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Swiss American Historical Society

REVIEW



Volume 46, No. 1

February 2010

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A Special Tercentennial Invitation

by H. Dwight Page

It is with great joy that I, Dr. Dwight Page, Editor of the *Swiss American Historical Society Review* and a native of Laurinburg, North Carolina, invite you all to a very special meeting of the Swiss American Historical Society in New Bern, North Carolina, on Saturday, December 11, 2010, in honor of the Tercentenary of New Bern.

Later in the year, you will all receive a special mailing from Dr. Heinz Bachmann, President of the Swiss American Historical Society, inviting you to this event and providing you with details concerning registration and lodging in the New Bern Convention Center hotels.

However, because of the great distance many will travel in order to attend this event, we felt that it would be advisable to provide you even now with information which will assist you to plan a fine and unforgettable holiday based around this special New Bern meeting.

First, please bear in mind the following schedule of events before making your decision concerning your attendance of this special meeting.

On Saturday, December 11, 2010, the Swiss American Historical Society will host a Tercentennial Special International Meeting whose purpose will be to bring together the far flung family of the Swiss American Historical Society and also to attract new members to the Society. This special meeting will be an official event cosponsored by the New Bern, North Carolina Tercentennial Commission. This event will take place in the recently constructed North Carolina History Center, located in the heart of the historic district of New Bern. The meeting will include a social hour to give our members and guests from around the world the opportunity to get to know one another, a luncheon, an afternoon symposium with two guest speakers and will

conclude with a tour of the Old Bern-New Bern Exhibit also housed in the North Carolina History Center.

Later that same evening, Saturday, December 11, 2010, will occur the annual holiday illumination of the exquisite Tryon Palace, next door to our afternoon meeting place. This tour of the Palace will be accompanied by musicians, actors and hawkers in eighteenth century period dress as well as the famed African dance company of New Bern who will entertain you in the streets of the historic district immediately adjoining the Palace. Finally, the evening of Saturday, December 11, 2010 will culminate with a spectacular display of fireworks over the lawn of Tryon Palace, which you will enjoy in the company of thousands of merry makers.

The next day, Sunday, December 12, 2010, will occur the annual holiday tour of the historic homes of New Bern. In making your decision whether or not to attend this event, please remember that New Bern has one of the world's finest collections of Georgian and Federalist mansions. Indeed, to tour the historic district of New Bern is to examine all the main periods of American architecture and interior decoration since the Georgian Colonial period.

Later that evening, Sunday, December 12, 2010, the North Carolina Symphony Orchestra will present a major holiday concert at the New Bern Convention Center, which will showcase a large repertoire of classical music.

All these holiday events will take place within easy walking distance of the New Bern Convention Center hotels, where our group will be housed. Plus, there is ample parking space in the historic district itself for those who prefer to drive. Several members of the Swiss American Historical Society will also provide free chauffeur service throughout the day. With the large number of interesting things to see and do in New Bern during the weekend of December 10-12, 2010, we urge you to consider spending a minimum of three days in the New Bern area, arriving on Thursday evening and departing on Monday morning. New Bern does have a fine airport with connections to all international locations.

In addition, New Bern is located within a convenient three hour drive of some of the most interesting and famous historic sites and resorts in America: Williamsburg, Virginia; Pinehurst, North Carolina, with its world renowned golf courses; Myrtle Beach, South Carolina and

the Grand Strand with equally fine golf courses; Calabash, North Carolina, with its hundred seafood restaurants; historic Georgetown, South Carolina; and nearby Brookgreen Gardens Sculpture Park; and Charleston, South Carolina, with its large array of historic homes and museums. Therefore, you might wish to combine your attendance at our meeting with a more extended family vacation in Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia or even Florida. New Bern is the perfect and traditional place to stop over when travelling to any of these destinations. Indeed, the date of December 11, 2010, was chosen for our meeting precisely in order to make your holiday vacation as convenient and satisfying as possible. All members of the Swiss American Historical Society, your friends, colleagues and relatives are welcome to join us at the New Bern meeting. However, because of the various academic presentations during this meeting, the afternoon sessions would not be suitable for children under the age of twelve. These younger children are most welcome to attend the morning address, reception and luncheon; however, during the afternoon academic presentations, it would be best to find alternative excursions and activities for them. Parents and grandparents should consider the great educational benefits of this trip to New Bern and make arrangements with the principals of their children's schools to excuse them from classes so that they can attend this historic and memorable meeting. Since the meeting has been scheduled just before the Christmas academic break, it will be easy to persuade teachers and principals and deans to excuse high school and college students from class.

In order to make your trip as enjoyable as possible, we suggest the following three itineraries for those who wish to include this New Bern meeting in a family driving holiday. (Should you prefer to fly directly, you should be aware that New Bern does have a fine airport with convenient connections through Raleigh-Durham, Charlotte and Atlanta to all global destinations.)

For those driving to New Bern from the Northeast, take Interstate 95 South to the Washington, D. C. area, then take Interstate 66 West to Middleburg, Virginia and overnight at the Red Fox Inn, one of the oldest and most historic inns of Virginia and a favorite inn of George and Martha Washington and John and Jacqueline Kennedy. The next morning take Interstate 66 East back to the intersection with Interstate 95 and travel south on Interstate 95 to the exit, near Petersburg,

Virginia, for the Stately Plantations of Virginia, such as Carter's Grove and Berkeley, and then visit nearby Jamestown and Williamsburg. Next continue on south through historic Edenton and Bath, North Carolina to New Bern. In Bath make sure that you visit the town's historic district. This is the oldest town in North Carolina. You should also view the famed eternal magic horse tracks near Bath, a scientific phenomenon of world renown. (You might possibly wish to extend this vacation southward to Florida, an ideal destination during the winter season in December.)

For those driving from the Midwest, take Interstate 65 to Nashville, Tennessee, or fly to Nashville, first visiting the Parthenon and the Hermitage, former home of President Andrew Jackson. Then drive east on Interstate-40 to the exit for Walland and Townsend, Tennessee at the entrance to the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, drive just past the sign for the Foothills Parkway on State Road 321, turn right on Miller's Cove Road and stay over at Blackberry Farms, America's finest and most scenic country resort. In addition, you might wish to overnight in nearby Gatlinburg, one of the nation's most popular vacation destinations, visiting the amazing Aquarium and many shops and overnighting either at Brookside Resort or the Sidney James Mountain Lodge; should you decide to spend the night at either of these two Gatlinburg hotels, make sure that you request a room with a fireplace and a view overlooking the babbling mountain streams. A third option would be to drive directly through the mountains on Interstate-40 to Asheville, North Carolina and visit the Biltmore House, America's most beautiful private stately castle, copied after the Château of Blois in France, containing more than 4,000 years of Greek, Roman and European art and architecture and superbly decorated for the holidays. Stay over at Asheville's Grove Park Inn, with one of the world's finest hotel spas. From there drive south on Interstate 26, stopping at Flat Rock, North Carolina, for a delightful performance at the North Carolina State Theatre. Then drive to Charlotte, North Carolina and stay at the Charlotte Marriott Downtown Center Hotel, at Tryon and Trade Streets, with its luxurious white marble lobby decorated with thousands of crimson poinsettias. Make sure that you request a room with use of the concierge executive lounge, which commands spectacular views of Charlotte and offers a superb executive breakfast, as well as early evening beverages, hors

d'oeuvres and cakes. Just across the street you will discover a variety of superb indoor mall shops and also the Charlotte Blumenthal Center for the Performing Arts. In addition, you might want to consider a night at the nearby historic Davidson College Carnegie Guest House, with tastefully appointed rooms embellished with paintings representing five hundred years of European and American art.

Next travel north on Interstate 85 to Chapel Hill, North Carolina and overnight at the legendary Carolina Inn at the heart of the campus of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. While in Chapel Hill, be sure to visit the world renowned Morehead Planetarium. From Chapel Hill, drive east on State Highway 70 East to New Bern.

The last recommended itinerary is suitable for those who wish to fly into Atlanta and then drive the remainder of the distance to New Bern by car. Upon arrival at the Atlanta Airport, drive either to the Ritz Carleton Hotel or the Hilton Hotel on Peachtree Street in downtown Atlanta or to the nearby, more moderate Downtown Atlanta Day's Inn, located on Baker Street. You will be glad that you made the decision to choose this particular itinerary when you see Atlanta in its Christmas glory. Visit Stone Mountain with its famous glass shops, the vast Lenox Square Shopping Mall, the Highland Museum of Art, the CNN Global Communications Center where you can actually tour the studios, the new Atlanta Aquarium, the Margaret Mitchell House, the extremely historic nearby Jonesboro, Georgia, and take in a performance of *The Nutcracker Suite* at the fabled Fox Theatre, one of the world's most inspirational and beautiful Christmas delights. You might also want to continue an evening excursion to Callaway Gardens south of Atlanta, boasting the world's most extensive and beautiful collection of holiday secular and religious illuminations, in a natural forest setting and viewed from the comfort of your car.

After your stay in Atlanta drive east on Interstate-85 toward Charlotte, North Carolina, stopping just past the North Carolina state line at the King's Mountain Revolutionary War Historic Park. Overnight in Charlotte at the fabulous Charlotte downtown Center Marriott Hotel, at Trade and Tryon Streets, with its luxurious white marble lobby decorated with thousands of crimson poinsettias. Make sure that you request the use of the executive concierge lounge, which commands spectacular views of Charlotte and offers a superb executive breakfast and early evening beverages, hors d'oeuvres and cakes. Just across the

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This special meeting of the Swiss American Historical Society provides you and your family with a unique and wonderful opportunity to spend a long holiday in the American South. The weather is mild and fine in the Carolinas in December, and many of you will probably wish to return for a second visit and rent beach time-share condominiums at Nags Head or Myrtle Beach or even purchase a summer home in the New Bern area. Because of the region's perfect climate and its hospitable population, most people who visit the Carolinas do come back for a second visit, and many even decide to buy vacation homes there. You will find that the Carolinas are very close to the earthly paradise described by John Lawson in his famous early eighteenth century book.

If you do decide to build a family vacation around this special meeting, please be advised that you should make reservations at least four months in advance for flights, events and hotels. I am sure that many of you have wished for years to visit Florida during the mild and exciting winter season. The special meeting of the Swiss American Historical Society on December 11, 2010 gives you the perfect opportunity to make this dream holiday come true; New Bern for centuries has been the traditional stopover for travelers travelling south for the winter to Florida.

Please discuss this excellent event with your family and friends as soon as possible and begin planning your holiday in North Carolina and the South. Again, Dr. Heinz Bachmann, President of the Swiss American Historical Society, will send you a formal invitation to the event later in the summer or fall. We shall make arrangements for your lodging in New Bern itself, so please wait until you receive the mailing

from Dr. Bachmann in order to take advantage of the group rate at our New Bern convention hotel; however, if you wish to extend your vacation in the region, it would be your own responsibility to make those additional travel arrangements and reservations in other cities and resorts. We have given you suggested itineraries. However, you need to consult the appropriate websites in order to find the exact information you will need in order to make reservations in those locations.

Let me conclude by saying that I so look forward to greeting and meeting you all at this special holiday meeting of the Swiss American Historical Society in New Bern, North Carolina, on Saturday, December 11, 2010. You will all receive a formal invitation from Dr. Heinz Bachmann, President of the Swiss American Historical Society, containing all details about the schedule and lodging, sometime this summer or fall.

With best regards to you all and best wishes for a happy new year, I remain

Dwight Page, Editor
Swiss American Historical Society Review

The Battle of Murten

The Invasion of Charles the Bold and the Survival of the Swiss States

by Albert Winkler

Frequent warfare was a harsh political reality in central Europe in the late Middle Ages as ambitious states tried to extend their power and influence by attacking and subjugating other territories. As a result of this frequent aggression, success on the battlefield was necessary for the survival and independence of many nations and peoples, including the Swiss Confederation. The most critical threat to the existence of the Swiss alliance in the fifteenth century was the invasion in 1476 by Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, one of the most powerful rulers in Europe. In two stunning victories, Granson (Grandson in German), and, most importantly, Murten (*Morat* in French),¹ the Swiss assured the survival of the Confederation, and these impressive feats of arms also propelled the Swiss states to the status of major players in international affairs for a short time.²

This contest was also a contrast in ideologies because it pitted the monarchical and largely feudal duchy of Burgundy against the Swiss states that were predominately republics and democracies. In a broader sense, the victory of the Confederate foot soldiers contributed to a revolution

¹ Many of the places mentioned in this article are on the linguistic frontiers of Switzerland between the German and French-speaking areas, and most of them are known by the spelling in either language. In this paper, the locations in the French-speaking areas will be referred to by their French spelling and those in the German-speaking areas by their German spelling.

² A large collection of sources is Gottlieb Ochsenbein ed. *Die Urkunden der Belagerung und Schlacht von Murten. Im Auftrage des Festcomites auf die vierte Säkularfeier am. 22 Juni 1876*, (Freiburg: Bielmann, 1876). Hereafter cited as O. This work fails to include a few important sources including Diebold Schilling, *Die Berner-Chronik des Diebold Schilling, 1468-1484* 2 vols. Gustav Tobler ed. (Bern: Wyss, 1897-1901). Hereafter cited as Schilling (Bern).

in military tactics that helped change the character of the battlefield for centuries to come. From that point, the armies of Europe relied more heavily on infantry formations than was the case earlier in European history, and the once-dominant cavalry became the auxiliary of men on foot. This article will discuss the character and actions of Charles the Bold and address the nature of his threat to Swiss independence. Additionally, this essay will deal with the Swiss military and how it defeated one of the most feared armies in Europe at the battle of Murten and also put in motion a major change in military tactics.³

Charles the Bold or *Charles le Téméraire* (1433-77), better translated as ‘Charles the Rash,’ ruled the Duchy of Burgundy from 1467 to 1477. As an ambitious man, Charles sought to expand his holdings and to create a strong, centralized state between France and the Holy Roman Empire.⁴ By 1474, he controlled Alsace and the Franche-Comté, and he enjoyed an alliance with Savoy, which dominated



Charles the Bold of Burgundy (1433-1477) taken from Ms. Statute Book of the Order of the Golden Fleece, Vienna; painted between 1518-1531.

³ Important recent studies of the battle include, Gerrit Himmelsbach, *Die Renaissance des Krieges: Kriegsmonographien und das Bild des Krieges in der spätmittelalterlichen Chronistik am Beispiel der Burgunderkreise* (Zürich: Chronos, 1999) and Georges Grosjean, “Die Murtenschlacht, Analyse eines Ereignisses” in *Die Murtenschlacht: Ein Schweizer Ereignis in Europas Geschichte zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit 1476-1976, Internationales Kolloquium* (Freiburg: Paulusdruckerei, 1976), pp. 35-90.

⁴ The best study on Charles in English is Richard Vaughan, *Charles the Bold: the Last Valois Duke of Burgundy* (London: Longman, 1973). A valuable old study is John Foster Kirk, *History of Charles the Bold: Duke of Burgundy* 3 vols. (Philadelphia: Lipponcott, 1864-1868).

tortured citizens, despoiled churches, murdered inhabitants, and burned the community to the ground. Charles then refused to allow the city to be rebuilt, and it remained uninhabited until after his death.¹¹

Nesle, a town in northeastern France, suffered a similar fate. After the Duke's army took the position on 10 June 1472, his men went on a killing spree, massacring the town's defenders. The troops only spared a few enemy archers from death after they had cut off each man's right hand. When the Duke entered a church on horseback, the animal reportedly splashed through human blood on the floor, and Charles bragged about the brutality of his men stating he had "many good butchers" (*moult bons bouchers*) in his army.¹²

The Duke's policy of harsh treatment of his enemies seemed to have some military and political advantages, because many of the cities near Liège chose to negotiate with him rather than resist and be destroyed. In the case of Liège, the city's ability to assail him had been crushed, and the town's inhabitants were unable to retaliate. Obviously, the Duke thought that brutality was a worthwhile practice, and he later used this policy against the Swiss but with disastrous results because they had the ability to strike back.

The Swiss Confederation grew from three small states at the turn of the thirteenth century to a coalition of eight mutually-dependent nations by 1352. These *Acht Alten Orte* (eight old states) were the federation that dominated the Swiss regions for much of the later Middle Ages. By 1474 when the war with Charles began, the Confederation had developed into a complex system of alliances and subordinated areas to control much of modern-day Switzerland from Lake Constance in the northeast to lands beyond Lake Neuchatel in the west. The Duke's war with the Swiss was an unwise venture from his standpoint. The Confederation was a poor area with few resources and limited wealth. In fact, the most important economic export of the Swiss was their mercenaries who had earned a well-deserved reputation as effective soldiers in many armies

¹¹ Philippe de Comynnes, *Memoirs, the Reign of Louis XI 1461-83*, Michael Jones trans. (Baltimore: Penguin, 1972), pp. 158-64. See also Vaughan, pp. 32-7; Kirk, 1: 594-612; and *Liège et Boulogne: Actes du colloque tenu à Liège les 28, 29, et 30 octobre 1968* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1972).

¹² For the identical quotes, see Jean de Roye, *Journal de Jean de Roye: connu le nom de Chronique Scandaleuse* (Paris: Renourd, 1844) 2: 268-70 and Comines, *Memoires* 2: 94-5. See also, Kirk 2: 134-6 and Vaughan, pp. 77-80.

in Europe. This made a successful conquest of the Swiss doubtful, and such a victory would gain Charles few assets.¹³

The Swiss military system had matured by the middle of the fifteenth century to be among the most admired in Europe. The Confederates were primarily infantry, many wielding either the halberd or pike. Each was a simple and effective weapon. The halberd was a wood shaft five to seven feet in length with a spear point, hook, and ax blade affixed to it. The halberdiers used the hook to snag the armor of a knight, so he could be pulled from his mount, and they used the spear point for stabbing and the ax blade for slashing. The pike was a spear eighteen feet in length that was used to keep enemy cavalry at bay.¹⁴

By the middle of the fifteenth century, the Swiss had developed a square (*Viereck*) tactical formation known as the *Haufen* (mass, great number) which was designed to use the pike and halberd most effectively. The Confederates placed three rows of pikemen on each of the four sides of the structure where they could absorb the shock of attacking cavalry, the length of their weapons keeping the knights from penetrating the formation. The halberdiers were in the center of the *Haufen* and provided tactical flexibility because they could rush past the pikemen and engage an enemy in close combat. Men wielding an early musket, the harquebus, also stood behind the pikemen providing firepower for the formation. The *Haufen* was surprisingly mobile, and the Swiss often advanced over rough terrain while maintaining good order.¹⁵

Fear of the Duke's growing power brought many of the areas threatened by him together in agreements for mutual support and military aid. On 31 March 1474 the eight Swiss states joined an alliance, the Lower Union (*Niedere Vereinigung*), composed of bishops, dukes, and cities mostly in Alsace and Lorraine. Surprisingly, this agreement included the Archduke of Austria, Sigismund, who was a member of the Habsburg

¹³ The most comprehensive history of Switzerland in English remains, James Murray Luck, *A History of Switzerland: The First 100,000 Years, Before the Beginnings to the Days of the Present* (Palo Alto: Society for the Promotion of Science and Scholarship, 1985).

¹⁴ The classic study of Swiss Medieval warfare is, Carl von Elgger, *Kriegswesen und Kriegskunst der schweizerischen Eidgenossen im XIV., XV. und XVI. Jahrhundert* (Luzern: Militärisches Verlagsbureau, 1873). For a discussion of weapons, see, pp. 91-4.

¹⁵ Elgger, *Kriegswesen*, pp. 273-314. The *Haufen* was not developed from the Greek Phalanx and any similarity between the two was coincidental.

family, the traditional enemy of the Swiss. In fact, the mutual fear of Charles led the Confederates to finalize a treaty, the Eternal Direction (*Ewige Richtung*) with the Habsburgs on 14 Oct. 1474.¹⁶

Soon after, the Executive Council (*Tagsatzung*) of the Swiss Confederation, comprised of representatives from all eight states in the Confederation, met in Luzern and formally declared war on Charles on 25 October 1474. The council wanted the Swiss to appear to be the wounded party, and it listed the numerous incidents of maltreatment (*misshandeln*) that Charles had perpetrated on the Confederates and their allies. The declaration justified in advance any acts of war the Swiss would make on the Duke and his holdings.¹⁷

The first major engagement of the war was the battle of Héricourt on 13 November 1474. A large army of 18,000 men, including 7,570 Swiss, laid siege to the city of Héricourt in the Franche-Comte controlled by Charles. When a Burgundian army of 12,000 men attempted to break the encirclement, the Confederates and their allies drove off the attackers easily. Reportedly, only two Swiss were wounded.¹⁸ The Burgundians lost perhaps 3,000 men, and the Bernese counted 1,617 enemy dead. The victory at Héricourt was an example of how the Swiss viewed the taking of captives because Confederates were irritated by the fact that their allies took 70 prisoners, since “it was their [the Swiss] custom to capture no one.”¹⁹ But the Swiss also showed mercy to their adversaries. Héricourt surrendered after three days of bombardment, and the Swiss allowed the garrison of 450 men to leave unmolested and with their possessions.²⁰

Bern had long had a policy of territorial expansion, and the outbreak of hostilities with the Burgundians gave that state and its allies the excuse to invade the neighboring Vaud area which was controlled by Charles’s ally, Savoy. In three major campaigns during the spring, summer, and fall of 1475, contingents from Bern, Fribourg, Solothurn, and later Zurich attacked the communities and fortresses of the area eventually taking 16

¹⁶ Adolf Gasser, “Ewige Richtung und Burgunder Kriege: zur Klärung einer iltern Streitfrage,” in *Ausgewählte historische Schriften 1933-1983* (Basel: Helbing, 1983), pp. 269-320.

¹⁷ Schilling (Bern), *Berner-Chronik*, 1: 174-5. See also Vaughan, pp. 293-4.

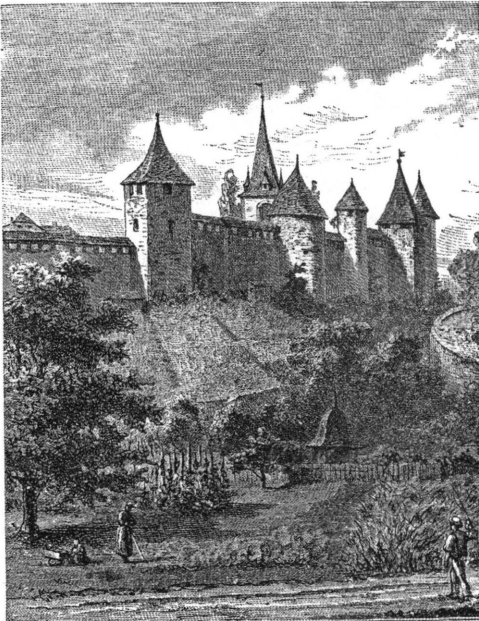
¹⁸ Heinrich Brennwald, *Schweizerchronik*, Rudlof Luginbühl ed. 2 vols. (Basel: Basler Buch- und Antiquariatshandlung, 1910) 2: 227-9.

¹⁹ “*Dann ir gewonheit is, das si niemand ufnehmen.*” Schilling (Bern), 1: 184.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 180-5.

towns and 43 castles.²¹ Typical of the warfare of the era, the raids involved taking plunder and wanton destruction.

When the Swiss invaded the Vaud, they demanded the surrender of opposing garrisons. If the defenders surrendered with little or no resistance, they were treated well, but if they put up an impressive fight, the Swiss often treated them harshly. When the Bernese took the town and castle of Granson late in April 1475, they captured a ship full of people trying to escape on Lake Neuchatel and let them go unharmed. The citizens of the town soon surrendered, and the men of Bern let them leave uninjured and carrying their possessions.²² In October 1475, the citizens of Murten refused entry to the forces of Bern and Fribourg. The besiegers warned the people of the town that if they took the position by assault, they would protect neither the lives nor the property of the defenders. The town soon surrendered, and the Bernese and Fribourgers spared the people and their possessions.²³ On the other hand, when the Bernese took the castle of



Grammont in the Franche-Comté by assault in late August 1475, they killed all its defenders except a few men who dressed as women in a futile attempt to escape detection.²⁴

The war became more cruel by the fall of 1475, and the incidents of brutality were more common on both sides. When the Burgundians took the fortress of Briey in the France-Comté in

City Walls of Murten.

²¹ H. Kurz, *Schweizerschlachten* (Bern: Francke, 1962), p. 89. Schilling (Bern), 1: 317-9.

²² Schilling (Bern), 1: 217-9 and Johannes Knebel, *Chronik aus den Zeiten des Burgunderkrieges* 2 vols. (Basel: Bahnmaier, 1851), 1: 140.

²³ Schilling (Bern), 1: 290-1. "... und tet man nieman weder an libe noch an g/t nit."

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 264-5.

September 1475, they captured the Swiss who had withstood a cannonade for three days. When the Swiss capitulated, they gave the besiegers 12,000 Gulden, a huge sum, to save their lives. The Burgundians took the money and assured the garrison they would be spared, but Charles ordered them hanged.²⁵ The Duke vowed, “Thus will I do [the same] to all Swiss who live where I want to enter.”²⁶ Clearly, Charles would honor no deal to save men’s lives if they had offered resistance, and he set a brutal policy of how he would deal with the Swiss.

When the men of Bern and Fribourg destroyed Estavayer in October of 1475, part of their motivation might have been retaliation for the executions at Briey. After a lengthy, difficult, and costly attack, the Bernese and Fribourgers broke into the fortified town of Estavayer and killed any man whom they thought had participated in the defense of the fortress. The reports which stated that the Swiss killed 1,000 to 1,300 residents were much exaggerated because the town was too small to have so many citizens in it, but the number of deaths was doubtless high. Some defenders of the town fled to the Chenaux Castle in an attempt to save their lives, but the Swiss stormed the fortress and killed its defenders, only sparing a few young boys and one nobleman.²⁷

Even by the brutal standards of the day, the conduct of the men from Bern and Fribourg in Estavayer was unacceptable. The leaders in Bern, expressing fear that God and the Saints might be moved to take revenge against them, soon wrote a strong denunciation of the acts of “inhuman severity” (*unmenschliche Härtingkeiten*) of their troops.²⁸ When the dead bodies were brought into the churches, there was a “great lamentation of women and children whose husbands and fathers had been killed.” The

²⁵ Brennwald, *Schweizerchronik* 2: 240-1, mentioned no resistance and no ransom and stated 300 Swiss were hanged. Others stated 80 Germans were killed likely not noting the difference between Swiss and Germans. Heinrich Witte, “Lothringen und Burgund,” *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für Lothringische Geschichte und Alterthumskunde, Metz*, 2 (1890): 72-3 and Emmanuel von Rodt, *Die Feldzüge Karl des Kühnen* 2 vols. (Schaffhausen: Hurter, 1843) 1: 380-1.

²⁶ Brennwald 2: 241. “Also wil [ich] allen den Scwitzeren t/n, die da lebend, wo ich si betreten mag!”

²⁷ Schilling (Bern), 1: 293-5. See also, Gemein höptlüt von Bern, Friburg und Solodro, “missivam” to civibus Basiliensibus as cited in Hans Knebel, *Tagebuch*, in *Basler Chroniken* 7 vols. (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1880) 2: 306-7 and Rodt, *Feldzüge*, 1: 525-8.

²⁸ Bernische Anführer, “Klagende Ausdrücke,” as cited in Rodt, 1: 531.

Swiss troops soon became disturbed by their own brutality, and many of them gave the bereaved women and children money to ease their losses.²⁹

The attacks on the fortresses in the Vaud clearly threatened the Duke's interests in the area, but a victory by the men of Valais, an ally of Bern, over troops from Savoy on 13 November 1475 was much more serious. This setback cut the essential supply lines through the St. Bernard Pass and over the Alps, which Charles badly needed because he depended on the reinforcements, supplies, and funds that reached him from Savoy by that route. After he took the city of Nancy on 30 November 1475, which ended his campaign in Alsace, he turned his attention to the Swiss and reopening the pass.³⁰ The Duke rashly launched an offensive in the challenging conditions of winter rather than wait for warmer weather in the spring.

Bern was Charles the Bold's major target for the initial phases of the campaign. This state had been among the most aggressive against him, and Bern's defeat could bring the rest of the Duke's adversaries to terms. Charles marched on Bern from the west and seized important fortresses as he advanced. Taking these positions kept his supply lines open, and it also kept any garrison from striking the rear of his forces. His army was considered very large and numbered about 20,000 men.³¹ It was very formidable and included the much-feared and heavy-armored Burgundian cavalry which could smash effectively into an enemy's columns. Charles also had a large advantage in artillery which could reduce fortifications and also cut down enemy troops.

The major weakness in the Burgundian army was its multi-ethnic character. Charles hired mercenaries from various nations including English archers, Italian cavalymen, and German troops wielding harquebuses. These contingents could be very effective, but they lacked cohesion with other units, and their different languages caused communication problems.³² In comparison, the Swiss had many advantages. While the

²⁹ Schilling (Bern), 1: 297. "*gros iomer von frowen und kinden, denen ir manne und väter erslagen warent.*"

³⁰ Jeune Huguenin, *Histoire de la Guerre de Lorraine et du Siège de Nancy, par Charles le Téméraire duc de Bourgogne 1473-1477* (Metz, Troubat, 1837).

³¹ Schilling (Bern), 1: 354, note 1. G. Tobler quotes from letters of 13 and 17 Feb. 1476. The contemporary estimates of 40 to 60,000 men were much exaggerated.

³² Charles Oman, *A History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages*, 2 vols. (London: Methuen, 1924), 2: 265.

Confederates had few cannon and little cavalry, their infantry was highly effective, and their troops were similar in language and culture. They were campaigning near their homelands, so they knew the terrain well, and they had the additional motivation of defending their homes from foreign invasion.

The Duke marched his forces to the castle of Granson, and he laid siege to the fortress, his artillery pounding the position day and night. More than five hundred men from Bern and Fribourg defended Granson, and they successfully withstood attempts to storm their position on 18 and 21 February 1476. The resistance “horrified” (*entsetzt*) Charles and left him eager for revenge. The Swiss began to lose courage when a cannon shot blew the head off their “master of cannon” (*büchsenmeister*), and when much of their powder exploded. Their position was rapidly becoming untenable, and, most significantly, they had no knowledge that their Swiss compatriots were assembling a large army at Murten to come to their aid.³³

In despair, the troops in the fortress negotiated a surrender, even though the Duke had a reputation for executing those who resisted him. All the contemporary Swiss sources stated that Charles offered these men their lives when they capitulated, but Panigarola, an Italian emissary with the Duke, stated that no such assurance was given, and the men in Granson placed themselves at the mercy of Charles. If so, it was a grievous mistake because the Duke ordered their immediate execution. On 28 Feb. 1476, the day of the surrender, 412 Swiss troops were led past Charles’s tent as he watched and were hanged on walnut trees in a scene which Panigarola described as “shocking and horrible” and most certain to fill the Swiss with terror. The remainder of the men in the garrison were drowned in Lake Neuchatel on the following day, and the Duke again vowed to do the same to all the Swiss who fell into his hands.³⁴

The Swiss army that assembled to relieve the garrison at Granson was a formidable force of 20,376 men. Its numbers were carefully recorded to assure that the plunder taken after the battle was evenly distributed.³⁵ The army was divided into the traditional formations of three large squares (*Haufen*). Each was arrayed in the typical fashion with rows of pikemen on

³³ Schilling (Bern), 1: 355-6.

³⁴ “Panigarola an den Herzog von Mailand,” 29 Feb. 1476 as cited in Wilhelm Oechslı ed. *Quellenbuch zur Schweizergeschichte* (Zürich: Schulthess, 1901), p. 232. Schilling (Bern), 1: 370-2; Brannwald, 2: 241; and Cornuzens, *Memoirs*, pp. 279-80.



Swiss Hanged and Drowned at Grandson by Diebold Schilling (Bern).

the outside of the formation with men wielding halberds and harquebuses on the inside. This force advanced from Neuchatel and met Charles's forces on 2 March 1476.³⁶

The vanguard (*Vorhut*) of the Swiss army was relatively small and numbered only about 1,500 men, mostly from Fribourg, Schwyz, and Bern. The vanguard advanced more rapidly than the other, much larger formations, and engaged the enemy first. As the Burgundian forces approached, the pious Swiss realized that their lives would soon be in danger, so they knelt to pray, as was their custom before battle. When they did so, they held their "arms apart" (*mit zertanen armen*). The opposing knights misunderstood this gesture as a sign of submission, and these men rode forward shouting to the Swiss, "You will get no mercy; you must all die."³⁷

³⁵ *Amtliche Sammlung der ältern Eidgenössischen Abschiede*, 8 vols. (Lucern: Werner, 1858-1874), 2: 593. See also Vaughan, p. 375.

³⁶ The classic history of the battle remains M. Feldmann, *Die Schlacht bei Grandson: ein Beitrag zur Kriegsgeschichte der Burgunderkriege* (Frauenfeld: Huber, 1902).

³⁷ Brennwald, 2: 245. "Üch geschicht kein gnad; ir m/ssend alle sterben." For more on the prayers, see also Ulrich Meltinger to Basel as cited in the *Basler Chroniken*, 2: 359, Schilling (Bern), 1: 377, and Gerold Edlibach, *Chronik*, (Zürich: Meyer und Zeller), p. 150.

When the Swiss found the bodies of 412 of their countrymen still hanging from the trees near Granson, they were filled with remorse and rage. An eyewitness described the scene:

“There one found sadly the honorable men still freshly hanged on the trees in front of the castle [of Granson] whom the tyrant [Charles the Bold] had hanged. That was a wretched, pitiable sight. There were hung ten or twenty men on one bough. The trees were bent down and were completely full. There hanged a father and son next to each other, there two brothers or other friends. And there came the honorable men who knew them; who were their friends, cousins, and brothers, who found them miserably hanging. There was at first anger and distress in crying and bewailing.”⁴²

The Bernese and Fribourgers felt the loss most intensely because it was largely their men who had been killed, but many other Swiss were deeply angered by the atrocity. Rather than break their will to oppose him, the Duke's actions at Granson united the Swiss as never before in a common cause of resistance and revenge. The first to feel the wrath of the Confederates was a force of about thirty Burgundians who had fled to the castle of Granson. When the Bernese took the castle, they either hanged or threw twenty-eight men down from the castle towers. Only a few young boys and one nobleman were spared. The man was exchanged for a Swiss captive.⁴³

After the victory at Granson, the Swiss failed to pursue the Duke's disorganized forces and eradicate them. Bern, who feared the return of the army, vainly tried to convince its allies to pursue their defeated enemy, and the Swiss contingents remained for only three or four more days before they returned home.⁴⁴ Bern's warning was correct, and the Duke soon made another attempt to invade the Swiss Confederation. Charles withdrew to Lausanne where he reorganized his forces for further action, showing much energy and resolve. He soon wrote to “all the world to come to him with all [its] cannon and all [its] manpower.”⁴⁵ Charles ordered the city of Dijon to send all its artillery, and he had the

⁴² P. Etterlin, *Kronica von der loblichen Eidgnoschaft* (Basel: Eckenstein, 1752), p. 205.

⁴³ Edlibach, *Chronik*, p. 151 and Schilling (Bern) 1: 382-3.

⁴⁴ *Eidgenössischen Abschiede* 2: 582-6.

⁴⁵ “Der Meyer zu Lockle an den Grafen zu Aarburg,” 10 Mar 1476 in O., *Murten*, p. 21. Commynes, p. 287 stated the Duke was “sorrowful and distressed.”

church bells and anything made of copper in his lands melted into cannon. He also ordered the city of Nancy and the duchy of Luxembourg to send him all their artillery, so he would have “sixty times more [guns], as he said, than he had lost.”⁴⁶ His allies, including Savoy, Milan, Venice, Aragon, and the pope, soon granted him funds, weapons, and men. For two months, the forces came to Charles’s camp from numerous areas including Italy, Germany, Flanders, Burgundy, England, and Poland. This army was nearly the size of the force Charles deployed at Granson, and it probably numbered from 19 to 22,000 men.⁴⁷

These troops soon showed much indiscipline and brutality, and there were one or two brawls among the men every day. In one riot, 125 men from Italy and Germany were killed. The soldiers killed many local people, and so thoroughly plundered and burned the area within twenty miles of their camp that they could no longer get supplies from the region and had to advance or withdraw. While Bern was the major objective of the campaign, Charles first attacked the fortress of Murten to remove any threat to his rear. On 27 May, the army began its slow march to Murten, roughly 45 miles away. The advance took 14 days, averaging only 3 miles a day, and the army arrived on 9 June to begin the siege.⁴⁸

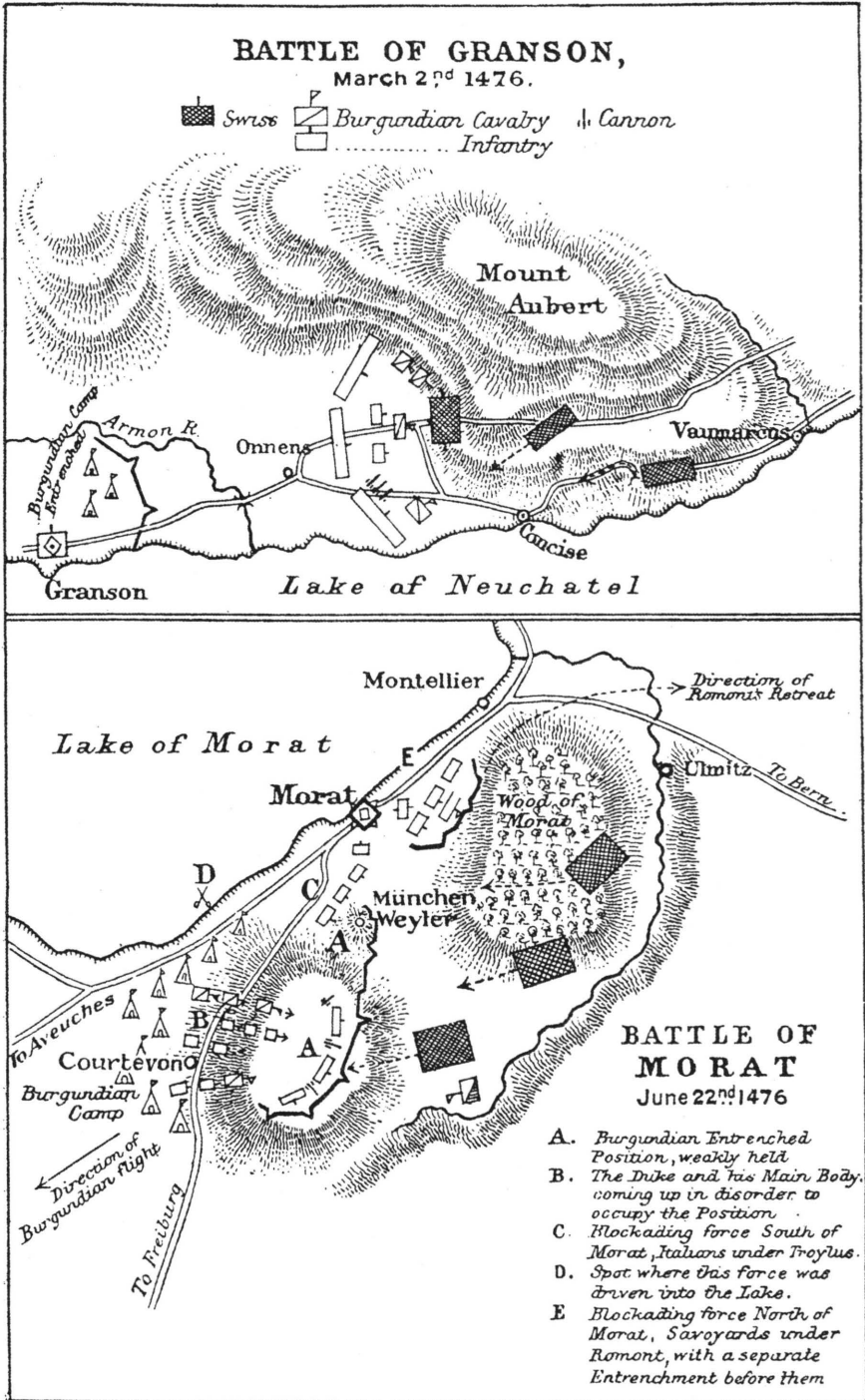
The Duke’s attack on Murten was most unfortunate for him. The town was on the shores of Lake Murten, and Charles could not invest the position because he had no flotilla on the lake. Supplies and reinforcements reached the garrison in the fortress throughout the siege. Most importantly, besieging Murten meant that the Duke had to deploy his forces near the lake, some facing the town and some facing any Swiss advance. If his forces were dislodged, the logical line of retreat was directly into the lake. Napoleon Bonaparte visited Murten in 1797. He examined the battlefield and learned how the Duke had deployed his forces. The general was highly critical and stated, “Charles the Bold must have been a great madman!”⁴⁹ He explained, “If we ever offered

⁴⁶ “Le Duc de Bourgogne aux Magistrats de Dijon,” 8 Mar. 1476 in O., p. 17 and Panigarola “an den Herzog von Mailand,” 4 Mar. 1476 in Oechsli (1901), p. 234.

⁴⁷ Grosjean, *Murtenschlacht*, p. 50. Vaughan, p. 397 has less-convincingly argued that the Duke had no more “than 12 to 15,000 combatants.”

⁴⁸ P.E.de Vallière, *Murten: Die Belagerung und die Schlacht* (Lausanne: Spies, 1926), pp. 57, 82-8.

⁴⁹ Napoleon as cited in Antoine-Marie Chamaus LaValette, *Memoirs of Count Lavalette: Adjutant and Private Secretary to Napoleon* (London: Gibbings, 1894), p. 149.



battle in this place, be persuaded that we would not use the lake as [an avenue] for retreat.”⁵⁰

The renewed threat from Charles motivated the Executive Council of the Swiss Confederation to redefine its rules of war, which were first stated in the Sempach Letter (*Sempacherbrief*) of 1393. These laws included a prohibition of plundering until the conclusion of battle and then only with the permission of leaders, rules for the distribution of booty, a charge strictly forbidding the Swiss to fight among themselves, a statement that the Swiss wounded should be tended, and a strict admonition that no one should flee from battle. These orders protected churches, women, and children, but not men because they were potential combatants.⁵¹ On 18 March 1476, the Executive Council repeated many of the former stipulations, but it placed a new emphasis on conduct against adversaries. It ordered the troops, “so far as possible to kill our enemies” and stated that no prisoners be taken while a battle was still in progress.⁵² These rules gave the Swiss troops a legal justification for their brutal actions at the battle of Murten.

Murten was a fortified town with high walls, and the position could delay the Duke’s advance until the Swiss could assemble their troops for battle. The city council of Bern chose Adrian von Bubenberg, an experienced soldier, to lead the defenders of the stronghold, and he arrived with fifteen hundred Bernese troops on 9 April.⁵³ The town had numerous weapons including many cannon and an ample supply of gun powder, and additional supplies reached the position across Lake Murten throughout the siege. Every man knew his duties, and Bubenberg allowed no dissent. If anyone complained or advocated surrender, he was to be killed to separate the cowardly from the courageous. The Bernese constructed entrenchments and bastions near the two gates of the town, and, in an impressive act of bravado, Bubenberg ordered these gates left open day and night during the entire siege forcing the garrison to be on constant alert for attack. Bubenberg also ordered his men to sally out to engage the besiegers of the town. This policy started

⁵⁰ Kirk, 3: 429 in footnote. “*Si jamais nous livrons bataille en ces lieux, soyez persuadé que nous ne prendrons pas le lac pour retraite.*”

⁵¹ *Sempacherbrief in Oechsli* (1901), pp. 168-71 and *Eidgenössische Abschiede* 1: 327-9.

⁵² “Dies ist der eid,” in O., pp. 46-8. “*Sunder so verre man mag unser vigent z’ töden.*”

⁵³ Karl F. Wächli, *Adrian von Bubenberg* (Bern: Haupt, 1979).



Adrian von Bubenberg enters Murten by Schilling (Bern).

when Charles's army first arrived at the fortress on 9 June, and 250 men of the garrison attacked the Duke's troops killing 50 of them.⁵⁴

During the siege, the Burgundians shot arrows into the fortress with notes attached warning of the consequences of resistance. "You peasants, surrender the city and castle. . . . We will soon take the city, and will capture you, kill [you], hang [you] by the neck."⁵⁵ The Swiss knew they would be killed if they capitulated, and the Duke's brutality had increased their willingness to resist. Charles never learned this fact, and he continued his remorseless practices. As described by Panigorola, who was with the Burgundians, "The Duke had all the villages in the area burned down. . . . [and] the Duke hanged all the Swiss that he captured."⁵⁶

The Burgundians were stationed two bowshots (about 400 to 500 yards) from the walls of the fortress but were still subject to heavy cannon fire day and night from the town's artillery. Early in the siege, a Burgundian commander ordered his men "under the threat of death" to attack the fortress and be standing in front of the city gates by dawn. But that morning, the soldiers were still far from the walls because the

⁵⁴ Schilling (Bern) 2: 34-9. For the Burgundian perspective on the defense of Murten, see Panigorola "an den Herzog von Mailand," 12 June 1476 as cited in O., pp. 260-1.

⁵⁵ "Ir buren, gebent die stat und slos uf ... wir kommen bald in die stat und werden ouch vachen ertöten und an uwer gurglen henken." Schilling (Bern) 2: 34.

⁵⁶ Panigorola, "an den Herzog von Mailand," 12 June 1476 in O., pp. 260-1.

heavy fire from the Bernese cannon had kept them away. The Duke's men then began to dig entrenchments at night in a zigzag pattern that would allow the troops to move slowly towards the town walls as the trenches progressed.⁵⁷

While the smaller guns of the Burgundians shelled Murten for days, the heaviest cannon (*houptbüchsen*) did the greatest damage when they arrived and were placed in use on 17 June. After the first four shots, a main tower in the walls around the fortress collapsed. The people of the town tried to rebuild their damaged fortifications at night, but the guns continued to wreck their defenses. On the next day, the garrison counted seventy cannon balls that had been fired into the town, and the guns soon knocked down the wall on one side of the fortress.⁵⁸

Charles ordered an assault on Murten that evening, 18 June, to exploit the breach in the walls. The attackers advanced with great shouts, and they carried ladders and axes to help them storm the position, but the garrison had placed their guns at the most exposed sections of the walls and drove their enemies away. The Swiss "defended themselves very well," and the Burgundians lost from 200 to 1,000 men.⁵⁹ Bubenberg also stated that each man in the town had conducted himself in a courageous and obedient manner.⁶⁰ But the garrison was still in grave danger, and the defenders sent a message to Bern on 19 June stating they were nearly in an exposed position, questioning their ability to hold out. If the artillery pounded down more towers and walls of the fortress, then the garrison would have only their bodies with which to defend the town.⁶¹ Clearly, Charles would take the position unless aid came in time.

In his obvious disdain for the lower classes, the Duke failed to appreciate how vigorously a nation comprised largely of free men

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Schilling (Bern), 2:37-8. They were "Damviller" and "Selenquin" Vallière, p. 107.

⁵⁹ Panigarola "an den Herzog von Milan" 17 June 1476 in O., p. 295. "*Si deffendono molto bene.*" Jean Molinet in O., p. 464 said 200 died, "*ensemble deux cents Bourguignons.*" Hans Viol in O., p. 496 stated there were more than 1000 casualties, "*me dann tusent man.*"

⁶⁰ Schilling (Bern), 2: 38-9. "*Iederman in der stat manlich und willig und kein verzager under inen was.*" Schilling (Bern) interviewed Bubenberg after the battle.

⁶¹ Bern an Zürich 19 June 1476 in O., p. 292. "*In ansechen daß inen etlich türnen die mur zum sorgklichsten uff den boden nider geschossen sie, und standen mit iren öffen liben zur gegenwer uff dem hollwerk.*"

with military prowess would respond to his invasion. The Swiss fought to protect their homes, lands, and their highly-prized liberties and privileges. They knew well the severe cost of defeat, and they reacted with impressive strength to the threat. Large Swiss armies soon assembled near Bern, and the forces of Unterwalden, Luzern, Uri, and Schwyz, presented themselves on 18 June 1476. Troops from Basel, Fribourg, Solothurn, Biel, Zug, Glarus, and contingents of knights on horseback from Lorraine, Strasbourg, and various areas of Alsace soon came as well. Many of these men marched night and day to meet the Burgundian threat and raise the siege of Murten.⁶² While some forces, largely from St. Gallen, were still expected to arrive, the Zurich contingent was viewed as essential to the war effort, and no major attack was undertaken until it arrived. Hans Waldmann commanded Zurich's forces of 2,000 men. They left the city on 19 June, also marching night and day, and they met the rest of the army in the evening of 21 June at the bridge at Gümmenen, having walked roughly eighty-five miles in three days. Hundreds of exhausted men fell out before they reached their goal, but when the other Zurichers arrived, the army was then assembled for action.⁶³

The size of the Swiss army at the battle of Murten was probably larger than the force at Granson. Panigarola stated he talked with two prominent Swiss prisoners after the battle at Murten who told him that there were 30,000 men on foot and 1,600 on horseback with the army.⁶⁴ Recent historians have estimated the size of the Swiss infantry at nearly 24,000 men.⁶⁵ Bern was most threatened by the invasion, and it sent the largest contingent of men, fielding about 7,800 troops, including the garrison of 1,500 or more men in Murten. This was most impressive because it represented about three quarters of the estimated 10 to 11,000 adult males available for military service in the state.⁶⁶

⁶² Ibid.; "Peter Rot an Basel" 18 June 1476 in O., pp. 287-8 and Schilling (Bern) 2: 42-4.

⁶³ Brennwald, 2: 253; Edlibach, p. 155; and "Die Zürcher Hauptleute vor Murten an Zürich," 24 June 1476 in O., p. 315.

⁶⁴ Panigarola as cited in Oechsli (1918), pp. 189-90.

⁶⁵ Johannes Häne, *Militärisches aus dem Alten Zürichkrieg* (Zürich: Bopp, 1928), p. 22-3 stated 23,500 men and Eugen von Frauenholz, *Das Heerwesen der Schweizer Eidgenossenschaft* (München: Beck, 1936), p. 58 said 24,000.

⁶⁶ Hektor Ammann, *Die Bevölkerung der Westschweiz im ausgehenden Mittelalter*, (Aarau: np., 1939), p. 416.

The Burgundians built a barrier, the “green hedge” (*grünhag*) or palisade, to stop any Swiss advance from the direction of Bern. The men dug trenches, constructed fences, and placed many cannon to fortify the position, and Charles hoped his artillery and bowmen would destroy the Swiss before they could break through it.⁶⁷ Professor Grosjean has argued that the Duke’s men also constructed a line jutting out from the palisade from which to fire into the flank of the Swiss when they advanced. Grosjean estimated that “at least 100-150 cannon were placed there.”⁶⁸ These guns did the most damage to the Swiss forces during the battle.

The Swiss and their allies planned to attack on Saturday 22 June 1476, a holy day on the Christian calendar known as the “day of ten thousand knights” (*zehntausend Rittertag*) or day of the “Ten Thousand Martyrs.”⁶⁹ The commanders of the various forces met in a war council the morning of the engagement to decide on a course of action and how to deploy their troops.⁷⁰ Wilhelm Herter placed the forces in order for battle, but there was probably no overall commander since such a position was against Swiss custom and practice. Once the battle was joined, the various commanders over smaller units were supposed to lead their men and make sure that they carried out their assignments.⁷¹

The Swiss were arrayed in three large battle formations. The “vanguard” (*Vorhut*) comprised roughly five thousand men chiefly from Bern, Fribourg, and Schwyz. Likely, the Bernese stood in the first lines of this configuration because they were motivated to fight well, to lift the siege of Murten, and to save their fellow countrymen. In the center of the vanguard stood men carrying harquebuses and crossbows, and pikemen were placed on the sides of the configuration. Hans von Hallwil, a respected military leader and citizen of Bern, led the vanguard, and heavy cavalry numbering 1,500 knights, largely from Alsace, accompanied the disposition. The “main mass” formation

⁶⁷ Edlibach, p. 155 and “Die Anonyme Chronik der Burgunderkriege,” *Bas. Chr.*, 5: 522.

⁶⁸ Grosjean, p. 54. “*Mindestens 100-150 Geschütze aufgestellt werden.*”

⁶⁹ *Catholic Encyclopedia*, s.v. “Ten Thousand Martyrs.”

⁷⁰ Brennwald, 2: 254 and Diebold Schilling, *Diebold Schilling’s des Lucerners Schweizer-Chronik*, (Lucern: Schiffman, 1862), p. 83. This author was the nephew of Schilling (Bern) and will be hereafter cited as Schilling (Luzern).

⁷¹ Rudolf Luginbühl, “Gab es in der Schlacht bei Murten einen Oberanführer?”

Jahrbuch für Schweizerische Geschichte 31 (1906): 1-22.



Battle of Murten by Schilling (Luzern). Upper left: the Swiss attack. Lower right: the Burgundians are slaughtered.

(*Gewalthaufen*) was comprised of 10,000 or more men. The principal banners of the Swiss states stood in the center of this formation protected by rows of men wielding halberds and by pikemen in contingents of 1,000. The final configuration was the “rearguard” (*Nachhut*), led by Kaspar von Hertenstein of Luzern. This formation was considered “large and powerful” (*gros und stark*), but it was not more carefully described. Likely, it was arrayed similar to the “main mass” with rows of halberdiers and men with pikes.⁷²

A heavy rain storm struck in the middle of the night before the battle, and the severe weather made a Swiss attack seem unlikely. Charles allowed most of his men to remain in their various camps around Murten in the morning, and the Burgundian positions were seriously undermanned when the Confederates struck them. The Duke made significant errors at the beginning of the battle. He had failed to make a proper reconnaissance of the Swiss forces, knew little about the size and disposition of the opposing army, and reacted slowly when he learned of the enemy approach. Only when the vanguard of the Swiss

⁷² Schilling (Bern), 2: 45-6.

army advanced from the forest did the Duke order his men to their positions. Many of his troops were putting on their armor and running to their place in battle when the Confederates struck their lines. Charles was also slow to don his armor and to mount his horse. His indecision meant that his army was poorly prepared to meet the attack, and he was not at the scene when his leadership was most needed. By the time he was ready for action, his army was already fleeing from the enemy.⁷³

The Swiss marched through the forest during the heavy rain, but the storm abated when they finally broke clear of the trees in the early afternoon, and it was “a beautiful, bright day.”⁷⁴ The vanguard with the cavalry on its flank halted briefly to adjust their lines, and they came under heavy fire from the Burgundian cannon shooting from the fortified “green hedge” position. The artillery fire was so heavy that it fell “thick as hail.”⁷⁵ The cannon shots blew gaps in the Swiss formations and mutilated the knights on horseback. An eyewitness described the scene.

“The enemy had strengthened [their position] well and shot [their], first-rate large cannon exceptionally well . . . against the Confederates and their formations [also] against the knights, . . . and they did great damage [to them]. Then I, Peterman Etterlin, the composer of this chronicle, and many other pious man who were there, saw some cavalymen and knights shot in two at the middle so that the top part was blown away and the bottom part remained in the saddle. The same happened to some whose head [was blown] off.”⁷⁶

While some of the wounds were ghastly, the losses were relatively few, and the Swiss soon filled in the spaces in their formations and continued to advance. The Burgundian artillery was highly effective, but the guns were cumbersome to reload, and their rate of fire was too slow to stem the attack. The vanguard and the “main mass” (*Gewalthaufen*) advanced toward the weakest points of the green hedge, which were roads that led through the position for egress and entry. Even though these gaps were narrow and could only accommodate three or four horses abreast, they were weak points where the line could be breached.

⁷³ Panigarola as cited in Oechsli, pp. 187-8.

⁷⁴ Schilling (Luzern), p. 83.

⁷⁵ Panigarola as cited in Oechsli, p. 188.

When the Swiss approached, the Burgundians counter attacked with their cavalry, but the numbers of knights on horseback were too few to change the course of battle, and they killed only 10 or 12 enemy.⁷⁷ The fight at the green hedge was brief as the Swiss stormed the position, and the artillerymen were the first to be cut down.⁷⁸ The Swiss struck hard against their enemies, slashing and thrusting with their weapons, as they cut their way into the Burgundian forces. The Confederates overwhelmed the badly outnumbered forces at the green hedge and broke through. Charles's cavalry made one last attempt to stem the tide, but the counterattack was weak, and it failed. The garrison in Murten also joined the battle and rushed out of the fortress to attack their enemy's rear. The Duke's army soon fell apart and took to a "most shocking and most disgraceful flight."⁷⁹



*The Attack on the Green Hedge at Murten
by Evert Van Muyden.*

The Burgundians ran for safety, but many were cut down as the Swiss showed no mercy, took no prisoners, and killed every man they could. Numerous Burgundian soldiers made pathetic attempts to save their lives. Panigarola saw men throw off their helmets and lie on the ground with their arms crossed showing that the Swiss could easily bind them as captives.⁸⁰ They were all killed. Many men had no recourse but to retreat into the waters of Lake Murten, and "an unspeakably large number

⁷⁶ Etterlin, *Kronica*, p. 209.

⁷⁷ Edlibach, p. 151.

⁷⁸ Schilling (Luzern), p. 83 and Etterlin, p. 209.

⁷⁹ Thomas Basin in O., p. 462, "*foedissima et ignominiosissima fuga.*" Etterlin, p. 209.

⁸⁰ Panigarola as cited in Oechsli, p. 189.

[of men were] forced into the lake and drowned.”⁸¹ Some waded out into the lake until the water reached their necks and chins, and they threw away their weapons and begged to be spared. The Confederates stabbed the men they could reach from the shore, and the Swiss also took boats onto the lake to continue to kill the men in the water. A few of the Burgundians might have taken off their armor and swam the two miles across the lake to survive, but the rest of the troops in the lake drowned or were killed.⁸²

Some of the Burgundian troops climbed walnut trees to get out of the reach, and the Swiss shot them down with their harquebuses and hand cannon like they were so many squirrels or birds. The Confederates also used their long pikes to stab these men who were hiding among the branches. Ironically, the garrison at Granson had been hanged on walnut trees, and the Swiss partially avenged those executions by killing soldiers hiding in the same variety of plants. A few of the Duke’s men tried to hide in baker ovens in nearby villages, while others hid in houses and huts. Some of the buildings were set on fire, and all the men were killed.⁸³ Many women were among the Duke’s men wearing armor. They were likely prostitutes who wore men’s clothing to hide their gender, and many of them had to show their genitals and breasts to the Swiss to prove they were women and avoid being killed.⁸⁴ The Swiss fished the corpses of their enemies out of the lake and buried them in two large pits with the men killed on the land. Their bones were later placed in an ossuary (*Beinhaus*).

Many Swiss no doubt sought revenge for the Duke’s execution of the garrison at Granson and also for the wanton destruction of lands and people when his army advanced into the Confederation. But a reason is never an excuse for misconduct, and the Confederates were no more justified in killing these hapless men than was the Duke in his many acts of brutality. The Swiss clearly showed their ferocity and sent a grave warning to anyone invading their lands, but they gained little or no military or political advantages from this carnage. The fleeing

⁸¹ Etterlin, p. 210.

⁸² *Ibid.*, Brennwald, 2: 256, Schilling (Luzern), p. 83, Schilling (Bern) 2: 49.

⁸³ Schilling (Luzern), pp. 83-4, Etterlin, p. 210, and Veit Weber in O., p. 449.

⁸⁴ Schilling (Bern), 2: 50.

troops posed no threat to the Swiss, and many of the knights were valuable resources because they could have been held for ransom. Certainly, the dead could never again menace the Confederation, but the loss of these troops hardly prevented Charles from raising another army, hiring other mercenaries, and again threatening the interests of the Confederation. Clearly, there would have been difficulties and much expense to house and feed large numbers of prisoners for any length of time, but these problems were solvable, and the captives could have been sheltered and released later under favorable terms. Swiss brutality also caused animosity between nations for centuries as demonstrated by the conduct of French soldiers who conquered Switzerland in 1798. A portion of these men was from the Burgundian areas of France, and they took some small revenge on the Swiss by destroying the ossuary at Murten.⁸⁵

The victorious Confederates seized the Burgundian camp and took large amounts of booty including many weapons and hundreds of cannon. While the captured materials never reached the impressive haul taken at Granson, the Swiss seized many textiles, much merchandise and large amounts of money.⁸⁶ No precise tally of the dead at Murten was made, and the total losses on both sides have been subject to considerable speculation. But the Burgundian losses were severe, and the estimates of the dead ranged largely from 6,000 to 30,000.⁸⁷ The higher conjectures were exaggerations because the numbers probably exceeded the size of the Duke's army. The most accurate numbers were likely presented by the men on the scene who had the opportunity to examine the battlefield and see the dead. Most of them stated that about 10,000 men had died.⁸⁸ In comparison, the Swiss losses were small, and most accounts reported that the numbers of dead were a few score

⁸⁵ O., pp. 520-3.

⁸⁶ Schilling (Bern), 2: 54.

⁸⁷ Jean Moulinet in O., p. 465 said 6 to 7,000 dead. Knebel in *Basler Chroniken*, 3: 13 said 14,000 dead. Comines *Memoirs* (London: Bohn, 1855), 1:316 said 18,000 dead. *Circular Zürichs* in O., p. 315 said 20,000 dead. Schilling (Bern), 2: 60 said 26,000 dead. Edlibach, p. 158 said 30,000 dead. Schilling (Luzern), p. 84 also recorded 30,000 dead.

⁸⁸ Glarner Hauptleute 22 June 1476 in O., p. 303 said 10,000 dead. Hans von Kageneck 23 June 1476 in O., p. 310 said 10,000. Luzerner Hauptleute 24 June 1476 in O., p. 316 also said 10,000. Zürcher Hauptleute 24 June 1476 in O., p. 315 said "many more" (*vil mer*) than 8,000 died. The highest numbers include Peter Roth 23 June 1476 in O., p. 313 which stated 20,000 died, and Etterlin, p. 211 stated "more than" (*ob*) 30,000 died.

or no more than several hundred.⁸⁹

When his army crumbled at Murten, Charles the Bold joined his men and fled to save his life. He rode for days and finally stopped when he reached Gex. Despite his severe defeat, Charles regained his old optimism. He joked, reorganized his forces, and planned further campaigns, but his fortunes never recovered. He was completely cut off from Savoy, he had lost the Vaud, and his army was never again as large as the one destroyed at Murten.⁹⁰ In January 1477, the Duke again laid siege to Nancy. A coalition of forces gathered to meet him, and he was badly outnumbered when the battle took place on 5 January. Many Swiss were among his enemies, and they played a prominent role in routing his army. Charles was killed in the retreat. His body was found days later, stripped of its clothing, and his face had been partially eaten by wolves or dogs. Most of the Duke's ambitions died with him because he had no forceful heir to take his place, and the power of Burgundy, which he had so ruthlessly enhanced, soon faded when his adversaries tried to subvert the prerogatives of his patrimony and take his possessions.⁹¹

The spectacular Swiss success at Murten was much celebrated, and historians have long considered it one of the most lopsided and influential victories in European history. As Vaughan stated, it was, "one of the most destructive and decisive battles in the military history of the middle ages."⁹² In the scope of military history, Murten foreshadowed a new era of warfare because it demonstrated the effectiveness of men on foot. This helped set in motion a revolution in military tactics in which infantries became more important than the heavily armored knight on horseback. Hans Delbrück, a prominent military historian, stated that Murten was the greatest turning point in military tactics since the battle of Marathon in 490 BC.⁹³ This victory of free men had a social

⁸⁹ Glarner Hauptleute 22 June 1476 in O., p. 303 stated "very few" (*gar wenig*) were either killed or wounded. Peter Roth 23 June 1476 in O., p. 313 stated 24 were killed. Veit Weber in O., p. 449 said "not 20" (*nit zwentzig*) had been killed. Etterlin, p. 211 "not 50" (*nit Fünffzig*). Hans Tüsch in O., p. 445 said "not 40" (*nyt vierzig*). Hanns Fugger in O., p. 451 said about 250 died. Jörg Molbinger 27 June 1476 in O., p. 340 said no more than 500 died.

⁹⁰ Vaughan, pp. 394-8 and Kirk, 3: 474.

⁹¹ Kurz, *Schweizerschlachten*, pp. 124-5.

⁹² Vaughan, p. 394.

⁹³ Hans Delbrück, *Geschichte der Kriegskunst im Rahmen der politischen Geschichte*, 4 vols. (Berlin: Stilke, 1923), 3: 619.

impact as well because it contributed to the decline of feudalism. As Rudolf Steiner stated, perhaps with some exaggeration, “The defeat of Charles the Bold in the battle of Murten was an extremely significant symptom for it gave the death blow to chivalry.”⁹⁴ The victory also became a symbol of Swiss national pride and determination in which they demonstrated their strength, resolve, organization, and skill. The Swiss had preserved their independence, confirmed their national identity, demonstrated the viability of the Swiss Confederation and, in the process, had destroyed one of the most powerful and ruthless leaders in all Europe.

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⁹⁴ Rudolf Steiner, *From Symptom to Reality in Modern History: Nine Lectures given in Dornach from 18th October to 3rd November 1918*, (London: Steiner, 1976), p.

35.

Golo Mann:

A Literary Historian

by Axel Fair-Schulz

The German Postal system honored the 100th anniversary of Golo Mann's birth in 2009 with a new stamp, which displayed his face with the caption *Literarischer Historiker*, meaning literary historian. This apt description captures much about the essence of his thinking and work as a historian, as he was a uniquely gifted writer and thus bridged the gap between scholarly historical research and thoughtfully composed literature. In addition to Germany, Switzerland also lays claim to Golo Mann, as he had lived there for many years after returning from American exile, when Nazi Germany was finally defeated by the Allies.

Golo Mann's actual name was Angelus Gottfried Thomas Mann, and he was a child of the eminent writer Thomas Mann, arguably the most well-regarded person in German letters since the death of Goethe, in 1832. Being the son of a Nobel laureate may explain some of Golo's literary leanings, but he was very much a writer and historian in his own right, who found the distinguished reputation of his father more of a burden than a blessing. In fact, some time after Thomas Mann had died, in his house in Kilchberg outside Zurich in 1955, Golo famously remarked that he was afterward far more at liberty to develop his own style and career as a writer/historian. As it is with many offspring of celebrated parents, it was crucially and deeply psychologically important for Golo Mann to be recognized as more than just the son of a famous man and at long last be able to step outside of his father's shadow.

Urs Bitterli and Tilmann Lahme have attempted to capture the life and work of Golo Mann with two voluminous biographies. Both books are impressive efforts, with their own unique strengths and weaknesses. Bitterli focuses more on Golo Mann as a thinker, imbedded in the debates and discussions of his time, while Tilmann carves out the personal life of Golo Mann, his family, his loves and relationships, as well as his homosexual identity.

Golo Mann was born in Munich on March 27, 1909, as the second son and third child of Thomas and Katia Mann. His older siblings Erika and Klaus enjoyed the attention and devotion of his parents, who were unfortunately much less emotionally attached to Golo. Especially Thomas was remote and distant toward Golo, who bore this emotional negligence during his childhood. Thomas Mann's enchanting interactions with all sorts of people are legendary, as is also the fact that he was uniquely gifted in combining charm with detachment, and indeed he was even utterly reserved with some of his own children. In addition to being close to Golo's siblings Erika and Klaus, Thomas Mann was very fond of daughter Elisabeth, whom he treated as a sort of favorite child. She has remarked about the richness of that resplendent relationship. However, on the other side, in addition to Golo siblings Monika and Michael were also less honored with their father's affections. Compounded with this dearth, there seems to have been little empathy among the favored children for the burdens of the less esteemed brothers and sisters. Tilmann Lahme, and others, have observed and noted how Golo's complicated and contradictory relationship with his parents haunted and marred him until his death.

Golo finally managed to embark on his own destiny when he left his parental home for the Salem Boarding School in 1923. There he found the personal and intellectual confidence to explore and develop his talents, make friends, and slowly move outside the monumental orbit of his father. Following his years in Salem, Golo Mann began his university studies. After some semesters in Munich and Berlin, he finally settled in Heidelberg and came under the influence of the philosopher Karl Jaspers, who would also direct Golo Mann's dissertation. Titled *Das Einzelne und das Ich in Hegels Philosophie (Concerning the Terms of the Individual and the Ego in Hegel's Philosophy)*, Jaspers first regarded the project as very promising but ultimately became disappointed with its execution. He called Golo Mann into his office and confronted him with a devastating critique. While recognizing Mann's considerable literary potential, Jaspers deemed the manuscript bereft of any original thesis, essentially regarding it largely as a summary of Hegel's views, rather than a coherent analysis. Jaspers emphasized that perhaps with significant revision and time to mature, Mann's dissertation project could develop into a significant new interpretation of Hegel but stressed that it was, at that point, only passable as a dissertation, with only a

very average grade. No doubt Golo was deeply impacted by Jasper's assertion that if Thomas Mann had been aware of Golo's lack of clarity in writing the piece the elder Mann would have been ashamed of his son. [Tilmann, 81.]

The rise of the Nazi regime in 1933 forced Golo Mann into exile. Thomas and Katia Mann were already living abroad and Golo was commissioned to look after the family's house in Munich as well as to help his younger siblings leave Nazi Germany. Finally, at the end of May 1933, Golo Mann left Germany as well, and, after spending the summer in France, he moved into the new Thomas Mann residence near Zurich. But six weeks later, Golo Mann settled in to Saint-Cloud within the proximity of Paris, where he worked as a German language instructor for two years. Beginning in November 1935, he relocated, in order to lecture in German at the University of Rennes while also frequently visiting his family in Switzerland. In addition to his traveling and teaching, Golo Mann became an editor for the *émigré* journal *Die Sammlung* (*The Collection*). Later on, he edited the *émigré* journal *Maß und Wert* (*Measure and Value*) in Switzerland. This gained Golo Mann an ever larger measure of his father's respect, who gradually came to value Golo's efforts and views. Golo Mann left Switzerland for France, when Nazi Germany invaded in May 1940. He was arrested quite quickly and put into an internment camp. The intervention of the Emergency Rescue Committee, combined with the efforts of several other individuals, such as the well-connected Agnes E. Meyer (who was a friend and patron of Thomas Mann) enabled his eventual release. He together with his uncle, the writer Heinrich Mann, and several other prominent writers and intellectuals, including Alma Mahler-Werfel and Franz Werfel, crossed the Pyrenees for Spain and eventually secured visas for the United States. Such visas were notoriously difficult to obtain, requiring the intervention of as well as affidavits from American citizens. Fortunately, the Emergency Rescue Committee enjoyed the support of Eleanor Roosevelt and was thus able to pull the necessary strings.

Arriving in the U.S., Golo Mann had to make a new life for himself. At first, he stayed at his parent's house in Princeton, where Thomas Mann was a visiting professor. Before he finally got a teaching position at Olivet College in Michigan, in the autumn of 1942, Golo Mann found himself with little to do in Princeton, as well as in

California. Thomas and Katia Mann had moved to Pacific Palisades in 1941, and Golo followed them. A weakness in both Lahme and Bitterli's otherwise excellent biographical works is their perspectives on Golo Mann's teaching careers at Olivet College and later on at Claremont Men's College in California. Both authors emphasize Mann's more negative recollections of those years, wherein Golo lamented about how painfully unsophisticated his students were also commenting the provincialism of his colleagues. Both biographies would perhaps have benefited from broadening the archival base and context. There are excellent studies available which look at German refugee historians in the United States, that would have added further texture to the overall experience of Golo Mann, thus helping the reader to understand more fully how European, and specifically German, institutions of Higher Education differed from those in the U.S.A. This would have fleshed out to what extent Golo Mann's experiences were colored by notions of European cultural superiority and/or the potentially truly low academic standards which may have existed at those colleges [see *An Interrupted Past: German-Speaking Refugee Historians in the United States After 1933*, edited by Hartmut Lehmann and James J. Sheehan, Cambridge, UK: University of Cambridge Press Syndicate, 1991]. A more balanced assessment of Golo Mann's years at these colleges would also involve re-constructing the classes that he had taught there, as well as looking at his colleagues and their accomplishments.

Golo Mann became a member of the US Army in 1943, and he was assigned to work for the Office of Strategic Services in Washington, DC. Further assignments took him to London and Luxembourg. Eventually, he worked for the US Army in Frankfurt, Germany as a censor and press officer. He left the US Army in 1946 and accepted his previously mentioned position at Claremont College in 1947, where he would be for the next nine years (only interrupted by occasional trips and some longer stays to Europe). Golo Mann returned to Germany in 1956 and worked as a Visiting Professor at the University of Münster and, in 1960, became a full professor at the University of Stuttgart.

Golo Mann began to flourish as a writer-historian, when in 1947, he published his book on the diplomat, conservative essayist, and confidant of Prince Metternich at the Conference of Vienna in 1815, Friedrich von Gentz. In 1958, Golo Mann achieved widespread acclaim through his *History of Germany during the 19th and 20th Centuries*.

Yet, his greatest triumph came with the publication of his monumental Wallenstein biography, which narrates the life and times of Prince Wallenstein during the Thirty Year's War. Mann's main residence was now in Switzerland, and Bitterli keenly observes why Golo Mann opted for Switzerland, rather than staying in West Germany. Deeply suspicious of Germany and the Germans after his experiences with Nazism, he wanted to be both part and parcel of German culture and literature while maintaining a certain distance to Germany. Switzerland offered him the opportunity to be in the greater German cultural sphere, without being in Germany [Bitterli, p. 229].

His suspicions toward Germany came into greater focus on the eve of German re-unification in 1990, when Golo Mann voiced his reservations about the dangers of a new German super-state. He clearly would have preferred West and East Germany to continue as independent and sovereign countries, and both Bitterli and Lahme chronicle this viewpoint eloquently.

Shortly after German unification in 1990, Golo Mann's physical and mental health began to decline; he died on April 7, 1994, at the age of 85. As mentioned before, both Bitterli and Lahme approach Golo Mann with great nuance, breadth, and fairness. Scholars interested in Golo Mann as a thinker in the context of his time would very much benefit from Bitterli's book, and those interested in Golo Mann as a person, including the importance of his homosexuality and how it interacted with his moderate conservative world view, would benefit more from Lahme's work. Both are highly recommended.

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Valkyrie—A Film Review

by Barry Maxfield

The Better Man Shines Forth: *Valkyrie*. Bryan Singer. Historical Drama. (United Artists, 2008)

Cast: Tom Cruise..... *Colonel Claus von Stauffenberg*
Kenneth Branagh..... *Major General Henning von Tresckow*
Bill Nighy..... *General Friedrich Olbricht*
Tom Wilkinson..... *General Friedrich Fromm*
Carice van Houten..... *Nina von Stauffenberg*

It is uncommon for a historical fact to be so compelling that Hollywood would make a movie of it. It seems fictionalized history is the product that sells, with *Saving Private Ryan* being one such example it was a blending of fact and fiction into a blockbuster seller. History has accounts which are riveting yet overlooked. However, for writer Christopher McQuarrie and Nathan Alexander one of those stories came to light, a story that could be put on celluloid and sold.

The writing team has masterfully crafted a script with an eye to historical accuracy. The formula for this movie is simple and elegant: show the moral play of individuals who came to understand ethical values, and convey the lessons that this small slice of history offers the searching mind. It answers the question: what risks are borne by good men doing something, anything, in the face of unbelievable evil.

The movie is by no means a comprehensive documentary. This was never the screenwriters' intention. It is merely a small section of the timeline in this account. This movie is exceptional because of the accuracy of the events portrayed. Few Hollywood endeavors stay this close to history; little is missing. The movie follows closely the events as they are told by William Shirer in *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*.

(Maxfield) Major
General Henning
von Tresckow (Actor
Kenneth Branagh).



But an added bonus for the reviewer, the movie is stunning to the eye, the lighting, the pageantry of costume, the scenery, the angle of attack by the camera. Technical achievement by the director and cinematographers is complete. The grays, blacks and greens of Nazism are brilliantly portrayed in places against a bright backdrop of blood red Nazi Flags. Thanks to director and producer Bryan Singer we get a small feeling of what it is like to be enveloped in the drabness and dreariness of the Nazi Fascist Machine.

It is truly rare for all elements in historical movies to come together with real accuracy. Usually there are so many compromises to embellish a script that it steps outside the historical framework. But the timeline of what happened in this conspiracy makes it natural for storytelling. That is, once the complexities of the conspirators' motives are removed. This was done successfully by the screenwriters; it is no Spielberg war movie, yet it is beautifully done.

The acting is superb. Tom Cruise in the Lead Role as Klaus Philip Schenk, Count von Stauffenberg was impressive. He showed the reviewer that he can lead a serious role, which requires reverence to its character. Cruise created an image in the mind's eye of what Stauffenberg may have been like. Since there are few people alive today who really knew the man, we must rely on the impressions conveyed by historians, and the movie makers. In the movie Cruise is forceful, playing the role well of one who must take charge of a dangerous conspiracy. But Cruise was not the only actor to shine in a historical context. Kenneth Branagh, who plays Major General Henning Von Tresckow, was superb in building a feeling of tension. For example when he was recovering the bomb after

the failed March 13, 1943, attempt on Hitler's life, he creates the tension between one with a guilty conscience and the accuser. That is Tresckow the conspirator and Colonel Heinz Brandt of the Army General Staff who was actually unknowingly carrying the bomb that was supposed to kill Hitler in the failed coup. Bill Nighy plays a fantastic role as General Friedrich Olbricht, Tom Wilkinson convincingly as the two faced General Friederich Fromm and then a small yet convincing performance by David Bamber as Hitler.

The casting in the movie is superlative. It was surprising to the reviewer to see the photographs of the conspirators against the actors, very well done to depict the characters in the plot. The casting and makeup crews certainly did their homework. Technical errors are minor, and certainly do not detract from the story as it unfolds. An example of this in the movie would be Tresckow himself retrieved the unexploded bomb in the March 13 assassination attempt, but, in actuality, Tresckow's Adjutant Fabian Von Schlabrendorff, a fellow conspirator, went to Colonel Brandt and retrieved the bomb (hidden in bottles of Brandy). This small detail is simply minutia and can be forgiven as this is not a documentary.

The movie opens with a recitation of the German Soldiers' oath sworn by those serving in Hitler's ranks. The oath is not sworn to Germany, rather to the Führer. This seems to be a point in Stauffenberg's mind. Was there a role this oath served in the evil perpetrated on humanity? Was it one of the compelling reasons Nazi soldiers committed atrocities? The fact that the movie opens with this idea suggests that the oath, one method of brainwashing, could have been a reason for evil. But the oath also seems to be the reason of conflict with Stauffenberg. He questions several times throughout the movie, whether his treason is against Germany or the Führer; a treason that he is aware of, yet he seems at ease with. The treason seems to be reconciled at the point of his execution, when he tells fellow conspirator General Friedrich Olbricht to "look them in the eye, they will remember." Of course, it is not known if Stauffenberg ever uttered this to Olbricht, but for the reviewer it did tie up the loose end of how Stauffenberg felt about the conspirators' treason. The movie was acted in such a way that to the reviewer there is reverence and respect for the coup conspirators.

But the feeling of fear was also portrayed. Cruise was convincing showing the gut wrenching fear someone would show when they have



Conspirators.

everything to lose including their life, Stauffenberg certainly would have realized this and Cruise and his fellow actors portrayed this beautifully.

After the bomb was detonated at the Wolf's Lair, as Stauffenberg and his Adjutant Lt. Werner Von Haeften (portrayed by Jamie Parker) were returning to Berlin on a

Junkers JU-52, convincing worry was etched on the face of Haeften. To this reviewer he was convincing as a man who knew he could never go back, yet he wasn't sure of what was ahead. The worry lines etched on his face rang true. It is a difficult task telling the agony these men felt after they committed themselves and all the conspirators to the plot.

The movie created powerful images of the indecision which existed amongst the conspirators; the movie makers ended the useless discussion by the Kreisau Circle (the conspiracy discussion group) with Stauffenberg asking "Then what will you do once Hitler is dead." The indecision that would have been prompted by fear of committing all to one cause was suddenly staring them all in the face.

Although this scene cannot be verified historically, it ends the discussion and ties up the decision to kill Hitler and it puts Stauffenberg in charge of the conspiracy, which of course is what really happened. The movie also gave Stauffenberg action; he progressed as a human being to knowing the German war machine was evil. He knew it was time for action, which meant treason against the Führer. His reasoning was that he was not betraying Germany. The man had true clarity in this respect. His morals had become placed correctly in the eyes of the great moral philosophers such as Aristotle.

Stauffenberg, as portrayed in the movie, had his moments, working through the idea of committing high treason. This dilemma had to be worked through rapidly in the interest of time, as the movie runs just a little over two hours. But he works through it and becomes a decisive, forceful leader in the movement to topple Hitler, finally realizing that he could have to be the assassin, as all the other conspirators were correctly portrayed as all talk but little action.

Stauffenberg realizes that if Hitler is dead, he can start a critical mass with the Valkyrie Plan, a defense plan designed to keep Hitler's government intact in case of destabilization by foreign slave labor or some other political unrest. This is the mechanism that the conspirators use for their coup. The plan was approved by Hitler himself. If there was political upheaval, the plan called for the Reserve Army, led by General Friedrich Fromm to defend Berlin, round up the trouble makers and secure the government. Hitler never imagined that Valkyrie would be used against him. This is well depicted in the movie without complexity.



Stauffenberg

The movie does not give a build up of the characters. For example we do not have any history on Stauffenberg, and the changes that came over him as he went from a sworn soldier of the Third Reich to a traitor to the Third Reich. This is understandable as the conspirators were so numerous. How could the movie makers possibly build up even a few of the key people?

The movie effectively shows Stauffenberg as a committed and disciplined soldier, willing to fight to the end for a cause, no matter the stakes. Cruise's portrayal of Stauffenberg waiting to exit the conference room after he has armed the bomb gives a glimpse of what Stauffenberg might have gone through as he stood next to the explosive knowing the fuse could collapse at any time detonating the device. Especially since the timing on the fuse was not exact. It was a matter of discipline to stand, risking death, and not run away in a cold panic.

The dialog throughout the movie is anyone's guess. In many instances no one really knew what was said in the secretive Kreisau Circle. They certainly were not going to leave a record as evidence. However, where there are primary sources on dialog, the movie makers portrayed it accurately; including Stauffenberg's final utterance at the point of death "Long Live our Sacred Germany"

In the final battle scene of the movie, as the conspiracy was unraveling, a scene which is portrayed accurately, Stauffenberg is escorting General Ludwig Beck (who would have been Head of State under the new anti-Hitler government) out of the Bendlerstrasse (army headquarters). A gun fight breaks out in the granite hallways of the

building. Stauffenberg and his adjutant were willing to take on heavily armed loyal troops, with Walther PPK's, a last act of desperation by men aware they are about to loose country, family, career and their lives. They are committed to this fight.

This movie was beautifully filmed; the screenwriting was well done, adapting historical facts to the time constraints of a movie.

For the viewer immersed in history, it is an easy movie to watch, because a historian or history buff would be acquainted with the characters. Yet for the layman it seems to have appeal, because the complexity of characters aside the story is stimulating to the mind. How many times has it been discussed what would have happened if Hitler had been assassinated? The story opens a new window to those only casually acquainted with history of World War II.

The risks and dangers of resistance are well depicted in the movie. How did Swiss Diplomat Carl Lutz or Swiss Police Official Paul Grüniger feel as they played a dangerous game of resistance by saving the lives of thousands of Jewish people? Watch this movie closely to get small glimpses of the costs of resisting tyranny.

Barry Maxfield
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Karl Friedrich Meyer, 1884-1974

by Urs Gessner, Romanshorn, Switzerland



Karl Friedrich Meyer, the veterinarian scientist, the medical microbiologist and pathologist, the ecologist, the epidemiologist, the public health promoter, and inspiring teacher—the Swiss genius in the USA—what an incredibly active, brilliant, and prodigious personality he was!

This article intends to give Meyer his due place in the history of Swiss-American relations in the first half of the 20th century. It is impossible, though, to fully discuss Meyer's work from a history-of-science viewpoint on these pages. (A biography paying due credit to the person and his achievements would fill at least one book.)

We mainly draw from Meyer's Oral History Memoirs,¹ from the biography written by Sabin,² obituaries written by his colleagues, as well as from personal communications by one of Meyer's nephews.³

FAMILY—OVERVIEW

Karl Friedrich was born in Basel, Switzerland, on May 19, 1884, the son of Theodor Meyer, a cigar merchant, belonging to a very old

¹ Karl F. Meyer; *Medical Research and Public Health*, with recollections by S. S. Elberg, J. Schachter, L. E. Foster, J. H. Steele. An Interview conducted by E. T. Daniel in 1961 and 1962. Typo script, 439 p. The Regents of the University of California, 1976.

² A. D. Sabin. Karl Friedrich Meyer, May 19, 1884-April 27, 1974. *Biographical Memoirs*, Vol. 42, S. 268-332. National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America. National Academy Press, Washington D.C., 1980.

³ Dr. Fritz Sulzer, Langenthal, Switzerland.

Basler family (Meyer zum Pfeil). His mother Sophie, née Lichtenhahn, was a teacher. Karl Friedrich grew up with two sisters.

Meyer was to become a Swiss-American scientist famous for studying nature, transmission and prevention of animal diseases transmissible to man. Moreover, he was responsible for improving industrial hygiene and for training public health doctors. He also was a consultant to many government agencies.⁴

He became a US citizen in 1922.

Meyer married Mary Elizabeth Lindsay (1883-1958) on July 16, 1913, in Philadelphia. The two had one daughter, Charlotte, born in 1918 (Mrs. Bartley P. Cardon). Meyer's second marriage (in 1960) was with Marion Grace Lewis (1916-1998).

He died April 27, 1974, in San Francisco, California.

YOUTH—EDUCATION

The family Meyer lived in one of the big houses on the “Rheinsprung” in Basel, built on the left bank of the Rhine, not far from the cathedral of Basel. Below the house, on the steep incline down to the river, there was garden with a copse, ideal for young Karl to chase around with his dogs, to sharpen his eyes observing animals and plants. His mother insisted that he always observe attentively and exactly what he saw, and to reflect on it. Meyer commented later that he thus developed, as a boy, his talents for examining and recognizing the interplay among different animal groups, their natural habitats, food chains, etc. This faculty proved to be an invaluable asset for his later professional work.

Father Meyer took his son along on extensive hikes through the Swiss Alps and on mountain climbing tours. Karl developed into a well trained, athletic young man. He became an ardent mountain climber and kept this passion throughout his life. He was also an excellent fencer, as well as an oarsman, and an accomplished horseman.

In the Gymnasium Meyer was mostly interested in biology. And very early his independence and talents for leadership showed. He later related that he must have been a “pain in the neck” to his teachers. Were

⁴A. D. Sabin. Karl Friedrich Meyer, May 19, 1884-April 27, 1974. *Biographical Memoirs*, Vol. 42, S. 268-332. National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America. <https://doi.org/10.1093/bio/biay016>

a class to be boring, he started nonsense of some kind (like making ink bottles explode). Or he argued with the teachers when he thought their reasoning illogical or unfounded. At one time, when a teacher assigned the class to read Moliere's drama *The Imaginary Invalid*, he persuaded his entire class to stage the play, which turned out a big success (thanks to a wise teacher).

Meyer began his university studies in Basel in zoology, but soon moved to Zurich to be independent and because the parties the student fraternity threw were too wild for him. He then studied for two years in Zurich (1903-1905), first concentrating on physics, chemistry, and botany. Then, he continued with anatomy, physiology, and biochemistry, and went on to Veterinary School in order to learn more about animals. There, he found an outstanding mentor, the professor of comparative anatomy and pathology (Heinrich Zangger, who later was the first professor of Legal Medicine in Zurich); Zangger fostered him greatly. Meyer was allowed to work on projects of his own choice. And he was deeply impressed by Zangger's knowledge and social consciousness. Zangger later made it possible for Meyer to go to Munich to work with other leading scientists of the time (Friedrich von Mueller and others). Back from Munich, Meyer went, again on Zangger's advice, to the Veterinary Department at the University of Berne where he could continue his own research and work towards a degree in Veterinary Medicine (under scientists like Kolle and Langerhans, the latter famous for his discovery of the insulin-producing cells of the pancreas). The School of Veterinary Medicine of the University of Zurich accepted his doctoral thesis. He received the degree in 1909 when he was just 24 years old.

It may be added at this point, that Meyer (much later in 1924) obtained a Ph.D. degree by the University of Zurich, in zoology (bacteriology). During a sabbatical leave from California, he wrote a dissertation that was readily accepted by the University of Zurich.

SCIENTIFIC CAREER

1) South Africa, 1908-1910

Meyer found his first employment in South Africa. The Transvaal Department of Agriculture in the (then) Union of South Africa had

just established a large, special Institute devoted to research in public health and farm animal diseases, the latter being important for the economy of the country. The first director of the institute was another Swiss veterinarian, Arnold Theiler (from Lucerne, 1867-1936, father of Max Theiler, the Nobel Prize winner), famous for having successfully combated the so-called rinderpest, African horse sickness, and many other viral and bacterial infections of livestock.

Theiler employed Meyer as pathologist (i.e. to study and diagnose diseases by examination of organs, tissues, body fluids, and whole bodies). In this function he autopsied hundreds of animals and developed outstanding dexterity in doing this. (The story goes that once he bet colleagues that he could do a complete autopsy of an elephant, dressed in his tuxedo, without assistant and without a drop of blood on his shirt.) He became an exceptional expert getting the most out of carefully carried out autopsies, something he (later) taught and “hammered home” with hundreds of students in California.

In addition, Meyer had to develop vaccines: one against rabies, another to protect cattle against pleuro-pneumonia, a disease with devastating consequences for the farmers, etc. In these studies he discovered a hitherto unknown type of the germ (now known as a mycoplasma) causing the disease. Moreover, he was able to answer one important question as to the lifecycle of the parasite causing African East Coast fever. And he showed that cattle could be protected against the illness that used to kill a great many animals. This was an important completion of previous work done by Theiler and others.

It is known that Meyer after work in the laboratory spent quite some time horseback riding—or walking long distances—through the country, doing fieldwork, visiting farms stricken by diseases or just to get to know the countryside.

Meyer’s research, undertaken mostly on his own scheme, led to further discoveries. This, and his initiative to build up a museum (of tissue specimens, etc.) contributed to the Institute’s fame and leading role in its field.

However, after two years in South Africa, Meyer returned to Switzerland (partly also because he and Theiler, both being strong personalities, did not get along very well). A short time later, a stroke of luck brought him in contact with an American diplomat who had connections to the University of Pennsylvania. And very soon, Meyer

was offered a position as an assistant professor at the Veterinary School of the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia.

2. University of Pennsylvania, 1910-1913

Meyer had to teach pathology and comparative pathology at the Veterinary School of Pennsylvania. Soon he became perturbed by badly prepared students. His open and gruff way of handling the students got him into some trouble. It took a while for the faculty to appreciate that his harsh criticism always was well founded. But both sides did not remain very happy, though.

Nevertheless, the faculty soon promoted Meyer to full professor, and put him in charge of the diagnostic section of the Laboratory and Experimental Farm of the Pennsylvania Livestock Sanitary Board where he stayed for two years. At that time, he was 27 years old.

In the laboratory, Meyer started using new methods in pathology, e.g. improved techniques of cultivating bacteria, working with small animals, etc. His research took several directions. He worked on glanders, a bacterial disease in horses, mules, etc. which first affects the mucous membranes. It may be lethal, and is also dangerous to humans. Then, he once found the fungus responsible in sporotrichosis. This is a chronic infection of the skin caused when thorns of roses, or sharp pine needles, carrying the fungus, puncture the skin.

Moreover, Meyer helped to elucidate the transmission of the bacteria causing a contagious abortion disease of cattle and also infecting humans via un-sterilized milk, causing (possibly lethal) fever. This is brucellosis, a disease that he continued working on in California (s. below).

Other studies of Meyer's included the cause of epizootic (sudden and locally occurring) abortion in mares. It was here, at the University of Pennsylvania, that Meyer isolated a virus causing encephalitis in horses (sometimes called "sleeping sickness" of horses). He would continue this very important work in later years.

Already in these early years it became clear, that Meyer never just stayed in the laboratory. He wanted to put his expertise to practical use, to the benefit of the people. So he soon consulted with the Milk Commission working on laws to certify milk quality. And he helped to tackle the rabies problem that was quite prevalent around Pittsburgh.

3. University of California at Berkeley and San Francisco

Meyer's boss in Philadelphia called his attention to the (then) new developments at the University of California in the San Francisco area that clearly seemed to offer ideal opportunities for him. The University of California at Berkeley planned to set up a new Department of Pathology at the Medical School. Moreover, a very special research institute was to be opened shortly in San Francisco. The concept was to install "The Rockefeller Institute of the West." The George Williams Hooper Institute for Medical Research was in fact the first medical research foundation in the United States incorporated into a university, i.e. The University of California Medical Center in San Francisco. The institute (endowed in memory of George Williams Hooper, San Francisco, lumber merchant and philanthropist) was formally opened in 1914. Its first director was George F. Whipple who later won a Nobel Prize. (In what follows, the institute will be called "the Hooper".)

Meyer moved to California in 1914 after hard negotiations to ensure he would be able to do research and to teach the way he saw it best. His plan soon proved successful and rewarding for him—and many others. In California, where he stayed for the rest of his life, he was able to pursue his life's goal. His personality, his enormous knowledge combined with his energy and extraordinary drive, were just what was needed to tackle the many pioneering tasks.

Meyer's main contributions and achievements during the 60 years in California were founded on his holistic, ecological approach. In each case, as a generalist, he simultaneously covered many related areas, concentrating on the interactions and interdependencies of the many factors involved. These areas encompassed:

- (i) disease agents: biology (of the germs), habitat, hosts (i.e. carriers of germs), transmission to man, infectiousness, etc
- (ii) diseases in man and animals: diagnosis, therapy, and pathology
- (iii) public health: training programs, laws regulating food safety; prevention
- (iv) education

of professional societies in the field. Moreover, he served on editorial boards of several professional journals. Thus, he kept in close contact and co-operated with many other leading medical microbiologists, medical doctors, leaders in public health, and agencies of public health.

The obituary of Meyer, published by the Academic Senate of the University of California, emphasized one additional of Meyer's basic characteristics: "His work was not only of the highest standard and distinction but the problems he undertook were clearly in response to his deeply felt humanitarianism and sense of obligation and duty to the community and society."⁵

TEACHING

In 1914, Meyer began teaching courses in medical bacteriology at the Berkeley Medical School. His lectures, always most diligently prepared, were all brilliant, dynamic, captivating, and demanded a great deal from all students. He was known for lecturing well past the allotted time, but no one complained. Meyer always combined the lectures with intensive practical laboratory work.

It is enlightening to read what one of Meyer's co-workers [5] later wrote: "During the 30s he embarked upon a period of major experimentation in teaching techniques which utilized films he had prepared, lantern slides, and "living demonstrations" of the material he was discussing. He showed the instrumentation developed by the great figures in bacteriology and the kinds of experiments they had carried out to answer the great questions in microbiology. As he spoke, a series of lecture demonstrations were performed and material was distributed throughout the class by his lecture assistant, a veritable Sorcerer's Apprentice. The room would be alive with a clatter of tubes and petri dishes moving around from hand to hand, replicated sufficiently that no student waited long for the particular material to examine; meanwhile, Dr. Meyer would be advising what to look for, referring to huge wall charts he or his demonstrator had prepared. Then, suddenly calling for the slides, the room would be darkened with a crash as the shades over the lightwell moved into place after he pressed the famous hidden button,

⁵ Saunders, J. B. de C.M. and Shaw, E.B. Karl Friedrich Meyer, Pathology, Microbiology: San Francisco. In Memoriam; Calisphere, pp 80-86, March 1976.

1930. A canning research laboratory existed in the Hooper until the 1980s. Meyer continued consulting with the industries until his death. Thus, he deserves the credit for developing safe canning procedures, for realizing effective control over industrial hygiene, and the prevention of botulism.

Meyer also investigated what are called **arbovirus diseases**. Several diseases transmitted from animals to humans are due to a group of viruses carried by mosquitoes. Mosquitoes belong to the ‘animal family’ (technically a ‘phylum’) called arthropods; hence the viruses carried by them are arthropod-borne. Different arboviruses may cause diverse diseases. Here, we summarize examples of Meyer’s outstanding discoveries in this area.

iii) Equine encephalitis

In the early 1930s, thousands of horses in California suffered and died from a paralytic disease, later called western equine encephalitis. Meyer claimed that it was of viral origin. His epidemiologic studies (covering many regions in the US) seemed to confirm that. He also isolated the virus using some adventurous fieldwork and clever laboratory methods. Later it became clear that the virus can also infect humans causing encephalitis, sometimes with deadly complications. Meyer and his colleagues at the Hooper later demonstrated that mosquitoes pick up the virus from chicken and (migratory) birds and transfer it to man and to horses. It also became clear that the disease is common near irrigated fields where mosquitoes abound. Meyer therefore qualified encephalitis as a man-made disease. Subsequently, a vaccine for horses was developed. And it turned out that the isolation of the virus by Meyer led to the discovery of similar kinds causing other types of encephalitis in man. (Other microbiologists found related types of viruses in other animals than horses.) Effective mosquito control was the key to minimizing this problem.

(iv) Yellow fever

Yellow fever in man is caused by (another group of) viruses borne by mosquitoes that are infected from monkeys and other jungle animals carrying the germ. The viruses are deposited with the saliva of the mosquitoes through the human skin. In humans, the viruses cause

severe fever and affect liver, heart, kidneys, and adrenal glands. The disease may lead to death.

During the years of World War II a vaccine against yellow fever was used in the Armed Forces that produced (unexpectedly) adverse reactions such as jaundice. Meyer stepped in, discovered mistakes in its production and helped producing a safe and effective vaccine.

(v) Plague

Plague, or pest, greatly feared in the old days, is caused by a bacillus broadly distributed in wild rodents (rat, squirrel, mice, chipmunks, marmots, and others). The fleas, infesting the rodents, also carry the microbe and transmit it not only from animal to animal, but also to man.

Many things about pest were known in Meyer's early days, but not sufficiently well. Meyer always had been interested in "black death." He conducted a great many investigations on the nature of the bacillus, the important function of the different fleas, the epidemiology of the rodents, the influence of the location of their habitats, its climate and vegetation, etc. His extensive work finally led him to define general ecological conditions for outbreaks of plague epidemics. This, in fact, was one of Meyer's great contributions. With the outbreak of World War II (before the arrival of antibiotics) the Armed Forces urgently needed effective and safe preventive measures against the plague (in large Army Camps). Meyer and his scientists at the Hooper developed an effective vaccine. It was actually manufactured at the Hooper when the Army needed vaccines to protect the troops in Vietnam (an endemic area where many plague cases were seen in local soldiers). The results were excellent; no epidemic was observed. Meyer went on to develop optimal, effective therapies using antibiotics, another of his contributions.

(vi) Psittacosis

Psittacosis belongs to a group of infectious diseases transmitted from birds to man (so-called ornithoses). It was first discovered in persons handling parrots that carried a special germ i.e. a bacterium, causing, when transmitted to man, high fever, influenza-like symptoms, and pneumonia. Later the bacterium was also found in sparrows, pigeons, hens, turkeys, and sea gulls. Infected birds may show minimal evidence

of the illness and thus contain large reservoirs of the bacterium. Meyer isolated the agent of psittacosis (i.e. one of the Chlamydia bacteria) and later also defined antigens.

In the early thirties Meyer fought for interstate embargo on the export of parakeets to stop propagation of the disease. He also was responsible for California-wide actions to liberate aviaries of infested birds. To this goal, the Hooper became a center for testing thousands of birds and selecting the ones free of the bacteria, with the result that germs and disease largely disappeared from local commerce.

With the advent of antibiotics, the disease can be successfully treated. Meyer, together with colleagues, developed a system of quarantine and treatment for imported birds that was highly effective in minimizing importation of psittacosis in pet birds. The incidence of psittacosis declined notably owing to the many discoveries in this area by Meyer.

(vii) **Mussel Poison** (or paralytic shellfish poison)

On the West Coast, poisoning after eating mussel (or other shellfish) was not uncommon at certain times of the year. Mussels feed on salt-water plankton. The plankton includes, among many others, microscopic, simple (unicellular) organisms belonging to a family called "dinoflagellates". These minute organisms play an important role in the marine food chain. During their feeding, shellfish will filter large quantities of water and effectively amass the dinoflagellates. Some species of the dinoflagellates, however, produce poisons that kill many fish and may be lethal to man, too. The poison acts quickly. Death often occurs due to critical breathing problems.

Under Meyer's guidance, methods of testing mussels for the presence of the poison were developed at the Hooper. And the California State Department of Health decided (in 1929) to monitor the mussels closely, and to publicize a ban on harvesting of shellfish, when the annual appearance of the poison is detected.

(viii) **Valley Fever**

Valley fever (or California Valley Fever, called Coccidioidomycosis) is an influenza-like illness with fever, cough, headaches, muscle pain, etc. Some patients fail to recover and develop chronic lung infection

or widespread infection affecting soft tissues, bones, and meninges (membranes around the brain and spinal cord). The disease is caused by airborne, fungal particles dwelling in the soil in certain parts of the southwestern United States and northern Mexico.

Infection is caused—in about half of the people exposed by inhalation of the fungal particles (known as arthroconidia, a form of spore). The disease is not transmitted from person to person. The fungal particles were isolated by Meyer who also thoroughly investigated and described the epidemiology of the disease.

(ix) Leptospirosis

Leptospirosis is a disease affecting humans and animals. It is caused by bacteria of the class (genus) *Leptospira*. In humans it causes a wide range of symptoms (some infected persons may show no signs, though). Symptoms of leptospirosis include high fever, severe headache, chills, muscle aches, and vomiting, and may include jaundice (yellow skin and eyes), abdominal pain, diarrhea, or a rash. If untreated, kidney damage may result, as well as meningitis (inflammation of the meninges), liver failure, and respiratory distress. Death occurs rarely.

Outbreak of leptospirosis arises after exposure to water contaminated with the urine of infected animals. Many different kinds of animals carry the bacterium; they may become ill, but sometimes have no symptoms. *Leptospira* organisms have been found in cattle, pigs, horses, dogs, rodents, and other wild animals. Humans become infected through contact with water, food, or soil containing urine from infected animals. This may happen by swallowing contaminated food or water, or through skin contact, especially with mucosal surfaces, such as the eyes or nose, or with injured skin. The disease is not known to be spread from person to person.

Meyer's many investigations contributed greatly to the understanding of the disease. He developed a diagnostic test as well as methods of vaccination. Among other things, Meyer found about half of all dogs in San Francisco infected. Later, after Meyer's interventions, the dog-epidemic disappeared.

(x) Additional Achievements

Many scientists thought that Meyer's outlining and discussion

of the concept of **latent infections** was a very significant and wide-ranging contribution. Similarly, his conception of the (large) **reservoir of microbes in the animal kingdom**, bearing dangers to humans, was very important, too.

In addition, Meyer worked on the effect of air pollution and lead on livestock, and on typhoid fever (after a spaghetti casserole served at a church dinner poisoned about 100 people). He also explored the epidemiology of influenza, looked into malaria, tetanus, influenza, viral hepatitis, anthrax, as well as common cold, and dental bacteriology.

EPILOGUE

The above review of Meyer's contributions indicates why his contemporaries considered him to be one of the most prodigious and prolific scientists in many areas of infectious diseases in man and animals, the ecology of the pathogens, epidemiology and public health. He also was responsible for improving laws regulating hygiene in the food industries and in public health. His training programs in Public Health in California (and the Western States) deserve a lot of credit. To boot, he was famous being an excellent and inspiring though very demanding teacher.

Meyer's extraordinary series of publications and papers presented at conferences (including talks on the radio) were important parts in promoting the state of the art. He published as many as 800 articles in books and scientific journals (of which about 200 were written after his official retirement).

Meyer was a very strong, towering personality with an extraordinary zest for an active life. Schachter, his last student and successor at the Hooper, further characterized the person: "Meyer remained Swiss. He espoused his adopted country, but never forgot his origins. He never lost his accent. And everyone he came in contact with knew he was Swiss. He often reminisced, particularly about mountain climbing, and in San Francisco, favored visitors who were guests at the famous dinners hosted at his club, and always joined him in a final toast with the obligatory bottle of Kirschwasser."⁷

⁷ Schachter, J. Karl F. Meyer; Scientist Dedicated to Service. Bull. Schweiz. Akad. Med. Wiss. 33: 187-199, 1977.
<https://ehs.scripps.edu/ehs-archives/2010-review/vol46/iss1/13>

It is of no surprise to hear that Meyer's interests ranged widely, including history and, in particular, history of biology. He also was an accomplished photographer and fascinated by radio in its early days. Another specialty of his was philately where he concentrated on stamps honoring scientists and medical doctors. And he was well known as an expert in the area of disinfected mail, about which he extensively published. (Mail was, at various times, disinfected to prevent the spread of disease.) Meyer wrote a book about it, based on his findings, and included invited contributions by colleagues from around the world. This book, of 300 odd pages, was the standard source on disinfected mail for decades.

It is worthy to recall what was said in Meyer's obituary published by the University of California: "Science and friends alike will miss his rugged personality, his directness, his genius, his bonhomie, his love of good company, good conversation, and good wine, and his graciousness. Those who knew him at close hand rejoiced in his friendship. His lifelong devoted support was a priceless boon to those who had worked with him—the 'hand on the shoulder' for many years."⁸

And it also may well be repeated what many friends and colleagues said after his death: Meyer influenced more microbiological and epidemiological domains than any other scientist of his time; he was driven by his deep-seated concern for the welfare of the people. A former student and friend once put it like this: "Meyer would have won a Nobel Prize if he hadn't worked on so many areas of discovery that nobody could keep track of all that he was doing."⁹

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

We take pleasure in acknowledging the indispensable help and guidance by Drs. Julius Schachter, Fritz Sulzer, and Hans-Jakob Schmid in the preparation of this article.

⁸ Saunders, J. B. de C.M. and Shaw, E.B. Karl Friedrich Meyer, Pathology, Microbiology; San Francisco. In Memoriam; Calisphere, pp 80-86, March 1976.

⁹ Elberg, S.S. Obituary: Karl Friedrich Meyer. ASM News, 40, no. 9, pp 733-737, 1974.

CHRONICLE

Academic Appointments

From 1910-1911, Meyer was Assistant Professor at the University of Pennsylvania, and from 1911-1913, he was full Professor of Pathology and Bacteriology at the School of Veterinary Medicine.

During his years in California, Meyer held the following appointments: University of California: 1913-1915 Prof. of Bacteriology and Protozoology; 1915-1924: Assoc. Professor of Tropical Medicine; 1924-1948: Prof. of Bacteriology; 1948-1954: Prof. of Experimental Pathology; 1954-1974: Prof. Emeritus of Experimental Pathology.

Additional appointments were: 1940-1941: Visiting Lecturer in Epidemiology, Harvard Medical School; 1940-1954: Lecturer in Public Health, University of Southern California; 1960: Lecturer in History of Health Sciences, University of California, San Francisco.

Positions

During the many years in California, Meyer held the following positions:

1921-54: first Acting Director, then Director, George Williams Hooper Foundation for Medical Research, U. of C., San Francisco.

1924-1948: Chairman of the Departments of Bacteriology at University of California, San Francisco, and at the College of Letters and Science at Berkeley.

1926-1930: Director, Laboratory for Research in the Canning Industries.

1936-1939: Director Public Health Curricula at the U. of California.

After retiring in 1954, he was promoted to Director Emeritus and Professor Emeritus and continued his research to his death in 1974, a phase during which he kept on working and publishing scientific papers at his usual high rate.

Consultancies

Meyer served as consultant to a great many State, Federal, international, and also private institutions, of which we cite the following:

1948-1974: Board of Public Health, State of California

1920-1974: Southern Pacific Railway

1927-1947: Chief Consultant to the California State Department of Public Health

1935-1945: Department of Health, City and County of San Francisco

1939-1950: Board of Health Chicago

1942-1948: consultant on epidemic diseases, and on tropical diseases to the Secretary of War

1952-1974: Armed Forces Institute of Pathology

1951-1974: Office of The Surgeon General

1940-1950: National Advisory Health Council

United States Public Health Service

1948 and later: consultant to the planning committee for the World Health Organization (WHO), and to the WHO Section on Communicable Diseases.

Honorary Degrees

Meyer was honored for his outstanding work by many honorary degrees, awards, medals, fellowships, honorary memberships or honorary chairmanships of scientific associations. A selection is listed below.

1936: Hon. M.D., College of Medical Evangelists, Los Angeles

1937: Dr.med.h.c., University of Zurich, Switzerland

1946: Hon. L.L.D., University of Southern California

1949: Dr.med.vet.h.c., University of Zurich, Switzerland

1952: Dr.med.h.c., University of Basel, Switzerland

1953: Dr.med.vet.h.c., Tieraerztliche Hochschule, Hannover, Germany

1958: Hon. L.L.D.h.c., University of California

1958: Hon. D.Sc., University of Ohio

1959: Hon. D.Sc., University of Pennsylvania

Awards and Medals (a selection)

1946: Sedgwick Memorial Medal from the American Public Health Association

1951: Lasker Award, Albert and Mary Lasker Foundation, from

the American Public Health Association

1956: Walter Reed Medal (US Army)

1964: Goldheaded Cane Award (“The K F Meyer Award,” especially created for Meyer) from the American Veterinary Epidemiology Society (a society founded in the honor of Meyer)

1970: Bristol Award for Distinguished Achievement in Infectious Diseases, from the Infectious Diseases Society of America.

Literature

¹ Karl F. Meyer; *Medical Research and Public Health*, with recollections by S. S. Elberg, J. Schachter, L. E. Foster, J. H. Steele. An Interview conducted by E. T. Daniel in 1961 and 1962. Typo script, 439 p. The Regents of the University of California, 1976.

² A. D. Sabin. Karl Friedrich Meyer, May 19, 1884-April 27, 1974. *Biographical Memoirs*, Vol. 42, S. 268-332. National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America. National Academy Press, Washington D.C., 1980.

³ Schachter, J. Karl F. Meyer; Scientist Dedicated to Service. *Bull. Schweiz. Akad. Med. Wiss.* 33, 187-199, 1977.

⁴ Saunders, J. B. de C.M. and Shaw, E.B. Karl Friedrich Meyer, Pathology, Microbiology: San Francisco. In Memoriam; *Calisphere*, pp 80-86, March 1976.

⁵ Elberg, S.S. Recollections of Karl F. Meyer. Appendix II in [1], pp 371-379.

⁶ Elberg, S.S. Obituary: Karl Friedrich Meyer. *ASM News*, 40, no. 9, pp 733-737, 1974.

⁷ Steele, J.H. Biographical Notes: Karl Friedrich Meyer. *J. of Infect. Diseases*, 129, Supplement, 404-411, 1974.

⁸ Shaw, E.B. cited by D C Cavanaugh in *J Wildlife Dis.* Vol. 10, Oct 1974.

⁹ Dr. Fritz Sulzer, Langenthal, Switzerland.

Jean-René Bory, 1928-2009

The Foundation for the History of the Swiss Abroad has lost its “founding father” and former president. Jean-René Bory died peacefully on 28 June 2008 at his home in Coppet (Vaud, Switzerland) after a series of years in which recurrent health problems forced him to substantially reduce his workload.

Initially, Jean-René Bory identified himself with the history of the many Swiss soldiers and officers who, throughout the centuries, have served abroad under foreign kings. He was able to make this important chapter of Swiss history come alive in a most original way. First of all, he put it into the larger European context. At the same time, he did not confine that phenomenon to military history alone, but was able to show its political, cultural and societal dimensions. Then, he went beyond this confinement and started to take a look at the Swiss abroad in general, at those who upon leaving their home-country have gone into a multitude of other trades and who have left their mark on their new environment: explorers, architects, artists, farmers, pastry-cooks, cheese-makers, hotel managers, teachers, journalists, diplomats, businessmen, . . .

Jean-René Bory was not a learned historian first and foremost, writing academic books and articles; he was above all a gifted communicator and concentrated his efforts on three complementary modes of conveying history: exhibitions, trips and conferences.

Jean-René Bory was a great collector, a man of the museum and a creator of exhibitions. He knew how to find and obtain objects of historical value and interest—portraits, arms, uniforms, flags, engravings, diplomas, letters, books etc.—and he knew how to present them and to make them talk. Together with the famous Swiss historian Gonzague de Reynold, he founded the Museum of the Swiss Abroad and ran it, first at the Château de Coppet starting in 1961, later, from 1978, at the Château de Penthes on the city-borders of Geneva. This latter venue was put at the disposal of the Foundation by the Republic and Canton of Geneva. Exhibitions were also staged elsewhere. Many still remember the “Swiss in American Life”—exhibition which, starting in 1976, travelled widely throughout the United States. He also contributed to

the “Sister Republics” show at the Library of Congress in Washington DC in 1991.

However, confining an object to a presentation board or a showcase was not entirely satisfactory to Jean-René Bory. He wanted to go and see by himself; he loved to travel and in many instances, he was accompanied by a group of friends, the “Swiss Friends of Versailles,” who shared his passion of visiting uncounted historical places: palaces, castles, towns, battlefields. He used not only to play the role of a travel guide and on-the-spot commentator, but also gave extended conferences before, during and after these trips and prepared elaborate travel files.

The third way of communicating, thus, was the conference, to talk to people, sometimes way beyond the scheduled duration. He also became famous for his historical talks on the Swiss Radio. He knew how to captivate his audience by adding fascinating details, anecdotes or flights of oratory, sometimes also his very personal interpretations of history. This is how many will remember him: an orator who knew how to kindle the people’s interest in history, who would henceforth share his conviction, that memory is essential if we want to confront the challenges of the present and the future. But not just the past is essential, also the look beyond our national frontiers, the transnational dimension of all historical phenomena, the meeting of people, the opening up of minds for other places and other cultures—the Swiss need this as much as any others, if not more. . . . We all remain grateful to this charismatic master and shall keep him in respectful memory, this man who dominated, both physically and intellectually, the many who gathered around him.

Benedict von Tscharner

*President, Foundation for the History of the Swiss Abroad
Château de Penthes, Pregny/Geneva, Switzerland*

The Museum and Institute of the Swiss Abroad continues to live and to develop. It also continues to depend on the generosity of its friends for its survival. Please come and see us, take a look at our web site www.penthes.ch or contact us at the following address:

Musée des Suisses dans le Monde, 18, chemin de l’Impératrice,
CH-1292 Pregny-Chambésy, Switzerland
phone +41 22 734 9021, e-mail: musee@penthes.ch
Restaurant and Conference Center Le Cent-Suisses, phone +41 22 734 4865

FORTY-SIXTH SAHS ANNUAL MEETING

I. Invitation and Agenda

SWISS-AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Washington D.C.

You are cordially invited to attend the

FORTY-SIXTH SAHS ANNUAL MEETING

at the

Consulate General of Switzerland

633 Third Avenue, 30th Floor (between 40th and 41st Street)
New York, NY 10017

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 10, 2009

PROGRAM

- 9:00 a.m. Arrival and informal gathering, Coffee, Rolls
- 9:30 a.m. Business Meeting
- Noon Luncheon
- 1:30 p.m. **Karl Niederer:** "Otto Niederer and the Egomatic: An Appenzeller's Long Journey to the American Dream"
- 2:20 p.m. Break, Coffee
- 2:30 p.m. **Ms. Susann Bosshard-Kälin:**
"Encounters with Swiss American Women over 60"
- 3:20 p.m. **Ms. Janick Marina Schaufelbuehl**
"US – Swiss Relations during the Cold War"
- 4:00-4:30 p.m. Departure

Following the afternoon meeting, Ambassador Christoph Bubb will host a reception from 5-7 p.m. at his residence at 640 Park Avenue, 12th floor, (at 66th Street), easily reachable from the Consulate either by taxi or public transportation.

SAHS 2009 Annual Meeting and Luncheon Registration Fee: \$25

Please register the latest by Sept. 30 with Ernest Thurston, 65 Town Mountain Rd. Asheville, NC 288804. or eswisst@gmail.com. The Consulate needs a list of all participants ahead of the meeting.

IMPORTANT: To be admitted to the building at 633 Third Ave. a Photo ID is required.

FORTY-SIXTH SAHS ANNUAL MEETING

October 10, 2009, New York, NY

AGENDA

1. Welcome and Call to Order
2. Approval of the Minutes of the 45th Annual Meeting of Oct. 11, 2008
3. President's Report: *Heinz B. Bachmann*
4. Elections: Board of Advisors, Class of 2009-2012 *Rosa Schupbach*
5. Membership Report: *Ernest Thurston*
6. Treasurer's Report: *GionMatthias Schelbert*
7. Publications: *Profs. H. Dwight Page, Leo Schelbert*
8. Report on SAHS-Switzerland: *Heinz B. Bachmann for Fred Jenny*
9. Proposed Budget for 2010: *Heinz B. Bachmann*
10. New Business
11. Next Annual Meeting
12. Adjournment

2. Reports

Minutes of the Forty-Sixth Business Meeting of the Swiss American Historical Society

New York, NY, October 9, 2009

1. The meeting was called to order at 9.35 AM by President Heinz Bachmann. He welcomed Deputy Consul General Daniel Haener and thanked him for arranging for the Society to hold its Annual Meeting in the offices of the Consulate General of Switzerland and the Swiss Delegation to the U.N. He also thanked Ambassador Bubb for his hospitality, especially for inviting the members to his residence on Park Avenue after the meeting.

2. The **Minutes** of last year's Annual Meeting were approved unanimously.

3. **President's Report.** Heinz Bachmann was pleased to report that nearly twenty donors had supported the Society with additional contributions totaling more than \$2000 besides their annual dues. There was also one new life membership. Sadly, three members of long standing had passed away. The customary moment of silence was observed in their memory.

After considerable delay, in March the Society was able to publish the book "AMISH, The Way of Life of the Amish in Berne, Indiana" by Brigitte Bachmann-Geiser. Special thanks go to Juerg Siegenthaler, Leo Schelbert and the staff of Picton Press for producing a very attractive book.

As customary, two issues of the "Review" were edited by H. Dwight Page. The third, edited by Leo Schelbert, is devoted entirely to the 300 Year Celebration of New Bern, North Carolina. It will be published in the February 2010. In addition to the 250 copies of the "Review" for SAHS members, 1200 more copies will be printed for the celebrations in Bern, Switzerland, and New Bern, North Carolina.

About 10 days before the Annual Meeting, Mr. Rohrbach informed the Society that as of January 2010, Picton Press will no longer publish the SAHS "Review" so that the Society is forced to find another publisher. Picton Press, however, will continue to publish the Society's books. The Society is now looking for another publisher willing to offer favorable conditions. A discussion among the audience followed about approaching other publishing houses, including New York University Press and Cambridge University Press. The issue of paper/print versus electronic means of communication discussed at length at last year's Annual Meeting was brought up again, but it was decided so concentrate for now on finding a new publisher for the "Review".

Based on last year's discussion whether participation in the 300 Year Celebration of New Bern should be in the form of a SAHS Annual Meeting or a Special Meeting, the consensus was that a Special Meeting would be more relevant as a means to increase the exposure of the Society to outsiders. Details of a Special Meeting will be worked out with the von Graffenried family and the town of New Bern, to be coordinated with the exhibition in Bern, Switzerland, in early December 2009 and in the Tryon Palace in New Bern in the summer of 2010. A discussion followed regarding the organization of the exhibition and the usefulness of brochures as a marketing tool, based on the Society's past experience with the Wyss Family project. It was suggested to have two prominent speakers at the event, namely a historian and a member of the American branch of the von Graffenried family. A small working group including Dwight Page and others, chaired by Ernie Thurston, was formed to prepare the project.

The President reported that the Society received several outside requests for information on Genealogy and some unrelated matters, such as a request from a professional Swiss photographer to help him gain access to a number of tall New York buildings to enable him to take photographs.

The proposal that the Paroz prize in the amount of \$1,000 be awarded to Susann Bosshard-Kaelin for completing her book "Westwaerts" was approved unanimously. This award is in addition to the \$1,000 "seed money" given to her two years ago. Her book on 15 Swiss women over

60 who had immigrated to the United States was launched successfully on September 15, 2009 in Zurich, and it is planned to have the English translation published in 2010.

The President informed the audience that some members of the SAHS Board again met for a pre-Annual Meeting get-together the previous night. As the Board members are dispersed throughout the United States and Switzerland, such meetings have proved to be very useful to discuss common issues.

Before concluding his report, the President thanked the various officers and editors of the Society for their dedication and hard work on behalf of the SAHS.

4. **Elections.** Rosa Schupbach, Chairperson of the Nominating Committee, announced that only a new Class of 2009-2012 of the Board of Advisors had to be elected this year. The following were elected unanimously.

Franz von Arx
Susan Keller
H. Dwight Page
Kenneth Schelbert
David Sutton

5. **Membership Report.** Ernest Thurston reported that the Society presently has 247 members, a decline of 2%. On a more positive note, 5 new memberships have already been received for 2010. In addition to Ernest Thurston's report, the President commented that the overall decline in membership was worrisome and seems to reflect the falling trend during the past 15 years, even when taking into consideration the bleak economic situation of last year. Another troubling issue is that Rohrbach is now limiting book publications to 300 copies only. It has again become evident that the most productive way of gaining members was through personal contacts, and he urged the audience to constantly spread the word about the Society among family, friends and colleagues.

A lengthy discussion followed on how to develop an effective and user-friendly website, whether to link it to another professional society such

as the Huguenot Society, and the benefits of hiring a professional to establish such a site.

It was decided to establish a committee consisting of Randall Gafner, Albert Winkler, and Ernie Thurston to develop a website and to report to the Board within three months.

6. Treasurer's Report. In the absence of the Treasurer, Gion Matthias Schelbert, Heinz Bachmann presented the Report which was accepted unanimously. Ernie Thurston suggested that the Society's records be audited by an outside authority, according to good accounting practices and in compliance with the IRS. The audience was informed that the Swiss Society of New York has a qualified auditor who might be available.

7. Publications. Dwight Page reported that he will travel to New Bern late in October 2009 in preparation for the 300 Year Celebration. He stressed that the "Review" is an important vehicle for the Society and asked for articles on Swiss history, to be published in future Reviews. Heinz Bachmann stressed that such articles would not be published except for the efforts of the SAHS.

Leo Schelbert presented a detailed report on the Arnold Guyot book project and the book by Susann Bosshard-Kaelin which is being translated into English at no cost to the Society. Both projects were approved unanimously.

8. Report on SAHS-Switzerland. In place of Fred Jenny, the Vice President (Switzerland) who was unable to travel to the US, Heinz Bachmann submitted a detailed written report of the SAHS activities in Switzerland. There are now 50 members in Switzerland, representing 20% of total membership, with all dues paid. On July 24 there was a successful tour of the North American Native Museum in Zurich. The next meeting will be in Neuchatel on July 10, 2010.

Details of the financial accounts of the Swiss Chapter are presented in this issue of the Review. From the floor it was suggested that the Swiss dues be adjusted to the current exchange rate.

9. **Proposed Budget for 2010.** The budget was approved unanimously.

10. **New Business.** A discussion followed relating to new technologies, means of communications and costs of publishing. Each “Review” now costs \$7.00 to publish. Alternatives of publishing the “Review” as a printed copy or on the Internet were discussed, considering also that readers should be given a choice. It was emphasized that the present is a transition period, as computers and emails increasingly affect people’s everyday lives.

11. **Next Annual Meeting.** The next Annual Meeting will be held on October 9, 2010 at the Swiss Embassy in Washington, DC.

12. **Adjournment.** The meeting was adjourned at 12 noon.

Submitted by Rosa Schubach, Recording Secretary

B. President's Report

First, let me express my thanks to the nearly twenty **generous donors** who have supported our Society with over \$7000 of special contributions, over and above their regular annual dues, plus one new live membership, as Ernie Thurston will mention in his membership report.

On the negative side, I have to report three known **deaths** among our membership. The most prominent and one of our oldest members was Jean-René Bory, a member since 1967, life member and a former President of the "*Foundation of the History of the Swiss in the World*" at the Musée de Penthes in Geneva. Ambassador de Tschanner, Mr. Bory's successor as president of the *Foundation* has gracefully agreed to write an obituary for publication in the *SAHS Review*. The two other deceased were Wayne Blesi and Frieda Nyhart; both had been members for about 20 years. Let's observe the customary moment of silence in their honor.

Book publishing: After an unusually long gestation period beset with problems from A to Z the book *AMISH, The Way of Life of the Amish in Berne, Indiana* by Brigitte Bachmann-Geiser came finally out last March. Thanks to the innumerable efforts by Jürg Siegenthaler, Leo Schelbert and the staff of Picton Press it finally turned into a very attractive publication with many of the beautiful pictures being of even better quality than in the original Swiss edition. Hence, the efforts—clearly—were worthwhile.

As has become a tradition for the *SAHS's Review* two issues were prepared by Prof. Dwight Page in his usual competent way presenting some SAHS classics such as *The Purysburg Colonists of South Carolina* by Claudette Holliday and *Heinrich Handschin, the Moscovite* introduced and translated by Marianne Burkhard OSB. The third, prepared by Leo Schelbert, will come out in a few weeks. As was agreed in last year's Annual Meeting, it is devoted entirely to the 300 Year Celebrations of New Bern. In addition to the 250 copies distributed regularly to our members 1200 more will be printed for use in the two celebrations in Bern, Switzerland and New Bern NC.

Concerning the *SAHS Review* and New Bern there are two issues I wanted to bring to your attention:

- 1st about ten days ago Mr. Rohrbach informed the Society that starting Jan.1, Picton Press will no longer handle periodicals, including the *SAHS Review*. No reason was provided for this decision. However, you might remember that last year when we discussed the issue of paper/print versus electronic means of communication, Mr. Rohrbach had indicated his strong belief that the time had come for periodicals like ours to be published exclusively through web sites. The reaction at that Annual Meeting was mostly negative and the Society decided to continue the old way. At last night's board discussion it was felt that this decision should be respected. Hence, we are actively looking for a new publisher. Finding a publisher is probably not too difficult; finding one offering the same favorable conditions as Picton, however, might not be easy. Any suggestions would be most welcome.

- 2nd concerning the **300 Year Celebrations of New Bern** we need to agree on the kind of event—if any—the Society wants to organize. At last year's Annual Meeting such an event was—and I quote the minutes—*tentatively approved, preferably in the form of a Special Meeting*. The idea of instead moving the 2010 Annual Meeting to New Bern found little support. After discussions, the Board now proposes to organize such a special meeting. Different from our Annual Meetings which are an internal Society event organized for the benefit of our members, this special meeting would be organized with the specific purpose of interesting and attracting a large number of non-members as a means of making the SAHS better known to the outside world. [More about this under "D. Membership Report"].

Details and timing remain to be worked out in close coordination with the von Graffenried family and with the local authorities in New Bern. They need to fit into the overall program of events already planned by these authorities in particular with the von Graffenried exhibition that opens in Bern Switzerland in early December and will relocate to the Tryon Palace in New Bern next summer at a date that does not seem to be clearly established yet. Hopefully the SAHS event could take place at that Palace, the former residence of the Governor of North Carolina in the 1770's. The tentative thinking is to have two prominent speakers,

a historian and possibly a member of the American branch of the von Graffenried family. A small working group, including Ernie Thurston, Dwight Page and others would be in charge of preparing the project.

Next year's **publication program** is presented by Profs. Page and Schelbert under chapter F.

The usual number of **requests for help**, mostly on genealogical and related matters were received. Our response continued to be (i) buy Lewis Bunker Rohrbach's *Guide to Swiss Genealogical Research*; (ii) contact an expert such as Marylyn Wellauer; (iii) consult the Swiss Roots website.

Special requests included: (i) a student in Switzerland writing a term paper on the way the NZZ perceived the USA during the 1990's asked for background information; (ii) a Swiss photojournalist crossing the entire US visiting villages and cities with names related to Switzerland asked for interesting contacts—ending up lunching with us—; (iii) the Huguenot Society of America asked for a speaker to discuss the contribution of Huguenots to Switzerland in one of their meetings, and (iv) a professional Swiss photographer asked for help in gaining access to a number of tall buildings in New York from where he could take pictures of the surrounding neighborhood.

It is proposed that a **Paroz prize** in the amount of \$1,000 be awarded to Ms. Susann Bosshard-Kälin in recognition of her untiring and successful efforts of interviewing 15 Swiss immigrant women over 60 and making a book out of it. The book has been completed and the German version has been launched in Zürich in mid-September. Hence, what is proposed now is that the *seed money* the Society had granted the author two years ago before she started the project, be supplemented by some well earned *harvest money* after she completed it successfully. As you know, we will get a first impression of the book this afternoon and as Leo Schelbert will propose to you in a moment we hope to have the English version published this current year.

Just to let you know: last night the Board of Directors held another pre-Annual Meeting get-together, the third in a row. It has become a routine

which — we hope — will continue. Being dispersed throughout the entire US and Switzerland, the evening before the Annual Meeting is the only time the Society's officers can get together to discuss common issues and concerns in some depths.

In conclusion, let me thank my co-officers for their dedication and hard work. As usual, Rosa Schupbach has provided much help and advice, particularly on everything concerning New York. Jürg's and Leo's hard work on the Amish book has been mentioned already and so has Dwight Page's work on the *SAHS Review*. Fred has been a very successful membership recruiter in Switzerland while GionMatthias has succeeded to keep the Society's finances on an even keel under difficult circumstances. Ernie has remained a most trusted and reliable steward of the Society's membership.

C. Elections, Nominating Committee Report

by Rosa Schupbach, Chairperson Nominating Committee

The Nominating Committee is made up of the following:

Heinz Bachmann
Leo Schelbert
And myself as Chairperson

Elections this year are quite short. We only have to elect a new Class of 2009-2012 of the Board of Advisors, to replace the Class of 2006-2009.

Just to let you know already now, in October 2010 a new SAHS Board will have to be elected. This does not apply to Fred Jenny, our Vice-President in Switzerland, whose term will expire in 2011 only. Our By-Laws do not permit more than two consecutive terms for the President and the Vice-President, so we need to give some thought to this matter during the next 12 months. This restriction does not apply to the other members of the Board.

I am happy to report that nearly all members of the Class of 2006-2009 have agreed to serve three more years. Unfortunately, I was not able to reach Simone Schoch, who was also a member of that Class. You may remember that her husband, Jacques Schoch, passed away about a year ago. Has anybody heard from Simone or does anybody know where she is? Kenneth Schelbert, the son of Leo Schelbert, has kindly agreed to step in and replace Simone.

Therefore, the following are being nominated for the Class of 2009-2012:

Franz von Arx
Susan Keller

H. Dwight Page
Kenneth Schelbert
David Sutton

Are there any other nominations from the floor? If not, the nominations are closed. I move that those nominated for the Class of 2009-2010 of the Board of Advisors be elected. Seconded? Therefore, all those nominated are duly elected.

To give you a comprehensive overview, I am going to read the names of the three different classes:

Class of 2009-2012: Franz von Arx
Susan Keller
H. Dwight Page
Kenneth Schelbert
David Sutton

Pro memoriam:

Class of 2007-2010: Margrit Ammann Durrer
Marianne Burkhard
Donald Hilty
Urs peter Schelbert
Donald G. Tritt

Class of 2008-2011 Karl Niederer
Franz Portmann
Elsbeth Reimann
Leo Schelbert
Paula Sherman

D. Membership Report

09/30/2009

To: Members of the Swiss American Historical Society

From: Ernie Thurston, Membership Secretary

Subject: **Annual Membership Report**

IN BRIEF: We have 247 current members, a 2% decrease over the 253 reported last year at this time. In addition we have already received 5 new memberships for 2010, which are not included in the totals below.

We welcome one new LIFE member this year, Mr. John Maillard (of San Francisco) and want to thank 19 of our members who donated from \$20 to \$200 more than their annual dues amount.

I'm sad to report the deaths of three long-term members, Jean-René Bory of Coppet, Switzerland, a Life Member since 1967; Wayne Blesi of Minnesota (member since 1988); and Frieda Nyhart of Ohio (member since 1990).

CURRENT MEMBERS BY TYPE AND COUNTRY:

Membership Type	US/Canada	Switzerland	Total
Regular (\$50/yr.)	113	33	146
Student (\$25/yr.)	1	0	1
Institution (\$75/yr.)	14	5	19
Life Members	41	5	46
Complimentary	27	8	35
	196	51	247

MEMBERSHIP CHANGES, 10/01/2008 TO 09/30/2009

Members as of 10/01/2008	253
Plus: New Members Enrolled	13
Plus: Former Members (not "Current" last year) who have rejoined	0
Less: Dropped by Request or Decease	-10
Less: Dropped for Non-Payment of Dues	<u>- 9</u>
Current Members, 09/30/2009	247

BREAKDOWN OF CURRENT MEMBERSHIP
BY COUNTRY AND STATE:

AK.....	1	ME.....	1	SD.....	2
CA.....	16	MI.....	1	TN.....	4
CO.....	-	MN.....	6	TX.....	3
CT.....	2	MO.....	1	UT.....	2
DC.....	5	MS.....	1	VA.....	9
DE.....	3	MT.....	1	VT.....	2
FL.....	4	NC.....	6	WA.....	2
GA.....	1	NH.....	2	WI.....	15
HI.....	1	NJ.....	5	WV.....	1
IA.....	2	NV.....	2	BC, Canada.....	1
IL.....	19	NY.....	25	ON, Canada.....	2
IN.....	2	OH.....	10	QB, Canada.....	1
KY.....	1	OR.....	2	Switzerland.....	51
LA.....	5	PA.....	11		
MA.....	3	RI.....	1		
MD.....	8	SC.....	4		

Comments by Heinz Bachmann:

Let me add a few words to the very comprehensive report submitted by Ernie Thurston so as to put his figures in perspective.

You might remember that last year in Philadelphia it was proudly announced that total membership had increased by over 3% or 8. We cautioned, however, that this was at least partially due to the great success of the two Otto Wyss new-book launches in California. Well—as Ernie just mentioned—this past year the Society suffered a decline of over 2% or 6 members; back to the old, declining, trend that prevailed during the past 15 years.

One could argue of course that such yearly fluctuations are normal and should not be taken too seriously. However, two reasons make them particularly worrisome: (1) Mr. Rohrbach's mention last year that it is not profitable to publish a book for less than 300 copies. Today, we are already very close to this limit and a further could have serious consequences; (2) the sharp decline in the number of new enrollments in the U.S.—from 12 to 8. This is way too small to guarantee the Society's long term survival.

Hence, the urgent need to strengthen our recruitment efforts. As shown clearly by the survey the Society conducted some years ago personal contacts are by far the most effective way of doing so. Nearly 60% of respondents mentioned that they were introduced to SAHS this way. Hence, again an urgent appeal to all of our members to keep their eyes open and to constantly spread the word around concerning our Society.

A recent, successful, example: an article in the *Swiss Review* about two gentlemen in Sacramento researching their old, partially common, family links to the Ticino led a Society member to finding and contacting them. They were immediately interested in the SAHS—of which they had never heard before—and became members. Most likely they would have joined years ago if they had only known the Society exists. There might well be hundred of similar cases in the U.S., just waiting to be detected.

E. Treasurer's Report

1. Consolidated Summary Accounts

By Heinz Bachmann, President

	US	CH ¹	Total
Income			
Annual Dues	8,695	2,236	10,931
Donations	2,042	4,500	6,542
Other	396	-	396
Capital Appreciation	<u>1,434</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>1,434</u>
Total Income	12,567	6,736	19,313
Expense			
Meetings	1,300	966	2,266
Donations	-	1,080 ²	1,080
Administr./Postage	2,197	162	2,359
Publications	13,419	-	13,419
Other	<u>90</u>	<u>298³</u>	<u>388</u>
Total Expenditure	17,006	2,506	19,512
 Net Result	 - 4,439	 4,230	 - 209
Balances			
Opening Balance, Oct. 1, 2008	72,440	11,086	83,526
Closing Balance, Sept. 30, 2009	<u>68,001</u>	<u>15,315</u>	<u>83,316</u>
 Net Result	 - 4,439	 4,229	 - 210

¹ Operations transacted in Switzerland on behave of both the Swiss—and the US Chapter.

² SAHS contribution to 300 Year New Bern Celebrations

³ incl. exchange rate variations; a rate of SFr. 111 per US \$ has been used throughout.

2. Detailed Accounts of SAHS Operations in the USBy *Gion Matthias Schelbert, Treasurer**(Presented by Heinz Bachmann, President)***PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT****Oct. 2008-Sep. 2009****Details**

Income

301 - Annual Dues	8,695.00
302 - Donations	2,041.78
306 - Vanguard Capital Appreciation	1,433.81
308 - Other Income	90.00
309 - Interest Income	<u>306.22</u>
Total Income	12,566.81

Expense

401 - Annual Meeting	1,300.00
403 - Postage, Stationary and Administration	2,197.42
404 - Publications	13,419.05
407 - Other Expenses	<u>90.00</u>
Total Expenses	<u>17,006.47</u>

Net Result

- 4,439.66**Summary**

Opening Balance Oct. 1, 2008	72,440.42
Closing Balance Sept. 30, 2009	<u>68,000.76</u>
Net Result	<u>- 4,439.66</u>

BALANCE SHEET**ASSETS** Sept. 30, 2009

Checking / Savings

101 – First Bank & Trust of Evanston	
101.1 - Checking	5,246.91
101.3 - CD 02	10,811.89
101.4 - CD 03	<u>10,637.68</u>
Total 101 - First Bank & Trust of Evanston	26,696.48

102 - Vanguard STAR Fund 41,136.48

Total Checking/Savings 67,832.96

105 – Pre-Paid Expenses 167.80Total Assets 68,000.76

F. Publications

1. Book Editor's Report

By Prof. Leo Schelbert

First I want to thank Prof. Jürg Siegenthaler for his two-year service as SAHS book editor. *Postmaster in Klau* and *The Way of Life of the Amish in Berne, Indiana*, are two very expertly done books, although the latter was a somewhat trying enterprise, but has received also special praise.

At Picton Press Ms. Marlene Groves has been proven as always to be an expert, cooperative, and patient editor which is gratefully acknowledged.

Although the book *Amish* has been distributed in early 2009, it was actually the 2008 SAHS book that unexpectedly was delayed in its final stage. Thus in 2009 no SAHS book has been published, but at the last annual meeting the membership approved the publication of a book about Arnold Guyot (1807-1884) to be written by Professor Philip K. Wilson. He has informed me that a manuscript will not be ready until the late spring of 2010 because of other projects to which he is committed.

A second possibility is *westwärts. Begegnungen mit Amerika-Schweizerinnen* by Susann Bosshard-Kälin. The highly praised German book features 15 Swiss American women over 60, among them several SAHS members, and has been launched successfully at a *vernissage* in Zurich with some 250 people present. It is also widely publicized on television, radio, and the printed media. This afternoon the author will present her work in person. About a third of the book is already available in English, the full text is projected to be ready in April at no cost to the SAHS.

Therefore, as SAHS book editor, I would like to make the following proposal as a motion to be formally voted on:

«The Annual Meeting of the Swiss American Historical Society will sponsor the publication of a translation of *westwärts*, titled *westward. Encounters with Swiss American Women* as the 2010 SAHS book publication. The work about Arnold Guyot will be published during 2011.

2. SAHS Review Editor's Report

By Prof. Dwight Page

The *SAHS Review* continues to flourish, providing the readership with fine scholarship from around the world as well as contributions concerning readers' Swiss and Swiss American ancestors and their accomplishments.

The November 2009 issue of the *Review*, pertaining to the Tercentenary of New Bern, North Carolina, has brought global fame to the Swiss American Historical Society. Scholars and readers everywhere are awed by the superb and impeccable erudition and scholarship of the article, "The Making of New Bern in Southern Iroquoia," written by the former editor of the *Review*, Dr. Leo Schelbert. All graduate students in history should be required to read this masterpiece of historiography before writing their masters and doctoral examinations.

In the upcoming June 2010 issue of the *Review*, I shall present my own study of the history of New Bern and North Carolina. In that issue will also appear Janick Marina Schaufelbuehl's study of United States-Swiss relations during the Cold War.

The November 2010 issue will present the research of several faculty members and graduate students at Brigham Young University in Utah and the State University of New York at Potsdam. Finally, the February 2011 issue will include contributions from Society members tracing their Swiss roots, including an excellent study of the contributions to life in California by the numerous Italian speaking Swiss citizens from the Ticino who emigrated there in the nineteenth century.

To conclude this report, I should like to remind you all that the Swiss American Historical Society will host a very special meeting at New Bern, North Carolina, on Saturday, December 11, 2010, in honor of the Tercentenary of New Bern. Not only does this meeting afford you the opportunity to tour the South and enjoy its mild winter climate; it is also an excellent opportunity to do research at the fine libraries of the University of Virginia at Charlottesville, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Duke University, Davidson College, the University of South Carolina at Columbia and Emory University. Bear in mind that most of the historical events of the Colonial South and the American Revolution in the South occurred within a three hundred mile radius of New Bern.

So, if you have been considering a research project or a sabbatical concerning the history of the American South or the history of the British Empire in North America, please consider combining your research project with attendance at our special meeting at New Bern on December 11th, 2010. Or, should you know a colleague who plans to do such a research project, speak with him or her now, encourage him or her to apply now for funds or a sabbatical leave to support this research in the South, and invite him or her to join us at New Bern on Saturday, December 11th, 2010. Looking forward to seeing you all in New Bern next December, I wish you all a prosperous and happy new year.

G. Report on SAHS-Switzerland

*By Fred Jenny, Vice President (Switzerland)
(Presented by SAHS President Dr. Heinz Bachmann)*

Dear Members of the Swiss American Historical Society:

First of all, I would like to apologize for my absence today. My numerous activities, the still low stock market, as well as my forthcoming visit to South Africa keep me away from being with you today.

I am, however, pleased to report that the Swiss Chapter is doing well. At the end of the SAHS year 2008-2009, it had 49 members; one more than last year. The number went to 50 on October 1, the beginning of the present SAHS year 2009-2010. This is the result of older members who passed away, others no longer wishing to be members, and of course new members. The Swiss Chapter therefore continues to represent approximately 20 percent of total SAHS membership. Its membership consists of 6 Life members, 4 Institutional members, 30 Individual members and 8 Complimentary members. All dues were paid in time, a few later in the year.

I could again convince one Swiss-American couple in the US to join SAHS U.S.A.

On July 24, I organized an Annual Social event of the Swiss Chapter, this time in Zurich where we started with a guided tour in English at the NONAM, the City's North American Native Museum, which has been an Institutional member of the Swiss Chapter for many years. Invited were again all SAHS members in the United States. The attendance amounted to 18 people, five of them from the United States, including President Heinz Bachmann and his wife Ilse. Drinks and a long joyous luncheon on the terrace at a nearby restaurant right on the Lake of Zurich followed. – These annual events have been successful with a slightly increasing participation. They – by now a tradition – will therefore

continue to be on my program. Our next meeting will take place on Saturday, July 10, 2010 in the Neuchâtel area.

Occasionally, the Swiss American Society Bern continues to invite the Swiss Chapter to some of its events in Bern. Participation by our members has so far been modest.

My Annual Financial Report of the Swiss Chapter for the SAHS year 2008-2009 shows the following main results:

Dues amounted to CHF 2,485.00

This represents 5 life memberships, 5 institutional memberships, 31 individual members and 8 complimentary members. Note that therefore only 36 of 49 members are paying dues.

Net administrative expenses were of only CHF 85.70

This is mainly due to the fact that approximately 90 percent of the Swiss Chapter members can be reached by e-mail, thus considerably reducing paper and postage.

The Swiss Chapter budget support to SAHS U.S.A. was of USD 2,000.00

The year ended with a deficit of CHF 329.20.

For the SAHS year 2009-2010, I pledge again a budget support of USDA 2,000.00.

In various ways, I am trying to keep the Swiss Chapter finances healthy.

I also hope to acquire some additional members during the new SAHS year.

As member of the Board of the Association '300 Years New Bern', I have been involved in the preparation for the celebration of the 300 years existence of the City of New Bern in North Carolina. Christopher

de Graffenried from Bern, Switzerland founded this oldest Swiss settlement in the United States of America in 1710. New Bern was the seat of the first seven Governors of North Carolina residing in the Tryon Palace which got its name from the first Governor. The seventh Governor transferred the seat to Raleigh located in the middle of the State. '300 Years New Bern' will be celebrated in both Mother and Daughter cities. An Exhibition will first be shown at the Bern Historic Museum from December 4, 2009 until May 16, 2010, and afterwards in the Tryon Palace in New Bern during the second part of 2010. The *SAHS Review* November 2009 will be a special issue dedicated exclusively to '300 Years New Bern'. Professor Dr. Leo Schelbert has made a huge effort to compile the history of New Bern. In addition, the SAHS contributes financially and by complimentary copies of the November *Swiss Review*.

H. Proposed Budget for 2009-2010

By Heinz B. Bachmann, President

Income

301 Annual Dues: US	6,700	
301 Switzerland	2,000	
302 Donations	2,000	
303 Annual Meeting Fees	-	
304 Book Sales	-	
306 Vanguard Capital Appreciation	2,400	(6%)
307 Life Membership Paid	500	
309 Interest Income	<u>400</u>	
Total Income	14,000	

Expenses

401 Annual Meeting	-	
402 Donations / Grants	2,000	
403 Postage, Stationary & Admin.	500	
404 Publication, <i>Review</i>	5,500	
404 Publication, books	5,000	
405 Legal & Professional Services	500	
407 Other Expenses	2,000	
Total Expenses	<u>15,500</u>	
Net Result	<u>- 1,500</u>	

Additional Notes:

Donations / Grants (402)

Paroz Award to Ms. Susann Bosshard-Kälin

Publication, books (404)

westward. Encounters with Swiss American Women

Legal/Professional Services (405)

including membership drive; advertisements

Other Expenses (407)

300 Year Celebrations New Bern

I. Next Annual Meeting / Adjournment

The next Annual Meeting is scheduled for Saturday, October 9, 2010 at the Embassy of Switzerland in Washington, DC

PRST STD
US postage paid
Permit No. 15
Elverson, PA