forest cantons of Uri, Schwyz and Unterwalden joined together in an alliance of mutual help that included Lucerne.

During the period of the Interregnum itself (1250-1273), Count Rudolf of Habsburg expanded right and left under any pretence in central and northeastern Switzerland, and inaugurated an impressive plan to centralize, make uniform and exploit his Swiss lands typical of all the feudal princes of his age. Indeed, the Swiss of today owe a great deal to Rudolf of Habsburg, for he established the political and economic foundation of the modern Swiss State. Rudolf's economic policies during this period were focused upon the control of the prosperous traffic through the Saint Gotthard pass, as is clearly indicated by his literal purchase of the city of Lucerne in 1291.⁴

When the Interregnum terminated in 1273 by bringing the aforementioned Count Rudolf of Habsburg to the German imperial throne in the person of Emperor Rudolf I of Habsburg, the forest cantons felt doubly insecure in their rights and liberties, inasmuch as their private lord, the Habsburg Count, was now their public ruler as well, and the latter more powerful position of new imperial authority might well be used to carry through the policies of the Habsburgs as territorial princes of the Empire.

Henceforth for two hundred years the fate of the Swiss cantons followed the vicissitude of German politics. When the Habsburgs were Kings of the Holy Roman Empire, the Swiss had to defend themselves against their crafty encroachments. When any other German royal family occupied the German throne, the Swiss strove to use that family's opposition to the growth of the rival Habsburg power in order to secure privileges from them which would circumscribe the expansion and consolidation of the powerful Swiss-Austrian family.

Generally speaking, what the Swiss of the late thirteenth century desired was the position that Uri had won in 1231, namely, the recognition of their land as a special imperial province owing no allegiance except to the Holy Roman Emperor alone. The Swiss did not mind having the Habsburgs for kings and emperors if at the same time they did not have to have them for counts and advocates. It is illustrative, therefore, of the general situation that, although unable and to some extent unwilling to take steps during the reign of Rudolf of Habsburg, in fear

⁴ Guy P. Marchal, "Les racines de l'indépendance (401-1394)," in *Nouvelle Histoire de la Suisse et des Suisses*, 2nd Ed. Ed. Jean-Claude Favez (Lausanne: Payot, 1986), 159.
https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/sahs_review/vol51/iss1/11

of his much more disliked son Albert, the three forest cantons in 1291 joined together in what was essentially a declaration of peasant revolt. They thereby formed the historical foundation of the Swiss Confederation, a league aiming at joint maintenance of the public peace, military assistance against aggressors, and the exclusion of foreign officials.

From Adolf of Nassau, Uri and Schwyz secured privileges recognizing their immediacy under the empire alone. After the Swiss had knuckled under the combined feudal and royal position of Albert of Habsburg, Henry of Luxemburg extended the same privileges to Unterwalden. The three forest cantons were now definitely recognized as a single autonomous political unit exempt from all feudal control.

Nonetheless, the Habsburgs remained relentless in their quest to obtain control over their native Swiss territory. Pursuing the policies of Rudolf I, his successors worked assiduously to achieve uncontested dominion in Switzerland. With this goal in mind, these latter Habsburg rulers in the year 1303 established an inventory, The Habsburger Urbar, whose purpose was to explicitly declare all the possessions, rights, taxes and revenues to which they were entitled in both Alsace, Baden and Switzerland. It was this obstinate growing concentration of Habsburg power, oblivious to the rights of the Swiss people, which led little by little to the conflict with the growing power of the Swiss cities and the Swiss mountaineers, determined to preserve their independence.⁵

These threatened Swiss communities benefited at first from the internecine quarrels of the House of Habsburg, which culminated in the assassination of Habsburg Emperor Albert in 1308, and following this murder, the Swiss cantons profited from the benevolence of the non-Habsburg successors to Albert, who confirmed their imperial liberty, giving special privileges to all three of the forest cantons in 1309.

Nevertheless, there now began to brew a quarrel which was to explode into full fledged warfare after the double election in October, 1314 of the Wittelsbach heir Louis of Bavaria and the Habsburg heir Frederick the Handsome of Austria. In the ensuing struggle for the throne of the Holy Roman Empire between the non-Habsburg Louis and the Habsburg Frederick, the Swiss forest cantons inevitably supported the former and were in turn encouraged by him.⁶ Incited by

⁵ Ibid., 159-160.

⁶ Karl-Friedrich Krieger, *Die Habsburger im Mittelalter: Von Rudolf I bis Friedrich*

IV (Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kohlhammer), 119.

Louis, in January 1315 the Swiss attacked and plundered the cloister of Einsiedeln, which stood under Habsburg protection. The Swiss thereby hoped to intimidate the amazed Habsburgs with their audacity and bold military prowess. It was under these circumstances that the brother of Frederick, Duke Leopold of Austria, decided in November 1315 to bring matters to a head by crushing once and for all the presumption of these Swiss peasant mountaineers.⁷

However, at Morgarten (1315), Leopold's knightly army was so thoroughly routed or drowned in the Ägerisee that they never had the chance to fight. The victory at Morgarten guaranteed to the forest cantons their freedom from the Habsburgs. In December of the same year at Brunnen, they renewed their alliance of 1291 with terms binding them still more closely together. In 1316 the independence of Switzerland from the Habsburg dynasty was officially recognized by the Holy Roman Emperor Louis of Bavaria.

Moreover, the now universally praised prowess of Swiss pikemen and halberdiers whom no feudal army could crush so increased their reputation that by the middle of the fifteenth century the Swiss were being used as mercenary soldiers by any one who could afford to pay them.

From the above it is clear that traditionally the Habsburgs are perceived in a negative light in Switzerland. Indeed, the House of Habsburg is generally regarded as the archenemy of the Swiss nation. After all, the independent Swiss Confederation came into existence precisely as a result of its struggle against the tyrannical Habsburgs in the late thirteenth century. This struggle between Swiss democracy and Habsburg tyranny has been made world famous by Friedrich Schiller's drama *Wilhelm Tell*.

Therefore, how can we explain the renewed interest in and more favorable impression of the Habsburg dynasty and its vast Austro-Hungarian Empire in twenty-first century Switzerland? The year, 2008, for example, was designated Habsburg Memorial Year in Switzerland. That year was the nine hundredth anniversary of the first documented mention of the family name. At that time special exhibits were set up

⁷ Johnson and Thompson, 924-925. For an excellent discussion of the events surrounding the late thirteenth century struggle between the Habsburgs and the Swiss and the consequent foundation of the independent Swiss Confederation, please see: Albert Winkler, "The Federal Charter of 1291 and the Founding of the Swiss State," *Swiss American Historical Society Review* 50, no. 3 (February 2014): 33-50.

throughout Switzerland in order to commemorate Switzerland's historical relationship with this eminent royal family.

Obviously, one explanation for this change in Swiss public attitude toward the Habsburgs is the rediscovery and re-emphasis of the fact that the family was originally an eleventh century family of the Swiss nobility whose roots lie in the Canton of Aargau. There is thus a certain natural curiosity about and national pride in this Swiss family which rose to such extraordinary heights of world power and fame and which ruled such a vast and mighty global Empire.

Secondly, however, historians everywhere now stress in their courses the numerous profound contributions of the Habsburgs to the growth of civilization. Disciples of Voltaire's deeply respected theory of cultural progress and his profound belief in the vital role played by Kings, Queens and Emperors in the process of cultural progression, these modern historians seek to demonstrate that the various royal dynasties of Europe have been essential to the development and advancement of European civilization. This is a professional necessity, because the training of teachers of history in all graduate schools today now demands that in the classroom the teacher of history always present all the facts about any era or historical figure so that the student can make a just and accurate assessment of the era or historical figure under analysis.

In this regard, the competent professor of history in Switzerland and elsewhere must explain to his students that, while it is true that the tyranny of the Habsburg Emperor Albert I did in fact catalyze the Swiss rebellion of 1291, it is likewise true that, like Peter the Great and the Romanovs in Russia, the Habsburgs undeniably made many extraordinary improvements in the quality of the European lands under their dominion. When stressing these Habsburgs' achievements, these professors of history invariably emphasize three exceptionally beneficent and admired periods of the Habsburg Empire: the reign of Rudolf I (1273-1291), the reign of Maria Theresa (1740-1780), and the reign of Franz Joseph (1848-1916) and his beloved consort, the Empress Elizabeth.

It was of course Rudolf I who took the Habsburg family to the pinnacle of European political power and prestige. When in the year 1273 the Electors of the Holy Roman Empire met in Frankfurt to put an end to the terrible Time of no emperor, that nightmarish interregnum that dissolved middle Europe in violence and anarchy, the princes were at pains to choose an agreeable and a mediocre man, one on whose

neck they might keep a collective foot. For those reasons they passed over the obvious choice—one of their own number, the recalcitrant King Ottokar of Bohemia—to name for Holy Roman Emperor, a provincial nobleman of Swiss descent and of no particular renown, Count Rudolf of Habsburg.

The Electors had, of course, underestimated their man. Rudolf had all the attributes of the fast riser. A superb politician, a master of conniving and maneuver, a gambler and a bargain-driver, he knew perfectly how to turn his stroke of fortune to good account. He may already have bribed three of the Electors with what came to be his family's most useful bargaining tool—marriageable daughters.

Rudolf is also reputed to have been a paragon of piety and a true son of the Church. It was told that before he became Emperor, he had ridden out to hunt one day and had encountered a poor priest on foot carrying the sacrament to a dying man. Rudolf had dismounted instantly, saying, "It is not meet that I should ride while the servant of my Lord and Saviour goes on foot." Nor would he have the steed returned; it would not be right to use it again for the common services of life. The winning of the crown of the Holy Roman Empire came to be thought a divine reward for his act of piety.⁸



Rudolf the First of Habsburg.

https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/sahs_review/vol51/iss1/11

Rudolf was thus, it would appear, generous, simple, good, pious and modest; in short, he embodied all the virtues of the *miles christianus*, of the Christian knight. The alliance which he concluded with the great cities (in particular Strassburg and Zurich) helped to forge the image of a popular and pious sovereign. He became in due course the model of piety which his admiring descendants aspired to

⁸ Dorothy Gies McGuigan, *The Habsburgs* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1966), 3-5.



The Empress Maria Theresa in 1759.

emulate and whom Schiller celebrated in his ballad *Der Graf von Habsburg*. In addition, a generation after his death a series of anecdotes celebrated his affable character and reflected the burghers' gratitude to the man who had put an end to the "terrible time without an emperor" and who had restored peace, law and order to the realm.⁹

By the time of the reign of the Habsburg Empress Maria Theresa (1740-1780), the Habsburgs still owned only a small section of Switzerland: the Fricktal area along the Rhine. And yet Maria Theresa is still much respected there and throughout Switzerland.

"Until recently at least lots of girls in the Fricktal were called Maria Theresa," says Peter Frey, one of the curators of the Habsburg exhibition in Brugg. "The reforms she introduced were beneficial for the area. For example, she introduced obligatory fire insurance, and when the Fricktal became part of canton Aargau in 1803, part of the agreement was that fire insurance must be made obligatory in the whole canton. That's why even today Aargau has the lowest insurance premi-

⁹ Jean Bérenger, *A History of the Habsburg Empire: 1273-1700*, trans. C.A. Simpson (London: Langman Group, 1994), 14.

ums. The fund has been invested for two hundred years!" A cursory review of the achievements of the Empress Maria Theresa will demonstrate emphatically to the reader why this particular Habsburg ruler still enjoys such universal admiration and respect.

A diligent and indefatigable worker, Maria Theresa was in her office at the Hofburg or at the council table from daybreak until late at night, conferring, planning, dictating, maneuvering, literally holding together with sheer strength of will the various provinces of the vast Austro-Hungarian Empire. Her benevolent despotism did not confine itself to the physical well being of her people. Intelligent obedience in the subject, well-ordered industry in the producer, education and training in the governing classes were necessary conditions of success in the development of the new system of government introduced by Maria Theresa, and were inconsistent with the laxity of morals, rough manners, gross ignorance, and superstition which prevailed at the time of her accession to the throne. The improvement of education, emanating from a central authority, received therefore much attention and led to extraordinary pedagogical improvements. The primary schools were thoroughly reorganized, and a general order was sent out that all schoolmasters in the entire Austro-Hungarian Empire were to be chosen only from experienced and respectable men. A well-arranged and stringent system of examinations breathed new life into the secondary schools or gymnasiums, and a plan was set on foot for establishing a whole system of technical education, with the object of improving, by theoretical knowledge, the practical work of the manufacturing classes. Not only was the conception of the instruction of the working classes unprecedented and unusually enlightened, the admission of laymen to the position of instructors showed an unexpected advance in liberal thought, at a time when all education in Austria was in the hands either of the Jesuits or of the order of the Piarists.¹⁰ The people of the entire Austro-Hungarian Empire rejoiced in the wisdom of their Empress, and they greatly benefited from the improvements brought about by her intelligent reforms. Indeed, all of Europe wondered at the new era of peace, intellectual refinement and enlightenment and cultural brilliance ushered in by the reign of Maria Theresa. In neighboring Swit-

¹⁰ J. Franck Bright, D.D., *Maria Theresa* (London: MacMillan and Company, 1897), 76.

https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/sahs_review/vol51/iss1/11

zerland many officials of the government and people of responsibility in Church and State observed with profound curiosity and respect the new improved Austro-Hungarian Empire of Empress Maria Theresa, and many of her social and pedagogical improvements were used as models by the admiring Swiss and were instituted throughout the Swiss Confederation as well.

Four remarkable incidents from the life of Maria Theresa will suffice to demonstrate the high esteem in which this impressive Empress was held by her contemporaries. First, in June of 1741 Maria Theresa was crowned Queen of Hungary. That same summer a Bavarian army threatened to invade Austria—with a French army on the way to join it. Maria Theresa had virtually no army to defend her country. She therefore called the Hungarian Diet to Pressburg, and she herself appeared to plead her cause before the Hungarian magnates, men who bore bitter resentment against the Habsburgs for a century of harsh treatment since the Thirty Years' War. Still in deep mourning for her father, the Queen's dark sumptuous gown set off to perfection her fair skin and pretty shoulders. Wearing the revered crown of Saint Stephen, she arose and gave an elegant and regal address to the assembly. At the end of her moving plea for help, when she burst into very real tears, the Hungarian magnates could no longer contain themselves—her old friend Count Jean Palffy, an eye witness, recounted the scene afterward—but leapt to their feet, “as if animated by one soul, drawing their swords and shouting, “*Vitam et sanguine pro majestate vostra!*” (Our life and blood for Your Majesty.) Thus did the Hungarian noblemen, when called to defend Austria-Hungary, express their loyalty, affection and total devotion to their Queen.¹¹

Secondly, Maria Theresa always showed a high level of concern and solicitude for her people. She brushed away the formal court etiquette that had ruled the Hofburg for so long and that had kept the monarch aloof from the nation. Maria Theresa neither needed nor wanted such etiquette. She made it extremely easy for her subjects to see her. At her audiences in the Hofburg each morning at ten, anyone who wished might speak quite freely, even whisper in her ear on a very private matter.¹² Thus did this incomparable Queen endear herself

¹¹ McGuigan, 228-229.

¹² *Ibid.*, 232.



The Dowager Empress Maria Theresa with her family. Painting by Heinrich Füger.

forever to her people through her constant expressions of solicitude for their welfare.

Thirdly, Maria Theresa was a most generous patroness of the arts. When the Mozart family made their first appearance in Vienna, Maria Theresa invited them to a reception at Schönbrunn where the two children, little Wolfgang and his sister, performed for the imperial family. Leopold Mozart later wrote that their Majesties had received his family with such extraordinary graciousness that “when I describe it, people will not believe me. Suffice it to say that Wolferl jumped upon the lap of the Empress, put his arms around her neck and kissed her heartily.” What better example than a child’s love to prove Maria Theresa’s goodness as a ruler.¹³

Finally, one of the legends in Austria pertaining to Maria Theresa relates that, as she took her daily walk in the gardens at Schönbrunn

¹³ *Ibid.*, 233
https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/sahs_review/vol51/iss1/11



Franz Joseph, Emperor of Austria-Hungary.

Painting by Johann Ranzi.

with her infant son Joseph and his nurse, they came upon a beggar woman holding a screaming baby to her empty breast. The Empress stopped at once, as was her custom, to open her purse; the woman turned away with an angry gesture, muttering bitterly that a gold piece would not quiet her hungry babe. Thereupon the empress, ever sincerely concerned for the welfare of her people, picked up the squalling child and put it to her own ample breast.¹⁴

The third period of Habsburg rule which still today in the twenty-first century commands so much admiration is of course the reign of Emperor Franz Josef and his consort Elizabeth. Franz Joseph was the longest reigning Emperor in European history (1848-1916), and during his reign the Austro-Hungarian Empire reached its greatest extent. From May 1, 1850 until August 24, 1866 he was also President of the German Confederation. In 1867 he concluded the *Ausgleich*, which granted greater autonomy to Hungary, and thereafter his domains were ruled peacefully for the next forty-five years. His reign represents a period of extraordinary economic and scientific progress as well as cultural brilliance throughout the entire Austro-Hungarian Empire. Many important scientific discoveries, for example, were made under his generous patronage. In certain areas, celebrations are still held to-

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 233.



The Coronation of Franz Joseph I as King of Hungary, 1867.



The Coronation of Empress Elizabeth of Austria as the Queen of Hungary, 1867.

day in remembrance of Franz Joseph's birthday. The Mitteleuropean People's Festival, for example, takes place every year around August 18 and is a spontaneous, traditional and brotherly meeting among peoples of the central European countries. The events include ceremonies, meetings, music, songs, dances, wine and food tasting, and traditional costumes and folklore from all parts of central Europe.

Like Catherine the Great, Queen Victoria, and Diana, Princess of Wales, Franz Joseph's consort, the Empress Elizabeth (1837-1898), nicknamed Sisi, possessed a charm, grace and winning personality which endeared her to all Europeans and indeed to the entire world. A daughter of the Bavarian royal House of Wittelsbach, the

Empress Elizabeth was one of the most impressive and physically imposing rulers of European history. She had a regal manner which immediately commanded the respect of all who approached her. She was a paragon of beauty and high fashion, and she was renowned for her compassion, being deeply involved in charitable efforts on behalf of the mentally ill.

She was unfortunately assassinated by the twenty-five year old Italian anarchist Luigi Lucheni on Saturday, September 10, 1898, as she and her lady in waiting left the Hotel Beau Rivage in Geneva on the shore of Lake Geneva, on their way to catch the steamship *Genève* bound for Montreux. The news of the assassination, like the news of the assassination of John Fitzgerald Kennedy in November 1963, sent shock waves of revulsion around the world. The city of Geneva, as all of Switzerland, immediately shuttered itself in mourning upon receiving the news of the untimely and violent death of this most distinguished, humanitarian and beloved Empress of the royal house to which Switzerland had given birth.

On Wednesday morning, September 14, Elizabeth's body was conducted in state across Switzerland back to Vienna aboard a funeral train. Crowds of distraught and anguished mourners gathered at the train stations of the various Swiss cities—Lausanne, Fribourg, Bern and Zurich—through which her coffin passed. The Swiss crowds pressed as close as possible to the imperial train, in order to be as near as possible to the earthly remains of this august Empress of the House of Habsburg whom the Swiss had so long admired. The entire Austro-Hungarian Empire was ordered into deep mourning. Enraged by what the Hungarians perceived as an affront, the Hungarian Parliament went into emergency session. The Hungarians had learned that the imperial Coffin of State would bear the inscription, Elizabeth Empress of Austria. The Hungarians insisted that the Empress Elizabeth was as beloved and esteemed in Hungary as in Austria itself; they insisted that the inscription on the coffin be changed to reflect that fact and to reflect her love for and devotion to the Hungarians. The request of the people of Hungary was immediately granted; the finalized gilded inscription on the imperial coffin read, "Elizabeth, Empress of Austria and Hungary." Eighty-two sovereigns and high ranking nobles followed her funeral cortege on the morning of September 17 to her final resting place in the Church of the Capuchins in Vienna.

A large number of chapels were posthumously named in her honor, connecting her to Saint Elizabeth, and for many years crowds of devout admirers worshipped daily in these chapels throughout Austria-Hungary and Switzerland. Various parks throughout Europe were named after her, such as Empress Elisabeth Park in Meran, South Tyrol. Finally, in order to pay respect to her rule and to preserve her memory, numerous monuments were sculpted. For example, on the lake promenade in Territet, a town between Montreux and the Château of Chillon, there stands a particularly impressive monument in honor of Empress Elisabeth of Austria-Hungary.

A final reason that the Habsburgs command such universal respect today is that they presided over one of the most spectacular cultural revolutions in history. The Habsburgs patronized countless composers, and during the time of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Vienna became the musical capital of the earth: Joseph Haydn, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Ludwig van Beethoven, Franz Schubert, Johannes Brahms, Gustav Mahler, and Johannes Strauss all composed there and all called Vienna home. At the end of the nineteenth century Vienna also became a center of German literature: here lived and wrote Franz Grillparzer, Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Arthur Schnitzler, Robert Musil, Heimito von Doderer, Rainer Maria Rilke and Thomas Mann. Finally, Vienna became in the nineteenth century a world capital of medical and scientific research. Here Sigmund Freud conducted his seminal studies in the interpretation of dreams and psychoanalysis, and at that time the University of Vienna came to be regarded as one of the best universities in the world, where important scientific and medical discoveries were constantly made, often in collaboration with the Universities of Zurich and Lausanne. Thus, under the patronage of the enlightened Habsburgs, the Austro-Hungarian Empire became the center and promoter of cultural and scientific achievements the likes of which the world had never seen and which have benefited all mankind.

Conclusion

Originally from Alemannic Switzerland, by the end of the thirteenth century the Habsburgs had extended their possessions in the Danube basin and would go on to affirm in the fifteenth century their

https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/sahs_review/vol51/iss1/11



A map of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

European destiny, indeed, in the sixteenth century with Charles V, their pretensions to universal monarchy.

The Habsburgs have always been indifferent to the idea of the nation-state, preferring instead the concept of a supranational monarchy where loyalty to the sovereign forms the fundamental bond between peoples and takes the place of patriotism. Such a political principle and system of government is the antithesis of the democracy and the high level of direct popular involvement in civic affairs which has long been cherished in their native Switzerland. As the Habsburg family grew in power and prestige throughout the Middle Ages and moved their seat of government eastward from Switzerland to Austria and Central Europe, they obviously forgot the democratic principles which governed their native land.¹⁵

Instead, the Habsburgs constructed a great imperial superpower. The Austro-Hungarian Empire of course came to an end in 1918 when

¹⁵ Jean Bérenger, "Introduction," in Jean Bérenger, *A History of the Habsburg Empire: 1273-1700*, trans. C.A. Simpson (London: Langman Group, 1994), 1.

Germany and Austria-Hungary were defeated by the Triple Entente of Russia, France and Great Britain, joined by the United States, at the end of the First World War. At that time the old empires which had dictated the fortunes of Europe for centuries were replaced by a patchwork of successor states, formed ostensibly in accordance with the principles of ethnic unity and national self-determination. And yet the majesty and cultural brilliance of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire remain an indelible part of human cultural memory.

Clearly, no one can erase from the Swiss public imagination the image of the diabolical Habsburg sheriff Albrecht Gessler and his tyrannical treatment of the people of Altdorf. Who can forget the cruel punishment which Gessler inflicted upon William Tell for having refused to bow to his hat which he had raised on a pole in Altdorf's central square as a symbol of his power: Tell and his son would be executed for their impudence, but Tell could redeem their lives by taking the terrible risk of shooting an apple off the head of his little son, Walter.

However, the intelligent and the well educated will surely remember that history is replete with examples of virtuous fathers who produced ignominious offspring of whom they were ashamed. Just as at the time of the Roman Empire the wise and universally respected pacifier and unifier Marcus Aurelius gave birth to the mad monster Commodus, so did the saintly Rudolf of Habsburg, a ruler of Swiss descent revered throughout all of Europe, give birth to the perfidious Habsburg Emperor Albert, who sought to trample the rights of the Swiss cantons under the boot of tyranny. And yet the sins of the son should not cause us to forget the virtues of the father.

Hence, the wise and just Swiss citizen of the twenty-first century will seek to see the history of the Swiss family Habsburg in a proper perspective and will judge the family fairly and equitably. Upon judicious reflection and weighing all the facts in the balance of history, surely Swiss people today will perceive that the many wonderful contributions made by the Habsburgs to civilization far outweigh the mistakes that some of the Habsburg kings made in their dealing with the Swiss Confederation during the High Middle Ages.

It is for this reason, so this author believes, that the Swiss government decided voluntarily in 2008 to stage exhibits commemorating the nine hundredth anniversary of the birth of the royal house of Habsburg
https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/sahs_review/vol51/iss1/11

in Canton Aargau. It is also for the same reason that Swiss historians and teachers of history today seek to instill in their students a just, balanced, and accurate understanding of the history of the royal House of Habsburg, whose many accomplishments as saints of the Church and generous patrons of the arts and sciences clearly establish them as one of the most distinguished, illustrious and influential families of the Swiss Confederation.

Bryan College

History Seen Through Multiple Lenses: Leo Schelbert's Contributions to the Swiss-American Historical Society

by Marianne Burkhard OSB JCL

Looking over the work of our Society over the past 40 years, it becomes quickly evident that Leo Schelbert has shaped it in important ways almost from the beginning of the Society's reactivation in 1963-65. After contributing an article on Albert Gallatin in 1967, he became deeply involved: as co-editor of the *Review* with Heinz K. Meier (1970-1986), as President (1975-1980), as sole editor of the *Newsletter/Review* (1980-2002), co-editor with H. Dwight Page (2002-2006), as editor of the society's book series (1981-2013), and as member of the editorial board for the book publications since 2013. During his tenure as editor of the *Newsletter* he shepherded the publication's transition from the Society's *Newsletter* to the *SAHS Review* in 1990, a partly scholarly publication, and he saw to it that the articles in the *Review* were from then on abstracted in *America: History* and in *Historical Abstracts*.

The *Index* of the *Review*'s first 33 years, published as vol. 33:3 in 1997, has a long list of entries for Leo Schelbert, yet most of them refer to his "Prefatory Notes," that is, his editorial comments at the beginning of each number, and to many book reviews which show his wide ranging interests. He is truly an editor who gently shaped the *Review* through his knowledge and his connections offering articles by a variety of authors. Certainly the *SAHS Review* is, as a Master Thesis from the University of Basel states, "a *mélange*: scholarly treatises appeared besides anecdotal stories, family trees, and the presentation of postal cancellations." Yet this "*mélange*" is both intentional and appropriate because the *Review* counts among its readers historians as well as people who simply love to read about old times, about the emigrants'

struggles of leaving home and settling in a new land as well as about more recent events/issues in Switzerland. Thus the *Review* shows the many facets of Swiss presence in the United States over time, on the basis of original documents, first-hand descriptions of the processes of emigrating to a new world, family trees, well-researched biographies and scholarly interpretations of various aspects related to the Swiss presence in the U.S. and to the relations between the two countries. In this sense, the *Review* provides something akin to *Grundlagenforschung*, that is, research publishing basic documents and original texts which then provide the very material for scholarly research about Swiss immigration to the U.S. And through the lens of various life experiences we can see how individual and/or historical forces shaped decisions and destinies, success and failure.

Anyone even just partially familiar with the work and the publications of this small society knows that Leo's work and presence has been a major factor in producing an output that clearly goes beyond of what one would normally expect of such a small organization. His work for the *Review* has always been done in the background; he is a person who has wide connections, and who has a *Spürnase*, a sixth sense for interesting materials and people, and who has offered the hospitality of his home in Evanston, Illinois, to scores of visitors and is always eager to hear about other people's ideas and projects. Perhaps most important, however, is his ability both to understand and to see all the ways in which knowledge of individuals' lives can enlighten the understanding of historical processes both on the level of seemingly simple stories and family migrations and on the level of a more theoretical view of emigration/immigration. Many of the materials that ended up in the *Review* were simply sent to him because someone knew that he was interested in Swiss-American topics; at other times he met people, listened to their interests and helped and/or encouraged them to develop them into publishable form.

When perusing the list of articles in the *Review* in the first 30 years, it is evident that Heinz K. Meier and Leo Schelbert soon began to shape the content to some degree: there are early issues containing short reviews of books about Swiss in the U.S. and about Switzerland in the hope of whetting readers' appetite for further reading, be it for pleasure or academic interests. There are issues dedicated to particular individuals, e.g. to the Swiss philosopher and educator Fritz Marti

(1894-1991) who spent most of his life teaching in the U.S. (15:3, 1979), to the Swiss-American limnologist Arthur Davis Hasler (1908-2001; 23:3,1987), and of course, to the work of Heinz K. Meier, one of the other towering figures of the SAHS who died in 1989 at the age of only 60 (26:2,1990). Other issues pursued topics such as modern Swiss literature and writers (18:2, 1982), immigrants from the Valais (26:2, 1990), or the “Anabaptist Emigration from the Old Republic of Bern” (28:2, 1992) as researched by Dr. Delbert Grätz, who was an authority on Anabaptists and Mennonites and librarian at Bluffton College, Ohio; for decades he also answered innumerable genealogical queries for the SAHS using both his own wide knowledge and the great genealogical library resources of Bluffton College.

Beginning in the mid 1990s, Leo Schelbert began to conceive special issues devoted to just one topic, one personality or one text, for example New Glarus (vol. 31:2, 1995, and 41:2, 2005 with newly translated texts by the pioneers), Swiss settlers in South Dakota and the Gonzenbach cheese factory in Millbank, S.D. (vol. 37:3, 2001), Thomas Bruhin (1835-1895), a Swiss Benedictine priest whose passion for botany led him to discover plants in Wisconsin (vol.38:2, 2002). There are also some unusual topics: in 2008 (vol. 44:2), Margot Amman Durrer edited an issue with articles about the Swiss feminist Iris von Roten (1917-1990) whose 1958 book *Frauen im Laufgitter* [Women in the Playpen], a keen analysis of women’s social situation, caused a scandal in Switzerland, but is now seen as the “missing link between Simone de Beauvoir’s *The Second Sex* (1949) and Betty Friedan’s *The Feminine Mystique* (1963);” and the translation of a brochure about Heinrich Handschin (1839-1894), a Swiss weaver from Canton Basel-Land, who chose to go east to Moscow, Russia, where despite his lack of education, he eventually made a fortune which he then donated to a Foundation in his home canton of Basel Land in order to help the children of poor families obtain the education that he himself was unable to get. This last selection, based again on a brochure that was sent to a member of the board, shows Leo Schelbert’s long-held view that one has to see immigration in a more global context in order to gain a better understanding of the reasons which prompted people to emigrate—reasons which were far more complex than the generally held view that immigration was caused mainly by crises of various sorts in the economical, political or religious constellation of the home country.

From the very beginning, the Swiss-American Historical Society occasionally published books as a way to document the contributions Swiss immigrants had made in so many areas of American life. The re-activated SAHS continued to publish occasional books¹ providing historical works, two guides for doing Swiss genealogical research (1979, 2005), a collection of letters by Swiss immigrants, collected and edited by Leo Schelbert, but also a series of essays discussing Switzerland in WWII under the title *Switzerland under Siege 1939-1945: A Neutral Nation's Struggle for Survival* (2001), three historical novels by Carol Williams that paint a gripping account of Swiss and other settlers' experiences in the revolutionary wars at the end of the 18th century in South Carolina, a book on Swiss Festivals in America, a monograph on the Swiss-American writer Mari Sandoz who wrote about both immigrants and native people in Nebraska, an edition of the letters from and about America written by Leo Lesquereux (1806-1889) who became an authority on mosses and a pioneer of American paleobotany (2006), and a book by Brigitte and Eugen Bachmann on the Amish in Berne, Indiana (2009). The majority of these publications began with documents, found or sent to members of the society, and were often enriched and refined for publication with Leo's help, e.g. his translations, bibliographical help, or his enlisting other knowledgeable people as contributors.

More recently, Leo's hospitality and engaging creativity resulted in a new type of book consisting of interviews with Swiss women and men who immigrated to the U.S. after 1950. It all began when Leo was asked by the Swiss Consulate of Chicago to host a Swiss journalist who was going to visit St. Meinrad Abbey in Indiana in order to write an article for the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*. His encounter with Susann Bosshard Kälin from Einsiedeln led to the book *Westwärts: Begegnungen mit Amerika-Schweizerinnen* (Bern 2009) which was subsequently translated and published by the SAHS as *Westward: Encounters with Swiss American Women* (2010). Susann Bosshard interviewed 15 women born between 1922 and 1944 who immigrated to the U.S. and described their varied experiences. All of them, whether married or not, worked, and often shaped their own careers. Susann Bosshard's interviews capture the women's personalities and provide a lively and rich

¹ The entire list of book publications is available on the SAHS website.

tapestry of immigrant experiences from the women's point of view. Leo also added four historical portraits of women who "came earlier," namely in 1734, 1736, 1848 and 1889. This last part of the book also exhibits Leo Schelbert's special ability to evoke the lives of individuals from often scant documents and to place them into their context, thus helping us to appreciate their personal trials and achievements as shaped by the larger historical and social developments.

In 2013, a companion volume about immigrant men was published under the title *Emigrant Paths: Encounters with 20th Century Swiss Americans*. Susann Bosshard Kälin interviewed nine Swiss-Americans born between 1927 and 1947, and Leo Schelbert added his editions of seven autobiographical portraits of men born between 1868 and 1919. Whether leaving or staying by choice or necessity, these men showed courage, stamina and creativity even under good circumstances.

Over the years, the SAHS has also given small grants to a number of other projects which often had first come to the attention of Leo who subsequently submitted a request to the Society's membership at their Annual Meeting in October. While the largest number of grants were given for historical research or the publication of books, other projects were supported as well: for several years a society member represented Switzerland in a program for high school teachers of German at Keuka College in upstate New York that provided teachers with a better and more current understanding of the—then four—German-speaking countries (West and East Germany, Austria and Switzerland); there were contributions toward cultural events such as the opening of the Midwest Dairy Institute in Millbank, South Dakota, the 300-year celebration of New Bern, North Carolina, including also the distribution of additional copies of the *Review's* issue on New Bern, toward adding a "Swiss Nationality Room" in the Cathedral of Learning at the University of Pittsburgh, where 'nationality rooms' are used as class for classes and exhibits about the ethnic groups represented in the Pittsburgh area, and a contribution to the Swiss Benevolent Society of Chicago for refurbishing the recital hall that is named for Swiss pianist Rudolf Ganz, a long-time music professor and performing pianist at Roosevelt University in Chicago.

Leo Schelbert is a true researcher whose knowledge and interests are still growing, branching out into other fields. At the same time, he is an unassuming person, always willing to listen, to modify his ideas, https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/sahs_review/vol51/iss1/11

to cooperate with others, and also to further a younger person's budding career. His influence has shaped the Swiss-American Historical Society in many ways, but he never weighed in with an overpowering academic rhetoric. Instead, he was and is, a vivid presence offering possibilities and contributions for consideration and helping to bring them to completion. With his consummate scholarly skills and his amiable, engaging personality, he is an unique example of personal and intellectual hospitality.

Marianne Burkhard OSB JCL

Book Reviews

Kathleen Wieschaus-Voss, *The Legacy of Ferdinand A. Brader* (Canton, Ohio: Center for the Study of Art in Rural America, 2014).

This documentary work about the Swiss Ferdinand Arnold Brader (1839-1901?) of Kaltbrunn, Canton St. Gallen, presents a double gift, a book published in conjunction with exhibits of his drawings in Canton, Ohio. The first part of the work offers a set of nine essays that give richly illustrated detail toward an understanding of the work of this itinerant engraver, a “Modelstecher”, in the context of the craft’s history and the achievements of other artists. The book’s second part contains a gallery of exhibited images of Brader’s Pennsylvania and Ohio sketches that were drawn before photography replaced such work, when artists like Brader drew homesteads, buildings, and farms for the enjoyment of their owners, their progeny, and of viewers today. Their works are called folk art, but are perhaps best enjoyed simply as art, that is, as forms of human endeavor to present what surrounds us in revelatory and meaningful ways.

Little is known about Brader’s personal life, neither in his homeland nor abroad. The chronology presented by Kathleen Wieschaus-Voss offers these data: Brader was born on December 7, 1833, in Kaltbrunn, Canton St. Gallen, Switzerland; baptized the next day; married Maria Kaharina Glaus (1838-1904) on August 28, 1860; birth of a son named Karl in 1864; move to the United States in the 1870s, turning up in Berks County, Pennsylvania, where he made some 300 drawings between 1879 and 1883; moving about in Stark, Portage, Tuscarawas, Columbiana, and other counties of Ohio where he accomplished some 590 drawings between 1884 and 1895; in later winters staying at the infirmaries of Portage and Stark Counties suffering from “mind impairment” and asthma; being informed of his inheritance after the death of his brother Franz Alois (1825-1888) on November 4, 1895; leaving Canton on January 20, 1896, sailing from New York on January 25, reaching Le Havre on February 2, and Switzerland on February 6; Swiss authorities reporting him “lost and missing without a trace” in 1901 (which they also reported about his son in 1911).

Like his American fellow artists, in his drawings Brader pursued what one may call “idealizing realism.” As the authors of the essays show in varied detail, these craftsmen integrated buildings, meadows, gardens, trees, fences, animals, and people—the latter placed into the overall composition—into harmonious shapes and pleasing forms by rhythmic lines and skilled perspectives. Absent are drawings of places in storms, days of heavy rain, or harsh winter conditions. The view of a farmstead was to be enjoyed by those who peopled it in a form that mirrored striving toward order, beauty, and harmony. However, absent in Brader’s work is fervor, such as that of the Dutch painter Vincent van Gogh, but somewhat present is the playfulness of lines and structures that mark the twentieth century works of the German Paul Klee of Bern. In Brader’s drawings the pictures are certainly far more tied to actual appearances than in Klee’s, but they too are imaginatively transformed into a kind of interpretive awareness.

Let us now turn our attention to the volume itself. Its first part features various themes that lead toward an understanding of Brader’s efforts in the context of place, time, and tradition; a second part contains reproductions of the items in the exhibit. In section one of the first part, titled *Context*, Andrew Richmond explores the use of perspective in the work of engravers. The author reaches back into the Renaissance when in Western culture artists began to create cityscapes, an endeavor later pursued also by Matthäus Merian (1593-1650) of Basel and Theodore de Bry (1561-1623) of Liège in today’s Belgium, then further practiced in the British colonies and the early American Republic by men like Edward Beyer (1820-1865) and the Swiss Charles C. Hofmann (c.1820-1882). Draftsmen such as Brader superimposed perspectives on what they saw which often beautified a given site, thereby fulfilling the wishes of patrons in order to allow them to delight in their property. In the next essay, Don Yoder, Dean of American folklore scholars, views Brader’s work within the broader tradition of lithographs used in county atlases, thus showing that the wandering immigrant had established himself within a tradition of Pennsylvania’s and Ohio’s farm folk who had been served before by Brader-like artists such as the Moravian Nicholas Garrison Jr. (1778-1846), the French naturalist Charles Alexander Le Sueur (1778-1846), and the German John Lewis Kimmel (1786-1821), the latter specializing in drawing interiors. The county atlases were created by an active

search for patrons who would pay for having their homestead drawn and included, and being proud of it.

In the second section of the book titled *Life*, Bristol Voss deals with Brader's Swiss background, especially the world of Kaltbrunn, where Brader's family lived (and I myself spent the first six years of my own life). She also sketches events that shaped Switzerland's history during the decades from the 1790s to the 1870s before Brader left for the United States. Then Wolf Seelentag takes the reader on his challenging genealogical tour in his effort to reconstruct Brader's familiar background. He shows that members of Brader's family faced success as well as illness and early death and, also, that much of Ferdinand Brader's life remains unknown. In turn, William Woys Weaver's essay traces the way engravers like Brader went about their chosen task. He observes that the artist's work in Pennsylvania and Ohio possibly was some kind of an extension of what Brader had done in his mother's bakery, that is, "mold carving", in his time a prerequisite for becoming a certified master baker. In Kaltbrunn's bake shop Brader may have artfully stenciled forms for baked goods such as honey cakes or gingerbreads that on their surface showed shapes of trees, plants, or animals, and he may also have similarly engraved wax figures. He then adapted his skills to representing homesteads, buildings, and landscapes of Pennsylvania and Ohio with graphite, late in his career also with color pencils. (Next, Kathleen Wieschaus-Voss included a detailed chronology of what is known about Brader's life.)

The third section, titled *Drawings*, contains four essays. Della Clason Sperling details the material means used by engravers, such as paper, graphite pencils, knives, rulers, and erasers. She probes their origin in Western culture and indicates how these means shaped the artist's effort. Lisa Menardi, in turn, interprets how the architectural forms of the pictures created their idealizing realism. She explains how buildings, landscapes, fields, trees, fences, and gardens were set against each other in such a way that a pleasing overall impression emerged. It was indeed "a man-made" world that was shown and mirrored, "the neat and tidy landscapes long associated with Pennsylvania Germans," as she puts it.

Patrick J. Donmoyer explores a different angle. He centers on Pennsylvania's indigenous tradition of decorations, misnamed "hex signs," that adorn barns in brightly colored geometric circular forms. He views them as significant in two ways, as visual art of high abstraction

https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/sahs_review/vol51/iss1/11

and also as historical documents. In the concluding essay, Daniel J. Griminger explains that he personally feels tied to Pennsylvania's historic farming culture, having personally experienced that culture in his youth. The author views the misleadingly called Pennsylvania *Dutch* tradition as a unique amalgam between Germanic and American elements. Brader's sketches, he asserts, tell the story of a folk culture of European origin before it had dissolved into Anglo-American patterns. His drawings feature the "Hof"—the home, the yard, the outbuildings for domestic use—as well as the "Scheierhof"—the barn, the barnyard, and the various sheds used for a different purpose. Griminger likens Brader's works to the "chorale books" of Pennsylvania Lutherans, the painted furniture of the Mahatango Valley, and the pieces of Fraktur.

Part Two of the book documents Brader's work (and for comparison also a few works of other artists) through 88 carefully identified illustrations that are enriched by numerous supplementary smaller pictures. The reproductions offer an impressive insight into Brader's drawings that seem to number close to 900 or perhaps more. The book concludes with an afterword that offers some data about Swiss in Ohio in the late nineteenth century, among whom Brader lived, as well as information concerning some other Swiss immigrants who pursued the fine arts.

What then are the main features of the artistic achievement of Brader who, like other artists of his time, led an itinerant life, always being on the edge of poverty until an inheritance had come his way? The book shows that his art derived from European traditions which had taken root also in the emerging United States. Brader's sketches were shaped by pencils, rulers, and erasers as well as by the adoption of perspectivistic techniques used also by other artists. His style, furthermore, is viewed as having been meticulous, thereby perhaps reflecting a peculiar Swiss cultural trait. But the main significance of his endeavor (as Griminger states) may lie in this: It features the contours of an earlier form of Pennsylvania-Dutch culture before it had gradually given way to Anglo-American patterns by adapting to the age of the machine as well as to agricultural mass production for distant markets. In sum, his sketches preserve a view of the past before it had given way to a new age.

John-Marc Berthoud. *Pierre Viret: A Forgotten Giant of the Reformation: The Apologetics, Ethics, and Economics of the Bible* (Tallahassee, FL; Zurich Publishing, 2010). ISBN: 978-0984378500. USD \$12.00.

R.A. Sheats, *Pierre Viret: The Angel of the Reformation* (Tallahassee, FL; Zurich Publishing, 2012). ISBN: 978-0-98-43785-1-7. USD \$30.00.

In the last five years, Zurich Publishing has released two English biographies of Pierre Viret (1511-1571), the great Swiss reformer of Lausanne, Geneva and southern France. Though influential in the 16th century and an intimate colleague of John Calvin, Viret has become the “forgotten Reformer.”

Pierre Viret was born in Orbe, in a French-speaking section of Switzerland, and was educated in Paris. He trained for the ministry and became a committed Reformed Protestant. Viret labored with Calvin in Geneva on two different occasions, but he is best remembered for being the leading Reformer in Lausanne for nearly a quarter century (1536-1559). He closed his ministry laboring in southern France during difficult years of religious warfare. Viret was a prolific author, whose work, unfortunately, is largely unavailable in English.

Jean-Marc Berthoud’s brief biography, *Pierre Viret: A Forgotten Giant of the Reformation: The Apologetics, Ethics, and Economics of the Bible*, introduces the future work of Zurich Publishing and the Pierre Viret Association. The volume includes lengthy quotations from the works of Viret and contemporary reformers. Berthoud provides an impressive discussion of Viret’s thoughts on apologetics and ethics, placing his writing in the context of his time, and tracing its impact on later philosophers and theologians. The presentation of Viret’s economic views is particularly interesting, illustrating Viret’s remarkably diverse interests, his application of Biblical principles to every aspect of life, and his surprising ability to predict the dangers of economic systems un-regulated by God’s word. Berthoud compares Viret’s breadth of application with Calvin’s *Institutes*, and Rousas Rushdoony’s *Systematic Theology*, noting that few theologians have so carefully applied Scripture to every arena of life.

https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/sahs_review/vol51/iss1/11

The biography is quite brief and therefore limited in scope. Berthoud, for instance, scarcely mentions dramatic episodes of Viret's life. There are lengthy direct translations (good because Viret is largely inaccessible in English), but the reader longs for more of Berthoud's insightful analysis. Of particular value is the lengthy bibliography of Viret's French language work. Zurich Publishing next plans to release Viret's magisterial three-volume *Christian Instruction in the Doctrine of the Law and the Gospel*.

In *Pierre Viret: The Angel of the Reformation*, Rebecca Sheats provides an affectionate and engaging narrative overview of Viret's life. Sheats's biography thoroughly describes Viret's ministry, the challenges faced by 16th century Reformers and the Providence of God in the Swiss Reformer's life. Viret twice escaped Catholic assassination attempts; he was severely wounded in one attack by sword, and his digestive system was permanently injured by another attempt with poisoned spinach soup. Sheats capably guides the reader through the major periods of Viret's life and highlights irenic spirit and Christian devotion.

The Sheats biography will have limited appeal for an academic audience. It is largely based on older, secondary sources, largely in French. Sheats does not appear to incorporate insights from Robert Lindner's work on Viret and his political thought. Indeed, the book would have been stronger with greater analysis of Viret's prodigious work—some 50 volumes.

Pierre Viret: The Angel of the Reformation is beautifully produced and is filled with maps, images and color illustrations. It includes a lengthy Viret bibliography to complement a complete Viret chronology. Readable and inspiring, it is an outstanding volume for general audiences.

These new biographies are timely. Viret was a master of applying Biblical teaching to contemporary issues, and this strain of the Reformation needs further study. With the increasing interest in the political thought of the Swiss Reformation, the implications of covenantal theology on emerging Republican ideology, and its influence on Anglo-American theo-political theory in the 17th and 18th centuries, Viret deserves greater attention. While Viret was not widely known in America, Swiss writers influenced by Viret and his generation were known to the American founders.

Zurich Publishing (<http://zurichpublishing.org/>) is currently commissioning translations of Viret's massive corpus into English. The related Pierre Viret Association (<http://www.pierreviret.org/>), also based in Tallahassee, Florida, provides excellent resources and secondary articles on Viret. It is hoped that these biographies and the work of the Association will bring greater attention to a neglected giant of the Swiss Reformation.

*Hannah Schultz, Assistant Professor of History
Justice, and Government, Bryan College*

*Roger Schultz, Dean of the College of Arts
and Sciences, Liberty University*

Ed. Vladi, *Fahrid Swiss and Alpine Islands* (Luzern, Switzerland: teNeues, 2013). ISBN: 978-3-8327-9699-0. Hardback \$55.00

When one visits Switzerland, the main attraction for most is the beautiful mountains that dominate the majority of the countryside. Iconic peaks such as the Matterhorn, the entire Jungfrau Massif, but the Eiger in particular, command attention. Farther east in canton Appenzell the peak of Santis grabs the attention of the tourist and resident alike. Mt Niesen just south of Thun has an annual run up the steps that go along the cog railway. Everywhere one looks there are mountains.

Nestled among the towering peaks, are numerous lakes. These lakes vary in size from the largest in Europe, the Lac Léman or Lake Geneva to very small ponds nestled high in alpine meadows. Fahrid Vladi in his edited work *Swiss and Alpine Islands* addresses the beauty of islands in Switzerland and the surrounding nations. This work is at its core a book to highlight the visually stunning beauty of these islands and their surroundings. Vladi, who is one part real estate broker, specifically in the area of the purchase and sale of Islands, has compiled this book for two purposes. One, to showcase these islands to potential buyers. Two, to allow the majority of us, those who could never afford to buy an island, the ability to see these properties.

Vladi has selected these islands not just for their beauty, but for his “Checklist of Island buyers.” A Checklist that includes the following criteria: “a temperate climate, full and complete ownership, political stability in the respective country, and the ability to reach medical facilities within 90 minutes” (Page 4). These criteria tell much about the editor as well as the prospective buyers. It is interesting to note what is not on the list of requirements, that of cost. Vladi is obviously catering to the very wealthy. In addition, laws to deter foreigners from purchasing Swiss property are not mentioned in the book at all. Once again the perception is that if needed, or more likely desired, there are possible ways around the laws, with the proper connections and money.

The book dramatically captures the splendor of the islands with many images. Aerial shots enhance the visual splendor of the work, by providing the reader to see the beauty of the island, as well as the surrounding water and inevitable mountains. But aerial shots are

not the only pictures in the book. There are also close-up shots to gain a better appreciation of the diversity of flora and fauna, as well as the architecture on the islands.

Each island has a paragraph telling some of its history and importance, as well as some of the vital facts about the island. Since this is a book predominantly about Switzerland, all captions are in German, English, French and Italian. A great example of the story behind the island is found on page 18 in the description of Schloss Mauensee. This is a small island on Lake Mauensee in Canton Luzern. According to the caption, the owner of the island is a former diplomat, who during one of his mandatory military maneuvers as a young Swiss Army officer “stormed” the island and captured it. He proceeded to fall in love with the island and had it as a goal to eventually purchase it. Finally in 1998, he and his wife were able to purchase the Island. The island and its residence were first mentioned in 1184 in relationship to the nearby monastery of Engelberg (Page 34).

Another example is the island of Werd, located in Canton Thurgau, on Lake Constance. This island is owned by a Franciscan order which moved to the island in 1957. The interesting aspect of this island is that the current wooden bridge is built near a much older stone one. During the Roman occupation of Switzerland, the Romans constructed a 20 foot wide stone bridge, which was completed in 82 A.D. (Page 64). This example highlights again the history that can be gleaned from this book.

Although not a book about Swiss or Swiss American History, *Swiss and Alpine Islands* does provide insight into Swiss life. From the Island that Jean Jacques Rousseau lived on for a part of his life (page 10), to an island in the middle of the Aare River that has been in the same family for five generations (page 60). From the island of Ufenau, an island with a settlement in Texas by the same name (page 48) to the famous Chateau de Chillon, the “most frequently visited historical monument “in Switzerland (page 70). This book is a great look at the beauty and the splendor that is the islands found in the land of Mountains.

Robert Sherwood, Georgia Military College

FIFTY-FIRST SAHS ANNUAL MEETING

1. Invitation and Agenda

SWISS-AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Washington, D.C.

You are cordially invited to attend the

FIFTY-FIRST SAHS ANNUAL MEETING

at the

ATHENAEUM

219 South Sixth Street

Philadelphia, PA

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 11, 2014

PROGRAM

- 9:30 a.m. Arrival and informal gathering, Coffee, Rolls
- 10:00 a.m. Business Meeting
- 12:00 a.m. Luncheon at Historic City Tavern
- 1:30 p.m. Albert Winkler: “Heinrich Wirz and the Tragedy of
Andersonville—The Question of Responsibility”
- 2:30 p.m. Sister Marianne Burkhard, Ph.D.: “Leo Schelbert’s
Contribution to the Swiss American Historical Society”
- 3:30 p.m. Coffee Break
- 4:00 p.m. Marsha Robinson, Ph.D.: “Blessed are the Peacemakers:
the Unfinished Project of J.J. Bachofen and the Micro-
wars on the Home Front”

FIFTY-FIRST SAHS ANNUAL MEETING

October 11, 2014, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

AGENDA

1. President's Welcome and Call to Order
2. Reading and Approval of the Minutes of the Washington Annual Meeting of 2013
3. Nominating Report: Rosa Schupbach
4. Membership Chair's Report: Ernie Thurston
5. Treasurer's Report: Heinz Bachmann
6. Swiss Vice President Report: Fred Jenny
7. *SAHS Review* Report: Dwight Page
8. Book Editor Report: Leo Schelbert
9. Publicity Report: Brian Wages
10. Old Business
11. New Business
12. Report on the Swiss Center of North America at New Glarus, Wisconsin: Beth Zurbuchen
13. Tributed in Honor of Dr. Leo Schelbert: Dwight Page, Marianne Burkhard, and Donald Tritt
14. Announcements

2. Reports

Minutes of the Fifty-First Business Meeting of the Swiss-American Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, October 11, 2014

Minutes for the Annual Meeting of the Swiss American Historical Society at the Athenaeum in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on October 11, 2014. There were approximately 22 people in attendance.

Fred Gillespie called the meeting to order at 9:45 AM and gave opening remarks stating that he had an ambitious agenda for the meeting. President Gillespie asked that the minutes from the meeting last year be approved. They were approved unanimously. President Gillespie then moved that a new position of Public Relations be created and that Brian Wages of Brigham Young University should hold that position. The move was approved unanimously.

Albert Winkler reported on future book publications by the Society. The Society will publish Dwight Page's book on the Swiss in Tennessee in 2015. Further projects will be considered after that date.

Dwight Page reported on the future publications of the *SAHS Review*. Albert Winkler will be responsible for the November 2014 and the June 2015 issues of the *Review*.

Rosa Schupbach read her nominating Committee Report. The following were nominated for the Class of 2014-2017: Randall Gafner, Karl Niederer, Franz Portmann, Elisabeth Reimann and Paula Sherman. These candidates were approved unanimously.

Ernie Thurston read the membership report. The number of members had declined by one during the course of 2013-2014. There are two new lifetime members. The report was approved unanimously.

Heinz Bachmann presented the treasurer's report, and the Society just about broke even last year. The report was approved unanimously.

The report of the Swiss Vice President, the Honorable Fred Jenny, was read in *absentia* by President Fred Gillespie. Mr. Jenny expressed his deep regret at his inability to attend this year's meeting due to unavoidable circumstances.

Albert Winkler read Brian Wages' report on public relations. The report was received very positively. There was a discussion about how to pay for membership. It was decided that memberships should be able to be renewed by the use of PayPal, which would be available on the Society's website. The funds would be sent to the Membership Secretary, Ernie Thurston. Ernie also volunteered to send a copy of old book publications to new members of the Society. It was also proposed that we could post older articles in the Society's web pages.

There was a motion to have Paypal made available on the Society's website, and a book will be sent to those who join the Society. The motion was approved unanimously.

There was a proposal to make the Swiss Consul in New York an honorary member of the Society. Rosa Schupbach will contact Thomas Schneider in New York to see if we can meet at the Swiss consulate in 2015. It was mentioned that Mr. Schaller will be the new Consul of Switzerland in New York. The motion was approved unanimously.

Beth Zurbuchen of New Glarus, Wisconsin then gave an update on the Swiss Center of North America. She thanked Dr. Donald Tritt of Denison University, Ohio for his generous contribution of thousands of valuable books on Swiss American History and Genealogy, which Dr. Tritt had donated to the library at the Swiss Center of North America in New Glarus, Wisconsin. In addition, Mrs. Zurbuchen encouraged all members of the Society to visit the Center, which hosts many events of interest to Swiss Americans.

Finally, tributes in honor of the accomplishments and contributions of Dr. Leo Schelbert, an Emeritus Professor at the University of Illinois at Chicago and former Editor-in-Chief of the SAHS Review and Book Series, were made by his colleagues Dr. Dwight Page of Bryan College, Dayton, Tennessee and Dr. Donald Tritt of Denison University, Granville, Ohio.

Thereupon a motion was presented to adjourn the meeting, and President Fred Gillespie invited all attendees to attend a luncheon in honor of Dr. Leo Schelbert, to be held at the famous and historic Philadelphia City Tavern.

B. Elections, Nominating Committee Report

By Rosa Schubach, Chairperson, Nominating Committee

The Nominating Committee is made up of the following:

Heinz Bachmann

Leo Schelbert

And myself as Chairperson

Today the election process will be quite short. The term of the Class of 2011-2014 of the Board of Advisors has expired and we need to elect a new Class of 2014-2017. I have contacted all five members of that class and have heard from four who have all agreed to be nominated again. So far I have not heard from Paula Sherman. Has anybody heard from her? She has been a member of our Society for many years, and I do not believe that she no longer wishes to be a member of the Board of Advisors. If you agree, we shall vote for her today, and I shall try to contact her again and inform her that she continues to be a member of the Board of Advisors.

Therefore, the following are nominated for the Class of 2014-2017:

Randall Gafner

Karl Niederer

Franz Portmann

Elisabeth Reimann

Paula Sherman

Are there any nominations from the floor? If not, the nominations are closed. I move that those nominated be elected. Seconded? All those in favor say aye, any opposed? Therefore the Class of 2014-2017 is duly elected.

I have here the names of the other two Classes, namely the Class of 2012-2015 and the Class of 2013-2016, which as a matter of record will be published in the Minutes of this Meeting in the February 2015 Review. So I think that we can dispense with reading them.

Class of 2012-2015

Susan Keller

Dwight Page

Kenneth Schelbert

David Sutton

Franz von Arx

Class of 2013-2016

Marianne Burkhard

Donald Hilty

Diana Larisgoitia

Urspeter Schelbert

Donald Tritt

C. Membership Report

To: Members of the Swiss American Historical Society

From: Ernie Thurston, Membership Secretary

Subject: Annual Membership Report

IN BRIEF: We have 234 current members, a 0% decrease from the 235 reported last year at this time. We welcome one new LIFE member this year, Erica Gees of Washington, DC.

CURRENT MEMBERS BY TYPE AND COUNTRY

<i>Membership Type</i>	<i>U.S./ Canada</i>	<i>Switzerland/Other</i>	<i>Total</i>
Regular (\$50/yr.)	108	24	132
Student (\$25/yr.)	2	0	2
Institution (\$75/yr.)	13	6	19
Life Members	44	7	51
Complimentary	25	5	30

MEMBERSHIP CHANGES, 10/01/2013 TO 9/30/2014

Members as of 10/01/2013	235
Plus: New Members Enrolled	8
Plus: Former Members (not "Current" last year who have Rejoined	1
Less: Dropped by Request or Decease	- 5
Less: Dropped for Non-Payment of Dues	<u>- 5</u>
Current Members, 09/30/2014	234

**BREAKDOWN OF CURRENT MEMBERSHIP
BY COUNTRY AND STATE:**

CA.....	13	NJ	6
CT	3	NV	2
DC	5	NY	26
DE	3	OH	8
FL	3	OR	1
GA	2	PA	16
HI	1	RI	1
IA	2	SC	5
IL	17	SD	2
IN	2	TN	4
KS	1	TX	4
KY	1	UT	5
LA	4	VA	5
MA	3	VT	2
MD	8	WA	2
MI	2	WI	15
MN	5	WV	2
MO	1	BC, CANADA	1
MS	1	ON, CANADA	1
MT	1	QB, CANADA	1
NC	4	SWITZERLAND	42
NH	1		

D. Treasurer's Report**1. Consolidated Summary Accounts***By Heinz Bachmann, Treasurer of the SAHS*

	<i>U.S. Chapter</i>	<i>Swiss Chapter</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Income</i>			
Annual Dues	8,202	2,745	10,947
Donations incl. life memberships	1,500	-	1,500
Book Sales	255	-	255
Events	-	1,397	1,397
Interest	-	5	5
Capital Appreciation	<u>6,861</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>6,861</u>
Total Income	16,818	4,147	20,965
<i>Expenses</i>			
Meetings/Events	2,130	2,780	4,910
Donations (prices)	2,000	-	2,000
Administration/Postage/Fees	406	132	538
<i>SAHS Review</i>	7,690	-	7,690
Publications (Books)	<u>5,258</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>5,258</u>
Total Expenditures	17,484	2,912	20,396
<i>Net Result</i>	- 666	1,235	+ 569
<i>Balances</i>			
Opening Balance, October 1, 2013			93,198
Closing Balance, September 30, 2014			93,767
<i>Net Result</i>			+ 569

1) 0.92 SFr per \$

2. Balance Sheets (\$)

United States

CLOSING BALANCE (as of September 30, 2014)

Checking	First Bank & Trust of Evanston, Illinois	\$ 11,907.74
Savings	Vanguard STAR Fund	<u>\$ 68,899.06</u>
Total Assets		\$ 80,806.80

OPENING BALANCE (as of October 1, 2013) \$ 81,473.19

Net Change During FY 2013/2014 \$ - 666.39

Switzerland

By Fred Jenny, Vice President, Switzerland

<i>PostFinance, Vereinskonto</i>	<i>U.S. Dollars</i>	<i>Swiss Francs</i>
Closing Balance (as of September 30, 2013)	\$ 12,960.30	SFr. 11,923.40
Opening Balance (as of October 1, 2012)	\$ 11,725.14	SFr. 10,787.10
Net Change During FY 2012/2013	+ \$ 1,235.16	+ SFr. 1,136.30
Overall Net Change During FY 2012/2013	+ \$ 568.77	

E. Annual Report of the Vice President of the Swiss Chapter, Switzerland

By Fred Jenny

Dear Members of the Swiss American Historical Society:

I am unfortunately again not able to attend the SAHS General Meeting in Philadelphia. I however hope that I can be there at next year's General Meeting, which will be in New York.

While repeating what I stated a year ago, the Swiss Chapter is doing well. However, we also suffer the same reality in Switzerland as you do in the U.S.A. Membership is diminishing, and new members are not easy to enroll.

On July 25, 2014, 17 persons arrived in Schaffhausen where we had wonderful summer weather. The group of participants included the following personalities: From the United States there were President Fred Gillespie, Past President Dr. Heinz Bachmann with his wife Ilse, Membership Secretary Ernest Thurston and Roger Brodmann of Metairie. From the Swiss membership, 13 persons attended. More than ever before, I do hope that this trend will grow further.

After tea and coffee, we walked—under the guidance of Richard Blatter who lives partly in his home town Schaffhausen and partly in Paris—through the City of Schaffhausen. Mr. Blatter knows almost everyone in the city, and thus we had a most agreeable experience. We could still see damages done by the Second World War when American pilots accidentally bombed Schaffhausen instead of an intended city in Germany. How horrible are the pillages of war!

We then visited the successful International Watch Company.

After some more cultural views, the party headed to the famous Restaurant “Kronenhof,” where we had an apero outside and a delicious lunch in the Restaurant.

During the remaining time in the afternoon, we visited several churches, gardens, and other famous places which abound in Shaffhausen.

Some participants also visited the “Munot” in the late afternoon. All in all, a deeply satisfying experience for all participants.

https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/sahs_review/vol51/iss1/11

On another note, during the SAHS year 2013-2014, the Swiss Chapter added two memberships and later in the year made up two of them. The Swiss Chapter still has therefore 45 memberships.

The finances also deserve special attention: The Swiss Chapter has now approximately CHF 11,500 by the end of September.

Editor's Special Note: The Officers of the Swiss American Historical Society wish to express our deep gratitude to Fred Jenny for his inexhaustible enthusiasm for the mission of the Swiss American Historical Society. His annual summer excursions in Switzerland are always awaited with much anticipation and excitement. Mr. Jenny invariably provides the membership with extremely satisfying and unforgettable cultural and culinary experiences throughout Switzerland.

F. Publications

1. Book Editor's Report

By Professor Albert Winkler

In 2014, the Swiss American Historical Society has published Susann Bosshard Kälin's *Emigrant Paths: Encounters with Twentieth Century Swiss Americans*. This is the fascinating and enthralling story of sixteen Swiss men who left their homeland to pursue their destiny in the United States. Susann Bosshard-Kälin is a prolific researcher who has a long term commitment to publications with our Society. In April 2015, she and another colleague from Switzerland will spend time at the home of Dr. Leo Schelbert in Evanston, Illinois, consulting on a new project concerning persons of Swiss descent in the region of Louisville, Kentucky. Mrs. Bosshard-Kälin and her colleague will go to Louisville and will explore genealogical libraries and records in that city in order to determine whether there is sufficient material for a book on the subject.

At present, my office is assisting Dr. Dwight Page of Bryan College, Dayton, Tennessee, in the production of his upcoming book, *The Swiss Presence in the History of Tennessee*. The book is due for publication in the late summer of 2015.

2. **SAHS Review Editor's Report**

By Professor Dwight Page

The rich variety and profundity of the contributions to the present February 2015 issue of the *SAHS Review* herald the advent of yet another very positive year in the history of this esteemed publication. The upcoming June 2015 issue of the *Review* will be again directed by Dr. Albert Winkler of Brigham Young University. The readership was much impressed by his special November 2014 issue on Henry Wirz, the Swiss Commander of the Confederation Prison at Andersonville, Georgia. Once again, in the upcoming June 2015 issue of the *Review*, Dr. Winkler will provide our readership with another superb study of the Swiss role and involvement in the American Civil War.

The November 2015 issue of the *Review* will feature lead articles by Professor Marsha Robinson of Miami University in Ohio and Stephen Halbrook of Washington, D.C. Dr. Halbrook is an eminent scholar of Swiss and European history during the period of the Second World War. In the November 2015 issue, Dr. Halbrook will provide us with his latest scholarship dealing with the Swiss military activities during that era.

Finally, in June 2016, Dr. Leo Schelbert, Editor Emeritus of the *Review*, will present a fascinating retrospective on the history of the Swiss American Historical Society at the time of its fiftieth anniversary. The revived and current form of the Society was founded at the Embassy of Switzerland in Washington, D.C. in 1964.

Finally, in November 2016, once again Dr. Leo Schelbert, working with colleagues in Switzerland, will present the readership with a fascinating selection of articles pertaining to the current Swiss scene.

G. Annual Publicity and Public Relations Report

By Bryan Wages

Society Website

The Society website continues to be a key gateway and introduction for potential new members. It is also a well-used resource for current members to keep in contact with the Society. With a minimal cost to the Society, it accomplishes a great deal.

Usage: From the inception of the website two years ago there have been nearly 11,000 page views. Between October 2013 and September 2014, there have been about 5,000 page views by over 1,600 visitors. The most common user is located within the United States, while the second most common is from Switzerland. In a switch from last year, the third most common user is located in Brazil, followed by Canada, Germany, and the United Kingdom, respectively. The trend of visitors and page views indicates that more visitors are looking at more pages while on the website.

Content Updates: Regular changes to the page have resulted in better communication with members and others interested in the Society.

Individual Invitations

Since the last annual meeting in October 2013, individualized email invitations were extended to over 1,100 university and college history instructors, at an average of ten per business day. This year one of these invitations yielded a new member who will be attending the annual meetings for the first time. These outreach efforts will continue through the remainder of this year and into 2015.

Proposals

Contact former Society members and extend a personal invitation to rejoin.

H. Tributes in Honor of Dr. Leo Schelbert
The Athenaeum, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Saturday, October 11, 2014

First Tribute

I have known Dr. Leo Schelbert since January 1992, when he published an article written by myself concerning Switzerland and the European Union in the *Swiss American Historical Society Review*. Since that time he has published many of my articles and book reviews in the *Review*. In February 2002 he suggested that I be appointed the Editor-in-Chief of the *Review*, and I accepted his kind invitation. In all those years, Dr. Schelbert has invariably shown himself to be a cordial and supportive colleague. It has been a true joy to know and to work with him. His respect for my scholarship and his decision to elevate me to such an important and distinguished position in the field of European Studies meant a great deal to my parents, Sergeant Major Herbert C. Page and Connie Maxwell Todd Page.

Dr. Schelbert is also a most eminent and prolific scholar in the fields of American and Swiss American history. He has published 10 books concerning Swiss, Swiss American, and European history. In addition, he has published 40 articles on the same subjects. Furthermore, he has published 43 book reviews. Finally, he has participated extensively in academic conferences and has frequently addressed scholarly and general audiences in both the United States and Europe.

Moreover, Dr. Schelbert has received numerous awards for academic excellence, including the Shirley Bill Award for Excellence in Teaching, the Ellis Island Medal of Honor, and the University of Illinois at Chicago Award for Excellence in Teaching.

In sum, the career of Dr. Leo Schelbert represents the epitome of academic excellence, and he serves as a model for young professors to emulate. It would be impossible to recount to the audience all the expressions of gratitude which I have received from colleagues around the globe praising Dr. Schelbert's professional expertise, cordiality, and thoughtfulness.

Dwight Page, Editor-in-Chief

Swiss American Historical Society Review

Second Tribute

Dear Leo,

Countless projects and publications of the Swiss American Historical Society have grown out of your vision, forethought and commitment to the field of Swiss American Studies. Over your lifetime you have provided a rare kind of Mentorship to a large group of appreciative colleagues and students—one marked by your ever-pleasant manner, by your gentle form of challenge, your steadfast encouragement, your helpful advice and counsel and the generous offer of your time. You are a model of the Facilitator/Educator—one who lives the quite joy of seeing others fulfill their project. Your gifts to all of us are precious beyond compare. It is now our time to give you heartfelt notes of lasting appreciation. Please accept these tributes, Humble Man.

Dear Colleague and Friend, I honor you as a Gentleman, an Educator, and a Mentor of unmatched value defining the field of Swiss American Studies.

*Donald G. Tritt, Professor of Psychology Emeritus, Denison University
Granville, Ohio*

"WE ARE TREATED TO ... A THOUGHTFUL,
WELL RESEARCHED EXHIBITION ..." AKRON BEACON JOURNAL

THE LEGACY OF FERDINAND A. BRADER

19th Century Drawings of the Ohio and Pennsylvania Landscape



THE PROPERTY of DANIEL and SARAH LEIBELSPERGER, FLEETWOOD BERKS COUNTY, PENNA. 1882.!

*Swiss folk artist Ferdinand Brader
brings art and history alive in
monumental drawings of
Ohio and Pennsylvania!*

Explore family life on homesteads
of the countryside in the late 1800s.

Discover farming, beer and cheese
production, rail travel, and more.

Experience Brader's post-Civil War
views of the region in stunning detail!

**On View Through
March 15, 2015**

FREE EXHIBIT LECTURES


My Father's Farm: Pennsylvania Dutch Identity
Presented by Rev. Daniel Grimminger
Tuesday, March 3, 2015 • 6 – 7:30pm

Ohio's Vanishing Barns: Inside the Brader Drawings
Presented by Dan Troth • Friends of Ohio Barns
Tuesday, March 10, 2015 • 6 – 7:30pm

For Exhibit & Event Details...

www.cantonart.org • 330.453.7666



1001 Market Avenue North • Canton, Ohio 44702 • Get connected to CMA...   

EXHIBITION SPONSORS INCLUDE: MCKAY LODGE FINE ARTS CONSERVATION LABORATORY, INC.; MARK AND BEVERLY BELGVA; THE DOMINION FOUNDATION OF CLEVELAND; RUSS KIRO ASSOCIATES; BIERY FAMILY FOUNDATION INC.; RACHEL DAVIS FINE ARTS; THE ERVIN AND MARIE WILKOF FOUNDATION; MR. AND MRS. ROBERT LEIBENSPERGER; RICH INDUSTRIES, INC.; AND FRANK TOSTO.

With support in part from...



SAHS MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION FORM

*Join online using PayPal at
<http://swissamericanhistoricalsociety.org/join-today/>*

Name: _____

Address: _____

City: _____

Phone: _____

Email: _____

Dues:

- Individual \$50.00 per year
- Institution \$75.00 per year
- Student \$25.00 per year
- Life Membership \$500.00

Make check payable to: SAHS.

Mail this form, with your check to:

Ernest Thurston Membership Secretary

65 Town Mountain Road

Asheville, NC 28804

Email: Eswisst@gmail.com (mail to: EswissT@gmail.com)

Membership in the Swiss American Historical Society is open to all. Each year, members will receive three copies of the *Swiss American Historical Society Review*, a personal copy of each book published by the Society in that year, and an invitation to attend the national meeting of the Society, held consecutively in Philadelphia, New York City, and Washington, D.C. At these annual meetings, members will have the opportunity to meet fellow Swiss Americans and scholars in the fields of Swiss and Swiss American studies and international relations. They may also establish new friendships and professional relationships.

SWISS AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

65 Town Mountain Rd. • Asheville, NC • 28804

PRST STD
US postage paid
Reading, PA
PI #415