

PROMOTING THE 'CLASSROOM AND PLAYGROUND OF EUROPE':  
SWISS PRIVATE SCHOOL PROSPECTUSES AND EDUCATION FOCUSED  
TOURISM GUIDES,  
1890-1945

by

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## Abstract

Since the late nineteenth century, Switzerland, a self-professed “playground” and “classroom” of the world, has successfully promoted itself as a desirable destination for international study and tourism. The historically entangled private schooling and tourism industries have steadily communicated idealised images of educational tourism in Switzerland via advertising. Concentrating on the period 1890 -1945 – when promotional ties between tourism organisations and private schools solidified – this thesis investigates the social construction of educational tourist place in two different types of promotion aimed at English-speaking markets: private international school prospectuses and education-focused tourism brochures. An analysis of early prospectuses from three long-standing private international schools and of education-focused tourism guides written by municipal organisations, travel agencies, school boards and the Swiss government revealed highly visual, ideologically-charged textual representations of locations and markets simultaneously defined, idealised and commodified international education in Switzerland. Chapters provide close interpretation of documents and aim, through thick description, to understand specific place-making examples within a wider socio-historical context. Chapter One examines the earliest prospectuses of Le Rosey and Brillantmont, two of the world’s most exclusive Swiss schools (1890-1916). An examination of photo-essay style prospectuses reveals highly selective portrayals of “Château” architecture communicated capacity to deliver a “high-class” and gender appropriate Swiss finishing. Visual cues hallmarking literary and sporting preferences indicated texts catered to the gaze of social-climbing, Anglo-centric markets desirous a continental cosmopolitan education that was not overly “foreign.” Chapter Two analyses the social construction of towns in French-speaking Switzerland as attractive educational centres (1890-1914). It explores how guides promoting Geneva, Neuchâtel and Lausanne constructed an idealised study-abroad landscape through thematic testaments to the educative capacities of local human and natural landscapes. The remaining chapters explore interwar texts. Chapter Three examines a high-altitude institute’s use of the idealising skills of high-end tourism poster artists to manufacture a pleasant, school-like image for the mountain sanatoria-like campus of Beau Soleil. Chapter Four investigates two series of education-focused tourism guidebooks which promoted education in Switzerland. An examination of a Swiss National Tourist Office series reveals discourses of nationhood racialised the Swiss as natural-born pedagogues and constructed Switzerland as a safe, moral destination populated by cooperative, multi-lingual and foreign student-friendly folk. An analysis of R. Perrin Travel Agency’s series explores guidebooks which openly classified education as a tourism commodity. The final chapter examines Le Rosey and Brillantmont’s interwar prospectuses within the context of complex, transnational schooling and school advertising practices. An analysis of images of school sports at winter holiday resorts suggests prospectuses expressed the sense of freedom which accompanies upper-class identity more so than any sense of gender-driven restriction.

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## Abbreviations

APSFS	Association of Private Schools in French Switzerland (Association des Directeurs d'Instituts de la Suisse Romande, ADISR)
AIG	Association for the Interest of Geneva (Association des Intérêts de Genève)
Ecolint	International School of Geneva/ Ecole Internationale de Genève
EDICS	Education Development and Investment Company of Switzerland
PSSPA	Propaganda Society of the Swiss Private Schools' Association (Propagandagesellschaft AG)
SDL	Society for the Development of Lausanne
SFR	Swiss Federal Railways
SHA	Swiss Hotel Association
SPA	Swiss Private Schools' Association (Association Suisse de l'Enseignement Privé/ Verband Schweizerischer Erziehungsinstitute und Privatschulen/ Association of Swiss Educational Institutes and Private Schools, formerly Association des Directeurs des Ecoles Privées/ Verband Schweizerischer Institutsvorsteher/ Swiss Association of Principals of Private Schools)
STO	Swiss National Tourist Office

## INTRODUCTION.

In 1941, Dr. Karl E. Lusser (1898-1951), Headmaster of Rosenberg Boys' Institute (St Gall), member of the Swiss Private Schools Association (SPA)<sup>1</sup>, and author of the National Tourism Office's *Switzerland and Her Schools* guidebook series opened the Swiss Tourism Industry Annual Congress with a speech exploring the relationship between education and tourism in Switzerland. The speech began on an ironic note:

Sometimes one still hears the question what does education have to do with hotelerie, transportation and other branches of tourism? ... despite a long-standing entangled education and tourism economy there remains confusion about this relationship among some of the general public.<sup>2</sup>

Mincing few words, he speculated that this type of "naïve" question would continually arise until the lingering conspiracy of silence, the all too shaming derisive public mentality suppressing conversation about the relationship between education and tourism one of Switzerland's most interesting and important socio-economic intersections was finally laid to rest.<sup>3</sup> Lusser suggested that despite being symbolically elevated in sanctimonious supremacy and falsely perceived as wholly above the capitalist economy Swiss education was very much entangled in Switzerland's tourism economy.<sup>4</sup>

After detailing the latest econometric method<sup>5</sup> for calculating educational tourism earnings the speech drew attention the intangible qualities of Switzerland's invisible exports and the importance of promotion in communicating these intangible qualities as desirable to target markets. He suggested that although one typically calculates tourism profits on the basis of concrete consumptive practices (thinking, for example, of sausages, train tickets, tuition fees, hotel rooms, school books, stamps, and

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<sup>1</sup> The Swiss Private Schools' Association (SPA) was founded in 1909 as the Swiss Association of Principals of Private Schools; the name changed during the 1930s.

<sup>2</sup> K. E. Lusser, *Das Private Unterrichts- und Erziehungswesen der Schweiz* (Olten: Otto Walter, 1941). Unless otherwise noted all translations are my own.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* Lusser suggested this condition was a source of pain for private school directors who, not being within the public system were wrongly viewed as "tainted" because of their direct relationship to the economy.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> A method the Federal Bureau of Statistics considered.

telephone calls) the fulcrum of the industry turns around things we cannot so easily calculate. Lusser asserted that the Swiss needed to think more about how ideational aspects of educational tourism products were communicated as ‘desirable’ to prospective customers.<sup>6</sup>

Lusser also encouraged his audience to consider the fact that Switzerland’s international reputation as classroom and playground of the world did not magically fly to distant parts of the globe on its own accord. He proposed this reputation was the result of both conscious and unconscious messengers who delivered images of Switzerland to the world in the form of idealized clichés, narratives and tales of personal experience. Thus, not only was the reputation spread through guides, posters and newspaper advertisements designed by propaganda agencies but also by unwitting tourists including foreign children who had spent time at Swiss schools.<sup>7</sup>

With these observations Lusser returned to his opening statement, suggesting the tourism and private schooling industries in particular had successfully delivered the message that Switzerland was the land of good education and mountains to the world but in some respects had forgotten to bring this message home. He concluded arguing that if all members of the Swiss public were to see there was nothing untoward, cheapening or superficial in the traffic of educational tourists, the industry needed to direct its publicity efforts at its own people.

One need not agree with the views expressed in Lusser’s speech to recognise the intersection of education and tourism in Switzerland as an important but unexplored subject for the history of education *and* for the history of tourism.<sup>8</sup> While several studies have addressed historical relationships between education and travel, so far there has been very little discussion surrounding historical relationships between education and modern tourism industries.<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, little has been written about the history of advertising efforts at this intersection. This thesis is concerned with

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<sup>6</sup> K. E. Lusser, *Das Private Unterrichts- und Erziehungswesen der Schweiz* (Olten: Otto Walter, 1941).

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> It is necessary here to clarify exactly what the term propaganda means in the context in which it was used. The word implied effective or strong advertising. Any sinister connotations associated with the term are not intended to be communicated here.

<sup>9</sup> Historical studies at the intersection of education and travel in Switzerland touch upon subjects such as medieval monastic and inter-university travel, late eighteenth century scientific expeditions and the Grand Tour.

destination images produced by schools and tourism organisations which communicated Swiss education as desirable to target markets between 1890-1945. It is concerned with what Lusser characterised as the clichéd images that helped build Switzerland's reputation as "classroom and playground of the world".

In recent years historians in both fields have, in their separate veins, questioned the 'dating' of social scientists' observations regarding the "late-capitalist" encroachment of promotional culture into the world of education and human leisure respectively. Educational historians have noted the issue of educational promotion - public or private - is not new.<sup>10</sup> Tourism historians have discussed modern advertising campaigns that predate World War I. The Swiss educational tourism entanglement offers an ideal opportunity to connect this literature and examine promotional cultures of education and tourism before the 'dawn of late capitalism'.<sup>11</sup> Lusser's speech points to an early episode of what educational historian Clyde Chitty and others have characterised as the trend towards the subordination of education to the needs of economy – the marketisation and commercialisation of education.<sup>12</sup> The educational-tourism entanglement also points to what tourism historian Dean MacCannell and others have discussed as the subordination of leisure to the needs of economy - the marketisation and commercialising of human travel.<sup>13</sup> The suggested legacy of conjoined propagandising raises new questions relevant to these capitalist developments.

Who was, for example involved in advertising study abroad in Switzerland? When did this advertising begin? What means and methods were instrumental in

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<sup>10</sup> Alison Prentice, *The School Promoters: Education and Social Class in Mid-Nineteenth Century Upper Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1977).

<sup>11</sup> Late capitalism is associated with post-industrial society in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Fredric Jameson, a socio-cultural critic, usefully described late capitalism from a historical perspective. The term is often used in Marxian literary criticism to refer to the domination of contemporary culture through pervasive powers including the mediatisation of culture, internationalisation of business, or Americanisation. For an in-depth discussion of late capitalism as a socio-historical phenomenon, see Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham: Duke University, 1991).

<sup>12</sup> C. Chitty, "Privatisation and Marketisation," *Oxford Review of Education* 23 (1997): 45-62. See also, G. McCulloch, "Forty Years On: Presidential Address to the Journal of the History of Education Society, London, 4 November 2006" *History of Education* 36 no. 1 (2007), 1-15.

<sup>13</sup> See D. MacCannell, *The Tourist: A Theory of the Leisure Class* (Berkeley: University of California Press, [1976] 1999); J. Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (London: Sage, 1990); John Bensom, *The Rise of Consumer Society in Britain, 1880-1980* (London: Longman, 1994).

attracting international students? In what formats did promotion occur? When did private schooling and tourism first collaborate in advertising? Was public education involved and if so, how? Where did promotional materials direct visiting students – to private boarding schools? universities? public schools? other places? How costly were these campaigns? To what degree was the advertising industry itself involved? What images were used to represent and sell Swiss education? How were they delivered, in print? by photograph? in film? A comprehensive assessment of the history of Swiss educational-tourism promotion addressing these and other questions would involve a wide sample of documents, a detailed investigation of, among other things, the people, business enterprises, agencies and organisations involved, the changing definitions of the study abroad and tourism industries, target market demographics, patterns and developments in advertising practices, and regional or language-based differences in promotional strategies. In terms of content alone, it would require an exploration of the changing discourses of schooling, Switzerland, tourism, childhood, health, consumption, leisure, politics, gender, class, ethnicity and so on. Such tasks are beyond the scope of this dissertation.

As an alternative, concentrating on the period from 1890-1945 when promotional ties between tourism organisations and private schools solidified, the thesis investigates the social construction of educational tourist place in two different types of promotion: private international school prospectuses produced by three longstanding members of the Swiss Private Schools Association as well as education-focused tourism brochures produced by civic, regional and national tourism organisations. The aim of the thesis is to critically examine ideological representations of desirable educational and tourism places in a carefully chosen sample of promotional documents produced by different players at various junctures in the entanglement of education and tourism in Swiss history.

School prospectuses and education-focused guides prove interesting sources for an educational historiography “alert” to the potential of working with a wider range of sources including visual ones, open to new theories and methods, sensitive to issues of

internationalisation and willing to adopt an interdisciplinary perspective.<sup>14</sup> Cultural, linguistic and spatial turns in the social sciences and humanities have influenced both educational and tourism historiography in their separate domains. Studies from both fields, drawing on a range of approaches and methods of enquiry have identified promotional texts as rich sources for understanding the textual articulation of idealised educational and tourism landscapes. Historians and contemporary theorists alike have asserted the argument that promotional images are not a reflection but an extension of products.<sup>15</sup>

A small but growing body of educational and tourism literature has analysed the “imagineering” or social construction of place in advertising and raised important questions of how textual representations define, idealise and commodify physical and human geography.

In recent years historians of education have analysed ideological beliefs in the “promotional culture” different types of schools created. For example, Joyce Goodman examined advertisements in the Headmistresses Association of England’s “Girls’ School Yearbook” (1906-1995).<sup>16</sup> Her study draws attention to the key role location and school buildings played in promotional representations of English girls’ school place. Goodman maintains the advertisements were structured through social codes and conventions which encouraged certain “readings” of schools. Her research

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<sup>14</sup> For a discussion of the spatial and visual turns in the history of education, see G. McCulloch and Roy Lowe, “Introduction: Centre and Periphery-Networks, Space and Geography in the History of Education,” *History of Education* 32, no. 5 (2003): 457-459. There has been considerable debate about the relevance of theory and methods for the history of education. For a discussion of these issues, see especially *Paedagogica Historica* XXXII (2)1996, *Paedagogica Historica* XXXV (2) 1999; J. Herbst, “The History of Education: State of the Art at the Turn of the Century,” *Paedagogica Historica* 35/3 (1999): 737-747.

<sup>15</sup> Following Victor Middleton this thesis assumes that from the standpoint of a potential customer considering any form of tourist visit, the ‘product’ consists of tangible and intangible components. Purchase of educational tourism service product does not confer ownership, but rather permits access and use at a specified time in a specified place. Purchase can, however, loosely be seen as asset accretion in the sense of cultural capital. The thesis assumes that while production and consumption are inseparable in so much as the performance of the service requires the active participation of both producer and consumer of the product, as symbolic capital, they are separable. As Lusser suggests in his speech, the characteristic of intangibility is critical to tourism and study abroad service products for it is at this level qualitative distinctions are encoded into the product image in order to attract the consumer. The qualitative distinctions are, of course, historically contingent. Victor Middleton, *Marketing in Travel and Tourism* (London: Butterworth, 1988), 78.

<sup>16</sup> See Joyce Goodman, “A Cloistered Ethos? Landscapes of Learning and English Secondary Schools for Girls: An Historical Perspective,” *Paedagogica Historica* vol. 41, 4-5 (2005): 589-603.

demonstrates texts relied upon ideologically charged socio-spatial clichés to communicate classed and gendered messages about the quality of education schools provided. Deborah Olsen's in-depth study of promotional literature created by some of the American Ivy League women's colleges in the mid-to-late 1940s proves another compelling example. Olsen found administrators "well versed in the field of public relations" staged deliberate campaigns to steer fragile school identities away from discursive associations with "radical feminism, lesbianism or careerism."<sup>17</sup> Along a different vein, John Synott and Colin Symes' investigation of the "symbolic architecture of education" has pointed to the historical importance of heritage iconography in Australian private school advertisements during the late nineteenth and twentieth century alike.<sup>18</sup> And finally critical discourse analyst Norman Fairclough's study of United Kingdom University prospectuses (1960-2001) demonstrates textual formats created in private sphere marketing sectors increasingly found their way into prospectuses following the 1960s. His study linked genre changes to the marketisation of public discourse in Britain and the development of post World War II "promotional culture."<sup>19</sup>

Historical studies of tourism promotion are more numerous but have followed similar lines. Several studies of advertorial guidebooks have revealed these texts as important mediating links between tourist and destination. Surveys of place representation in documents affirm guides are not mimetic reflections of locale but rather selective, partial, evaluative, ideologically-laden constructions of place. Tourism historian John Walton has, for example suggested tourism guidebooks (promotional or otherwise) illuminate and modify two aspects of Benedict Anderson's much quoted work *Imagined Communities* in that they reflect the growth of print capitalism and provide a glimpse of something about the "imagined communities" on both the supply

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<sup>17</sup> Deborah M. Olsen, "Remaking the Image: Promotional Literature of Mount Holyoke, Smith, and Wellesley Colleges in the Mid-to-late 1940s," *History of Education Quarterly* 40 (2000): 418-459, 419 ff.

<sup>18</sup> John Synott and Colin Symes, "The Genealogy of the School: An Iconography of Badges and Mottos," *Journal of Sociology of Education* 16, no. 2 (1995): 139-152.

<sup>19</sup> Norman Fairclough, "Critical Discourse Analysis and the Marketisation of Public Discourse: the Universities," *Discourse and Society* 4, (1993): 133-168, 14.

and demand side of tourism practices.<sup>20</sup> John Urry's argument that advertising played an important historical role in structuring the tourist gaze, producing geographic discourses and creating ways of seeing destinations draws attention to the significance of studying changes in guidebook content over time.<sup>21</sup>

John MacKenzie considered the "work" tourism texts performed in legitimating British cultural imperialism in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. His exploration of imperial guides accentuates the need to examine representations in close relation to political, economic, and cultural practices as well as ideological beliefs.<sup>22</sup> Studies of French, German and American guidebooks highlight the taxonomic function of these types of texts which many argue produce a view of what ought to be seen away from home that is classified, organised and pre-determined.<sup>23</sup> Numerous recent historical studies have demonstrated that tourism information provides ideological orientation as it marks tourist sites and attractions, and frames colonial and other cultures and societies through narratives of history, ethnology and political structure.<sup>24</sup>

Thus, informed by disciplines including sociology, cultural studies and literary studies, both educational and tourism historians have identified the importance of investigating promotional representations of educational and tourism place as mediated, ideological and culturally determined ways of seeing. However, the research to date has tended to focus on either the social construction of educational place or of

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<sup>20</sup> J. Walton, "Introduction" in *Histories of Tourism: Representation, Identity and Conflict*, ed. J. Walton (Toronto: Channel View, 2005): 33-54, 40. See also Anderson, B. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of National* (London: Verso, 1991).

<sup>21</sup> John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (London: Sage, 1990).

<sup>22</sup> J. MacKenzie, "Empires of Travel: British Guidebooks and Cultural Imperialism in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries," in *Histories of Tourism: Representation, Identity and Conflict*, ed. J. Walton (Toronto: Channel View, 2005): 19-38, 20.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* See also, Rudy Koshar, "'What Ought to be Seen': Tourists' Guidebooks and National Identities in Modern Germany and Europe," *Journey of Contemporary History* 33, no. 3 (1998): 323-340.

<sup>24</sup> Tourist advertising practices reflect the sights and signs of tourism as part of a complex historical picture of interwoven social and cultural relations, including the intersection of gender and colonial power. See Cara Aitchison, "Theorising Other Discourses of Tourism, Gender and Culture," *Tourist Studies* 1, no. 2 (2001): 133-147. For a discussion of identity, see Marjorie Morgan, *National Identities and Travel in Victorian Britain* (New York: Palgrave, 2001); Kristen Semmens, "'Travel in Merry Germany': Tourism in the Third Reich," in *Histories of Tourism: Representation, Identity and Conflict*, ed. J. Walton (Toronto: Channel View, 2005), 145-158; Furlough, E, "'Une Leçon des Choses': Tourism, Empire, and the Nation in Interwar France," *French Historical Studies* 25, no. 3 (2002): 441-473; A. Sillitoe, *The Blind Leading the Blind: A Century of Guidebook Travel 1815-1911* (London: MacMillan, 1995). For the relevance of representations of ethnicity in tourist advertising, see "Ethnicity as Spectacle," in Michael Dawson, *Selling British Columbia: Tourism and Consumer Culture, 1890-1970* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004): 69-78.

tourism space. The case of Swiss literature is similar. A few pioneering studies by educational and tourism historians respectively have made important progress on each end of the educational-tourist entanglement, yet, to date these research avenues have not been linked together and addressed in one study.

Rafael Salvador's *Mémoire de licence*, "Les pensionnats de jeunes filles à Lausanne au tournant du siècle" is the only history focused squarely upon the topic of Swiss international private school promotion.<sup>25</sup> Although limited to the girls' finishing school industry in Lausanne (1890-1914), the investigation outlines some of the earliest connections between education, tourism and promotion.<sup>26</sup> Salvador contends that English-language tourism guidebooks constituted the primary means of promotion for the international private schooling industry.<sup>27</sup> While his research consists primarily of a content analysis of these advertisements, his chapters on the historical background of private education make a start towards understanding the main characteristics of the industry. He proposes that private schools differed in numerous ways, the most important of which was their students' nationality. He argues private schools were thus divisible into two main types: day schools for the Swiss and boarding schools for foreigners.<sup>28</sup> His single most striking observation is that private boarding schools for foreign students were not "counted" or "governed" as schools but rather operated as licensed businesses within the tourism economy. Officially under the control of police departments controlling "strangers" and enumerated by federal statistics as tourism businesses, private boarding schools for foreigners in Lausanne outnumbered private schools for local children and youth.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Rafael Salvador, "Les pensionnats de jeunes filles à Lausanne au tournant du siècle", *Mémoire de licence* (Lausanne: Faculté des Lettres, University of Lausanne, 1989).

<sup>26</sup> Salvador located his research in Lausanne because, in his words, this town is the "mythical, historical and statistical heart of the Swiss international boarding schooling industry." He suggests that of all the towns in Switzerland Lausanne likely supported the biggest business of boarding schools around the turn of the century.

<sup>27</sup> His search of French newspapers, magazines and tourism guides revealed no advertisements.

<sup>28</sup> He suggests statistics do not support this black and white vision as some crossover did exist however, it was minimal. He noted there were some foreigners attending the religious and pedagogical reform movement schools.

<sup>29</sup> The Swiss, unlike the British, do not have a strong tradition of boarding.

Salvador's content analysis forged a rough picture of the girls' school "product" as advertised. In his view, five dominant features stood out.<sup>30</sup> First, pensionnats promoted a type of education which corresponded with hegemonic ideologies of femininity. Second, most schools listed traditional accomplishment subjects. Third, schools advertised themselves on a class and ethnicity basis as "high class schools for the daughters of English gentlemen."<sup>31</sup> Fourth, programs emphasised the size, look and physical setting of their surroundings. Finally, the more expensive schools consistently pointed to references being available upon request. Salvador's investigation found no correlation between the English target markets indicated in the advertisements and school demographics. Police statistics identified pensionnats<sup>32</sup> served a mixed international clientele yet, pensionnats promoted themselves as 'for the English'. The study offered no definite explanation for this discrepancy but speculated the inconsistency was likely due to English dominance in the tourism industry.

One main drawback of Salvador's investigation is its exclusive focus on Lausanne. The findings may have been more convincing had the analysis extended to include other towns in the country's French-speaking region; statistics indicate Geneva and Neuchâtel were also key centres for the boarding school industry.<sup>33</sup> Further, another weakness arises in the method of school classification. While the division between "schools for the Swiss" and "schools for foreigners" was relevant, it is ultimately too simplistic a view.<sup>34</sup> A further problem is that Salvador's interpretation

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<sup>30</sup> It is interesting for this thesis that classified advertisements in guides communicated basic information about schools and directed prospective clients to tourism offices, libraries and bookstores to find prospectuses.

<sup>31</sup> Rafael Salvador, "Les pensionnats de jeunes filles à Lausanne au tournant du siècle", *Mémoire de licence* (Lausanne: Faculté des Lettres, University of Lausanne, 1989).

<sup>32</sup> Pensionnat is the French word for residential boarding school.

<sup>33</sup> According to a list of private schools Rudolf Hotz compiled in 1904, Lausanne, Geneva and Neuchâtel housed the great majority of boarding schools for foreigners in Switzerland at that time. Of these towns, Lausanne was the leader. See Rudolf Hotz, *Das Schweizerische Unterrichtswesen. Ein Ueberblick ueber die bedeutenden oeffentlichen und privaten Unterrichts- und Erziehungsanstalten der Schweiz [Swiss Schooling. An Overview of the more significant public and private schools and educational institutes in Switzerland]* (Basel: Universitaetsdruckerei Reinhardt, 1904). For the history of private schools in Geneva in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, see Hofstetter, *Le Drapeau dans le Cartable: Histoire des Ecoles Privées à Genève au 19e Siècle* (Carouge-Genève: Editions Zoé, 1994). For a brief description of the history of private schools in Switzerland, see Rita Hofstetter and Bruno Santini-Amgarten, "Écoles privées," *Dictionnaire historique de la Suisse*, 11 November 2005, <http://hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/f/F48088.php> (accessed May 5, 2007).

<sup>34</sup> There were further relevant aspects in the taxonomy of schooling including type of school, age of students, religious and pedagogical leanings and so forth.

does not cross disciplinary boundaries. Given pensionnats were officially considered part of the tourism industry this oversight marks a substantial drawback.

Many of the study's limitations reflect the difficulties of working on an uncharted historical topic. Salvador's investigation, for example predated the first systematic examination of Swiss tourism which may well explain why he did not address tourism literature. Laurent Tissot's *Naissance d'une Industrie Touristique. Les Anglais et la Suisse au XIXe siècle* - the most comprehensive history of Swiss tourism to date - provides important background for understanding the development of education-focused tourism guide promotion.<sup>35</sup>

Tissot demonstrates the importance of English-language tourism guides to the development of Swiss tourism – an industry English tourists fuelled from its beginnings in the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>36</sup> While Tissot suggests the rapid growth of Swiss tourism in the late nineteenth century was the result of an elite English desire for the “romantic Alps, the spectacular Alps, the sporty Alps and the therapeutic Alps” his study demonstrates that tourism guidebooks were key textual components of tourism infrastructure which integrated Switzerland into the travel market.<sup>37</sup> Guidebooks – both “promotional” and “critical” – communicated important

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<sup>35</sup> L. Tissot, *Naissance d'une Industrie Touristique. Les Anglais et la Suisse au XIXe siècle* (Lausanne: Editions Payot, 2000). For a discussion in English, see L. Tissot, “How did the British Conquer Switzerland?” *Journal of Transport History* 16 no. 1 (1995): 21-52.

<sup>36</sup> The English are credited with inventing tourism in the modern sense of the word. Switzerland was a favoured continental destination for the British. The class make-up of the British market for Swiss tourism changed over time. British travellers in the first half of the nineteenth century were typically aristocratic. In the ensuing fifty years the educated bourgeoisie, the higher echelons of the British military, leaders in the financial industry or those wealthy individuals generically characterised as having “new money” followed the example of the aristocracy and travelled abroad. Towards the end of the century, the nobility constituted only a small percentage of tourists: the educated, affluent upper-middle classes far out numbered the older landed classes. For further analysis of Britain's pivotal role in the development of tourism, see B. Korte, “Britain and the Making of Modern Tourism: An Interdisciplinary Approach” in H. Berghoff, B. Korte and R. Schneider, *The Making of Modern Tourism: The Cultural History of the British Experience, 1600-2000* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2002). Critics suggested Switzerland had become a recreational extension of the British Empire. The rapidity of the British influx was discussed across Europe and characterised by many, the Swiss included, as a disturbing development. For some, “alpinism” was an unsettling sign of the shallowness of modernity or a new era of recreational freedom. For a critical view, see in particular, G. Simmel, “The Alpine Journey” in *Theory, Culture & Society* (Sage: London, Newbury Park and New Delhi), Vol. 8 (1991), 95-98.

<sup>37</sup> Tissot points out growth was also linked to other travel motivations including cultural education and schooling. Tourism guidebooks that travel agencies produced played a role. Tissot draws attention to the role British tourism operators performed in fostering Swiss tourism and notes Thomas Cook (1808-1892) – the “father of mass tourism” – was a key figure. See for example, T. Cook, *Cook's Tourist's*

information about transportation, accommodation, and entertainment but also mapped, imagined and, in part constituted “a product” for British consumption.

Tissot’s investigation revealed that during the nineteenth century, between 500 000 and 700 000 English language guidebooks were printed and circulated, the majority produced within the final third of the century.<sup>38</sup> First generation tourism guides (1780-1830) resembled travel diaries that captured the author’s personal feelings, opinions and experiences.<sup>39</sup> Second generation texts (1830-1860) focused on pragmatic details, such as routes, itineraries and train schedules and laboured to use unmediated or “objective” language. Third generation guides (1860-1914) continued this basic format but also branched out in two important dimensions. On one hand, special interest tourism brochures covering special interest activities emerged in this third generation. These texts devoted to, for example alpinism, medical tourism, cycling or winter sports occasionally focused on education. On the other hand, after the 1880s, competitive civic boosterism among towns vying for tourism dollars resulted in the production of localised special interest guides. Some of those advocating tourism in Geneva, Lausanne and Neuchâtel promoted towns as “educational tourist centres.”

Tissot’s study identifies the existence of education-focused promotional tourism guides but neither investigates them nor discusses the “education end” of tourism development at any depth. His research would have been even more useful here had it included additional clues about the nature of education-focused tourism guides. While his history explains much about the role guides played in the discursive

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*Handbook for Switzerland* (London: [s.n.], 1876. See also, P. Brenden, *Thomas Cook: 150 Years of Popular Tourism* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1991). Other less well known travel agencies were also influential. Tissot mentions, for example, Henry Lunn whose travel agency organised trips to Switzerland for educational purposes. Lunn’s travel agency targeted members of liberal professions, high functionaries, university professionals, professors, and ecclesiastics interested in mental and physical activities while on holiday.

<sup>38</sup> Based on information from Tissot’s study of 73 titles (416 editions) produced between 1780 and 1914. Given the possibility of multiple readers the reach was likely greater than the number of guides produced. A modest estimation of British readers between 1820 and 1900 is four million. As a comparison, the population of Britain encompassed 8.3 million in 1801, 16.9 million in 1850 and 30.1 million in 1901. See L. Tissot, *Naissance d’une Industrie Touristique. Les Anglais et la Suisse au XIXe siècle* (Lausanne: Editions Payot, 2000), 18-22.

<sup>39</sup> When practical information was included, authors evaluated it according to their taste and consideration. The first generation of guides directly reflected the late eighteenth century romantic interest in Switzerland and its Alps.

development of Switzerland’s international fame as the playground of Europe, it does little to address the manner in which brochures fostered its reputation as “the playground and classroom of Europe.”<sup>40</sup>

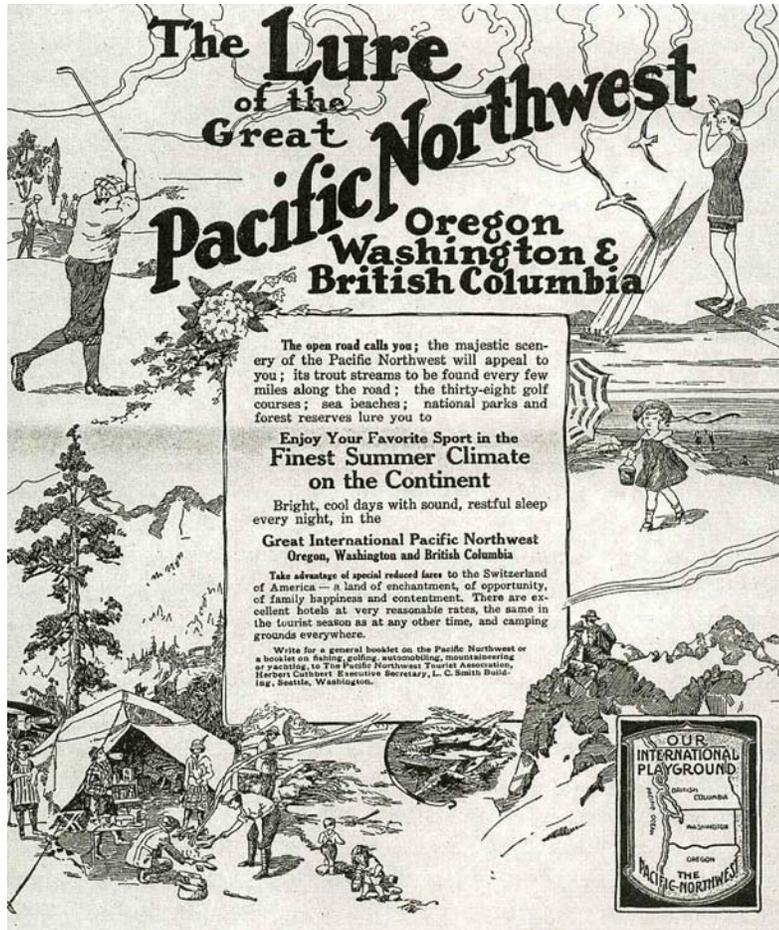


Fig. I.1: Regions as far away as Oregon, Washington and British Columbia claimed to be “the Switzerland of America.” This Pacific Northwest Tourist Association advertisement (1922) asserted “[t]ake advantage of special reduced fares to the Switzerland of America – a land of enchantment, of opportunity, of family happiness and contentment.”

Unfortunately there is even less written that connects education and tourism promotion during the interwar period. No studies discuss the promotion of private

<sup>40</sup> The idea of Switzerland as a classroom was expressed as early as 1904 in Swiss guides. For example, MacMillan’s, *Guide to Switzerland* (1904) remarked “[t]ruly, Switzerland is the playground of Europe. But a playground seems to suggest a school. Switzerland can claim to be in many senses the school of Europe as well as its playground. Certainly, no other country with so small a population sees such a large population of tourists visit every year. No other country has made catering for and amusing its visitors into a separate industry which has been dignified by a special name as the Swiss have done in the ‘Touristenindustrie [Industrie des Touristes].’” See, MacMillan, *Guide to Switzerland* (1904), 1.

education. One study points to the development of education-focused tourism advertising between the wars. Jean-Charles Giroud and Michel Schlup's investigation *Paradis à Vendre: Un Siècle d'Affiches Touristiques Suisses* examined the history of the Swiss National Tourist Office's (STO) promotional campaigns (1890-2000).<sup>41</sup> Their analysis, mostly preoccupied with the interwar period characterized education-focused campaigns between the wars as one part of a larger marketing strategy designed to counter the new wave of international tourism industry competition that Switzerland faced following World War I (see fig. I.1).<sup>42</sup>

The STO, aware the country had become a model duplicated around the world turned to the power of modern, American advertising techniques and especially to the strategy of product differentiation. The creative re-packaging of the "tourism product" resulted in new tourism lines which included "winter," "spring," "health" and "sports".<sup>43</sup> Giroud and Schlup maintain each new line was intended to create distinctive stereotypical images or clichés about Switzerland and Swiss identity. Unfortunately, the study does not address the "education line" at any length.

Salvador, Tissot, and Giroud and Schlup's analyses introduce important questions about the collaboration between private education and tourism in promotion. Their research suggests that when investigating this complex historical intersection it is critical to ask "who was promoting what, to whom and for what purpose?" While

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<sup>41</sup> Jean-Charles Giroud and Michel Schlup, eds. *Paradis à vendre: Un siècle d'affiches touristiques suisses* (Geneva: Cramer, 2005). The history of the Swiss tourist office began in 1893 when the Syndicat des Intérêts de la Suisse Romande et du Jura-Simplon opened the first Swiss Tourist Office in London. However, the Swiss Federal Railways (SFR) operated the first central, federally funded promotional tourism agency with offices in London (1902). In 1908, the SFR together with the Swiss Hotel Association opened an office in New York on Fifth Avenue. Education was part of early classified and poster advertising campaigns which referred to a "Switzerland replete with health, pleasure and education". See "Display Ad.," *Washington Post*, January 26, 1908. The SFR also published a "special" booklet on Swiss education in 1911. In the same year Swiss Parliament mandated the creation of a central office and in 1917 the Swiss National Tourism Office became a federally funded organisation under direct control of Parliament. It was not until 1939 that the Swiss National Tourism Office became a public corporation (a federal public body). Newspaper advertisements referred to Geneva as an intellectual and beautiful city and Lausanne as a centre of education starting in the 1920s. See Display Ad, *New York Times*, April 1, 1923.

<sup>42</sup> For a discussion of the new era of North American tourism during the interwar period, see M. Dawson, "From the Investment to the Expenditure Imperative: Regional Cooperation and the Lessons of Modern Advertising" in *Selling British Columbia: Tourism and Consumer Culture, 1890-1970* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2004), 43-79.

<sup>43</sup> They concluded that the period between 1920 and 1940 witnessed the highest levels of image production and dissemination of Switzerland in its history.

secondary sources provide only a few clues about the entanglements of education and tourism in interwar promotion, various articles in one of Switzerland's preeminent pedagogical journals – the *Swiss Review of Education* [1928-1993] – help clarify the interrelationships.<sup>44</sup>

The *Review* clarifies that the Swiss Private Schools' Association (SPA) played the leading role in initiating collaboration with the STO. The SPA - the only national association of Swiss private schools and institutes – was formed in 1909 to represent the interests of private education in Switzerland. Its membership however, was not representative of Swiss private schools. The members of the SPA were in great majority proprietary schools serving, for the most part, an international clientele.<sup>45</sup> Thus, a particular type of private school with a direct relationship to the international free-market economy drove the organisation.<sup>46</sup> Given the majority of SPA's

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<sup>44</sup> The SPA funded the journal *Schweizer Erziehungsrundschau* [*Swiss Review of Education*] which K.E. Lusser edited; it was distributed to 20 countries abroad. The journal, an organ for public and private schooling and education in Switzerland included a significant international component and thus had a strong comparative education focus. Contributors included those representing public and private educational institutions at all levels. Cantonal administrators and teachers' training colleges were also involved. Articles from abroad were translated into German or French. The audience for the journal included pedagogues, teachers, medical doctors, and tourism directors from Switzerland and around the world as well as various people interested in public and private school issues. Significant contributors included Pierre Bovet (1878-1965), founder of the International Bureau of Education in Geneva in 1925, Paul Geheeb (1870-1961), German reform pedagogue, Paul Haeberlin (1878-1960), Swiss philosopher, pedagogue, and psychologist, and Erich Weniger (1894-1961), German social scientific pedagogue and chair of the New Education Fellowship. In 1930 the *Swiss Review of Education* absorbed the "Schweizerische Paedagogische Zeitschrift" – Switzerland's main Journal of Pedagogy.

<sup>45</sup> There are no precise and universally accepted definitions for the term "international school" as it embodies a multitude of schooling scenarios. For the most comprehensive summary of definitions used, see M. Hayden and J. Thompson, "International Schools and International Education: A Relationship Reviewed," *Oxford Review of Education* 21, no. 3 (1995): 327-345.

<sup>46</sup> A. Pönisch's definition and classification, applied to the Swiss case helps clarify relationships between the many different types of international schools and the for-profit tourism economy. Pönisch defines 11 types of international schools, five of which existed during the timeframe of this study. These are: (1) Proprietary schools primarily catering to international students and families (2) Non-Proprietary Denominational schools primarily catering to international students and families (3) National Public [Swiss] schools which welcome foreign pupils in the regular program and/or offer special programs for international students (4) "National" overseas schools [i.e. British school in Switzerland] serving nationals and international students (5) Self named "international schools" organised for the purpose of international education. There has been considerable debate surrounding whether international schools necessarily offer international education in the sense of purposeful intercultural understanding and inclusion of international assets in the curriculum. See Andrew Pönisch, "Special Needs and the International Baccalaureate: A Study of the Need for and Development of Alternate Courses to the International Baccalaureate" (master's thesis, University of Oxford, 1987), 34-37. Only two church supported (not-for-profit) schools were members of the SPA. No "national" overseas schools joined the group; all schools in the association had Swiss owners. Membership also did not extend to Swiss public schools. During the early 1930s, the SPA gained a type (5) school – a "self-named" international school

membership schools shared a vested interest in securing an international clientele, the connection between the SPA and the Swiss National Tourism Office – Switzerland’s main tourism organisation dedicated to attracting visitors to Switzerland – was logical. International proprietary schools, like hotels depended largely upon distant, non-local markets; the proprietary school/ tourism organisation alliance was fundamentally economic.

Historical commemorations of the SPA in the *Review*, despite their often nostalgic biases provide further insight. It seems the SPA did not collaborate with tourism organisations in formal, planned propaganda campaigns until the 1920s.<sup>47</sup> Evidence suggests the first collaboration with the STO occurred in 1922 when Dr. K. E. Lusser authored the tourism guide *Switzerland and Her Schools* which the STO edited and published.<sup>48</sup> Importantly, this guide discussed all types of Swiss education. Along with an introduction to Swiss educational history, it offered an overview of the various levels and types of schooling (primary, secondary, intermediate, vocational and university). In the same year the SPA and STO collaborated in writing and editing the *Guide to Private Education and Schooling in Switzerland*.<sup>49</sup> This directory-style document listed the names and addresses of a wide range of private schools in Switzerland (including those which served mainly Swiss students).

With the SPA’s creation of the Propaganda Society of Swiss Private Schools in 1930 the association achieved a higher level of professional advertising organisation.<sup>50</sup> The Society lessened the dependency of the SPA on the STO, but at the same time enabled new collaborative projects.<sup>51</sup> The Society aimed to coordinate:

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(not-for-profit) founded to advance the cause of “internationally-minded education” – The International School of Geneva (Ecolint).

<sup>47</sup> M. Jaccard, “Cinquantenaire de Association des directeurs d’Instituts de la Suisse Romande (A.D.I.S.R.),” *Schweizer Erziehungsrundschau [Swiss Review of Education]*, 32 (1959-60): 49.

<sup>48</sup> A. Laett, “School and Education in Switzerland,” *Schweizer Erziehungsrundschau [Swiss Review of Education]*, 2 (1929-30): 56.

<sup>49</sup> The *Guide de l’éducation et de l’enseignement privé en Suisse* (Frauenfeld: Huber & Co., 1922) was published in several editions in numerous languages due to subsequent high demand. “Fremdenverkehr und private Erziehungsinstitute [Tourism and private educational institutes],” *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, no. 818, May 1, 1931.

<sup>50</sup> “Propagandagesellschaft Schweizerischer Erziehungsinstitute AG, S.A. Lausanne,” *Schweizer Erziehungsrundschau [Swiss Review of Education]*, 3 (1930-31): 259.

<sup>51</sup> The Propaganda Society was mandated to work as an independent unit as well as in cooperation with the STO and other propaganda organisations including the Hotel Association of Switzerland.

a rational, economic, effective and systematic orchestration of all private schools' propaganda in order to achieve a consistent and centrally regulated international advertising campaign at all levels.<sup>52</sup>

The society engaged in multiple pursuits. For example, it collaborated with the STO on a new, updated *Guide to Private Education and Schooling in Switzerland* (1931) and assisted individual schools with their advertising campaigns.<sup>53</sup> In 1931 Switzerland's newspaper of record, the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* featured an article written by the Society discussing the propaganda needs of the conjoined education and tourism economies. The piece contended that while the Swiss National Tourist Office (STO) had done an admirable job advertising "Switzerland and her Schools" in its guidebook of the same name, more needed to be done to foster the education side of the tourism industry. The editorial advised the Swiss Private Schools' Association and the Swiss Hotel Association supported an immediate funding increase for the Swiss National Tourism Office in order to enhance its education-focused advertising campaign with propaganda films, tourism posters and mobile slide-show presentations "as further means to traffic a series of education and tourism clichés designated to sell Switzerland abroad."<sup>54</sup>

The Propaganda Society of Swiss Private Schools an "independent advertising body created to facilitate private schools' propaganda efforts and promote the study abroad industry at an international level" was installed in Lausanne with a "professional advertising man" at the helm.<sup>55</sup> The Society intended to:

take away some of the work, sorrow and pain from the many private school directors who, visited daily by armies of advertisement acquirers of all kinds, were not only overwhelmed by the task of school promotion but, in many cases, were watching their businesses suffer as a result of amateur publicity.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> H.C. Riis-Favre, "Aims, organisation and working program of the propaganda society of Swiss educational institutes, S.A.," *Schweizer Erziehungsrundschau [Swiss Review of Education]*, 4 (1931-32): 23.

<sup>53</sup> "Fremdenverkehr und private Erziehungsinstitute [Tourism and private educational institutes]," *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, no. 818, May 1, 1931.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>55</sup> "Propaganda Society of the Swiss Private Schools' Association (PSSPA) [Propagandagesellschaft Schweizerischer Erziehungsinstitute AG], Lausanne," *Schweizer Erziehungsrundschau [Swiss Review of Education]*, 3 (1930-31): 259. The director of the PSSPA was H.C. Riis-Favre, a private school headmaster with a prior career in advertising. Riis-Favre was also the secretary of the SPA.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*

In addition to assisting individual schools and the private schooling industry as a whole, the Society “was to stand [as] advocate for the public schools and universities for they too play[ed] an important role in Switzerland’s student visitor tourism economy.”<sup>57</sup> As a final purpose the agency was to enter into collaborative relationships with representatives of hotelerie and tourism organisations as well as university and public schools administrators.

In 1934, the SPA and STO participated in a special tourism congress held at the Swiss Parliament buildings. Together, these organisations caused “private and public education [to] figure prominently at the conference.”<sup>58</sup> For example, Paul Walter Buser, (SPA President) delivered a speech on the significance of Swiss private ‘international’ schools to the national economy.<sup>59</sup>

During the late 1930s, the SPA participated in tourism industry vocational training programs and it provided lectures on the educational side of tourism. In 1939, the Federal Council appointed Dr. K.E. Lusser to join the “Federal Expert Commission on Matters of the Foreign Economy” to represent “one main area of the Swiss tourism industry.”<sup>60</sup> In 1941, the SPA’s one-time request for funding to Parliament was granted under the clause of hotel needs. Money was provided to prevent schools from declaring bankruptcy during the war.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> A. Junod, “L’enseignement officiel et privé en Suisse [Public and private schooling in Switzerland],” *Schweizer Erziehungs Rundschau [Swiss Review of Education]*, 6 (1933-34): 56.

<sup>59</sup> W. P. Buser, “Das private Unterrichts- und Erziehungswesen,” *Archiv fuer das schweizerische Unterrichtswesen* 24 (1938): 266-291. Paul Walter Buser (1876-1941) was a professor for national economy and economic geography at the School of Transportation in St. Gall. He founded the Prealpine Toechterinstitut in Teufen (1908-1972) for upper-class girls. His active engagements in the SPA as well as in the tourism field informed his activities. As a private school director, he was also a tourism specialist and appointed to the federal ministry of tourism; he was also a co-founder of the STO, founder of tourism Appenzell and member of various tourism associations. See Thomas Fuchs, “Paul Walter Buser,” *Dictionnaire Historique de la Suisse*, <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D15068.php> (accessed July 3, 2007).

<sup>60</sup> Six members represented different sectors including transportation, accommodation and advertising. The expert commission examined and recommended measures and regulations to protect the businesses of tourism during war time. See “Federal expert commission on matters of the foreign economy,” *Schweizer Erziehungs Rundschau [Swiss Review of Education]*, 15 (1942-43): 40.

<sup>61</sup> K. E. Lusser, on behalf of the SPA presented several postulates to Parliament in 1941. In sum, the SPA asked the Federal Council to treat private international boarding schools like hotels which were protected by public funds for the duration of the war. This was granted. Another request – for Swiss representatives and consulates abroad to systematically advertise private Swiss educational institutes – was also granted. The final postulate however, requesting that private institutes be allowed to administer the Federal Maturity exam was denied. The federal Constitution did not allow this right to be extended

The SPA's propaganda activity clarifies that proprietary international schools and tourism organisations promoted both public and private education in Switzerland. While there was no apparent direct public school involvement in advertising efforts, public schooling constituted a large part of the "product" promoted.<sup>62</sup> In this respect, the encroachment of promotional culture into the public sphere and the commodification of public education were evident.<sup>63</sup> At the level of representation, educational commodities were both public and private in nature, however the promotional involvement of each type of school differed substantially.

While Lusser's speech suggested there was some objection to the idea of the commodification of education among the Swiss public, an examination of the opinions of certain members from the tourism sphere indicates full acceptance. In the words of the "Education Department" of international travel agency R. Perrin:

An important fact to be grasped is that Switzerland, as a whole, has one abiding industry and important source of revenue "tourists." This word is used in its widest sense to include passing travellers or more or less permanent visitors seeking education, leisure or health – commodities in the production of which Switzerland is unrivalled. This being the case Switzerland – both collectively and individually – is anxious to attract consumers of these products and to retain them as long as they continue to be desirable customers.<sup>64</sup>

This basic vision of historical and economic entanglement between education and tourism in Switzerland, as Swiss historians' analyses and evidence found in the *Swiss Review of Education* indicate presents a clearer vision of who exactly was "anxious to attract consumers of these products." While Switzerland as a whole benefited from the tourism economy, it goes too far to suggest, as R. Perrin does that the country in toto was anxious to define education as a tourism commodity. Tourism organisations and international proprietary schools were the key players in marketing "Swiss" education abroad; it was these groups that promoted Swiss education in the advertising sense of the word. Both these players focused considerable attention on crafting propagandistic

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to non-religious (Catholic and Protestant) private schools. See K. E. Lusser, *Das Private Unterrichts- und Erziehungswesen der Schweiz* (Olten: Otto Walter, 1941), 17-20.

<sup>62</sup> Public schooling also formed part of the consumed product.

<sup>63</sup> Strictly speaking, the promotion of private schooling advocated a type of education already "commodified."

<sup>64</sup> "William Harvey, BA Oxford" was director of R. Perrin's Education Department in Lausanne. See R. Perrin, *Schools and Sports in Switzerland* (Lausanne: R. Perrin, 1927), 65-66.

texts intended to influence consumers abroad to travel to Switzerland in order to “purchase” education and tourist products. For the SPA, tourism guides and individualised private schooling promotion constituted central axes of communication. For various tourism organisations, education-focused tourism guides were an important line of advertising.<sup>65</sup> Investigating the texts produced to secure business is an important part of understanding the work of those involved in the schooling and tourism industries. Texts captured on paper particular ideas about the nature and quality of various types of Swiss education. They helped deliver the series of clichés designed to condense and represent complex service products. The aim of this thesis - to critically examine ideological representations of desirable educational and tourism places (1890-1945) - thus involves settling upon specific promotional texts that provide different vantage points for understanding the work of rendering educational and tourism places attractive to the outside world. Of all the texts produced for this purpose, how does any one study decide which to consider and which to ignore?

The sampling process of any historical study is never simple. All studies face the problem of incomplete records. Studies in the history of private school promotion must confront the problem of how to identify the universe of schools from which to select a sample. Studies in the history of tourism guide promotion deals with the challenge of determining which guides to choose. Analyses linking these promotional histories together face the additional task of justifying their interdisciplinary vantage point. This latter undertaking is, in hindsight easily accomplished: the object of choosing seemingly unrelated promotional documents is justified since in the specific historical context of this thesis prospectuses and tourism guides were relationally “situated genres” at the level of social practice. Yet, while at the end of this study it is easier to “see” the connection between these types of documents – or, as Lusser phrased to comprehend “what education had to do with hotelierie and tourism” – these connections were not clear at the beginning of this project.<sup>66</sup> This thesis began researching on one side of the educational tourism entanglement – the education side –

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<sup>65</sup> Jarkko Saarinen, “Destinations in Change: The Transformation Process of Tourist Destinations,” *Tourist Studies* 4, no. 2 (2004): 161-179.

<sup>66</sup> K. E. Lusser, *Das Private Unterrichts- und Erziehungswesen der Schweiz* (Olten: Otto Walter, 1941).

and as a result of preliminary research findings it became enmeshed in the other side. The sampling process thus evolved and occurred at different stages in the project.<sup>67</sup>

The following requirements governed the initial sampling criteria for selecting the schools. With the intention of studying educational promotion produced by Swiss private international schools the study sought long-standing, Swiss owned, proprietary (for profit) international schools which historically targeted an English-speaking market and retained pre-World War II prospectuses. Further, schools in French-speaking Switzerland were desired because of the historical significance of this region in the development of the Swiss boarding schooling industry. A small sample was chosen due to the difficulty of obtaining information. Three of Switzerland's most exclusive schools (in terms of price) - Le Rosey, Brillantmont and Beau Soleil (for geographical locations see fig. I. 2) - met these criteria and with caveats, participated in the study.<sup>68</sup> As the research proceeded, it became clear that the schools shared other characteristics. Each was, for example, a long standing member of the SPA and each received special commendations from Swiss tourism guides during the interwar period. All were committed to both summer and winter sports. Differences however, outweighed similarities. Although today these schools offer almost identical programs, during the time of this study (1890-1945) each offered a very different type of education.

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to offer a comprehensive history of these schools but, the task of analysing their prospectuses naturally involved delving into their histories to some extent. While I leave the task of outlining their development to the individual chapters, here I provide a brief orientation to the sample of schools and their documents.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> What was initially intended to be a study of international private school prospectuses led to a study which included tourism guides. The sampling rationale thus developed and changed as the study evolved.

<sup>68</sup> I have honoured my agreement to only refer to information about the schools' alumni when it has already been published in the public domain. I have not disclosed any details about former students that I learned from the schools themselves.

<sup>69</sup> Each school had retained incomplete sets of their earliest prospectuses; all offer their own challenges in terms of records. Like many proprietary schools, historical documents have irretrievably disappeared. See G. Avery, *The Best Type of Girl: A History of Girls' Independent Schools* (London: André Deutsch, 1991).

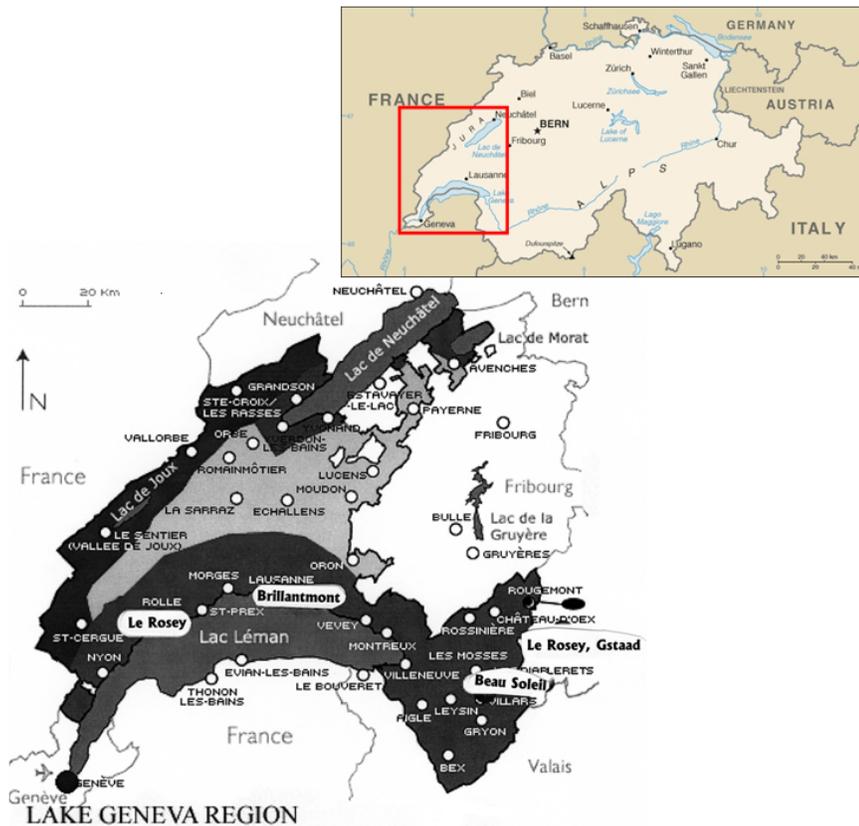


Fig. I.2: Map of Lake Geneva region (Lac Léman) with the locations of Le Rosey in Rolle and Gstaad, Brillantmont in Lausanne and Beau Soleil in Villars-sur-Ollon. To locate the Lake Geneva region within Switzerland, see Swiss map (top right).

Le Rosey, the oldest school in the sample began life in 1880 as a boys' Handelsschule (commercial school). Its founder Paul Carnal, a pedagogue from German-speaking Switzerland bought "Château Rosey," a medieval castle, near Lake Geneva in order to live out his dreams and run a boarding school.<sup>70</sup> In 1911, his son Henri Carnal took over directorship and developed Le Rosey into a finishing-type school for boys.<sup>71</sup> Since its foundation Le Rosey has prioritised sports.<sup>72</sup> In 1919, for

<sup>70</sup> Paul Emile Carnal purchased the Le Rosey estate of 29 hectares for 82 215.45 Francs in 1880. For more details of the history and purchase, see Louis Johannot, ed. *Le Rosey: Un siècle de souvenirs, 1880-1980* (Rolle: Le Rosey, 1980).

<sup>71</sup> During the interwar period Le Rosey schooled boys aged 10 to 18. It taught classical, scientific and commercial education and trained students for various exams, including the Swiss Maturity, French Baccalaureate, American College Board Exams, and University entrance examinations. French was the everyday language of the school, however students also learned Latin, Greek, German, English, Italian, and Spanish. The religious orientation was non-sectarian; Protestant and Catholic teachings and services were provided.

example, the school purchased property in Gstaad (1200 metres) so its students could spend part of the school year engaged in winter activities. The directors' active involvement in private schooling associations at both a local and national level enabled students to play inter-mural sports within the international boarding school community in Switzerland.<sup>73</sup> The Carnals' outside contacts presented further opportunities to compete with American and English teams. Le Rosey's "migratory lifestyle" also proved beneficial for Gstaad's tourism industry; the school helped Gstaad achieve its status as one of Switzerland's most exclusive winter resorts.<sup>74</sup>

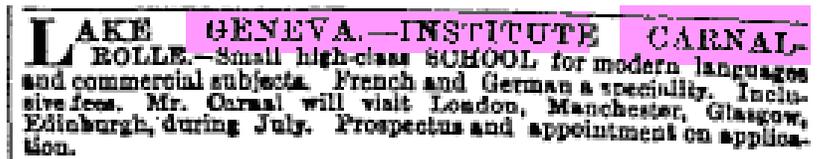


Fig. I.3: Le Rosey, *The Times* (1900)

Evidence suggests Le Rosey targeted an English-speaking clientele early on.<sup>75</sup> A classified advertisement in *The Times* (1900), for example, describes Paul Carnal's journey to England and Scotland for recruitment purposes (see fig. I.3). School records specify Henri Carnal's marriage to American Margaret Boorum (1911) resulted in active solicitation of the North American market. Despite its tendency to target English-speaking markets Le Rosey never limited itself to an Anglo-Saxon clientele. During the interwar years students from over 22 countries attended the school. The school has retained prospectuses dating from 1890 to 1932. However, as was common practice, individual prospectuses were not marked with specific dates.<sup>76</sup> Early

<sup>72</sup> The school offered tennis, football, skiing, ice hockey, fencing, rowing, sailing, horse riding, boxing and athletics. The Carnals along with Auckenthaler, Villa Longchamps in Ouchy played a key role in organising private boarding schools' team sports in the French-speaking region.

<sup>73</sup> Paul and Henri Carnal were active members of the SPA and the Association of Private Schools in French Switzerland (APSFS). They played key roles in each of these associations but invested more time in the APSFS. It was on the initiative of Henri Carnal, for example, that following World War I the APSFS consciously fostered a collegiate rather than competitive ethos. M. Jaccard, "Cinquante ans de Association des directeurs d'Instituts de la Suisse Romande (A.D.I.S.R.)," *Schweizer Erziehungsrundschau [Swiss Review of Education]*, 32 (1959-60): 49.

<sup>74</sup> G. von Siebenthal, *Gstaad: eine Reise in die Vergangenheit [Gstaad: a journey into the past]*. (Gstaad: Mueller Marketing & Druck AG, 2004), 40 and 201.

<sup>75</sup> Le Rosey was mentioned in the British publication *Guide to Switzerland* (1904) as one of the schools English pupils principally attended. See MacMillan, *Guide to Switzerland* (1904), 1.

<sup>76</sup> Not identifying the prospectuses by date enabled schools to use them for several years in a row.

prospectuses, jacketed by “borrowed” Orell Fuessli tourism guidebook covers were short in length and consisted predominantly of images highlighting school buildings and sports facilities. Interwar prospectuses lost tourist publicity covers but gained professional portraiture, as well as new images of winter sports and enhanced visuals of both campuses.

Together with Le Rosey, Brillantmont stands as one of Switzerland’s oldest surviving international boarding schools. Founded by the Heubi family in 1882 as a girls’ finishing school, Brillantmont expanded in 1902 to include a domestic education program and, again in the 1930s to include an academic section preparing girls for the American College Examinations.<sup>77</sup> Located in château and villa-style buildings, the girls’ school has from its early beginnings been housed in impressive facilities. Its owners participated in local and national private school associations and were also members of the Association des Pensionnats de Jeunes Filles de Lausanne since its foundation in 1911.<sup>78</sup> The girls’ school also consistently maintained relations with tourism organisations.<sup>79</sup> Brillantmont targeted an Anglo-Saxon market from its inception but, like Le Rosey, schooled students from various countries.<sup>80</sup> It advertised in English tourism guides as early as 1883.<sup>81</sup> During the interwar period the Swiss National Tourist Office guides drew attention to this “exceptional private girls’ boarding school.”<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> Brillantmont was a finishing school for girls aged 15 to 17 years until after World War II. See Collège International Brillantmont, *Souvenirs: Brillantmont 1882-2002* (Lausanne: Collège International Brillantmont, 2002), 9-19.

<sup>78</sup> Unfortunately little is known about the history of the Association des Pensionnats de Jeunes Filles de Lausanne. It was formed when several female directors belonging to the French-speaking private schools organisation “tired of hearing about boys’ private school sports” decided to form their own group. See M. Jaccard, “Cinquantenaire de Association des directeurs d’Instituts de la Suisse Romande (A.D.I.S.R.),” *Schweizer Erziehungsrundschau [Swiss Review of Education]*, 32 (1959-60): 49.

<sup>79</sup> The school remains under Heubi family ownership. It is a member of the Swiss National Tourist Office.

<sup>80</sup> The internationalism of the school was strongly linked to countries within the British Empire.

<sup>81</sup> It placed advertisements in other places as well. See I. Longinski *Excursions to the Environs of Geneva*, (Geneva: Printing Office of the Tribune, 1902); Society for the Development of Lausanne, *Guide to Lausanne and Ouchy: Western Switzerland* (Lausanne: Society for the Development of Lausanne, 1894).

<sup>82</sup> Swiss National Tourist Office Zurich and Lausanne. *Switzerland and Her Schools: Education – Instruction*. Lausanne: Swiss National Tourist Office Zurich and Lausanne, 1922.

Brillantmont has retained many of its earliest prospectuses.<sup>83</sup> In terms of format, the photo-narrative style texts changed little during the timeframe of this study. Prospectuses consistently highlighted the schools' impressive buildings. During the interwar period, images of girls' sports were also prioritized and brochures showed signs of tourism industry connections. The scenic panoramic views of the Lake Geneva and Mont Blanc area included in the texts were the product of Gaston de Jongh (1888-1973), a prominent photographer who specialised in tourism advertising portraiture.<sup>84</sup>

Beau Soleil, the final school of the sample, was founded by Mrs. and Mr. Terrier-Ferrier in Gstaad in 1910. Originally a small home for "delicate children," Beau Soleil transitioned from a sanatoria-like institution offering little in the way of academics to a school offering serious studies and sun-cure.<sup>85</sup> This transition occurred after 1920 when it moved to its current location in Villars-sur-Ollon.<sup>86</sup> During the 1930s, the school offered classical and scientific training.<sup>87</sup> Although its advertisements at times indicated it was a co-educational school, there is little evidence of girls ever attending.

Unfortunately no prospectuses survive from the period 1910-1926. However, those that are available – produced between 1927 and 1942 – in some ways compensate for this loss. During the 1930s world renowned poster artist Roger Broders (1883-1953) edited and illustrated some of the school's promotional materials. Its interwar prospectuses exhibited the latest in advertising techniques. Creative, poetic, beautiful and, at times aggressively sales-oriented, Beau Soleil's advertising stands out among the sample.

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<sup>83</sup> The dates of the prospectuses have been recorded however, they are not necessarily always correct. The dates which are fairly certain are of those prospectuses from 1898, 1902, 1911, 1924, 1932 and 1936.

<sup>84</sup> For Gaston de Jongh's photographs, see for example E. Breguet, *100 ans de Photographie chez les Vaudois, 1838-1939* (Lausanne: Payot, 1981).

<sup>85</sup> In the *Swiss Review of Education* it advertised as "Institut pour Enfants delicats, Etablissement d'Instruction, d'Education et de Santé sous surveillance médicale." See for example, *Schweizer Erziehungsrundschau [Swiss Review of Education]*, 1 (1930-31): 24.

<sup>86</sup> The high altitude school in Villars-Sur-Ollon is located at 1250 m. It schooled children aged 7 to 14 years, offered both Protestant and Catholic catechism and remained under the same ownership until after World War II.

<sup>87</sup> Beau Soleil followed the French curriculum of "academic track" primary and secondary schooling.

Although in some respects these “Swiss” private boarding schools seem quite removed from Anglo-Saxon educational historiography, as school types they have long figured in the Anglo-Saxon imaginary. While their particularities have only been experienced by the relative few, within what English educational historian Jeffrey Richards has called the “world of popular boarding school mythology,” their base characteristics envelop easily accessed scholastic stereotypes.<sup>88</sup> Le Rosey, for example, broadly viewed as a “European” boys’ château school corresponded to a certain type of institution fancifully described by an anonymous American boy in “Letter to Mother” as follows:

Towering among the trees is the château, rising like a beautiful white flower and holding undisputed right over the surrounding country ... It seems perfectly built for the imagination of a boy to rove in ... this château school is the type of place about which every boy has dreamed. Here only the beauty of the Middle Ages predominates, the memories of modern life are forgotten...<sup>89</sup>

If the boys’ château school cliché has somewhat faded from English-speaking imagined communities, the emblematic Swiss finishing school still evokes as a strong stereotype.

While the name Brillantmont may not register meaning for many, its historical business constituted an easily recognisable ideal type of education.<sup>90</sup> Countless references to the finishing school trope exist in English-language discourse. The BBC’s British Edwardian drama *Upstairs Downstairs* provides a typical example.<sup>91</sup> The “Path of Duty” episode - about the social failure of a society-daughter not sufficiently prepared for her debut - did not bother, for instance, to explain the who’s who of girls’ finishing school history; it expected a modern audience sufficiently

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<sup>88</sup> Jeffrey Richards, *Happiest Days: The Public Schools in English Fiction* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988). Here I am referring to the general discourse on school, not the specific fictional discourses. Jeffrey Richards discussing the British context suggests fiction is one realm that has contributed to larger public discourse on schooling. I argue that within the Anglo-Saxon imaginary there is also a smaller discourse on Swiss schools.

<sup>89</sup> “A School in a Château”, *Christian Science Monitor*, July 25, 1927.

<sup>90</sup> And indeed, the names of such schools were never intended to be widely known. Elite schools, at the top of their hierarchy which do not offer scholarship opportunities are, in a sense, ‘luxury’ products. As such they are purposely ‘popularised’ only within the narrow circles who can afford their services.

<sup>91</sup> The *Upstairs Downstairs* series (London Weekend Television, 1971-1975) depicted the lives of a typical Edwardian elite household with its servants downstairs and masters upstairs. The upstairs family included a father (Richard Belamy) who was an MP, a mother (Marjorie) who was the daughter of the Earl and Countess of Southwold and two children Elizabeth and James.

versed.<sup>92</sup> Great Aunt Kate's singular rebuke "remember Marjorie I suggested Switzerland..." served adequate commentary to contextualise the scene showing Miss Lizzie, freshly back from Miss Beck's school in Germany acting out "all too loud a zeal for things Germanic including Goethe, Wagner and Gymnastics."<sup>93</sup> The ancient relative's knowledge that "had Miss Lizzy been to a Swiss finishing school instead of a German one," she would have arrived home "properly finished" was affirmed when, later in the episode, Miss Lizzie damaged the family name by failing to behave like a lady at her coming out ball. Instead, the ill-equipped girl ran away in tears.

And finally, in a completely different corner of English discourse, the school sample studied here also conjures the romantic idea of the Alpine "chalet school." Le Rosey's chalet campus in Gstaad, Brillantmont's chalet holidays in the Engadine and Beau Soleil's year round stay in the Vaudois Alps quickly recall the idyllic mountain highs often associated with the ideology of childhood as played out in English, mountain-top fiction. Whether communicated via Johanna Spyri's (1827-1901) popular children's novel *Heidi* or British author Elinor Brent-Dyer's *Chalet School series* English-speakers need not dig too deep to find examples of the historic Alpine/childhood cliché.<sup>94</sup>

Today, all three schools are very much enshrouded in another private education cliché – that of being "at the top of the private school hierarchy."<sup>95</sup> Le Rosey, heavily

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<sup>92</sup> Season 1 (4): "The Path of Duty" (c. 1905).

<sup>93</sup> Ibid.

<sup>94</sup> The series included over sixty novels. For a list of titles, see New Chalet Club, <http://www.newchaletclub.co.uk/index.html>; for a biography of Elinor Brent-Dyer, see Helen McClelland, *Behind the Chalet School* (Essex: Bettany Press, 1996).

<sup>95</sup> According to the most recent taxonomy for classifying which schools are "at the top of the private school hierarchy" each school today is unquestionably at the top end of the scale see, Rubén A. Gaztambide-Fernández, "Lives of Distinction: Ideology, Space, and Ritual in Processes of Identification at an Elite Boarding," Dissertation (Graduate School of Education of Harvard, 2006). It is very difficult to judge the status of schools during the time frame of this study. However, evidence suggests that Le Rosey and Brillantmont were, by the interwar period already near the top of the hierarchy. Student demographics in conjunction with the schools' physical characters, location, extensive curriculum and sports programs supports this view. Random searches of the *New York Times* and *the Times* reveal well networked students in the 1920s and 1930s. Trothal announcements, for example, Brillantmont alumni demonstrate ties with leading New England boarding schools, Ivy League colleges and the Who's Who. In 1935, for example it was announced that "...Miss Harriette Warmington Engaged to Lee M. Rumsey, Bride educated at Brillantmont, Lausanne, He is a Graduate of Yale." See *NYT*, Aug. 6. Further that "Miss Vanderbilt attended Châteaux Brillantmont will marry Mr. Clark, graduate of Princeton and "great grandson of Senator Amos Clark" see, *NYT*, Sept. 19. Further *Washington Post*, (July 4) indicated Maria Sieber, daughter of Marlene Dietrich attended. School histories indicate alumni include various members of the nobility including Princess Benedikte (Denmark) see Collège International

labeled in the English press as, among other things, “the school of kings,” the “place where millionaires send their children” and the “world’s most exclusive boarding school” fights its own public discursive image through silence and retreat.<sup>96</sup> Brillantmont, sensitive to the vulnerability of its high-profile alumni, shies away from the spotlight to protect its past, present and future from unscrupulous, invasive and undesired inquisitiveness. Beau Soleil too, harboring elite reputation(s) has become an island cordoned off from the world, deliberately silent but nevertheless surrounded by the threat of paparazzi-type publicity.

In this aspect of private boarding school typology, the particularities of these schools do matter. Despite their broad associations with commonplace, romantic and esteemed fictive clichés in Anglo-Saxon consciousness, the schools’ fame for being “extremely unusual social environments” has ultimately severed them from public understanding.<sup>97</sup> While researchers are free to study the social constructions of Swiss scholastic stereotypes, their research into the worlds of exclusive private educational places (discursive or otherwise) is somewhat obstructed by the rule of privacy. In the history of each school’s promotion, setting, social networks and cultural capital were key parts of the storyline. The wall of silence surrounding these schools has, in some respects, affected this study. Namely, the study is limited by an agreement not to discuss information about alumni except in those cases where information is already within the public domain. Further, historical data used in the study is limited to that published in school histories or in other public documents.

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Brillantmont, *Souvenirs* (Lausanne, 2002). Similar references characterise Rosey students: “Richard McGarrah Helms [Director of Central Intelligence, 1966-1973] candidate for Rhodes scholarship see, (*NYT* Nov. 8, 1934); “Mr. Haskell attended Le Rosey, Phillips Exeter Academy and Harvard University” (*NYT* Dec.17, 1934); Rhodes Scholar Thomas C. Mendenhall [B.A Yale, B.Litt Oxford, Ph.D Yale sixth President of Smith College, Yale] “Le Rosey’s rowing”, see *Chris. Science Mon.*, Dec. 16, 1932. The same means of checking does not work for Beau Soleil. Because of the stigma of mountain sanatoria attendance was not typically publicised.

<sup>96</sup> In 1965 (May 7) *Life Magazine* printed an article entitled “Le Rosey – the World’s Most Exclusive Boarding School: A School for the Rich and Royal.” The article outraged the school that has refused all contact with the press ever since, however the press has not stopped discussing or labelling the school.

<sup>97</sup> This is true about most schools of this type, see Learnard Baird, *The Elite Schools* (Toronto and Massachusetts: Lexington, 1977); C. W Mills, *The Power Elite* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959); E.D. Baltzell, *Philadelphia Gentlemen: The Making of National Upper Class* (Chicago: Quadrangle, 1958); N. Beadie and K. Tolly, *Chartered Schools: Two Hundred Years of Independent Academies in the United States, 1727-1925* (New York: Routledge, 2002); C. Gossage, *A Question of Privilege: Canada’s Independent Schools* (Toronto: Peter Martin Associates, 1977).

Interpreting the schools' documents within their particular historical contexts has thus been challenging, however the difficulties associated with interpreting their documents within the context of "two fields of study" – the histories of education and tourism has, in many respects, proven to be more difficult. In many ways, the prospectuses studied in this thesis reflect the interrelated social practices of education and tourism. A balance has thus been sought to interpret these documents within both historical frameworks. Yet, the analysis has been careful not to overlook the fact that, despite their legal status the owners of Le Rosey, Brillantmont and Beau Soleil consciously directed schools and not hotels. At the same time, the analysis has endeavoured not to be blind to the tourism aspects and associations shaping documents.<sup>98</sup>

The process of selecting education-focused tourism guides was more straightforward. The study sought English-language promotional tourism brochures that concentrated on education and schooling and were oriented towards furthering the growth, development, and progress of the tourism industry by encouraging positive perceptions of Swiss destinations.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> The process of interpreting the texts emphasised the complexities of defining the terms education and tourism. Black and white definitions proved neither helpful nor appropriate. Yet, the blurring of these concepts in the historical context also did not translate into interchangeable definitions. The idea of travel has long been understood to be educational. Ideas of leisure have also long been associated with education and schooling although, at the same time there lies within these terms a contradiction in terms. For a discussion on these definitional tensions within a historical context see P. Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control* (London: Routledge, 1978). See also, L. Lowry, "What is travel and tourism and is there a difference between them: a continuing discussion" *New England Journal of Travel and Tourism* 5 (1998), 28-29. Brent Ritchie provides the most recent definition of educational tourism. A term he defines as tourist activity undertaken by those who are undertaking an overnight vacation and those who are undertaking an excursion for whom education and learning is a primary or secondary part of their trip. This can include general educational tourism and adult study tours, international or domestic university and school students' travel. See, Brent Ritchie (ed.), *Managing Educational Tourism* (Toronto: Channel View, 2003), 18.

<sup>99</sup> To be clear, this thesis studies place-making advertising or, according a definition supplied in *Advertising Campaigns* (1917), sales campaigns manifested in printed booklets intended to sell a city, region, country and its opportunities to people looking for a desirable place to live or visit or study. Because these campaigns were conducted in the interests of groups or people instead of single individuals or companies, and because they were only indirectly concerned with the sale of merchandise and service products, they had more in common with public sentiment campaigns than with any other kind of advertising. In the period of study, printed texts were particularly important types of place-making advertising because, text provided portable visions of destination to those who may never have visited. See, M. Martin, *Advertising Campaigns* (New York: Alexander Hamilton, 1917), 278-279.

With much help from the reference librarians at the Swiss National Library a search was conducted to retrieve all English education-focused tourism guides as well as those documents which made significant reference to education or schooling. The examination revealed civic-focused guides promoting education in Geneva, Lausanne and Neuchâtel produced during the period (1890-1914)<sup>100</sup> and national-focused guides promoting education in Switzerland during in the period (1922-1942).<sup>101</sup> Counting all editions the total sample totaled almost 40 guides, including their different editions (see Bibliography).

Critical discourse analysis guided the task of analysing the primary documents. The intention was not to search for the “truth” of the images and text; but rather to comprehend the ways in which they acquired and generated meaning. The main concern was with how they communicated ideas about people, place and the relationships between them.

The texts of this study were produced within the contexts of specific social practices which, in turn were shaped by social structures and human agency. Their ability to create meaning as texts is best understood through a theoretical and methodological approach which views texts as an element of social life interconnected with larger social, cultural and political events. My intention in this thesis is not to produce a history determined by theory but rather one informed by it. The historical junction studied here is already obscured by a lack of research, thus I am especially cognizant of the dangers of further obscuring the history by way of highly specialised, theoretical language. However, I also remain convinced, as Gary McCulloch and Ruth Watts phrased in the *History of Education* journal that theory and methodology are “not optional extras but are integral to the historian’s craft.”<sup>102</sup> I am inspired by their suggestion that;

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<sup>100</sup> Various types of organisations published guides: tourism publicity firms (one of which claimed to specialise in “intellectual resources”), non/government-funded town publicity committees, school trustees, English Church groups, and non-affiliated individual authors. See Appendix A.

<sup>101</sup> Two different tourism organisations, the R. Perrin Travel Agency and the Swiss National Tourism Office published these documents. One guide considered here was co-authored by the STO and the SPA.

<sup>102</sup> McCulloch, G. and R. Watts, “Theory, Methodology and the History of Education,” *History of Education* 32, no. 2 (2003): 130-156.

in engaging with theoretical and methodological developments in history, education and the social sciences, historians of education should draw deeply on their own experience, their own craft, to determine how and when to do so.<sup>103</sup>

My own academic background in sociology has in many ways made this project possible.

Briefly outlining my methodological assumptions and approach in specific reference to the documents of the thesis - this work employs a critical discourse analysis. There are many different approaches to discourse and textual analyses, some of which are more closely linked to texts than others. Norman Fairclough, for example, points to the importance of methods which aim to transcend the division between social theory-inspired studies which tend not to analyse text, and research which focuses on the language of texts without engaging in broader social issues. His Critical Discourse Analysis approach offers a useable framework for social scientists – myself included - without a background in linguistics.<sup>104</sup> This thesis proceeds through an “oscillating” focus that looks closely at the content of specific materials in constant relation to the larger “orders of discourse” while, simultaneously considering the relatively durable social structures and practices that inform these orders. The object is to identify the ideological work of texts at the levels of social action, representation and identification.

In this thesis the term “text” refers to a “communicative event” that may be written or visual. Prospectuses and tourist brochures are referred to as texts; they are viewed as elements of social events which shape and are shaped by larger social structures. In the context of this thesis, prospectuses and tourism brochures are seen as elements of the social event (broadly conceived) of “advertising.”<sup>105</sup> As promotional

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<sup>103</sup> Ibid., 131.

<sup>104</sup> As Fairclough suggests, the identification and analysis of discourses has become a common practice in the humanities and social sciences. Michel Foucault has been an important influence see, N. Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research* (London: Routledge, 2003). Foucault-inspired discourse analysis, which does not involve a detailed linguistic analysis of texts, has become an important component of the social historian’s tool box. This thesis assumes it is important for historians to ask questions about the changing discourses representing and structuring the social world over time. It takes it for granted that discourses play (and have played) a role in organising social processes and relations, in shaping social identities, in reproducing power relations and in constructing social imaginaries.

<sup>105</sup> For a clear discussion of the meanings of the word “text” as used within the context of discourse analysis see, “What is a Text?” in S. Titscher, M. Meyer, R. Wodak, and E. Vetter (eds.), *Methods of*

materials the texts produced various effects. The documents brought about change - most obviously, in the knowledge of those who read them. They helped readers form pictures and ideas about educational-tourist places but did not mechanically “convince” or “sell” these places. Thus, they had the effect of hailing individuals and mediating place but one cannot say they “caused” particular values, beliefs, attitudes or actions “to happen.” Here, it is only possible to identify the ideological representations constituting desirable educational places abroad and discuss the images educational and tourism organisations implemented to attract visitors.

This thesis assumes both prospectuses and tourism guides played an important role in the promotional construction and communication of Swiss education within specific contexts.<sup>106</sup> It takes for granted that textual meaning was produced and reproduced in ideological and dialectic processes of negotiation between the actors and organisations involved. The dissertation proceeds with the understanding that the texts studied were not “value neutral.” At the same time, it also acknowledges its interpretations of the documents are also not “value neutral.” Meanings, made through the interplay of text production and reception involve processes that institutional positions, interests, values, intentions and desires of both authors and readers affect.<sup>107</sup> The interpretation of texts is seen here as a complex process which is partly a matter of understanding, but also of judgment and evaluation. It is clear that at all levels, the

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*Text and Discourse Analysis* (London: Sage, 2000), 20-30. Here contemporary culture is understood as a promotional culture. Advertorial texts are those which may be doing other things but are simultaneously promoting. A promotional message is one which simultaneously advocates (moves on behalf of), represents (moves in place of), and anticipates (moves ahead of) whatever it is to which it refers. One significant feature of texts in new capitalism is their performative power in bringing into being what they propose to merely describe. See Norman Fairclough, “Critical Discourse Analysis and the Marketisation of Public Discourse: the Universities,” *Discourse and Society* 4, (1993): 133-168, 113.

<sup>106</sup> Here communication for the sake of promotion is understood as strategic action. The activity exchange (offers, demands, selling, soliciting) is presented as if it was knowledge exchange. Knowledge exchange through discourses dominates strategic and communicative action. See Norman Fairclough, “Critical Discourse Analysis and the Marketisation of Public Discourse: the Universities,” *Discourse and Society* 4, (1993): 133-168, 111.

<sup>107</sup> Following Goffman, when I refer to the “author” of the text I am referring to the principal – the one whose position is put in the texts rather than the individual who made the marks on paper. In this case the authors are taken to be the individual schools and various tourist organisations which “took on commitments to truth, obligation, necessity and values by virtue of choices in wording.” I assume that the social agents who authored the texts were not free agents in the sense of being free from cultural and social constraints, but that they too had a great deal of agency and personal freedom in the decisions they made in texturing the documents. See E. Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1959).

process of communication depends upon not only what is explicitly stated in a text but also what is implicit or assumed.

As Lusser suggested, promotional texts involved the movement of meaning from one place to another – from Switzerland to the “rest of the world.” Thus, the promotional documents linked to larger “chains” or “networks” of people, organisations and texts participated in weaving together social practices across different domains or fields of social life (education, tourism, the economy) and different scales (global, regional, national, local). The concern of the thesis is to examine ideas about educational destinations as represented while taking into consideration the formats and larger social fields in which they occurred. Documents portrayed various objects, persons, social relations, activities, and places. They included certain voices and perspectives while excluding others. Part of the project is to research the ways in which difference was highlighted, negotiated or suppressed. The thesis thus seeks to understand the continuous social process of classification in the texts. The exploration of how individual and organisational entities differentiated messages about social identities (in particular with respect to class, gender, ethnicity and age) reveals much about the texturing of identities in study abroad and tourism contexts.

Each chapter provides a close interpretation of documents and aims, through thick description, to understand specific place-making examples within a wider socio-historical context. All demonstrate that despite different historical circumstances and varied authorship, texts relied upon selective images of place to provide an idealised vision of study abroad. The thesis examines discourses of educational-tourist place as produced, reproduced and marketed at three interrelated levels of destination: the single international school, the town and the nation.

Chapter One focuses on Le Rosey and Brillantmont’s earliest promotion (1890-1916). An examination of photo essay-style prospectuses reveals highly selective portrayals of school “château” architecture and picturesque scenery communicated each school’s capacity to deliver a sufficiently leisured “high-class” and gender appropriate Swiss finishing. While each institution relied upon views of school property to communicate meanings about the services offered the images employed

were very different. Le Rosey, a boys' school made greater use of iconographic heraldic château-fort symbolism. Brillantmont, a girls' school deployed the domestic interior of the château to relay an aesthetic of cultured and comfortable environment. In both sets of documents, textual and visual cues hallmarking the literary and sporting preferences of the British elite catered to the gaze of Anglo-centric markets desirous of the type of continental cosmopolitan experience that was sufficiently French but not overly "foreign."

Chapter Two analyses English language tourism promotion of the same period and investigates the social construction of towns in French-speaking Switzerland as attractive educational centres. It explores how guides advertising Geneva, Neuchâtel and Lausanne constructed civic space as idealised study abroad landscape. The chapter illustrates how texts which ignored regional and national (Swiss) frames of reference incited local, civic and British heritage to foster an attractive vision of the towns as proven, successful and experienced international education destinations. It examines the logic of the "objective" school system taxonomies presented in guides and explores the categorical means by which certain pathways of public instruction were depicted as more desirable than others. An analysis of representations of rational recreation, leisure and luxury reveals romanticised and anglicised visions of townscape, nature and community were, along with outlines of public instruction, constructed as critical components of towns' overall educational attractiveness.

Chapter Three investigates constructions of Alpine space in Beau Soleil's interwar prospectuses. Descriptions of the school's "unique" high altitude sun and air cure are examined within the context of the history of heliotherapeutic high altitude medical practices. An analysis of world renowned tourist poster artist Roger Broders' illustrations in 1930s texts argues artful depictions manufactured a pleasant, school-like image for the sanatoria-like campus. The chapter explores how poetic, aesthetic and psychological modern advertising strategies communicated the Alpine environment as a romantic landscape for a healthy childhood. Beau Soleil's prospectuses, unlike those of Le Rosey or Brillantmont instrumentalised stereotypes of the Swiss pedagogical nation, highlighted outside academic connections and stressed up-to-date educational experience and competency. These strategies explicitly

countered negative discourses which painted mountain villages as isolated, backward and behind the times.

Chapter Four investigates tourism brochures marketing education at the national level. An analysis of constructions of educational heritage in the *Switzerland and Her Schools* series (a collaborative effort between the Swiss National Tourism Office and the Swiss Private Schools' Association) reveals how discourses of nationhood racialised the Swiss as natural-born pedagogues and thus constructed Switzerland as a safe, moral destination populated with cooperative, multi-lingual and foreign student-friendly folk. An exploration of the classification of Swiss schools in the same series, as well as in the *Schools and Sports in Switzerland* series produced by the educational department of R. Perrin international tourism agency, demonstrates the Swiss educational geography was unevenly described and evaluated according to ideologically driven ideas of good education. An analysis of depictions of play, leisure and sport in both series shows each set of guidebooks held very different understandings of what exactly was meant by the terms "education" and "tourism". The government series conveyed the world outside the classroom in the playground of Europe as a part of Swiss education and refrained from referring openly to education or leisure as tourism products. The R. Perrin series clearly distinguished school work from outdoor play and openly referred to both schooling and sports as Swiss tourism commodities.

Chapter Five returns to Le Rosey and Brillantmont's prospectuses analysing the advertising of an interwar migratory school (Le Rosey, Gstaad winter campus) and a vacationing school (Brillantmont). Representations of elite schools at sport in Alpine resorts are interpreted in relation to the social practices surrounding these two elite schools. The section exploring Le Rosey's texts restores images of winter sports to their historical context arguing the currency of these depictions can only be understood with knowledge of the school's hockey successes and international sporting connections. A close examination of a promotional event held at the Savoy Hotel in London emphasises prospectuses formed part of larger promotional practices which took place within transnational elite social networks. The section exploring Brillantmont's photo-narrative style prospectuses discusses images of girls in the

kitchen and at sport in relation to larger orders of discourse on Swiss finishing, modern girls' education and the meaning of Swiss holiday places for English markets. It demonstrates the documents communicated a sense of desirable educational tourist place through visual clichés which both confirmed and challenged traditional ideas of femininity. Viewing the ways in which the photographs expressed and mediated the relationship between foreign students and Alpine place reveals both schools seized upon the symbolic power of the Swiss Alps to convey a sense of adventure, health and holiday that was ultimately associated with British-led transnational elite leisure. A discussion of sports imagery demonstrates schools depended upon gender-appropriate representations of masculine and feminine body movement and shows that, on the whole, pictures expressed the sense of freedom which accompanies upper-class identity more so than any sense of gender-driven restriction.

The Conclusion provides a brief review of the findings of the dissertation. It discusses the significance of the thesis to the history of education and to the history of tourism. A discussion relating the main conclusions of the thesis to the current context of educational and tourism commodification encourages critical reflection on the meanings and significance of the study for the present day.

## CHAPTER ONE. Picturing Pensionnats: The Earliest Prospectuses of Two Château Schools, 1890-1916

International schools and study abroad/educational tourism destinations are represented on a range of spatial scales in promotional texts.<sup>108</sup> Today, for example, two of the world's most exclusive private international boarding schools - Le Rosey and Brillantmont - conscientiously represent themselves as "global Swiss" schools.<sup>109</sup> Their virtual prospectuses stress in numerous languages, that campus dimensions extend into digital space.<sup>110</sup> This chapter explores the earliest prospectuses of these schools (1890-1916); it examines documents which rarely mentioned town, region, country or continent.<sup>111</sup> By investigating selective portrayals of place in these early texts, the thesis provides examples of choices international private schools made when promoting themselves during the beginning period of Switzerland's modern educational tourism economy. Although prospectuses are, admittedly, small windows through which to view the social construction of the Swiss private school within the international context, they provide us with unique perspectives due to their ambitions to represent desirable school place. The earliest prospectuses of two of Switzerland's longest standing and successful schools offer an important portal of understanding into the historical brand-building work of what are now luxury international education products.<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> Following the Matryoshka doll metaphor, the social construction of educational tourist place identity implies various socio-spatial scales (continent, nation, region, town, local business). At any one of these levels other scales can be included or excluded. For discussion tourism destination identity see, Jarkko Saarinen, "Destinations in Change: The Transformation Process of Tourist Destinations," *Tourist Studies* 4, no. 2 (2004): 161-179.

<sup>109</sup> Today, marketing departments at both schools conscientiously build an internationalist image into the brand image of these schools in school advertising.

<sup>110</sup> Since 2002, for example Brillantmont has engaged in an electronic architecture project whereby the electronic activities at the school are monitored to create a virtual 3D space or "second life" within which people may wander and communicate or exchange information. Virtual space exists in five buildings; wireless connection is of course available throughout the campus.

<sup>111</sup> This chapter is based on the earliest surviving prospectuses from each school. Most of the documents cover the period between 1890 and 1912 however, due to the possibility a few of Le Rosey's prospectuses were published during World War I the date is extended to 1916.

<sup>112</sup> The private schooling industry in Switzerland has expressed clearly private education of all kinds produce products. I use the term 'luxury' product, not as a value judgement but as an economic category of good which costs more than the average consumer can afford. In the case of these two schools, the cost is considerably more than the income of all statistical family types according to Stats Can. Like

The chapter demonstrates some of the ways in which each school relied upon representations of château school property and scenic tourism spaces to communicate ideas about their services. It argues highly visual, ideologically-charged textual representations of both schools simultaneously defined, idealised and commodified the educational product. The analysis demonstrates that by tethering scholastic capacities to the satisfaction of foreign wants and needs, Le Rosey and Brillantmont's prospectuses delineated a social-spatial commodity suitable for outside markets, exclusively available for consumption on school property and exportable only as the symbolically loaded enhancement of foreign consumer identity.<sup>113</sup> This chapter begins with a brief overview discussing the cultural meaning attached to the type of school buildings each school occupied. It then analyses the boys' school prospectuses. In this set of documents, Château du Rosey stood in the background - a heraldic symbol of strength and prestige fortifying the image of a boys' school devoted to academic training, "British" sports, and providing its students the opportunity to experience lakes and mountains first hand. Next explored are Brillantmont's documents. In these texts, Château Brillantmont occupied centre stage - its many indoor rooms and impressive interior architecture displaying ideal equipment for a girls' finishing school in the business of fostering drawing room accomplishment.

### **1.1 Châteaux, Prestigious School Property**

Cultural geographers concerned with the meaning of "home" and with representations of "place" refer to the importance of inquiring how desirable spaces in any form are discursively constructed in texts. As Pamela Shurmer-Smith stated:

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brands such as Bentley or Cartier they exist in a cost category that will always be aimed at the wealthy. See, Ann Marie Kerwin, "Brands Pursue Old Money," *Advertising Age* 27, no. 21 (2001): 7-8.

<sup>113</sup> Neither school provided diplomas or certified education at this time.

Texts depict places and they use space as an element of communication. It is through texts we imagine places we have never been to, but we also use them to reinterpret those we know first hand.<sup>114</sup>

In boarding school literature, the “total environment of the prep school” as a “home away from home” has become a subject of considerable study. It is generally acknowledged in the literature on private schooling that private schools are “organised to serve many of the functions of the family” as well as the role of school.<sup>115</sup> From a contemporary marketing perspective the “every day and every night” school, household and care-related aspects are critical elements of schooling to be communicated to parents. In the case of international schools where the student may be staying far away from family in a different country, communication regarding living conditions often constitutes a principal concern of school advertising. Because little historical research has been conducted on the marketing or advertising of boarding schools, it is difficult to know how much attention schools paid to the complexities of everyday life. Educational historian Joyce Goodman’s landmark study of prestigious girls’ schools’ advertising entries in the *Girls’ School Yearbook* (1906-1995) - the official organ of the Association of Headmistresses - indicates institutions consistently relied upon spatial clichés to communicate classed and gendered messages about the quality of school place.<sup>116</sup> While this study usefully described consistencies in the advertising of English girls’ programs in the twentieth century, its analysis concerns schools in different circumstances than those schools examined in this chapter. While English and European boarding schools generally shared a tendency to make use of location in advertising, the conditions of location and different schooling contexts had an impact on the cultural meanings communicated about school landscapes. Le Rosey and Brillantmont château schools in French-speaking Switzerland which operated as part of a tourism industry communicated something other than the British public boarding school. In order to understand what it was these schools conveyed it is useful to start by clarifying the nature of their school buildings, key components of their schooling landscapes.

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<sup>114</sup> P. Shurmer-Smith, *Doing Cultural Geography* (London: Sage, 2002), 130.

<sup>115</sup> L. L. Baird, *The Elite Schools* (Toronto: Lexington, 1977), 3.

<sup>116</sup> See Joyce Goodman, “A Cloistered Ethos? Landscapes of Learning and English Secondary Schools for Girls: an Historical Perspective” *Paedagogica Historica* vol. 41, 4-5 (2005): 589-603.

Le Rosey and Brillantmont's earliest prospectuses drew on the esteem linked with château heritage. Châteaux are prestigious buildings historically inscribed with classed and gendered social relations which convey a strong figurative power useful for advertising.<sup>117</sup> As Mark Girouard emphasised in *Life in the French Country House* these monumental buildings are associated with the lifestyle of the nobility for which "a château was a basic element of their image."<sup>118</sup> When analysing the presence of châteaux in the prospectuses, it is important to view textual and visual representations not as "illustrations" or "background" but as constituents of meaning.<sup>119</sup> A general understanding of the etymological meaning and historic functions of châteaux helps to better comprehend the discursive connotations these grand buildings brought to prospectuses. The French term "*château*" translates literally into "castle" however, not all châteaux resemble castles in the medieval style.<sup>120</sup> The term covers two broad types of buildings: the *château-fort* and the country house style château.

The term *château-fort* refers to castles in the medieval sense having a defensive military function. These familiar buildings, sporting thick walls, moats, battlement towers and other defensive features, conjure images of the feudal system.<sup>121</sup> The appearance of the *château-fort* communicates safety as it is reminiscent of war and symbolises medieval life and society. The classed relations of master and serf are carved into the very design of these heritage buildings which number relatively few compared to the grand "manor type" of châteaux which are plentiful in La Romandie.<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> I do not discuss these buildings as deliberately constructed as symbols. There are buildings in this category, but they are very rare and include Carl Jung's home in Switzerland. See C. Moore, G. Allen and D. Lyndon, *The Places of Houses* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 129.

<sup>118</sup> For a discussion of the historic function of châteaux see M. Girouard, *Life in the French Country House* (New York: Knopf, 2000).

<sup>119</sup> S. Daniels and D. Cosgrove, *The Iconography of Landscape* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 8.

<sup>120</sup> For further discussion of differences see M. Binney, *The Châteaux of France* (Michael Beazley: London, 1994).

<sup>121</sup> For the fortified châteaux of the Middle Ages, J. Mesqui's authoritative *Châteaux et Enceintes de la France Médiévale* (Paris: Picard, 1993) provides useful orientation.

<sup>122</sup> There are significant differences between French and English castles which result from differences in the function and culture of the nobility in each country. These differences do not apply between French castles and those in the French-speaking region, therefore M. Girouard, *Life in the French Country House* provides a suitable reference.

Following the French Revolution such lesser buildings resembling English country houses or manors were also referred to as châteaux. The “new châteaux,” in contrast to châteaux-forts were typically constructed during the Enlightenment period and placed at the centre of an estate.<sup>123</sup> The social and political function of French-style country houses continued to meet the new desires and cultural requirements of the rapidly dwindling nobility throughout the late nineteenth century, and in a minority of cases, beyond.<sup>124</sup> They served both as living and meeting places for elite citizens. As the Swiss National Museum at Château de Prangins noted it was “in the salons, dining rooms and libraries of the region’s châteaux, like elsewhere in Europe, men and women engaged in leisure, conversation and intellectual activity.”<sup>125</sup> While physically the château-fort and the château possess little in common, in cultural terms they both “stand for the myth of old and new nobility - that just by being noble they were a class apart, and a superior one at that.”<sup>126</sup> Thus, while physically different in appearance, in both cases architects

reproduced spatial and social hierarchies by shaping material boundaries and laying out spatial division according to status, role and (asymmetrically) perceived the needs of the buildings’ occupants and visitors – the husband, wife, guests, children, and servants, in that order.<sup>127</sup>

Thus, *château-fort* and château as “house types” are both endowed with a strong figurative power that connotes patrician and patriarchal privilege and servitude.

It is as symbols of both elite lifestyle and associated servitude that these buildings proved of interest to the Swiss tourism industry which capitalised on the decline of aristocratic power and the emulative desire of social climbing tourists to

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<sup>123</sup> As a class the noblesse lost their privileges with the government following the Revolution. For discussion see M. Binney, *The Châteaux of France* (Michael Beazley: London, 1994), 27.

<sup>124</sup> For a thorough discussion of château in the French-speaking region of Switzerland, see F. de Capitani (ed.), *Discovering History* (Prangins: Swiss National Museum - Château de Prangins, 1998). For an extensive bibliography of châteaux in the Lake Geneva region see Association of Swiss Castles, “Bibliography” <http://www.swisscastles.ch/bibliographie.html> (accessed June 1, 2006).

<sup>125</sup> Château de Prangins is located in the vicinity of both schools. F. de Capitani (ed.), *Discovering History* (Prangins: Swiss National Museum - Château de Prangins, 1998), 17.

<sup>126</sup> Of gentleman’s country houses in Britain, John Burnett writes “Great establishments like this could still form in the nineteenth century very much the same kind of total communities they had in the Middle Ages, highly structured, authoritarian and inward-looking, largely self-sufficient and independent of the rest of society.” J. Burnett, *The Annals of Labour: Autobiographies of British Working Class People, 1820-1920* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1974), 145.

<sup>127</sup> L. Walker, “Home Making: An Architectural Perspective,” *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 2, No.3 (2002), 824.

recall a romanticized historical elite. Following the mid-nineteenth century many châteaux were transformed into popular hotels, museums, exclusive summer rental properties and became part of scenic tourism.<sup>128</sup>

Tourism dispersed the discourse of the châteaux to new audiences.<sup>129</sup> Nostalgia for a diminishing salon culture was not lost on early boarding schools who converted heritage buildings already associated with the cultural pursuits of nobility and a tradition of visiting for the sake of intellectual foreplay, into a symbolic capital displayed in their advertising (see fig. 1.1).<sup>130</sup>

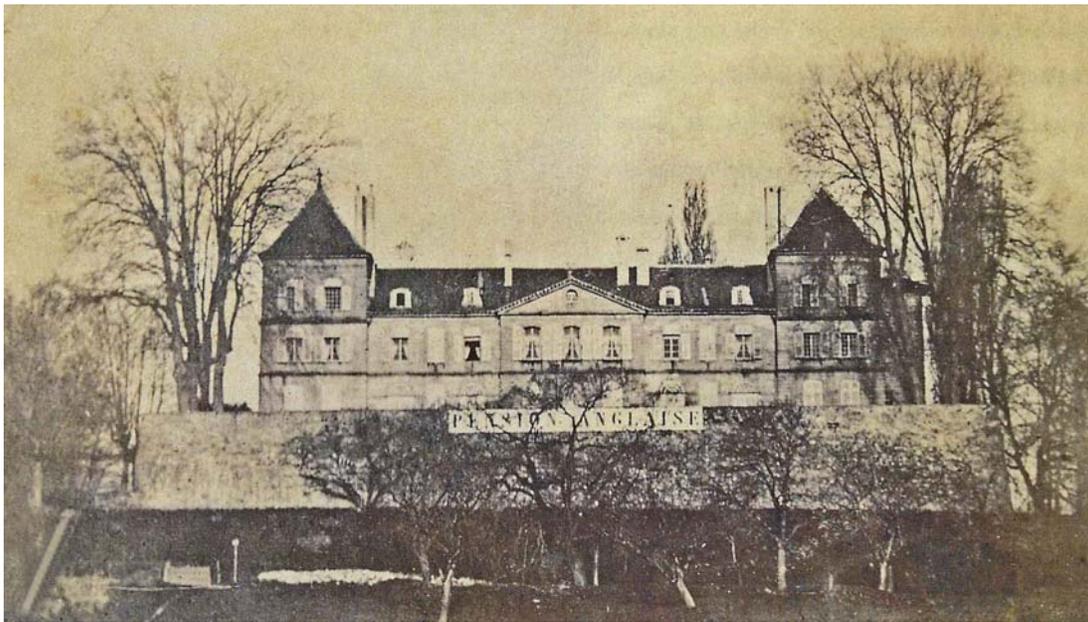


Fig. 1.1: Prangins Château, now the Swiss National Museum, was listed in Baedeker 1872 as a family boarding house. By 1900 it was the Moravian boarding school. The banner on the castle wall reads “Pension Anglaise.”

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<sup>128</sup> This change in function is partly an extension of earlier practice. It was customary in Swiss French châteaux for visitors to stay for extended periods. Within the context of tourism, visitors would now pay for this privilege. As society drifted towards the changing political structure of industrialised democracy, the socio-political function of the châteaux disappeared. By the late nineteenth century, many châteaux remained the domicile of the wealthy but failed to retain their political importance.

<sup>129</sup> The portability and desire for these symbols is limited only by the imagination. Present day examples include Indian winemaker Château Indage’s construction of a French style château outside Mumbai to give the wines a French feel. See Cabernets and Indians (The Observer, Sunday July 14, 2002). Intel executive Stanley Mazor ordered a plastic, assemble-yourself château for his estate in Oregon, see “Just like a French Château Only Plastic” *New York Times*, February 18, 2005, F5.

<sup>130</sup> Boarding schools’ occupation of châteaux raises questions about the financial circumstances of school owners and the price of châteaux in the late nineteenth century. Advertisements for private schools in tourism guidebooks indicate there were many châteaux schools in La Romandie.

Le Rosey and Brillantmont consistently and creatively employed the figurative historical power of their properties. Despite working within the same context of cultural meaning, each school utilised its own approach in the characterisation of its buildings for advertising purposes. Le Rosey's earliest prospectuses employed creativity in rendering the schools' less than picture perfect buildings effective in their advertising.

## 1.2 Le Rosey

Photographs of Château du Rosey in its first few decades of operation as a school emphasised the denotative power of châteaux could not be taken for granted and demonstrated that not all châteaux were visually persuasive (see fig. 1.2). The glamorous image its name evoked quickly dissolved upon viewing the somewhat faded-looking and slightly dilapidated building *not published* in the prospectuses. Clearly, the considerable purchase price school founder Paul Carnal paid in 1880 did not guarantee a camera-ready estate.<sup>131</sup>



Fig. 1.2: Château du Rosey, 1880-1890

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<sup>131</sup> Paul Emile Carnal purchased the Le Rosey estate of 29 hectares for 82 215.45 Francs in 1880. For more details of the history and purchase see Louis Johannot, ed. *Le Rosey: Un siècle de souvenirs (1880-1980)*, (Rolle: Le Rosey, 1980).

Interestingly, in the earliest surviving prospectus photographs of the building of what was then termed the “Institution Commerciale” were not to be found on the cover

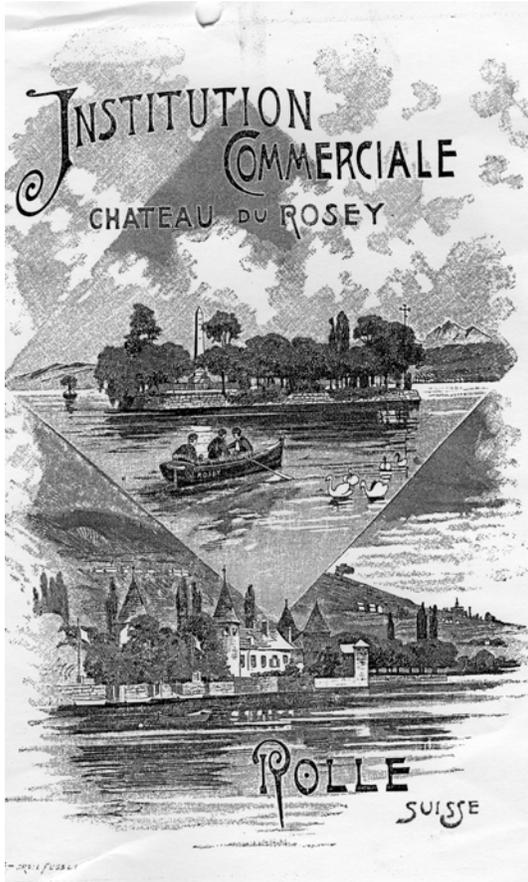


Fig. 1.3: Le Rosey, cover page of the earliest prospectus (1890)

(see fig. 1.3).<sup>132</sup> The school’s proprietor and director Paul Carnal chose to include drawings of Le Château de Rolle – a lakeside castle a short distance from Château du Rosey. The massive château-fort portrayed on the bottom of the cover page communicated a secure atmosphere suggestive of idyllic countryside. A diamond-enclosed capsule coddled three young “Rosey Boys” who drifted merrily towards the Île de la Harpe.<sup>133</sup> Far from the dirty cities of Europe, Rolle’s harbour was used to convey a strong sense of tourist tranquility. The early cover page, produced by the tourist guidebook publishing company Orell Fuessli, affirmed schools relied on tourist space and infrastructure to attract business.

Rafael Salvador in his study of the boarding school industry in Lausanne at the turn of the twentieth century argued that Lake Geneva area schools needed to project an attractive image to convince parents to send their children abroad.<sup>134</sup> The earliest prospectus succeeded in granting the school a touristic allure by mimicking a generic format - the tourist guide - explicitly designed to ease consumers into travel, “potentially one of the saddest pleasures in life.”<sup>135</sup> Laurent Tissot’s evaluation of the tourist guidebook’s function, despite its psychological tone, also characterises the function of the international school prospectus. Tissot argued the travel guide cannot be:

<sup>132</sup> The exact date of the earliest surviving prospectus is unknown. School sources suggest 1890.

separated from the underlying psychological situation. To some extent the travel guide served as a means of self-defence...It enabled the traveller to control the unknown with factual and material knowledge of the places visited; to master fears which arose from all the uncertainties ... inherent in a stay in a foreign land. The guidebook mediated between the traveller and his destination, and it reduced tension in the reader.<sup>136</sup>

With this argument in mind, the pastoral scene on the cover assumes new meaning. By encapsulating the students within pleasant circumstances Le Rosey promoted the school as a safe place an arms-length from reality and hence, reduced tension in the parent reader.

Three separate illustrations of Château du Rosey did appear in three different texts promoting the school at the turn of the century. First, in a portrait in the prospectus just discussed (1890), second in a paid advertisement for the school in the tourism guide *Excursions to the Environs of Geneva* (1899) and third, in a Le Rosey prospectus likely produced between 1890-1910. A photograph of the Château du Rosey taken in 1900 serves as a basis for visual comparison.

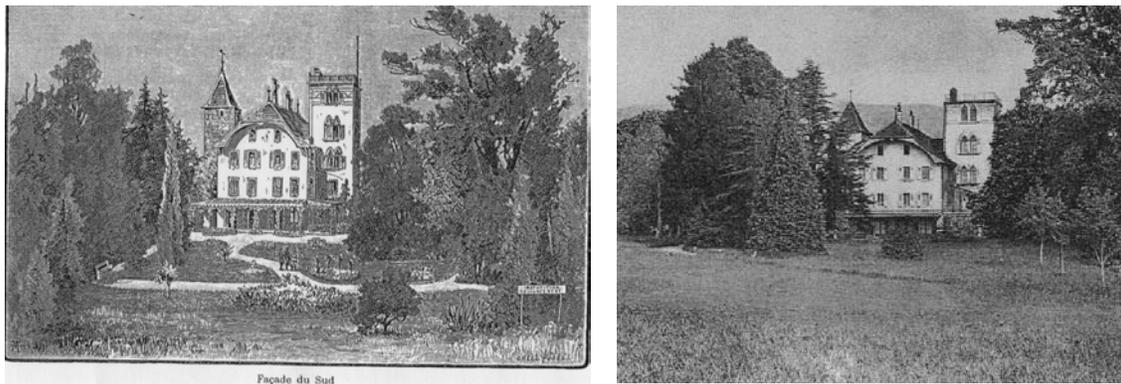


Fig. 1.4: Drawn portrait of Le Rosey “Façade du Sud,” 1890 (left) compared to Photograph, 1900 (right)

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<sup>133</sup> The Île de la Harpe is a man-made island that was built in 1835. It lies shortly outside the town of Rolle’s harbour. The obelisk was created in memory of Frédéric-César de la Harpe (former educator of Tsar Alexander), a key Swiss and Vaudois patriot who fought for the autonomy of Vaud around the end of the eighteenth century and who helped to finance pedagogical achievements in the Canton of Vaud. For more information on Rolle or the island of Frédéric-César de la Harpe see Micheloud & Co., “Switzerland is yours,” [http://switzerland.isyours.com/e/guide/lake\\_geneva/rolle.html](http://switzerland.isyours.com/e/guide/lake_geneva/rolle.html) (accessed July 5, 2006).

<sup>134</sup> Rafael Salvador, “Les Pensionnats de Jeunes Filles à Lausanne au Tournant du Siècle,” *Mémoire de licence*, Faculté des Lettres, University of Lausanne (1989), 50ff.

<sup>135</sup> Quotation in D. McHugh, *The Quotable Traveller* (Guilford, CT: The Lyons Press, 2001). Leaving home is a necessary part of travel and thus home is inherently related to the business of travel.

<sup>136</sup> L. Tissot, “How did the British Conquer Switzerland?” *Journal of Transport History* 16, no. 1 (1995), 28.

The romantic sketch labelled “Façade du Sud” in the inside cover of the 1890 prospectus – a prospectus definitely produced prior to the photograph – offered a warmer more detailed romantic image of the Château (see fig. 1.4). While both portraits must be viewed as representations of Le Rosey, for even photographs are not “neutral sources untouched by human bias,”<sup>137</sup> the differences between drawing and photograph nevertheless incite general questions about the degree of creative license employed in school advertising. In this case, it is possible the obvious discrepancies could be due to landscaping degenerations. In the next case, however, the discrepancies were structural and not merely superficial.

Besides the foregoing Establishments for education, there exist private pensions, where young strangers can find all the advantages of family life, under the firm and enlightened surveillance of Professors of known capacity. The Scholars frequent the classes of the State establishments of Geneva, i. e. University, Gymnasium, College, Professional and Commercial Schools.

Amongst the establishments recommended, is to be noted the one directed by Mr Isaac REVERCHON, Professor of French literature and history at the Superior College, created in 1862. This Pension is favorably situated near all the official establishments in the opulent and healthy quarter of the Tranchees.

Prof. Reverchon examines the work of young people confided to his care, follows their studies, prepares them for examination, and sees after their perfect education.

Special teachers are attached to the house for the repetitions of pupils. The teaching is adapted to strangers, who are not yet fully cognizant of French.

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**ROLLE**

*Boarding School  
for Young Ladies*

Monsieur and Mlle Dedie-  
Juillerat, Rolle. — Lake of  
Geneva.



Branches: French, English, Drawing, Arithmetic, Needlework. Extras: Italian, Music, Painting. References and prospectus on application. Moderate prices.

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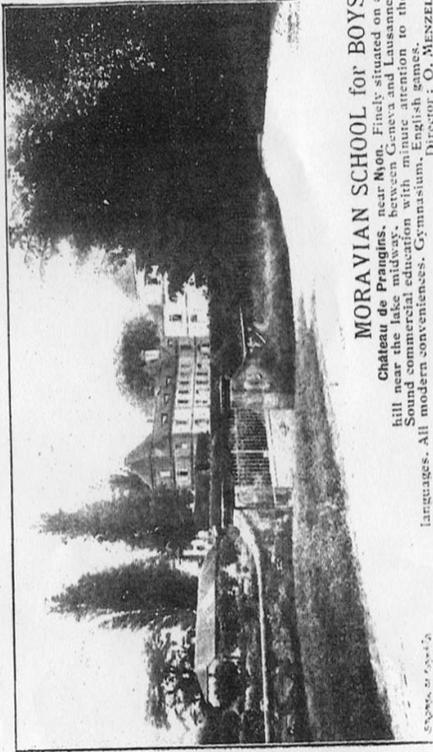
*Commercial School,  
Château du Rosey, Rolle.*

Modern languages studied: French, German, English, Italian, etc., and commercial branches. Preparation for University, and to naval and military schools

**P. CARNAL.**



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**MORAVIAN SCHOOL for BOYS**

Château de Prangins, near Moudon. Finely situated on a hill near the lake midway between Geneva and Lausanne. Sound commercial education with instruction in the languages. All modern conveniences. Gymnasium, English games.

Director: O. MENZEL.

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Fig. 1.5: Paid advertisement for Le Rosey in 1899 tourist guide “Excursions to the Environs of Geneva,” see bottom left. Also note the advertisement for the Moravian School for boys (right).

<sup>137</sup> C.J. Williams, *Framing the West. Race, Gender, and the Photographic Frontier in the Pacific Northwest* (Oxford: University Press, 2003), 5.

At first glance, the small portrait of Château du Rosey, that appeared within a paid advertisement for the school in a tourism guide (see bottom-left fig. 1.5), appears roughly equivalent to the actual school building of the time.<sup>138</sup> Careful scrutiny of an enlarged view of the drawing (see fig. 1.6) however, raises serious questions about the authenticity of the portrait. The image of a couple walking away from the building towards a little girl seems odd for the purpose of advertising a boys' school. Moreover, the portrait depicted the tower on the left side when in reality it was located on the right hand side. The number of secondary turrets is also different. Finally, a blanked out caption points to the likelihood that the original title of the drawing was deliberately removed. Whether or not the classified advertisement points to misrepresentation or creative license, the discrepancies suggest it was more important to the advertiser to present a certain type of building than to provide a true-to-life representation of the school.<sup>139</sup>

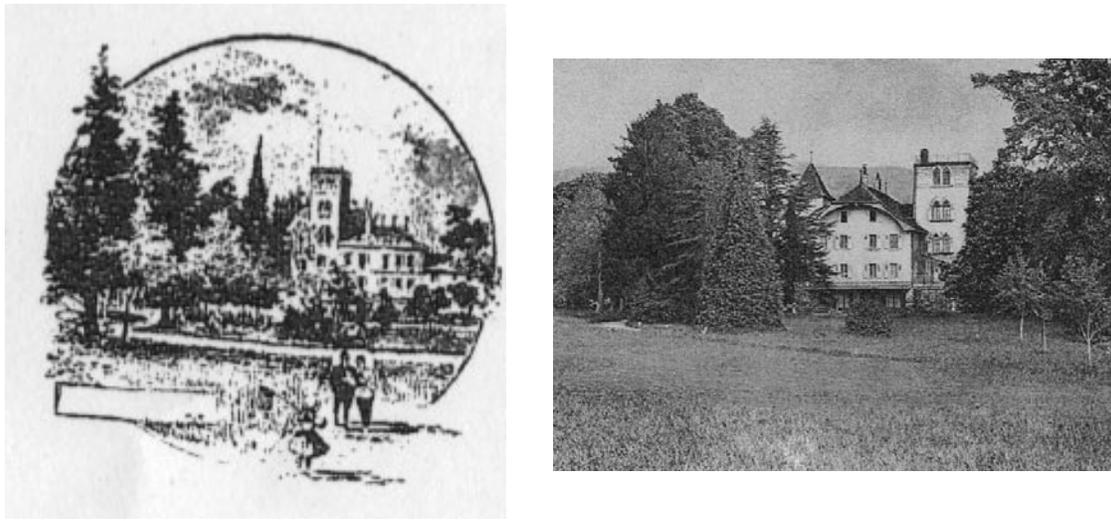


Fig. 1.6: An enlarged view reveals structural discrepancies between the drawing (left) and the photograph of the Château du Rosey (right).

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<sup>138</sup> I. de Longinski, *Excursions to the Environs of Geneva* (Geneva: Printing Office of the Geneva Tribune, 1899), 34.

<sup>139</sup> Much has been written examining the relationship between the material conditions of life and their representation in art and photography. Early realism that suggested the camera “captures” reality has been widely contested by post-structural theorists who argue that reality and representations constitute each other. See R. Barthes, “The Photographic Message,” *Image, Music, Text* ed. and trans. S. Heath (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977). Here I work under the assumption that both photographs and drawings are representations which construct space. In the context of advertising this construction is linked to the instrumental purposes. Here I class the prospectus in the same genre as other media such as film whose constructions of space rely on both the imagination and discursive cultural knowledge to be meaningful.

The final example of a drawn rendition of Château du Rosey demonstrates that creativity need not involve misrepresentation. The historic portrait of the *château-fort* as it existed in 1667, with its thick walls, a turret, bastions and steeply pitched roofs, indicates how buildings can change over time (see fig. 1.7). The creative illustrative techniques used to foster a positive perception of place demonstrated the school was fully aware of the advertising power of its heritage site.<sup>140</sup>

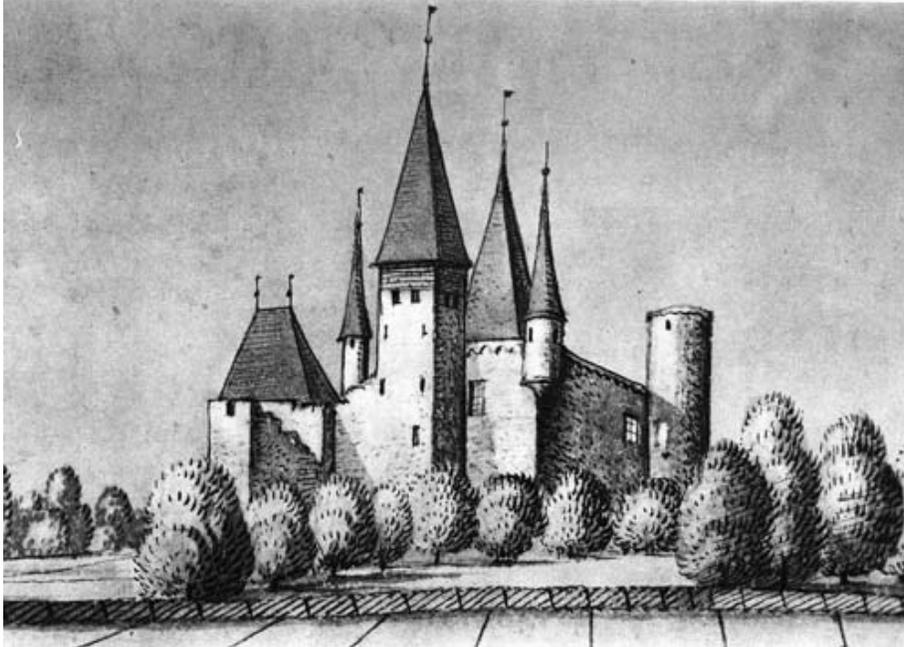


Fig. 1.7: Château du Rosey 1667. The main building “Le Château du Rosey” was constructed at the beginning of the 14th century. It remained a home for Feudal lords, some of whom, in the 16th century, were involved in the battle against the Bernese and their allies in Geneva. In the 17th century, the Château was forcefully assumed by Bernese lords who, after burning much of the house down, rebuilt the Château in the style of Bern. In 1815 the château was already described as “very old and very comfortable” in the diary of visitor James Gallatin.

The contemporary use of heritage symbols in advertising by private schools is discussed by John Synott and Colin Symes in “The Genealogy of the School: An

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<sup>140</sup> Château du Rosey is an officially designated castle – an architectural status it shares with 194 other buildings in Vaud - the canton with the highest number of castles in Switzerland. For statistics and other information on Swiss castles see Association of Swiss Castles, “The Swiss Castles,” <http://www.swisscastles.ch> (accessed July 9, 2006). Many Swiss castles, apart from those which are private family dwellings are used as venues for concerts, marriages, holiday celebrations, tourist accommodation and museums.

Iconography of Badges and Mottos.”<sup>141</sup> They argue institutions draw from historical iconography to secure recognition for their pedagogic action. The use of historical buildings in elite private school advertising is one of many manifestations of “a whole set of institutional procedures associated with school ‘imagineering’, those processes by which a school presents its official identity to the community.”<sup>142</sup> Le Rosey is not alone in this regard. Most elite schools comprised of stately buildings, in America and England for example, have exploited the appearance of their properties in advertising, although this usage has never been explored at any depth.<sup>143</sup>

In the context of for-profit private school marketing, the processes of “imagineering” have important significance for understanding the commodification of education. Images generated through prospectuses can be understood as “commodity signs.”<sup>144</sup> Gareth Shaw and Allan M. Williams’s suggestion that, in tourism “the process of commodification starts .... not with the arrival of tourists but rather with the way in which destinations are represented through the marketing system” can be readily applied to the case of for-profit private schooling marketing.<sup>145</sup> They observe:

Tourism commodities can become a means to achieve particular cultural or social goals: the purchase of tourism experiences also represents the purchase of a lifestyle, a statement of taste, or a signifier of status. As a result some tourist commodities become “fetishized” which means they seem to assume a life of their own, and become transformed into the “sacred.”<sup>146</sup>

Through commodity signs, Le Rosey’s early prospectuses emphasised the school was associated with elite lifestyle. Here, images in an international school prospectus displayed the combined power of a tourism and education commodity – a double basis for signifying cultural capital.<sup>147</sup>

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<sup>141</sup> J. Synott and C. Symes, “The Genealogy of the School: An Iconography of Badges and Mottos,” *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 16, no. 2 (1995).

<sup>142</sup> Ibid.

<sup>143</sup> Many elite British schools include a mansion on their grounds see, C. Griggs, *Private Education in Britain* (London: Falmer, 1985), 63. The American situation is described similarly in L. L. Baird, *The Elite Schools* (Toronto: Lexington, 1977).

<sup>144</sup> G. Shaw and A. M. Williams, *Tourism and Tourism Spaces* (London: Sage, 2004), 166.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid.

<sup>147</sup> For a discussion of the symbolic efficacy of cultural and educational capital see, P. Bourdieu, *Distinctions. A social critique of the judgment of taste* (London: Routledge, 1984).

The early advertising also illustrates how symbols linked to the destination of Le Rosey generated an even deeper sense of historical place. The school also incorporated heraldic symbolism, or images seemingly associated with its architecture as part of “the complex mechanism of signifying practices that conferred identity on [the] school beyond its administrative name.”<sup>148</sup>

Some time around 1905 Paul Carnal fortified the symbolic capital of Le Rosey by placing *what appears to be* the castle’s coat of arms on the front cover of a new prospectus that marked the start of the “Institut International de Jeunes Gens” (see fig. 1.8). As the names on the prospectus indicated, Paul Carnal’s son, Henri Carnal shared the work of directing of the “new” boys’ finishing school.<sup>149</sup> The coat of arms,



Fig. 1.8: Coat of Arms on an early Le Rosey prospectus.

like the château, became a constant marker of the notion of tradition that remained throughout twentieth century prospectuses and into present day.

As an advertising tactic, the coat of arms formally employed to identify knights and soldiers in battle proved useful in forging the identity of a private boys’ school by shrouding its image in the masculine romanticism of medieval battle. The heraldic rubber stamp of medieval authenticity further accentuated the impression of a long familial association with the castle. Applying Synott and Symes’ work on school badges:

as with other systems of nomenclaturising, like that of the title of a book, school name or badge acts in a dual way. It acts, firstly, as a system of denotation to identify a school, and secondly, as a system of connotation for encapsulating its purposes and goals, for providing a succinct explanatory framework by which these can be understood and their directions justified.<sup>150</sup>

<sup>148</sup> J. Synott and C. Symes, “The Genealogy of the School: An Iconography of Badges and Mottos,” *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 16, no. 2 (1995), 143.

<sup>149</sup> See “M. Carnal Obituary,” *The Times*, Feb. 24, 1959. There may or may not be a historical connection between the coat of arms and the castle.

<sup>150</sup> J. Synott and C. Symes, “The Genealogy of the School: An Iconography of Badges and Mottos,” *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 16, No. 2 (1995), 143.

As is the case with many other private schools' use of heraldry, it proves difficult to find any direct association between Le Rosey's symbolism and its academic program which consisted of general instruction in modern languages and university exam preparation. The "targe" shield, with its armed eagle and star-shaped mullet, showcased favourite medieval devices symbolising courage and power.<sup>151</sup> The particular look of Le Rosey's "king of birds" was remarkably similar to the Adler on the German flag (1870-1919) (see fig. 1.9).

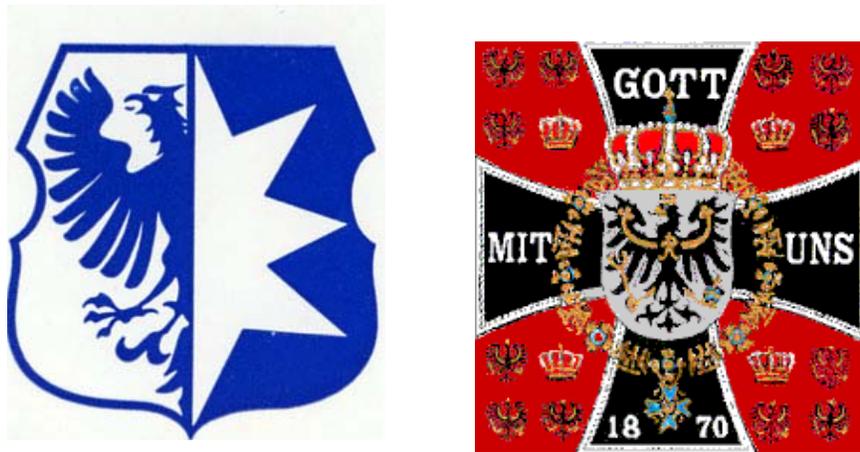


Fig. 1.9: Close up drawing of the Le Rosey Eagle (left); German flag 1870 (right)

In this way, in symbolic terms it better matched the "Institution Commerciale," or the school as it was before it became a finishing school, when it still followed the academic example of the world's leader in commercial education and served mainly German-speaking students. The Carnal family's understanding of the significance of the coat of arms to the new finishing school remains unknown. From a marketing standpoint, the coat of arms usefully branded the school with a masculine "iconic" status (see fig. 1.10).<sup>152</sup>

<sup>151</sup> M. Olmert, "Hail to Heraldry: A Most Intricate and Revealing Art," *Smithsonian* 15, No. 2 (1984), 86-95.

<sup>152</sup> The Le Rosey eagle school coat of arms, like the German Eagle represents invariance. Whether or not the symbol triggered nationalist recognition however, is less important than its heraldic usage which typically denotes the idea of "tradition" – itself a valued symbol when associated with education. The multiplicity of meanings associated with medieval heraldry defies singular interpretations. For the Germanic tribes the eagle represented the bird of the god Odin.

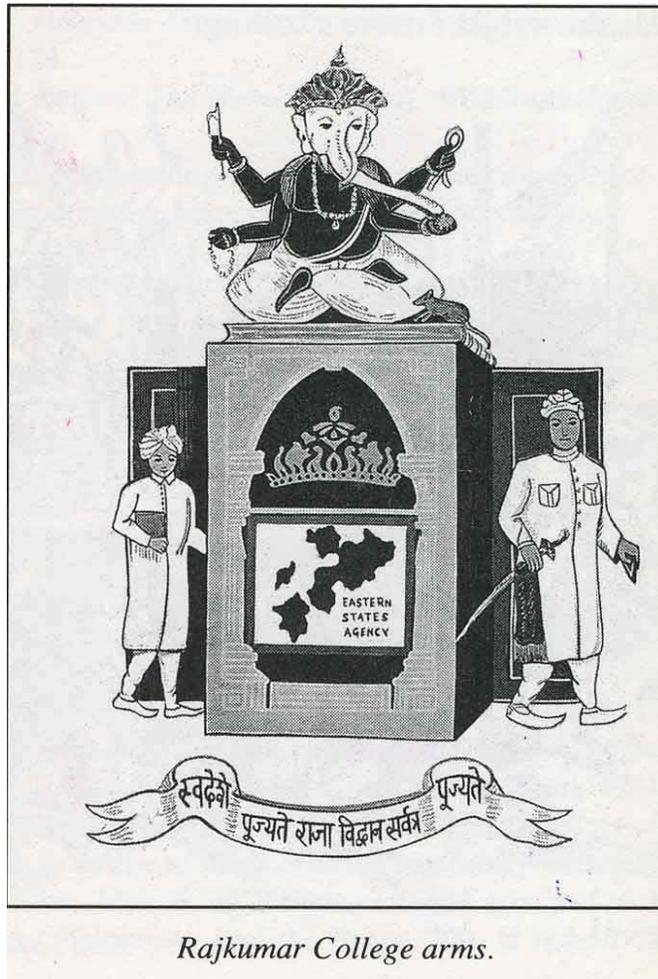


Fig. 1.10: It is interesting to note as P.J. Rich did, in *Chains of Empire: English Public Schools, Masonic Cabalism, Historical Causality, and Imperial Clubbdom* (1991), that schools of the same period, for example the Rajkumar College in 1882, made use of hybridised insignia. In the Rajkumar College coat of arms (India, 1882) the boy-to-man image intentionally symbolised the influence and effects of the school on students. The English imperialistic symbolism in the coat of arms is clear.

After 1912, the Rosey coat of arms that adorned prospectuses of the new finishing school traveled to North American in the suitcases of Henri Carnal's young wife, the very well-connected American Margaret Boorum (1890-1973). Visually Margaret Boorum herself constituted a new marketing symbol that complemented the

aristocratic image of the school.<sup>153</sup> Her portrait (see fig. 1.11) speaks to the social and symbolic power of money and the human agency that provided currency to the prospectuses. Boorum's role in distributing the prospectus indicates the importance of viewing each individual text within a network of bodies and performances. The embodied and embedded nature of marketing promotes new ways of thinking about social practices and economic behaviour which takes into consideration symbolic meaning, representation and discourse.

At the time of Margaret Boorum's arrival, Paul Carnal was gradually handing over the reins of the school to his son. The new energy Henri and his wife brought to the school is evident in the prospectuses following 1911. The new brochures included several images of sports that positioned the school favourably toward the lifestyles of leisured Anglo-Saxon elites.

After 1911 the prospectuses contained two new elements: images of traditional English public school athletics and of newly fashionable winter sports. With regard to the first element, the "new look" of Le Rosey's brochures was not so new outside the context of the school itself. With regard to the latter the "new look" was excitingly modern.



Fig. 1.11: Madame Henri Carnal

The thousands of schools scattered among the British colonies that "replicated" the English public school tradition for four decades prior to Le Rosey's existence had long relied on the ideological power of English sports to attract students.<sup>154</sup>

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<sup>153</sup> Marguerite Boorum is described as a strong woman, even a feminist, who was energetic, charming and devoted to Le Rosey and its students. See "In Memoriam: Marguerite CARNAL" in Louis Johannot, ed. *Le Rosey: Un siècle de souvenirs (1880-1980)*, (Rolle: Le Rosey, 1980), 40.

<sup>154</sup> See J.A. Mangan, "Soccer as Moral Training: Missionary Intentions and Imperial Legacies," in *Making European Masculinities. Sport, Europe, Gender* (London: Frank Cass, 2000).

Newspapers as far from England as Victoria, British Columbia, Canada, boasted to offer the sports of gentleman's sons.<sup>155</sup>

Le Rosey could advertise British sports because, in the years preceding the prospectus, like many hotels it had installed tennis courts on its grounds. It had also forged a rough football field on the property. With football and tennis, the school accumulated two critical sport symbols associated with English public schools. In ideological terms, this was mandatory for attracting British parents.

James Anthony Mangan's important work on the ideology of athleticism in English public school culture provides an important interpretive framework for understanding the symbolic importance of the images of sports in the prospectuses. He described:

Between approximately 1860 and 1900 from diverse origins and parallel with continued variation in interpretation, there developed a broad measure of conformity with regard to the major features of athleticism; supportive ideological statements appeared, considerable investment in the machinery of games playing was made, compulsory games were introduced and an intense enthusiasm on the part of many pupils became evident.<sup>156</sup>

Mangan's suggestion that in English public schooling culture athleticism "constituted a form of upper class conspicuous consumption that symbolised a gentleman in the making"<sup>157</sup> helps us see the images of sports in Le Rosey's prospectuses as symbolically loaded with representations of British cultural capital. Here the photographs of British sports within the bounds of a Swiss French chateau-fort forge a sense of hybridized elite space.

The images of the Le Rosey's outdoor sports facilities strengthened the heraldic iconography of masculinity already established through images of the chateau-fort. The images communicated the school offered modern equipment for "the production of self-confident hardy soldiers capable of supporting the rule of

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<sup>155</sup> J. Barman, *Growing Up British in British Columbia: Boys in Private School* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1984), 12.

<sup>156</sup> J.A. Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School: The Emergence and Consolidation of an Educational Ideology* (London: Frank Cass, 2000), 68.

<sup>157</sup> J.A. Mangan, "Play up and Play the Game: Victorian and Edwardian Public School Vocabularies of Motiv," in *British Journal of Educational Studies*, xxiii, no. 3 (1975), 324.

Empire.”<sup>158</sup> To the English, the photographs conveyed culturally ideal images of elite English boyhood. The photographs visually connected the school with desirable patterns of behaviour. Visually the prospectus conveyed the message of a school equipped for inculcating self-discipline, decency, dignity, honour and group emotions. Although Mangan does not discuss the ideological appeal of athleticism in relation to consumerism or tourism it is clear that in the prospectus this ideological appeal was part of the symbolic aspects of the consumable educational-tourist product. However, just as the denotative power of châteaux could not be taken for granted, not all images of British sports were equal in terms of visual persuasiveness.

Le Rosey’s sports photographs did marginally accommodate the larger dominant discourse of public school athleticism. Like English school magazines which “constituted a simple and persistent attempt to ‘sell’ a desirable image”<sup>159</sup> the prospectus, showing off the school’s sports facilities, was legitimised by an hegemonic sports iconography that by 1911 constituted an ideal type with definite currency among its believers. In fact, the actual images of tennis and football Le Rosey included were not likely to awe the converted.

The photograph “champ de football” connotated that the reality of ideal types is often less than promised (see fig. 1.12). The photograph of the garden variety farmer’s field with goal posts did not compare favourably



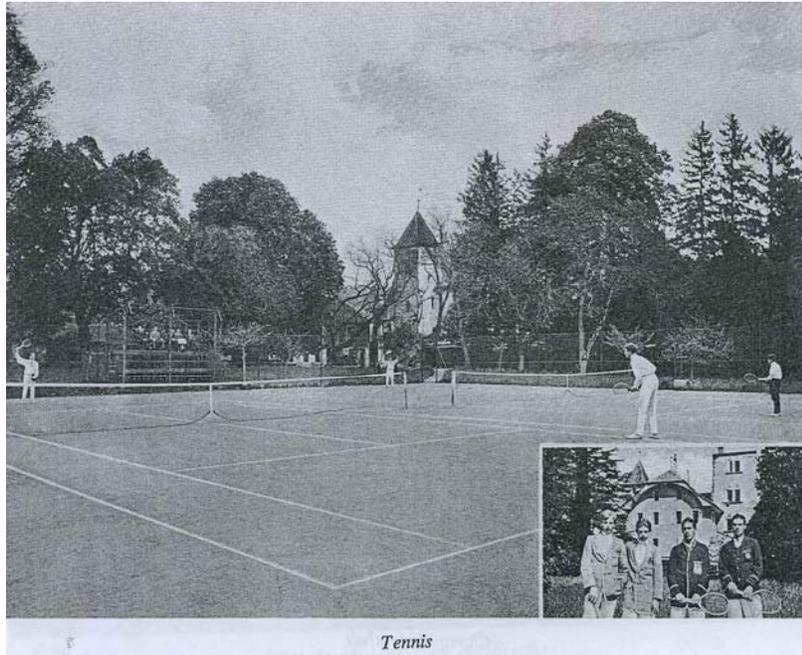
Fig. 1.12: Football field at Le Rosey

<sup>158</sup> Ibid.

<sup>159</sup> J.A. Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School: The Emergence and Consolidation of an Educational Ideology* (London: Frank Cass, 2000), 69.

to better groomed fields to which elite British boys were accustomed. The depiction was, however, made more appealing by its inlay which by means of new technological developments in photography displayed members of the team in a manner imbued with gendered and classed meanings and associations.

The depiction of the tennis courts was slightly more redeeming. They had size on their side and the players were well dressed (see fig. 1.13). However, ultimately the tennis photographs, too did not suggest a promotional “edge.”



*Tennis*

Fig. 1.13: Tennis courts at Le Rosey

The images of the Le Rosey Rowing Club offered greater potential. Henri Carnal’s upright posture, straw boater and fashionable blazer assured parents the school was not only decently middle-class but also serious about rowing (see fig. 1.14). Also becoming was the expensive circular inlay of the rowing team on the top left corner of the photograph. This miniature representation of the school team layered the canon of collegiate sports portraiture onto the image as a whole.<sup>160</sup> Yet, the most convincing aspect of the photograph was simply its location. Lake Geneva was one of the most celebrated tourist lakes of Europe and a body of water celebrated in English culture.

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<sup>160</sup> The Cambridge – Oxford Boat race, first held in 1822 and rowed annually since 1822, represented the start of rowing as a recognised collegiate sport.

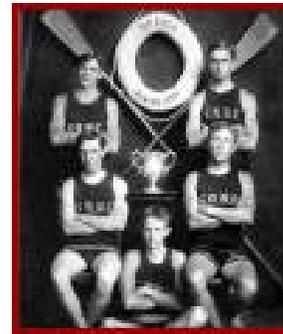
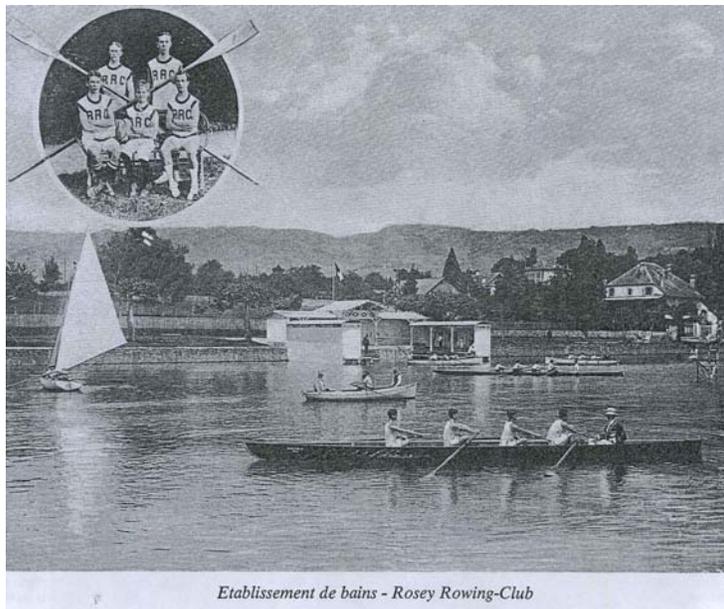


Fig. 1.14: As this image of the Le Rosey Rowing Club shows, rowing is one of the more ascetic sports to photograph (left). The photograph of the San Diego rowing club in 1912 (right) demonstrates sports photography worked according to established visual clichés.

Arguably however, the images that harnessed the most sales appeal were those of Le Rosey students enjoying winter sports. A one page spread dedicated to “diverse sports” captured Le Rosey’s international advantage: winter in the Swiss Alps (see fig. 1.15). While hockey and skating could be practised wherever the temperature would permit, the image of the boys bobsledding down the Swiss Alps conveyed an aristocratic flavour that typically came with a high price tag.<sup>161</sup> The display was astutely positioned towards the most affluent of an already high end tourism market – a market comprised largely of the old boys of English public schools who pioneered

<sup>161</sup> Two interrelated social forces resulted in the popularity of winter sports among the British elite: elites who wintered in the high Alps for the benefit of health cures and regular elite tourists who were invited by the most enterprising of the Palace hotels who wished to extend the tourist season. The Upper Engadine in Switzerland has maintained a reputation as the winter playground for the European elite, since Johannes Badrutt invited English guests to winter in his St. Moritz’s Kulm Hotel under a promise that they would enjoy themselves or receive their money back. St. Moritz looks back on a substantial winter resort history, including: 1872 first skating contest, 1880 Europe’s first curling tournament, 1882 first European Championships in ice skating, 1884 first skeleton (toboggan) run, 1890 first bob race, 1891 first golf tournament in the Alps, first hotel bearing the name Palace opened in the Alps – it was Badrutt’s Palace. See Tourist Office St. Moritz, “History of St. Moritz,” <http://www.stmoritz.ch/history-of-st-moritz-002-02050101-en.htm> (accessed July 10, 2007).

winter sport and were embraced by the Swiss tourism industry as the manly and monied gentlemen obsessed with snow and speed.

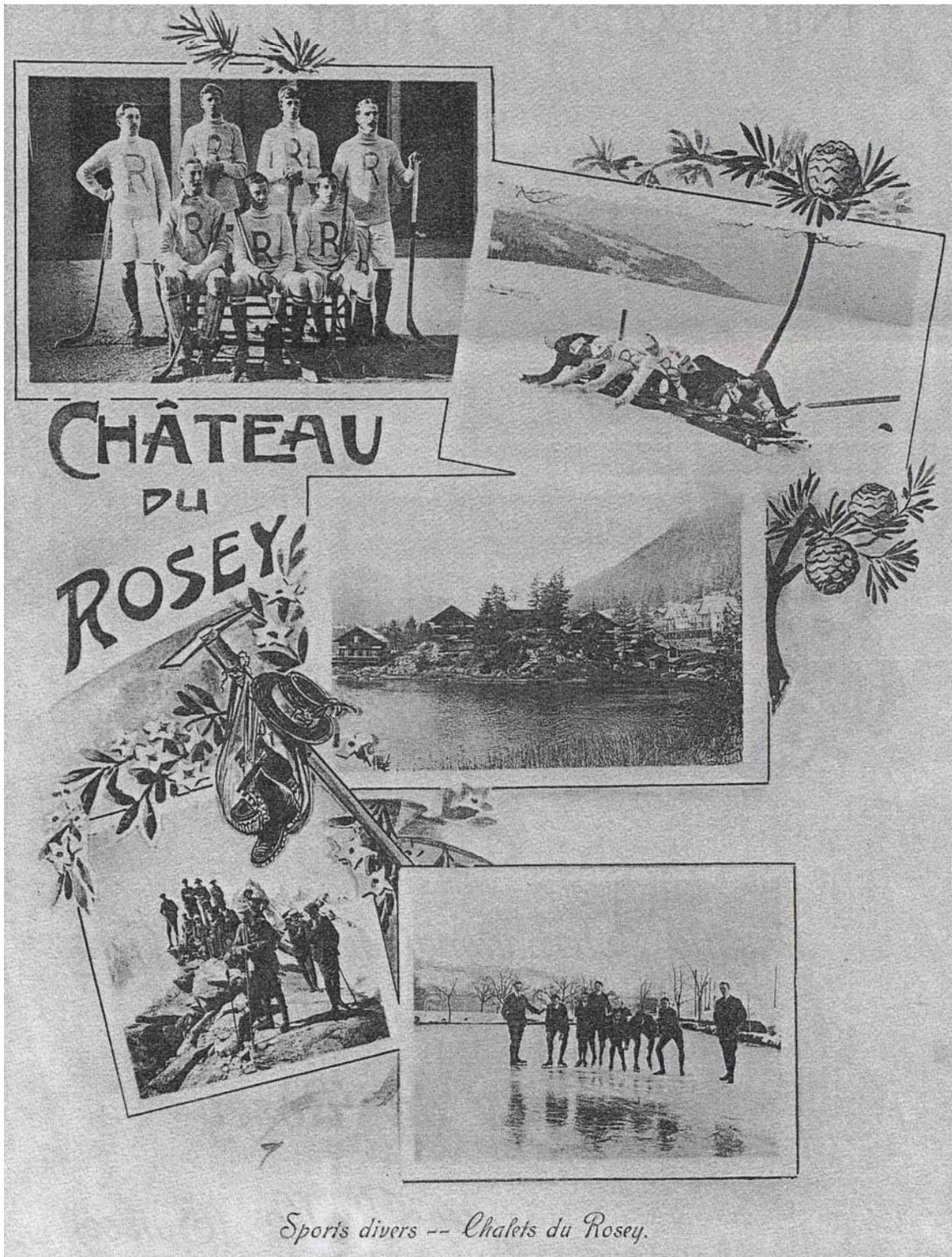


Fig. 1.15: Various sports at Le Rosey and chalets of Le Rosey

By the time Le Rosey printed the winter sports montage, members of various English winter sport clubs committed to tobogganing, curling, skating, bobsledding and skiing populated the higher levels of the Swiss Alps in winter.<sup>162</sup> In 1914 the Public Schools Alpine Sports Club boasted 5432 members. Of these “503 were educated at Eton, 252 at Harrow, 186 at Rugby, 170 at Marlborough, 162 at Charterhouse, 117 at Winchester, 102, and 90 at Haileybury, Cheltenham and Clifton respectively.”<sup>163</sup> History suggests Henri Carnal early on saw the advantage of turning to the elite market interested in winter sports.

Le Rosey’s early prospectuses provide an illustration of how Swiss private schools accommodated new and old enthusiasms which wed tourism and education. The case of Brillantmont demonstrates a rather different set of choices. Yet, ultimately Brillantmont too, found strategies to accommodate the aspirations of parents, educators and Swiss tourism. I turn now to Brillantmont’s prospectuses in order to demonstrate how differently the girls’ finishing institute utilised its buildings to promote the school.

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<sup>162</sup> Although the montage did not show a picture of skiing, prospectuses and school history confirm skiing was part of the curriculum.

<sup>163</sup> Club membership included “769 army officers, 79 naval officers, 179 clergy and 311 held titles” as well as “57 members of parliament, including the then Prime minister H.H. Asquith, the home secretary, postmaster general and Lord Privy Seal.” To this “top drawer list” were added imperial governors of Australia, Bombay and Hong Kong, an international polo player, cycling champion, an Olympic oarsman, world-record holding skater, international cricketers, association footballers and rugby enthusiasts. The club was more of a tourism agency than a club and was in fact a London-based commercial venture organised by Lunn, who reserved entire hotels for his clientele. Lunn had come to the tourist business by arranging ecumenical conferences, and winter sporting events which proved profitable. He introduced his first group of skiers in the Chamonix in the French Alps in 1898. He gave the Public Schools Alpine Club an exclusive appeal by arranging that any member of the Whites, Boodles, the Athenaeum or similar clubs could join. See E. Allen and N. John, “The British and the Modernisation of Skiing” *History Today* 53, No. 4 (2003), 46. The larger English ski club, the Ski Club of Great Britain, was also very much endowed with public school men but unfortunately the membership numbers are not easily available.

### 1.3 Brillantmont



Fig. 1.16: Brillantmont prospectus cover, 1898

On the cover of the earliest prospectus (1898) the hand printed words *Château Brillantmont* were etched onto a rectangular frame of a ladies' hair barrette which clasped together a sprig of flowers and a photographic view of Lac Léman (see fig. 1.16).<sup>164</sup> The subtitle "from good to better" hung below. The title page, similar to the early Le Rosey covers, was strikingly reminiscent of tourist guidebooks of the same period. Unlike Le Rosey's early prospectuses however, the *Institution de Jeunes Demoiselles*, Young Ladies Institute, provided pages of photographs and description. The considerable time and

effort spent on Brillantmont's prospectuses of 1898, 1902 and 1911 hinted at a competitive sales environment.

Paul Heubi, together with his wife Berthe (née Neuschwander) operated Brillantmont as a girls' finishing school, initially in a château located in Lutry<sup>165</sup>, in 1882 and then in Château Brillantmont, Lausanne after 1898.<sup>166</sup> In 1902, the Heubi's opened a domestic economy school (*l'école ménagerie*) in their newly purchased

<sup>164</sup> The prospectuses used for this section are Paul Heubi, "Château Brillantmont: Institution de Demoiselles" (Geneva: Impression S.A.S.A.G., 1898); Paul Heubi, "Villa and Château Brillantmont: Pensionnat Demoiselles" (Geneva: Impression S.A.S.A.G., 1902); Paul Heubi, "Institution Heubi: Brillantmont" (Geneva: Impression S.A.S.A.G., 1911). These documents are the only surviving copies of early prospectuses. The three documents differ in both style and content. The 1898 prospectus, containing texts and pictures, is thought to have been given out for the duration of the early period. The prospectuses of 1902 and 1911 consist primarily of photographs which served to update the photographs of the first edition.

<sup>165</sup> Lutry is a small town situated near Lausanne on Lake Geneva.

<sup>166</sup> The school was renamed according to its location.

neighbouring house Villa Brillantmont.<sup>167</sup> Following a time of expansion during which a variety of names were used, the name Château Brillantmont represented both original institutions.<sup>168</sup>

School folklore contends the move from Lutry to the bigger and grander buildings of Brillantmont in Lausanne was the result of the casual comments of two parents who came to collect their daughter from school for the holidays. Upon first greeting the Heubis the girl's father looked around at the rustic buildings and exclaimed: "Stay here in this old estate so suitable to the novelesque and romantic spirit of young girls."<sup>169</sup> The mother casting her eyes about the property said candidly: "If you were able to afford the girls more comfort I would also put in your charge my other four daughters."<sup>170</sup> This comment supposedly provided the catalyst and within the year a new property with modern heating and sanitary arrangements was under construction. The move to larger and more modern facilities served the school well and allowed the Heubis to take full advantage of the booming business of the "golden age" of girls' boarding schooling.<sup>171</sup> From 8 students in 1882 at Lutry, the numbers rose to 73 students in 1902 and to 80 by 1912. Hot water, baths, electricity and the look of a modern mansion clearly paid off. World War I reduced the numbers to 15 in 1914 where they stayed until the end of the war.<sup>172</sup>

The earliest prospectuses of 1898, 1902 and 1911 chart the marketing of a girls' finishing school, a nearly invisible subject in historical literature. A brief perusal of the guides revealed that the Heubi family, marketed Brillantmont primarily using a narrated tour of the mansions and grounds of their estate. The marketing "tour" stopped at various intervals, and addressed educational aspects of the boarding school

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<sup>167</sup> This school was managed by their daughter Mlle Neuschwander.

<sup>168</sup> The names include Château Brillantmont, Institution Heubi Brillantmont and Institution Heubi Château et Villa Brillantmont.

<sup>169</sup> College International Brillantmont, *Souvenirs: Brillantmont 1882-2002* (Lausanne: Collège international Brillantmont, 2002), 12.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid.

<sup>171</sup> R. Salvador noted there were 83 pensionnats in 1910 and 98 in 1914. Approximately 82 percent of directors were Swiss. He argued the industry was fragile as parents had to be convinced of the benefits of sending their daughters away for a year. His study reported he was unable to locate any prospectuses from his period. Rafael Salvador., "Les Pensionnats de Jeunes Filles à Lausanne au Tournant du Siècle," *Mémoire de license* (Lausanne: University of Lausanne, 1989).

<sup>172</sup> College International Brillantmont, *Souvenirs: Brillantmont 1882-2002* (Lausanne: Collège international Brillantmont, 2002), 9-19.

service. To better understand this selling technique, I follow the textual tour, watch closely at how it defined the product, stated the benefits and represented the school.

The overall format of the tour was simple. First, photographs of the outside areas of the school property conveyed a positive impression. Second, a short “speech” from the director’s office communicated the school was under patriarchal governance. Third, images of the domestic interior of the school, specifically of entrance spaces, salons, classrooms, dining rooms and kitchens, were implicated in the marketing of ‘finishing’. Finally, images of sports completed the picture of a select institution for young ladies.



Fig. 1.17: Views of the School Buildings

Simply on the basis of the large number of photographs included in the early promotion, the earliest prospectuses might easily be confused with real estate advertising.<sup>173</sup> Each guide introduced readers to the school with a series of exterior portraits that displayed the school buildings from various angles (see fig. 1.17). This style of promotion revealed that the Heubi family placed great faith in the ability of their newly renovated buildings to sell Brillantmont.

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<sup>173</sup> Only three of the sixty-seven photographs included in the early sample illustrated a subject other than school property. This technique of advertising was not unique to Brillantmont. For a discussion of this phenomenon in French advertising see R. Rogers, “Boarding Schools, Women Teachers, and Domesticity: Reforming Girls Secondary Education in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century,” *French Historical Studies* 19 No. 1 (1995), 153-182.



Fig. 1.18: The features of the buildings were highlighted by decorative labelling. The windows and balconies were highlighted for they enabled the students to enjoy the unblemished view of the French Alps.

In the 1898 brochure Paul Heubi explained the photographs of his château revealed architecture in the style of Viollet-le-Duc.<sup>174</sup> He boasted that the gables, elaborate façades and porches “shone” because the buildings were “recently reconstructed by one of the best and most famous architects in the country [Francis Isoz, (1856-1910)].”<sup>175</sup> In the 1898 and 1902 guides, Berthe Heubi’s sister, Mlle Heubi (also simply called “Tante”) adorned the photographed exteriors with hand-drawn floral ornamentation. She designed captions for the photographs on thin decorative strips of ribboned casing to focus readers’ attention on architectural features including bow windows, balconies, verandas and terraces (see fig. 1.18). All photographs were contained within the body of type-faced script - a technical accomplishment made

<sup>174</sup> Eugene Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc (1814–79), a French architect, was internationally known for his restoration work and gothic revivalism, including his controversial renovation of Nôtre-Dame in Paris. For a recent biography see J.-P. Midant, *Viollet-le-Duc: The French Gothic Revival* (Paris: L’Aventurine, 2002).

<sup>175</sup> The architect, a follower of Viollet-le-Duc, was well known in Lausanne for his renovation of Château d’Ouchy- a significant property converted into a hotel in 1893. For further reference to Francis Isoz see Micheloud & Cie Swiss Banking, “Jean-Jacques Mercier (1826-1903) Owner of the Château d’Ouchy” <http://swiss-bank-accounts.com/e/about/Jean-Jacques-Mercier.html> (accessed April 20, 2006). See also Chateau d’Ouchy, “Le Hotel du Château d’Ouchy,” <http://www.chateaudouchy.ch/> (accessed April 20, 2006).

possible by the recent innovation of “halftone technology, a process whereby a dot screen was laid over a photograph to enable a full range of gray tones to be mechanically reproduced via the printing process.”<sup>176</sup> This technique “allowed the image to be understood as an extension or illustration of the written description.”<sup>177</sup> The image/text projected a composite that clearly related the quality of the school to the quality of the school buildings.

In the 1898 prospectus, the statement “Brillantmont, a modern castle, bears its name well”<sup>178</sup> appeared beside a photograph of the château. Heubi achieved his claim that Brillantmont was a quality school through a conflation of the definition of Brilliance (i.e. the quality of being magnificent, splendid or grand), the name of the school (Brillantmont) which indicated a “brilliant mountain [mont] view” and the visual power of the château. This example of the “reflexive process whereby a place and its image fuse”<sup>179</sup> established the importance of viewing both written and visual aspects of the documents in relation to one another.

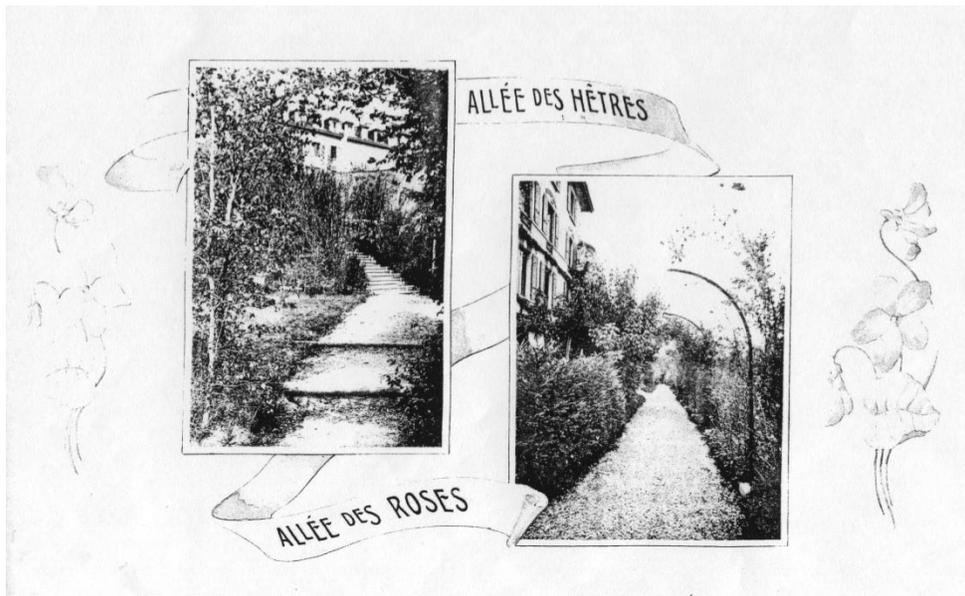


Fig. 1.19: Allée des Roses and Allée des Hêtres

<sup>176</sup> C. J. Williams, *Framing the West: Race, Gender and the Photographic Frontier in the Pacific Northwest* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 9.

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>178</sup> Paul Heubi, “Château Brillantmont” (Geneva: Impression S.A.S.A.G., 1898), 2.

<sup>179</sup> P. Shurmer-Smith, “Selling Places, Places Selling,” in *Doing Cultural Geography* (London: Sage, 2002), 132-133.

Tante applied a similar decorative procedure to heighten the allure of photographs of the school grounds. To capitalise on the property's topographical qualities, she imposed grand titles on various sections of the garden, for instance the *allée des roses*, *cèdre pavilion* and *allée des hêtres* (see fig. 1.19). Readers were spared visual blight and shown only the most attractive views of the estate. By dividing the outside areas into settings suitable for various bourgeois purposes, including strolling, contemplation, and amusement, the Heubis relied on aristocratic notions of home and garden to maximise the promotional value of outdoor space.

Views *from* the property were also featured in the sales effort. Prospective clients were shown Brillantmont's panoramic vistas encompassing the Alps and Lake Geneva (see fig. 1.20). Further, Tante clarified that students had a direct line of sight to the Cathedral of Lausanne. Here, the Heubis borrowed a sales strategy central to the cultural practice of tourism. Scenic views of the Lake Geneva region, delivered to the cities of Europe through dioramas, postcards and tourist guidebooks, factored importantly in the area's monumental success as a tourist destination. The inclusion of a panoramic view flaunted an all-encompassing perspective that matched those found anywhere.<sup>180</sup>



Fig. 1.20: Panorama from Brillantmont with Lake Geneva and the Alps in the Background

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<sup>180</sup> The geography of tourism is based upon good views. The obsession to deliver the best viewpoints influenced the construction of hotels which were built, whenever possible, away from unsightly scenes of poverty. For the classic discussion of tourism as a sight-seeing practice see, Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A Theory of the Leisure Class* (Berkeley: University of California Press [1976] 1999).

Prior to being admitted to view the main feature of the tour - the rooms of the château - a short speech broad-casted from the “Office of the Director” addressed readers of the 1898 prospectus. Paul Heubi, with a large book opened in front of him and a cluttered office behind, stared into the camera as if to speak directly to his audience (see fig. 1.21).



Fig. 1.21: Paul Heubi in his office at Brillantmont

Shown stationed at the administrative heart of the building, his paternal presence clarified from the outset that the interior spaces of the château fell under masculine supervision. Thus, before visitors were ushered into the domestic quarters of the château - into a space “feminized and endlessly depicted as woman’s place”<sup>181</sup> - the director distinguished Brillantmont as “heavily patriarchal in terms of territory, control and meaning.”<sup>182</sup> He accomplished this distinction through a quotation by Ruskin, placed opposite to his photograph, and an introduction entitled “Our Task.”<sup>183</sup>

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<sup>181</sup> L. Walker, “Home Making: An Architectural Perspective,” *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 2, No.3 (2002), 826.

<sup>182</sup> Ibid. Note: The history of women’s education in the nineteenth century somewhat challenges this perception. For a discussion of manor houses under the control of entrepreneurial headmistresses see J. S. Pedersen, “School Mistresses and Headmistresses: Elites and Education in Nineteenth Century England” in *Women Who Taught: Perspectives on the History of Women and Teaching*, edited by A. Prentice and M. R. Theobald (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991). For a Scottish perspective see L. Moore, “Young Ladies Institutions: The Development of Secondary Schools for Girls in Scotland

The passage borrowed from Ruskin's best-selling lecture on women's education "Of Queen's Garden's," read: "The path of a good woman is indeed strewn with flowers: but they rise behind her steps."<sup>184</sup> This example of intertextuality or "the presence of actual elements of other texts within a text" positioned the promotional text within a broader-set of social relations and suggested Brillantmont's educational philosophy was congruent with the ideology of domesticity.<sup>185</sup> Paul Heubi's knowledge of English writers is demonstrated in the context of Bakhtin's "dialogical" theory of language that sees "any utterance [as] ... a link in a very complexly organized chain of other utterances which enter into a kind of relationship with one another."<sup>186</sup> Thus, from the introductory pages, Heubi's salesmanship depended upon a commitment to a dominant social discourse that served to establish the proper role of women and encourage the saliency of particular social identities.

The director passionately expressed Brillantmont's patriarchal aspirations in language remarkably similar to Ruskin's style of prose. "Our Task" stated:

Our goal is to open their heart to everything that is beautiful and grand; to awaken or stimulate in them the feeling of nature and the admiration for the oeuvres of the Creator; to develop their growing virtues, the inborn good qualities of benevolence and softness ...to make them understand the seriousness of life and to make them ready for the pure joys of the domestic hearth that will fill them completely ... for the demands and tasks required by society, this is our goal.<sup>187</sup>

His earlier cited reference to girls as "plants" similarly mimicked Ruskin who exploited garden and flower metaphors<sup>188</sup> and relied on the garden as "an imaginary

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1833-1870," *History of Education* 32, No. 3 (2003), 249-272. For the French context, see R. Rogers, "Boarding Schools, Women Teachers, and Domesticity: Reforming Girls' Secondary Education in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century," *French Historical Studies* 19, No.1 (1995), 153-181.

<sup>183</sup> Paul Heubi, "Château Brillantmont" (Geneva: Impression S.A.S.A.G., 1898), 3.

<sup>184</sup> J. Ruskin, "Of Queens' Gardens," *Sesame and Lilies and the Crown of Wild Olive* (New York: The Century Co, 1865), 107.

<sup>185</sup> N. Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research* (London: Routledge, 2003), 17.

<sup>186</sup> M. Bakhtin, "The Problem of Speech Genres," in *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays*, trans. McGee, V.W., (Austin, University of Texas Press, 1985). 69.

<sup>187</sup> Paul Heubi, "Château Brillantmont" (Geneva: Impression S.A.S.A.G., 1898), 3.

<sup>188</sup> For example, the lecture reads "But you cannot hammer a girl into anything. She grows as a flower does, - she will wither without sun; she will decay in her sheath, as the narcissus will, if you do not give her air enough; she may fall, and defile her head in dust, if you leave her without help at some moments of her life; but you cannot fetter her; she must take her own fair form and way, if she take any, and in mind as in body..." John Ruskin, "Of Queens' Gardens," *Sesame and Lilies and the Crown of Wild Olive* (New York: The Century Co, 1865), 114.

place within which to explore the nature of Victorian girlhood.”<sup>189</sup> Tante’s floral drawings and Heubi’s florid language may have lured visitors with lady worship and violet streaked reverie however, the requisition of Ruskin’s discursive demeanour stopped there. The Heubis showed no interest in discussing, at any depth, Ruskin’s ardent views of what a Cambridge researcher studying girls’ education in Europe at the time called “old fashioned and new fashioned” approaches to women’s education.<sup>190</sup> “Our Task” made for a short section: two paragraphs. Those seeking further information on Brillantmont’s educational program would need to employ the power of deduction and reach their own conclusions by studying photographs and textual descriptions of Brillantmont’s inner architecture.<sup>191</sup>

Directly following “Our Task” in the 1898 brochure Heubi launched into an eight-paged section devoted to the feature topic “*La Maison et sa Situation.*” In the two later prospectuses of 1902 and 1911 he omitted the written preamble and the reader immediately encountered professional portraiture depicting hallways, porches, vestibules, as well as, dining rooms, salons, bedrooms, kitchens, and libraries. Photographic and written descriptions of *domestic space* were employed in a complex core-selling strategy that constructed a positive sense of place on a number of levels.

Heubi sought to assure visitors that Brillantmont was a physically safe environment. An emphasis on hygiene allayed parental worries. The focus on the château’s inner spaces fostered positive feelings of attachment to Brillantmont by presenting it as a recognisably respectable upper class home suitable to frame the individual and collective identities of girls. These complex, measurable, visible

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<sup>189</sup> “Of Queen’s Garden’s” advocated an education suitable for assisting women to “rule like queens” in their future domestic roles. Ruskin proposed a carefully supervised education for young girls who were, in his mind, essentially similar to undisciplined and fragile plants in need of management and direction in order to bloom. To Ruskin the ideal woman was one who exhibited in adulthood a mixture of innocence and wisdom while she also served her family and society through her role as wife and mother. The flowers fell behind her because women were born to strengthen those around them through supportive work, which could also take place outside the home for the purpose of performing charity. For a thorough analysis see J. T. Peirce, “From Garden to Gardener: The Cultivation of Little Girls in Carroll’s Alice Books and Ruskin’s Of Queens’ Gardens,” *Women’s Studies* 29 (2000), 741-761.

<sup>190</sup> The Swiss were involved in these debates see I. Rhys, *The Education of Girls in Switzerland and Bavaria* (London: Blackie & Son, 1905).

<sup>191</sup> Salvador’s study notes there was a distinction between “instruction” and “education.” Because girls were finished with their instruction when they came to Switzerland the purpose of their finishing was education, or more exactly refinement. See, Rafael Salvador, “Les Pensionnats de Jeunes Filles à Lausanne au Tournant du Siècle,” *Mémoire de license* (Lausanne: University of Lausanne, 1989).

features of Brillantmont suggested the Heubis' identification with the ruling networks of social relations. Images of a privileged every-day social life relied on the significance of aesthetic, sensual and visceral aspects of the material culture displayed in houses. Brillantmont was marketed to readers through the conscious creation and manipulation of class images. Significant events in the local social memory were employed indirectly to foster imagined senses of place that positioned potential student visitors in glamorous, fanciful, and powerful social situations. Similarly, physical characteristics of interior architectural space worked to verify Brillantmont's capacity to alter fantasy into reality and train its students in dominant gendered, aged, classed and sexed lifestyles.<sup>192</sup>

In spotlighting the place of boarding, the Heubis conveyed apparent transparency. The tactic aimed to both arouse interest in and satisfy parents' curiosity of the place their daughters might spend a year of their lives.<sup>193</sup> Generous displays of photographs and diligent description provided the impression the owners employed extraordinary measures to provide an objective view - to help the audience *see* the property "with their own eyes."<sup>194</sup> Fellow accommodation providers, including local hoteliers, had relied on photographs to amplify written description for several years.<sup>195</sup> Whether hotels or schools, seeing was believing and audiences trusted photographs, more than words, to document quality and cleanliness.

Paul Heubi's lengthy discussion of the subject of hygiene in "*La Maison et sa Situation*" allayed fears of filth and disease often associated with communal living. Due to the continued threat of deadly airborne diseases, such as pneumonia, tuberculosis, and diphtheria, Brillantmont's claim to a healthful environment was self-

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<sup>192</sup> I consider photographs from each of the 1898, 1902, and 1911 editions.

<sup>193</sup> The medium of photography was chosen for the advantages it offered: a visual image communicated using no words and thus advantageously overcoming language barriers. Pictorials allowed the Heubis to deliver their message to a wider audience and likely saved the Heubis money on expensive translations. However, the advantages of the medium do not explain the main subject of photographic focus.

<sup>194</sup> Further, photographs widely believed at the time to be transparent windows capturing reality may have been used to bolster credibility. Using photographs of the school, the audience could sit and judge the school alone in the privacy of their own home at their own digression.

<sup>195</sup> For a discussion of the significance of photography in the period see A. Briggs, *The Philosophy of the Eye: Spectacles, Culture and the New Vision in Victorian Things* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988).

explanatory.<sup>196</sup> The obsessive and exaggerated approach used to state the claim was clearly a sales ploy. In “*La Maison et sa Situation*” Heubi turned to medical testimonial for verification. Expert witness, the school’s physician, Dr. G. Kraft wrote “an objective” six paragraph endorsement.<sup>197</sup> Giving the impression he investigated every inch of the homes at macroscopic level, the authority resorted to metaphors of sterility to describe the state of cleanliness. He declared “from kitchen to salon, from dining rooms to bedrooms, from basement to attic, in one word everything is hygienic.”<sup>198</sup> He further verified everything was dusted, washed, brushed and swept according to most modern cleaning techniques.<sup>199</sup>

Heubi supplemented the Doctor’s appraisal with facts. Brillantmont’s renovations, he explained, reconstructed the château according to the principles of hygiene. The modern heating system ensured a uniform temperature. The waxed hardwood floors provided greater safety than carpets. The plentiful and fully functioning windows guaranteed fresh air flow. In addition, he boasted, Brillantmont possessed the most up-to-date means for personal cleansing: hot and cold baths *and* showers.<sup>200</sup> By the end of “Our Task” readers could be confident Brillantmont was hygienic. The photograph-viewing session which followed, taught them a great deal more.<sup>201</sup>

Despite the attention placed on cleanliness in the brochures, the intense effort to allow parents to “see in” through photographs reflected more than a selling strategy based on hygienic assurance. The display of carefully manicured, thoughtfully

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<sup>196</sup> For example, newspapers addressed the Alarm experienced by “parents of young people in schools at Lausanne” about smallpox. While, in reality there were relatively small numbers in this early period public fear was significant enough to merit one article to “remove the alarm which vague reports and rumours have unfortunately produced see, “The Decrease of Smallpox in Lausanne,” *The Times*, July 20, 1900.

<sup>197</sup> These diseases along with measles, whooping cough and scarlet fever were leading causes of death in at the turn of the twentieth century.

<sup>198</sup> Note. Heubi did not contaminate his own narrative by mentioning the reason hygiene was needed. No mention was made of insects, dust, vermin or bacteriological contamination.

<sup>199</sup> Paul Heubi, “Château Brillantmont” (Geneva: Impression S.A.S.A.G., 1898), 1.

<sup>200</sup> Such features were uncommon in Lausanne at that time except in places which catered to an English clientele. Middle class homes in England had used hot water pipes since the 1870s. Showers were introduced in the 1890s. For an excellent history of hygiene see E. Shove, *Comfort, Cleanliness and Convenience: The Social Organization of Normality* (New York: Berg, 2003).

<sup>201</sup> Salvador argues “comfort” was the main selling point in finishing school advertisements found in tourism guides. See, Rafael Salvador, “Les Pensionnats de Jeunes Filles à Lausanne au Tournant du Siècle,” *Mémoire de license* (Lausanne: University of Lausanne, 1989).

decorated and well furnished “showrooms” documented household order, yet, the promotional power of the photographs lay elsewhere. The Heubis created a spectacle of Brillantmont’s domestic interior to convince readers they were well qualified to run a girls’ school and ‘finish’ daughters.

At the turn of the twentieth century, interior decor made clear social, artistic, or mood statements.<sup>202</sup> As described by historian Stephen Calloway in *Twentieth Century Decoration*: “Interiors can be intended to shock or reassure, strike an avant-garde note or underline the establishment values and social position of the owner, or simply be comfortable and pleasing.”<sup>203</sup> Through their property the Heubis expressed strong statements regarding their social selves, class circumstances, and degree of conformity to dominant cultural practices. Following the logic of Sir Arthur Helps’ 1874 maxim *Directly you set foot inside the front door you begin to judge the character of the inmates* the Heubis invited the audience to judge Brillantmont’s savoir faire on the basis of appearances rather than written explanation. This bold decision conveyed extreme confidence, pride, and a controlled approach to advertising.

By opening their domestic spaces to the public, the Heubis could not avoid granting the intimacy any stranger gains by entering the domestic interior of a house; they were well prepared for this vulnerability. The Heubis carefully controlled visual penetration. The tour omitted many rooms, including bathrooms, cellars and other non-public spaces. The room-portraits were photographed from flattering angles. As a result, readers were exposed to a deliberately manipulated subject. The construction of an educational space for girls imposed a script of preparation for a domestic and married life. These extensive visual representations called girls into the production of a domestically sophisticated home.

Domestic scenes revealed well planned and executed interior decorating. The Heubis ensured the interior décor was tasteful, up-to-date and capable of withstanding judgment by an upper class audience who would use firm criteria on which to render a verdict. While standards and conventions did not remain permanent “at any one time most people in a single group had a clear idea what was expected at their level, and

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<sup>202</sup> S. Mitchell and M. Hen, *Victorian Britain: An Encyclopedia* (London: Garland, 1988).

<sup>203</sup> S. Calloway, *Twentieth Century Decoration* (New York: Rizzoli, 1988), 13.

had the books and magazines to instruct them if they were hoping to move onto the next.”<sup>204</sup> Decorating styles were of course subject to socially proscribed standards of taste, style, fashion and status – factors which played an important role in the stratification of society.<sup>205</sup> As noted by Flanders in *The Victorian House* “Taste, as agreed by society, had moral values, and therefore adherence to what was considered at one time to be good taste was a virtue, while ignoring the taste of the period was a sign of something very wrong indeed.”<sup>206</sup> As a whole the photographs of Brillantmont revealed a dignified home exceeding standards. The room decoration followed the main rules. Each photograph, an image of the materialisation of class taste, added to the impression management. These details carried significance because of the general pedagogical nature of Brillantmont.

The prospectus’ main focus on images of domestic space was place appropriate. The Heubis’ decision to rely on the complex domestic environment of the château constituted savvy business sense. The Heubis’ “hearth” conveniently modelled the socially designated worksite for middle and upper class women. For a school organised to teach students how to become proper middle and upper class European women who remained “responsible for, contained by and defined by the space of the home,”<sup>207</sup> the photographs provided a room by room résumé that evidenced the differentiated tasks of domestic living. At a time when it was widely accepted that the home not a simply a place, but a complex projection of femininity, the photographs visually testified the school was equipped to teach girls the culturally inscribed feminine qualities society expected them to exhibit. Each room showcased in the prospectuses communicated specific information to readers about the Heubis’ capacity to polish girls.

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<sup>204</sup> J. Flanders, *The Victorian House: Domestic Life From Childbirth to Deathbed* (London: Harper-Collins, 2003), 253.

<sup>205</sup> These standards were internationally recognised in the Western context.

<sup>206</sup> J. Flanders, *The Victorian House: Domestic Life From Childbirth to Deathbed* (London: Harper-Collins, 2003), xxxiv.

<sup>207</sup> L. Walker, “Home Making: An Architectural Perspective,” *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 2, No.3 (2002), 827.



Fig. 1.22: Porche, 1898

Front entrance-ways marked the beginning of the house tour and symbolically defined the next step into a feminine script. In the 1898 prospectus, a party of four ladies welcomed readers on the steps of the front porch (see fig. 1.22). Their distinguished clothing and poise projected a seriousness on the school. Symmetrically, approximately ten feet above, an ornamental crowd of the same number accentuated the impressive façade and elevated the welcome. In contrast, in the 1902 and 1911 brochures the readers commenced the tour alone in the entrance halls, free to judge without human distraction.

Front entrances were not mere passages from the front door to the various rooms. These significant areas of the house delivered first impressions. The style of furnishing, decoration and room size witnessed in photographs captioned “*Escalier et Vestibule d’entrée*” (1898 and 1902) *Vestibule* (1902 and 1911), and *Ecole Ménagerie, Le Hall* (1911) immediately revealed a dignified establishment.

The entrance portraits positioned the Heubis as respectable owners of significant but not exorbitant worldly success.<sup>208</sup> The images suggested they were likely upper middle class. In an era when “Extravagance was immoral ... [and] the

<sup>208</sup> While I have no specific details of the financial circumstances of the Heubi family, the Heubis did not meet the criteria of aristocracy for they did not possess an estate of adequate size or indicate prestigious birth. Only people higher up in the Edwardian income range, for example new millionaires, could afford to buy old country mansions in Europe. Alstair Service described a turn of the century trend among the English elite to buy and refurbish relatively modest manors and transform them into virtually new houses. See A. Service, *Edwardian Interiors: Inside the Homes of the Poor, the Average and the Wealthy* (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1982), 117.

greatest good was knowing one's place and living up to it"<sup>209</sup> the entrances were decorated appropriately.

According to the logic of interior decorating literature<sup>210</sup> at the turn of the twentieth century, in entrance spaces "Effort should be made to convey an impression of comfort, warmth and homeliness."<sup>211</sup>

Apparently, the devil in creating a respectable house was in the details. The Heubis' hall arrangements in the 1898 photo passed all requirements (see fig. 1.23).

The image silently invited the reader to travel up a staircase<sup>212</sup>, suitably covered

with carpet held in place by brass stair rods to a waiting area above where he/she was welcomed by the "essential requirements" of excellent hall furnishing: "two or more matching chairs, a small hall table with a drawer, a carpet of Turkish or similar design and palms with graceful sweeping fonds."<sup>213</sup>

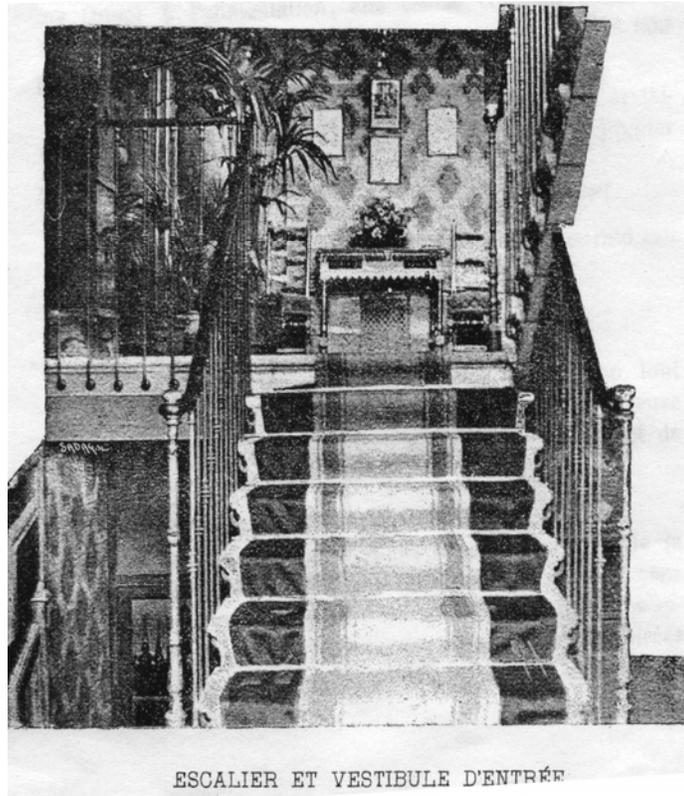


Fig. 1.23: Escalier et Vestibule d'Entrée

<sup>209</sup> J. Flanders, *The Victorian House: Domestic Life From Childbirth to Deathbed* (London: Harper-Collins, 2003), 132.

<sup>210</sup> The Victorian and Edwardian middle and upper classes could easily access many style experts. Magazines such as England's oldest weekly, "The Lady," or *The Ladies Pictorial* (c. 1890) as well as popular guidebooks overflowed with information about interior decorating. A most popular source was O. Codman and E. Wharton Codman, *The Decoration of House* (New York: Schibner and Sons, 1897).

<sup>211</sup> W.J. Pearce, *Painting and Decorating* (London, 1898), 7.

<sup>212</sup> For more on the staircase as indicator of class status in a house see S. Calloway and E. Collins Cromley (eds), *The Elements of Style: An Encyclopedia of Domestic Architecture* (London: Mitchell Beazley, 2005), 91.

<sup>213</sup> G. Caskey Winkler and R. Moss, "The 1890 to 1900 Period" in *Victorian Interior Decoration, 1830-1900* (London: Henry Holt, 1986), 27. Identical requirement listed in C. J. Aronson, *The Encyclopaedia of Furniture* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1965).



Fig. 1.24: Vestibule, 1911

Furniture arrangement and interior design communicated specific information concerning the homeowners. The photograph of the vestibule in 1911 portrayed the Heubis as considerate hosts (see fig. 1.24).<sup>214</sup> The presence of the sofa conveyed from the moment of arrival the comfort of the guest was paramount.<sup>215</sup> The gilded mirror, not merely ornamental, was a tool for sparing the embarrassment of personal disarray. These objects worked together to attest to the hosts' sensitivity to their guests.

The style of decoration also expressed the Heubis' ability to manufacture aesthetically and emotionally-pleasing atmospheres. The photograph "*Ecole Ménagère, Le Hall*" (see fig. 1.25) demonstrated skill in the art of "room mood." Draped velvet curtains functioned to draw the guest away from a region of tempered

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<sup>214</sup> S. Calloway and E. Collins Cromley (eds), *The Elements of Style: An Encyclopedia of Domestic Architecture* (London: Mitchell Beazley, 2005), 91.

<sup>215</sup> L. H. French, *The House Dignified: Its Design, Its Arrangement and Its Decoration* (London: G.P. Putnam, 1908), 11.

formality and into a region demarcated by a warmer magnificence.<sup>216</sup> Conversely, the symmetrical design of the large windows framed a gentle, graduated exit into sunlight.

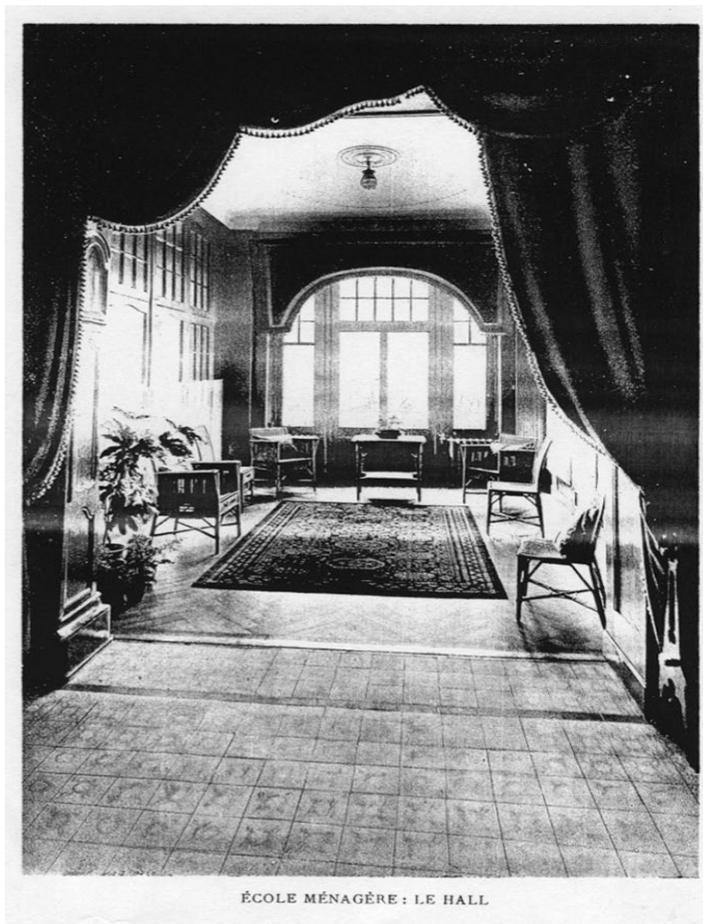


Fig. 1.25: Ecole Ménagère, Le Hall

The individual objects in the room at times beneficially collided. A close examination of the photograph *Vestibule* (1902), the identical vestibule displayed in 1898 taken from the perspective of the landing, illustrates a variety of objects with individualised functions and connotations (see fig. 1.26). The plant meant to refresh the newly arrived visitor created a warm, home-like atmosphere. The flower arrangement on the hall table added grace and freshness. The framed landscape above

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<sup>216</sup> Ibid.

provided amusement, indicated the owners' artistic taste, and served as a clue to their affluence. The three framed diplomas positioned above the landscape conveyed control, legitimation, and supervision. The various objects contributed to a layered sense of place that welcomed and endorsed. Most importantly, the diplomas indicated the home-like space of the *château* was also a school.

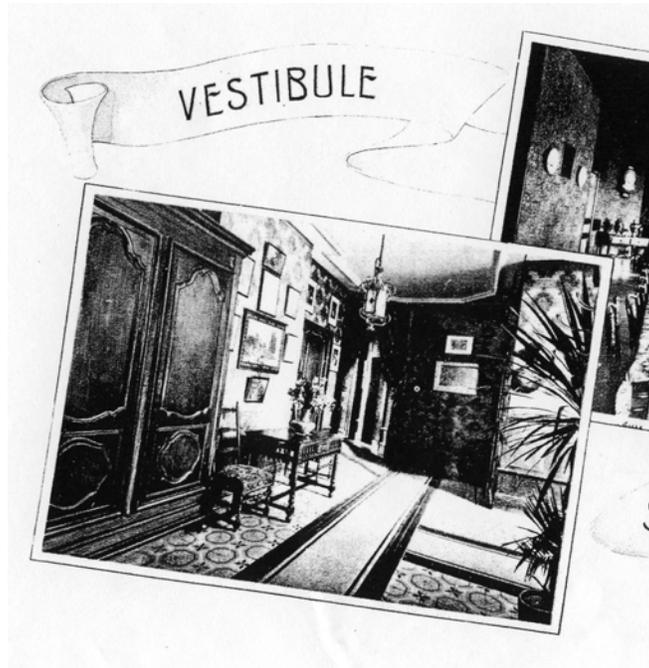


Fig. 1.26: Vestibule, 1902

In this way, Brillantmont, unlike hoteliers, employed photographs to emphasise private domestic space rather than public tourist space. Catering to a protected market - girls on the cusp of adulthood - the school's home-like atmosphere played an important part in its service. Views inside the protective walls of the *château* emphasised that girls away from home were not outside it. As one etiquette book at the time declared "The proper age to make a debut, to be presented to society, is when she has left school ... from eighteen to twenty ... Up to this time the debutante has never appeared at any gatherings outside her father's house".<sup>217</sup> Swiss finishing schools, frequently the final stop along a well-worn path that led elite girls towards the moment of their debut, needed to signify protection from public exposure.<sup>218</sup>

Photographs of the *Château*'s "crowning glory" demarcated a more impressive aspect of the Heubis' house tour. Like the hall, the salon served a public function; it

<sup>217</sup> A. R. White, *Twentieth Century Etiquette: An Up to Date Book for Polite Society Rules for Conduct in Public, Social and Private Life at Home and Abroad*, (Chicago: Wabash Publishing House, 1900), 108.

<sup>218</sup> By the turn of the century, images and photographs were already a well-tryed medium for promotion. Given the link between tourism and private schooling in the Lake Geneva region at the turn of the century, the tradition of using images of place for promotion was established.

represented a spatial link between the outside world and the inhabitants of the house. Unlike the entrance spaces, the salon added a valuable French-twist to the promotion. Designated for the reception and entertainment of guests, the salon also referred to a particular type of social event. The Heubis targeted an upper class European audience for whom French furniture and finishing were fashionable. The salon, long associated with French aristocratic elegance, advertised an aspect of girls' education which British schools could not readily offer (see fig. 1.27).



SALON

Fig. 1.27: Salon

The Heubis were not alone in drawing on French cultural glamour to incite visitation. Salon memorabilia saturated local tourism literature. Gossip-magazine-style tourism guides including G. Flemwell's *Lausanne and Its Environs* (1900) cited the history of the salon at nearby Coppet castle. These texts marketed La Romandie to English-speaking readers, in part, by painting the region with the intrigue and intellectualism of Swiss-French salons in the style of the famous Madame de Staël

(Baroness Anne-Louise Germaine Necker 1766-1817).<sup>219</sup> Dubbed “the Parliament of European Opinion” Staël’s salon represented the importance of French culture to English cultural pursuit.<sup>220</sup>

The salon represented a room steeped in historical culture and intellectualism strongly associated with French inspired ambience. Though Britain dominated the world through the Empire, French style dominated the English through entertaining style and high cuisine. French influence played important roles in English etiquette and elite socialising.<sup>221</sup> The photograph of the empty parlour - like a room in a doll house - prompted the reader to imagine their daughters (or themselves) enacting feminine French performance in an elegant parlour setting.<sup>222</sup> The Louis XIV furniture, grouped in fashionably tight arrangements, banished any thought of the coarse and disagreeable. Instead, the room enticed visitors with visions of softly voiced, courteous demeanour and teased out readers’ desires to have their daughters gracefully expressing themselves in a number of different languages. The chance to perform in this living room culture extraordinaire represented an important accomplishment and worthwhile investment in the acquisition of higher cultural capital.

The increasingly powerful upper middle-class for whom private schooling represented a ladder to higher status especially sought a Swiss scholarly badge in all things gracious and beautiful. Just as the “gentlemanly ideal served as social cement within the upper section of the middle class and linked it structurally with the aristocracy” the cultural expertise of a lady represented an equally strong foothold for

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<sup>219</sup> Madame de Staël is counted among the first women officially recognised as a political philosopher.

<sup>220</sup> The salon in this historical context also represented moral dangers yet, this history did not threaten the image of an all girls’ school. Tales of English philosophical greats such as Gibbon engaging in Anglo-Franco love and romance were well known. Madame de Staël was notorious for her affairs with high-profile men including Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand, Bishop of Autun, Count Louis de Narbonne (1788-93), and Count Adolphe-Louis Ribbing, who masterminded the assassination of Gustavus III, the king of Sweden-Finland. See G. Flemwell, *Lausanne and Its Environs* (London: Blackie and Son, 1900), 39.

<sup>221</sup> Fashionable parlours were more French in furniture than English. See B. Allsopp, *Decoration and Furniture, Volume 1: The English Tradition*, (London: Sir Isaac Pitmar, 1952).

<sup>222</sup> The furniture arrangement contemporary for the Edwardian times arranging furniture in carefully composed informal groups. Earlier arrangements assumed that all people would be joining in one conversation or listening to one speaker. See A. Service, *Edwardian Interiors: Inside the Homes of the Poor, the Average and the Wealthy* (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1982), 121.

social climbing.<sup>223</sup> The photograph, devoid of human subjects, invited girls, as future parlour hostesses, into a world of considerable power and influence, into a room which obligated girls to display their education and intelligence, into a place to engage in artful conversation, civilised sociability and upper class entertaining.<sup>224</sup>

In this respect the salon also symbolised an intellectual challenge. Time spent at finishing school was *the time* for debut preparation and therefore, the idea of attending a finishing school abroad was especially appealing. Away from home a girl could concentrate on her studies and avoid the entanglement of Society before properly equipped. Although not always the case, *ideally* girls were encouraged not to “debut” while studying. Annie Randall White, author of the popular *Twentieth Century Etiquette, An Up to Date Book for Polite Society* wrote:

No girl should make her debut while she is attending school. It is impossible for her to do justice to herself with a divided mind. She cannot fix her attention upon those studies which require her entire time, and attend to the demands of the social circle, which are always exacting.<sup>225</sup>

The importance of good training was paramount:

Another injury is done to society itself, which thus receives a class of immature and half trained girls whose ideas are crude, whose manners are untrained; thus they become any thing but ornaments to that charmed circle they have entered.<sup>226</sup>

To demonstrate Brillantmont offered proper training the Heubis included photographs of rooms other than the salon.<sup>227</sup> An image of a classroom followed by a single

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<sup>223</sup> S. Calloway and E. Collins Cromley (eds.), *The Elements of Style: An Encyclopaedia of Domestic Architecture* (London: Mitchell Beazley, 2005), 168.

<sup>224</sup> Ladies played a powerful role in the salon. They controlled the invitations, seating arrangements and held the power to introduce aspiring young men to influential persons who could further their careers. Though restricted from discussing politics and business, women had rich intellectual lives and entered into correspondence with contemporary artists and philosophers. See H. Clergue, *The Salon: A Study of French Society and Personalities in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Putnam, 1907).

<sup>225</sup> A. R. White, *Twentieth Century Etiquette: An Up to Date Book for Polite Society Rules for Conduct in Public, Social and Private Life at Home and Abroad* (Chicago: Wabash Publishing House, 1900), 108.

<sup>226</sup> Ibid.

<sup>227</sup> Many schools provided vague descriptions of their academic program. In Salvador, approximately 30 percent of the advertisements for girls’ boarding schools used the term instruction, 50 percent education. 41 percent mentioned French, 48 percent music and painting, and most mentioned some types of arts. See Rafael Salvador, “Les pensionnats de jeunes filles à Lausanne au tournant du siècle,” *Mémoire de licence* (Lausanne: Faculté des Lettres, University of Lausanne, 1989), 56.

paragraph at the conclusion of the 1898 prospectus suggested Brillantmont in fact also taught the expected subjects.

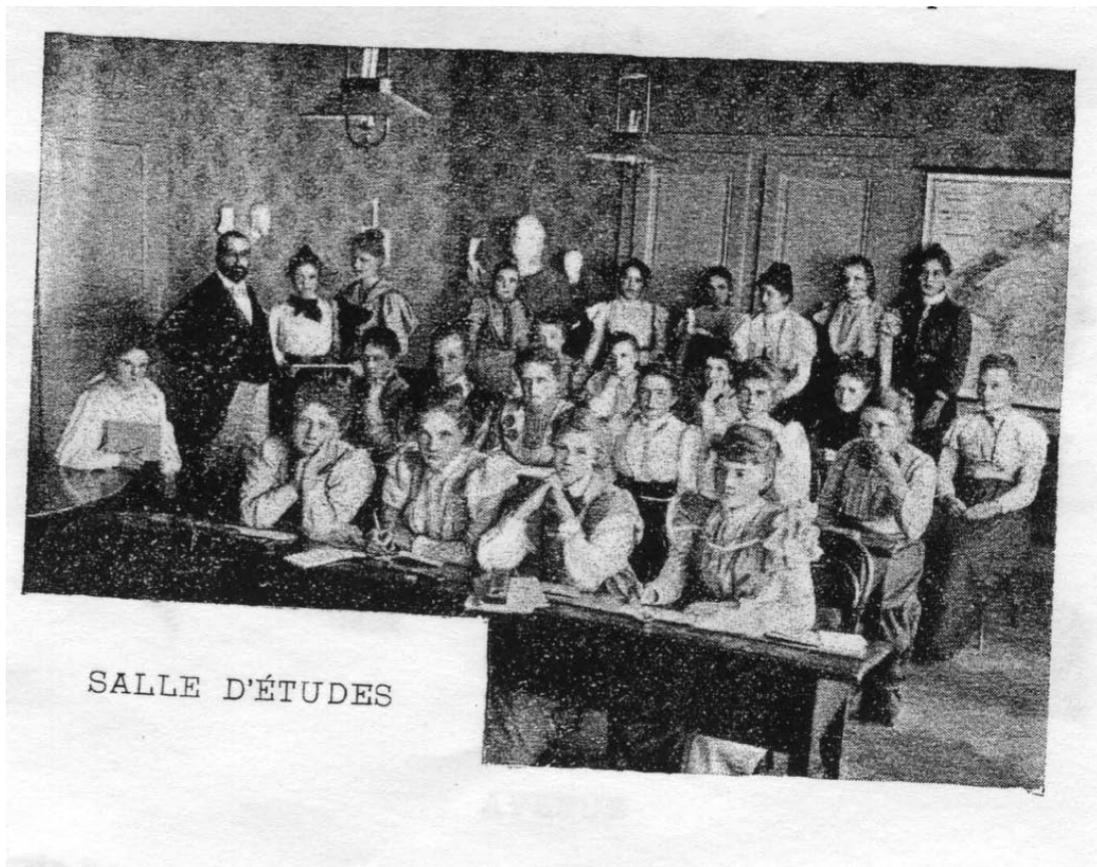


Fig. 1.28: Salle d'Etudes

The “*Salle d'Etudes*” functioned to stimulate the prospects’ desire to buy academic refinement for their girls (fig. 1.28). In the upper class values the idea of international education began to evolve as something good and beneficial, therefore knowledge of French, English, German, and Italian rendered girls more attractive and of better service to their families. The photograph raised parental hopes to expand girls’ educational achievements. Under the scrutiny of several teachers who stood along room’s perimeter, girls appeared to be learning. Of course, as Eric Margolis suggested in “Looking at Discipline, Looking at Labour: Photographic Representations of Indian Boarding Schools” photographs could not indicate whether or not students were actually learning. Certain images were nevertheless effective in suggesting that

learning really occurred. He summarised classroom photographs as “...carefully constructed arrangements of objects in space that have been composed to give out signs suggesting progressive education, or socialization or discipline or a number of other social relationships.”<sup>228</sup> The “*Salle d’Etudes*” when combined with the information provided on the educational program suggested girls received teaching in “literature, history, geography, fine arts, psychology, philosophy, mathematics, arithmetic, natural science and hygiene” in a suitable environment.<sup>229</sup> The photographs, demonstrating the effects of discipline on the body,<sup>230</sup> presented the impression that the girls, regardless of their individual facial expressions, were disciplined, dutifully attentive, and well supervised.



Fig. 1.29: Salon de Musique

Photographs of the *salon de musique* promised that accomplishment subjects were not neglected (see fig. 1.29). Musical skills were necessary for a young lady in society. Though small, the music room had the appropriate space for singing arias or

<sup>228</sup> E. Margolis, “Looking at Discipline, Looking at Labour: Photographic Representations of Indian Boarding Schools,” *Visual Studies* 19, No.1 (2004), 78.

<sup>229</sup> Paul Heubi, “Château Brillantmont” (Geneva: Impression S.A.S.A.G., 1898), 13.

<sup>230</sup> E. Margolis, “Looking at Discipline, Looking at Labour: Photographic Representations of Indian Boarding Schools,” *Visual Studies* 19, No.1 (2004), 88.

playing the piano and violin.<sup>231</sup> The duet captured in the act of musical performance in the 1898 prospectus modeled self-control and upright posture. The fashionably dressed pair, perfectly enacting the role written for them in genteel society, advertised the Heubis' competencies in musical training.<sup>232</sup>

Photographs of the dining room further illustrated the quality of Brillantmont's lady manufactory and revealed a suitably furnished practice ground for highly civilised behaviour and quality conversation (see fig. 1.30). The presence of a formal dining room suggested



Fig. 1.30: Dining room at Brillantmont

girls could practice sitting correctly or learn intelligent dinner conversation. The room also served as a classroom for teaching the complicated job of hostessing. The table, itself a lesson in formal dining arrangement, implied Brillantmont was equipped to teach “the foodways of dominant culture.”<sup>233</sup> The room's rather barren appearance was fashionable: “A few pictures on the wall, a sideboard with its sparkling glass and silverware, and a lounge and chairs were all that were necessary as furnishings.”<sup>234</sup>

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<sup>231</sup> In the final decade of the nineteenth century there was a dramatic increase in the provision of musical education. More families were able to afford pianos and piano instruction. The piano was seen in many public institutions, including schools and hotels. For a social history of the piano see J. Parakilas, *Piano Roles: Three Hundred Years of Life with the Piano* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999). See also Max Weber, *The Rational and Social Foundations of Music* (Carbondale, Illinois: Feffer and Simons, 1969).

<sup>232</sup> Heubi's short paragraph of 1898 informed girls received lessons on painting and drawing outside in the garden on warm sunny days. He advised equestrian riding lessons could be arranged for a small fee.

<sup>233</sup> K. L. Aims, *Death in the Dining Room and Other Tales of Victorian Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992), 81.

<sup>234</sup> A. R. White, *Twentieth Century Etiquette: An Up to Date Book for Polite Society Rules for Conduct in Public, Social and Private Life at Home and Abroad* (Chicago: Wabash Publishing House, 1900), 181.

“Hungry dame-apprentices confronted with dishes that shine on snowy white damask”<sup>235</sup> could learn to attack a complicated dish or to remove their gloves while being fed “carefully prepared meals of excellent quality and sufficient quantity.”<sup>236</sup>

By showcasing their finishing abilities the Heubis tapped into a growing market which desired their children to learn proper social behaviour. The pre-established pattern of aristocrats frequenting Swiss schools had already associated the industry with the wealthiest, the most powerful and most glamorous members of British society. Swiss finishing also provided a model for the newly-moneyed who wanted their offspring to learn how to behave in polite society. On the one hand, finishing schools exploited longstanding aristocratic clients and, other the other, they contributed to the dissolution of select society by teaching new-comers the skills necessary to navigate and infiltrate the tight circles of the nobility. Over time, the industry catered more to the second group of clientele. In 1891, nine years after Brillantmont’s foundation, one disenchanted aristocratic observer suggested “Let any person who knows London society look through the list of debutantes and ladies attending drawing rooms and I wager than not half of the names will be known to him or her.”<sup>237</sup> By 1914 the elite society for which true aristocratic girls of the past had received training was so transformed that it no longer existed in its traditional sense. Thus, the finishing industry benefited from the shifting cultural norms of elite social practice. These colliding market drivers explained why some readers may have found the next phase of the tour confusing, unsettling or perhaps even disgraceful.

The promotional tour to this point hummed along in tune with stereotypical expectations of a Swiss finishing. This momentum disintegrated with the display of a series of portraits of the kitchen and other normatively “invisible sides” of the château in the 1902 and 1911 editions. These images radiated “complex arenas in which often contradictory materials, power/discourses and practices interact.”<sup>238</sup> The marketability of the images demands close inspection. On the surface, the photograph of a kitchen

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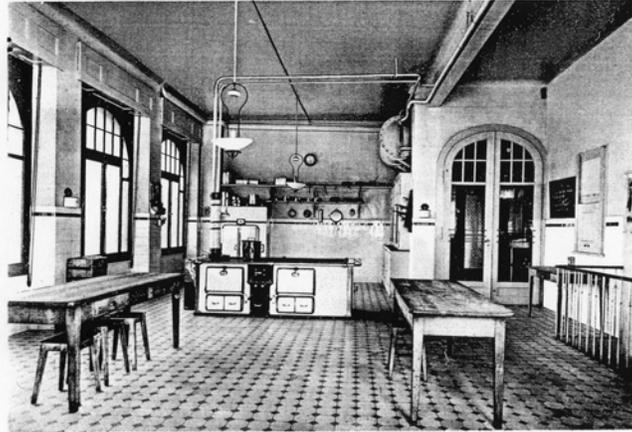
<sup>235</sup> Ibid., 182.

<sup>236</sup> Paul Heubi, “Château Brillantmont” (Geneva: Impression S.A.S.A.G., 1898), 4.

<sup>237</sup> D. Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990), 346.

<sup>238</sup> M. Hand and E. Shove, “Orchestrating Concepts: Kitchen Dynamics and Regime Change in Good Housekeeping and Ideal Home, 1922-2002,” *Journal of Home Cultures* 1, No.3 (2004), 238.

devoid of people (see fig. 1.31) displayed simply a clean and modern kitchen and, also attested to the conditions of food preparation at the school.<sup>239</sup> The appearance of the “*Grand Cuisine*” in the early editions was beyond reproach. The modern, clean, and well organised kitchen which resembled the



GRANDE CUISINE

Fig. 1.31: Kitchen

professional kitchens of the most up-to-date hotels would have impressed readers familiar with developments in kitchen style. Here, the quality of Isoz’s workmanship is obvious and reflected his experience in converting the elegant Château d’Ouchy into a modern hotel in 1893.<sup>240</sup> Following architectural trends of the era that sought to deliver the kitchen from its shadowy background existence within the house, Isoz afforded the room the status of the first floor. The dignified, fashionable and expensive kitchen décor articulated volumes about the school. The exclusive parquet floor in French pattern carreaux design and elegant appliances resurrected the room to one of pride from one of former embarrassment.<sup>241</sup> However, the photographs of the kitchen that included people, specifically students of the cooking school, were potentially very problematic. These images communicated much more than simply a spotless and

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<sup>239</sup> Symbolically the kitchen represented a pure home. A well-ordered home was viewed as a sanctuary and cradle of beauty. A well-ordered home became a sign of competence and social respectability, marking civilized place. M. Douglas, *Purity and Danger* (London: Routledge, 1979), 48.

<sup>240</sup> For further reference to Francis Isoz see Micheloud & Cie Swiss Banking, “Jean-Jacques Mercier (1826-1903) Owner of the Château d’Ouchy,” <http://swiss-bank-accounts.com/e/about/Jean-Jacques-Mercier.html> (accessed July 5, 2006). See also Chateau d’Ouchy. “L’ Hôtel du Château d’Ouchy,” <http://www.chateaudouchy.ch/> (accessed July 5, 2006).

<sup>241</sup> The prospectus noted Brillantmont exhibited parquet flooring throughout. Parquet flooring the most expensive and work-intensive flooring available at the time see S. Calloway and E. Collins Cromley (eds), *The Elements of Style: An Encyclopaedia of Domestic Architecture* (London: Mitchell Beazley, 2005), 345.

modern area for food preparation.<sup>242</sup> The room retained the connotation of service and the stigma of lower class space where typically “a large number of servants laboured to make the daily routine appear natural and effortless.”<sup>243</sup>

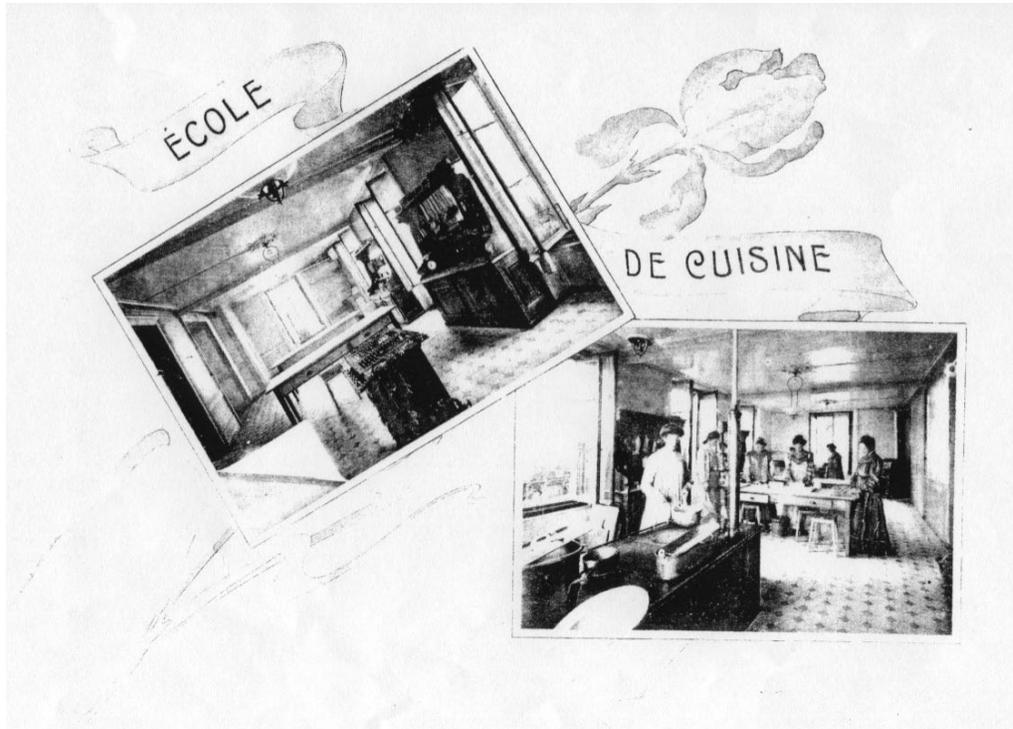


Fig. 1.32: Domestic economy school

The photograph of the domestic economy school somewhat disrupted the class relations of the kitchen (see fig. 1.32). The presence of students complicated the typically unquestioned status of service. Had the kitchen only been utilised by the staff, the image would simply have promoted the fact that kitchen servants worked in a clean environment that ultimately benefited the students of the school. The photograph would simply have assured readers of hygienically and methodically prepared, tasty, French food. Yet, the photographs depicted not maids but students. The question as to

<sup>242</sup> Swiss hotel architects, including Eduard Guyer convinced hospitality businesses that kitchen design and technology were critical to success. Swiss professional kitchens became the international standard in the tourism-driven hospitality industry. They were constructed to efficiently deliver Haute Cuisine. In many château conversions (to schools, hotels etc.) the kitchen gained an elevated status, both literally and figuratively. The new kitchen ascended from the basement to the ground floor to be in closer proximity to the dining room, but not so close that the noise or smells would interfere with the dining experience. See R. Flueckiger-Seiler, *Hoteltäume: Zwischen Gletschern und Palmen, Schweizer Tourismus und Hotelbau, 1830-1920* (Baden: Hier und Jetzt, 2001).

<sup>243</sup> F. de Capitani (ed.), *Discovering History* (Prangins: Swiss National Museum - Château de Prangins, 1998), 73.

which students were featured had the strong potential to raise alarm. At the turn of the twentieth century, true ladies did not cook and reputable Swiss finishing schools did not teach cooking. If the reader was to assume the students of the cooking school were locals of the lower classes, traditional aristocratic parents, believing the internal class system in tact, may well have admired the Heubis for creatively reducing the expense of cooks, scullery maids and servants by opening up the Ecole Cuisine illustrated in the 1902 portrait. However, these exact readers, upon reading the fine print, discovered the cooking school students at Villa Brillantmont intermingled with those at Château Brillantmont and that girls at Brillantmont were welcome to take cooking classes. This mix potentially raised more than an eyebrow.

Domestic schooling, during the time of these photographs, was controversial. The standard historical interpretation is that cooking schools typically served the lower classes. Increasing evidence suggests this was not strictly the case. Brillantmont aimed at an elite market and implicitly promoted the idea that culinary lessons allowed the daughters of the upper class to better supervise their own cooks, more efficiently oversee the workings of the kitchen and familiarise themselves with Haute Cuisine. The photographs however, raise questions about the shifting historical context informing the meaning of promotional content.<sup>244</sup> The photographs suggested that some of the images more than others were likely to receive mixed reactions. The advertising might have offended a number of aristocratic ladies for it attempted to sell the teaching of a set of domestic practices perceived as well below their station. It may also have appealed to others as a novel but positive idea.<sup>245</sup>

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<sup>244</sup> Feminist education historians have fruitfully characterised philosophical and pedagogical conflicts over the purpose and practice of women's education at the time of Heubi's writing. Much debate at that time centred on what type of education should constitute the new education for women and towards what purpose should the new education aim. Academic education, training in the traditional accomplishment style, and domestic education were all the subject of intense discussion. The history of education in Switzerland in the English language context is less well known. For a discussion on women's education in Switzerland see, I. Rhys, *The Education of Girls in Switzerland and Bavaria* (London: Blackie & Son, 1905).

<sup>245</sup> Brillantmont trained a tiny minority of its earliest students to be professional chefs – aristocratic girls included. While the history of professional chefs is certainly male-dominated, there were professional women chefs. The city of Lyon, France, for example has long held the title of “Gastronomic Capital” of France, due in no small measure to “*les mères lyonnaises*,” (the mothers of Lyon) who were women chefs and restaurateurs in and around the city. The tradition began in the mid-1800's with Mère Brigousse, whose restaurant in Charpenne gained a large following among the rich and titled. See

The photograph of the *repassage* (ironing room), demonstrates even more clearly that the school promoted radically different skills than those more commonly associated with early period finishing programs. The ability to gracefully express one's self had little connection to the actual work of ironing. In the elite world where "one of the first duties which a young girl owes to herself and to those around her is to make herself attractive"<sup>246</sup> the photographs of students performing laundry work suggested they were doing themselves no favours, and yet they too were included in the promotional materials.

It seems that Heubis were, in many ways, ahead of their time. By placing a deal of faith and pride in the photographs of the Ecole ménagerie and the *repassage* they targeted a new generation of middle-class girls who would assume a more intimate relationship with household work without becoming a "*Hausfrau*" [housewife]. Feminist historian Elizabeth Bird's "High Class Cookery: Gender, Status and Domestic Subjects, 1890-1930" indicates that a market for such types of domestic training existed by the first decade of the twentieth century. Bird refutes the simplistic assumption that girls' "curriculum was divided by social class: middle-class women followed an academic curriculum, learning Greek amongst other subjects ... working class women were expected to learn practical subjects such as cooking."<sup>247</sup> She suggests that "In the period from 1900 to about 1918, there was a view that all classes of women should be taught domestic subjects [such as cooking], so as to ensure the health of the nation."<sup>248</sup> Brillantmont was one of the first Swiss-French finishing schools to risk reaching out to this new market seeking "high class cookery."<sup>249</sup>

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About, "La Mère Brazier," <http://frenchfood.about.com/library/weekly/aa032403a.htm> (accessed May 10, 2006).

<sup>246</sup> Laundry work, even more so than kitchen work, was particularly slated for lower ranked servants as it was partially responsible for physically marking a woman as socially inferior by ruining the skin of her hands indeed sometimes scarring her face when heated irons were tested. R. White, *Twentieth Century Etiquette: An Up to Date Book for Polite Society Rules for Conduct in Public, Social and Private Life at Home and Abroad*, (Chicago: Wabash Publishing House, 1900), 217.

<sup>247</sup> E. Bird, "High Class Cookery: Gender, Status and Domestic Subjects," *Gender and Education* 10 No. 2 (1998), 117-128.

<sup>248</sup> Ibid. It is important to note that the United States did not have the same professional class of servants. Often servants in the US were immigrants with little experience.

<sup>249</sup> Following World War I reliable domestic help was especially difficult to find, keep and afford see, B. Berner, "The Meaning of Cleaning: The Creation of Harmony and Hygiene in the Home," *History and Technology* 14 (1998), 340.

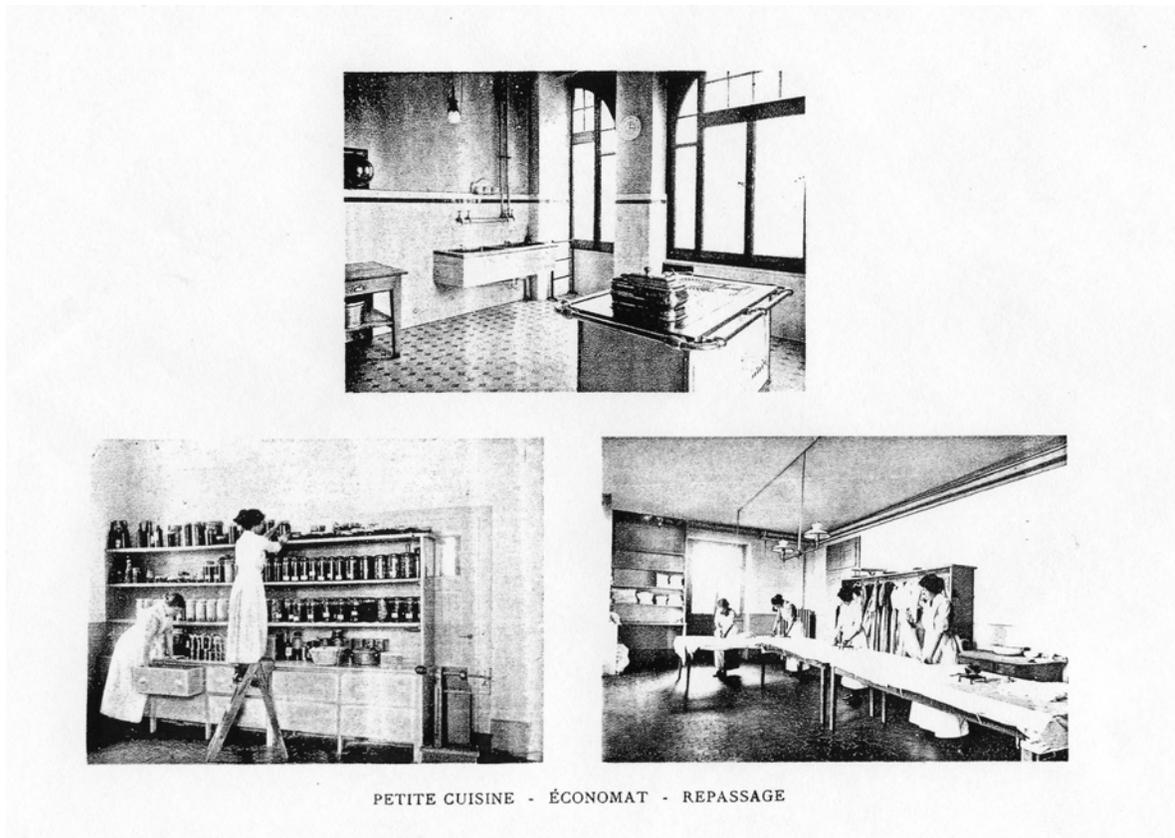


Fig. 1.33: Kitchen, stock room, ironing

But, even in the years prior to the war, many middle class wives hired additional domestic help.<sup>250</sup> Practical competence in house duties was no longer the blight for the privileged than it once was. Though wealthy women did not assume the tedious tasks of the house, they were better prepared to oversee and train servants.<sup>251</sup> With scientific knowledge linking the microbial to disease, a middle-class cleaning frenzy replaced the older concern for order with an obsessive concentration on ensuring a safe and clean family environment.<sup>252</sup> A scientific education was necessary to improve hygiene. Brillantmont's program as identified in 1911 satisfied society's changing concerns:

<sup>250</sup> C. Davidson, *A Women's Work is Never Done: A History of Housework in the British Isles 1650-1950* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1982).

<sup>251</sup> Supervising life below involved understanding the roles of maids, valets, butlers, valets etc. Ibid.

<sup>252</sup> According to Boel Berner, the cleaning craze which started in the 1870s, peaked between 1900 and 1920. Berner, B. "The Meaning of Cleaning: The Creation of Harmony and Hygiene in the Home," *History and Technology* 14 (1998): 313-352.

French, English, domestic economics, nutrition, hygiene and bookkeeping, simple and fine cuisine, preservatives and jams, cakes and pastries, sewing, ready-to-wear clothing, mending, washing and ironing, practical housework, gardening (summer only and elective), care of the ill and notions of infantile culture, art history, literature and current news events.<sup>253</sup>

Brillantmont was the first finishing school in Lausanne to open a domestic economy school (see fig. 1.33). The potential of a new, untapped market provided the impetus for such a gamble.

The stereotype of Swiss attention to detail gave special force to images depicting girls stocking shelves in the petite cuisine. “A beautiful and well kept home was a sign of breeding and social standing.”<sup>254</sup> That is not to say students performed all the drudgery themselves. Handbooks at the turn of the century certainly assumed someone else performed the majority of the work. The photograph suggested students of the cooking school would learn not only proper cooking techniques but also the organisation of an efficient, “professional” kitchen.

Unlike in Le Rosey’s prospectuses, sport did not feature as a significant element in Brillantmont’s earliest marketing materials. Predictably, lawn tennis and Swedish gymnastics were included (see fig. 1.34). These socially approved sports for girls did not compromise femininity. They required “delicate skill rather than strength” and did not develop obvious and “unflattering” muscles.<sup>255</sup> With the exception of one photograph, no images represented girls playing field sports. The photograph of the girls playing “catch” on the field reveals the great contrast between a boys’ school which prioritised sports photographs, especially team sports, and a girls’ school that minimized sports images. In contrast to the photographs of the interior of the château, sports images were of a very poor quality.

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<sup>253</sup> Supplementary to Prospectus, “Institution Heubi: Villa Brillantmont” (Lausanne: Brillantmont, 1912).

<sup>254</sup> B. Berner, “The Meaning of Cleaning: The Creation of Harmony and Hygiene in the Home,” *History and Technology* 14 (1998), 318.

<sup>255</sup> J. Lowerson, *Sport and the English Middle Classes, 1870-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), 208.

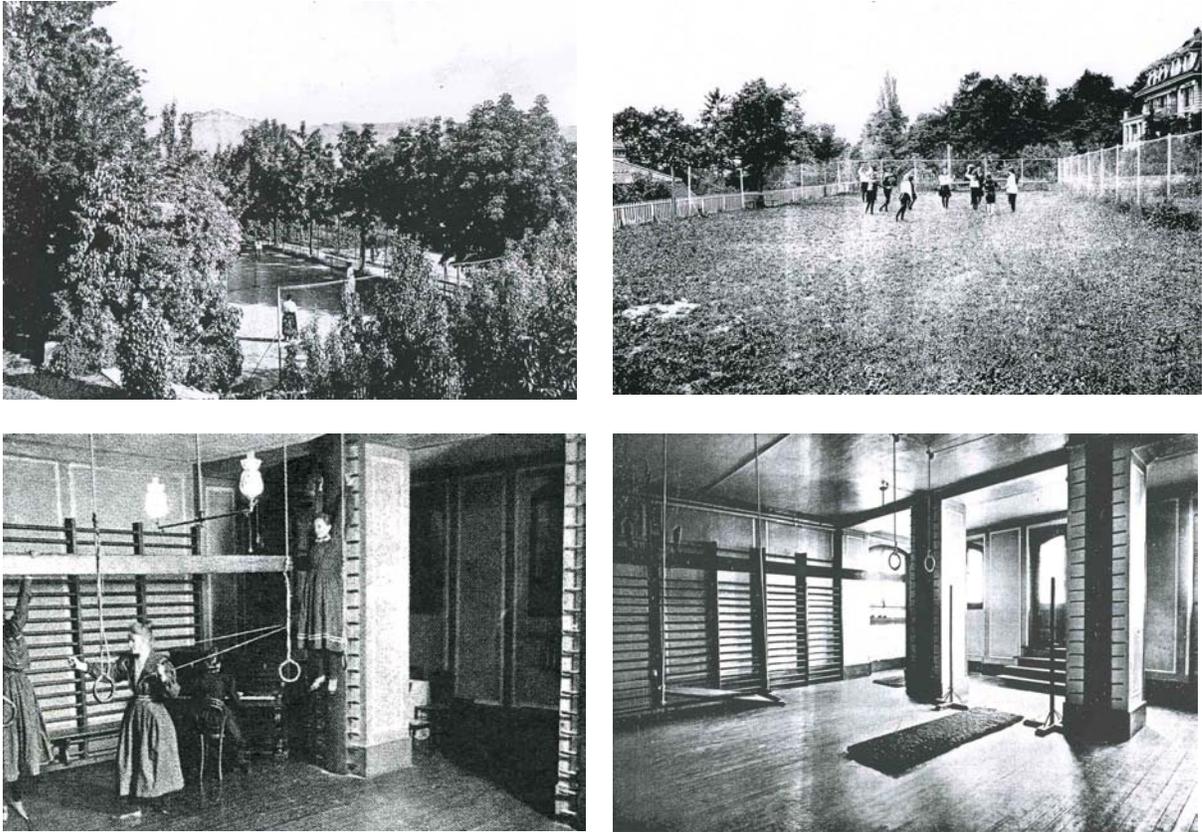


Fig. 1.34: Sports at Brillantmont

Also significant was the presence and, at the same time, absence of girls participating in the most common “tourist” sport of Switzerland – Alpine rambling. On the one hand, the school indicated girls at the school enjoyed the privilege of walking and hiking in the Alps. The tranquil scene of the summer mountain sojourn on Les Marécottes suggested this possibility (see fig. 1.35). On the other hand, unlike Le Rosey’s texts, the girls’ were not shown in the action of Alpinism – an activity which in no way contradicted gendered expectations.



Fig. 1.35: Summer mountain sojourn on Les Marécottes, 1902

Three generations of upper-class women had already won alpine entitlement. Lady “tourists” were almost as free as any to traverse and even place themselves at some risk in the “playground” of Europe (see fig. 1.36).<sup>256</sup> Thus, like the boys school Brillantmont promised something beyond the traditional middle-class girls’ sports but unlike the boys school it did not advertise this fact with intensity. Instead, on the whole the Brillantmont texts called girls to a civilized path, into a cultured and residential path with nice views of the mountain side.

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<sup>256</sup> British elite women had a strong presence as Alpine tourists since the early days of Swiss tourism and especially after 1863, the date of the first Thomas Cook conducted tour of Switzerland which included several women. Organized walking tours in the Alps made it easy for women travelling alone to navigate the Swiss mountains. The first tour was recorded by Jemima Morrell in her diaries, see J. Morrell, *Miss Jemima’s First Conducted Tour of Switzerland 1863* (London: Routledge, 1998).



Fig. 1.36: “Tourists in the mountains” painted by Johann Conrad Zeller (1807-1856) in 1850. As this painting reveals women were very much a part of early Alpine tourist adventure and, in some cases as lost as the men.<sup>257</sup>

This chapter has investigated the earliest prospectuses of what are now two of world’s most expensive private international boarding schools - Le Rosey and Brillantmont. It has looked at representations of the single educational tourist product in promotional texts. While today, both schools advertise themselves as Swiss schools and global villages which take excursions to such places as Vietnam, Egypt, Kenya, Mali, the United States, Britain and other places, at the turn of the twentieth century their prospectuses portrayed spaces closer to home. The chapter demonstrated that, while both schools relied heavily upon selected and idealised representations of school

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<sup>257</sup> This painting represents “a group of tourists from the city has lost their way in the mountains. In terror they are trying to cross a mountain stream on a fallen tree trunk. The contrast between the classical gestures of fear drawn from classical historical painting, and the ridiculous situation, makes the picture a satire of modern tourism and also a parody of the “great” academic painting of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.” in F. de Capitani (ed.), *Discovering History* (Prangins: Swiss National Museum - Château de Prangins, 1998), 147.

buildings and surroundings to communicate a sense of appropriate and desirable school place, they employed different methods of representation. Gender, class, and the ethnicity of markets proved relevant ideological factors guiding representations of school place. Le Rosey turned to château-fort iconography – its own and that of other châteaux in the area to strengthen its image as a masculine school. It referenced images of outdoor British sports and British winter sports best practiced in Switzerland. Brillantmont, on the other hand, relied upon different graphical means to portray desirable school place. Selective and flattering angles showcasing the interior spaces of the château school served as visual guide promising a proficient and refined finishing education for upper-class girls. Photographs, a résumé testifying a school adequately equipped to provide a French finishing, conveyed a “far away” space where girls could feel at home, be protected, and remain safely stowed until sufficiently finished. Inter-textual references to English writers confirmed the school was versed in English literature and ideas of girls’ education. The analysis has revealed school prospectuses neither supplied mimetic images of place nor presented strictly fantastical versions. Rather, the documents actively navigated readers through carefully chosen representations of place assembled together to foster a favourable impression. While the prospectuses examined are ultimately too small a sample to draw general conclusions, they nevertheless provide a greater understanding of the types of images that, as a whole, contributed to building the Swiss private school imaginings in international markets (1890-1916). From the limited perspective of these schools’ own history, they offer a point of comparison for interpreting changes over time in the brand-building work of ultra-elite international schooling enterprises.<sup>258</sup>

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<sup>258</sup> The private schooling industry in Switzerland has clearly indicated it views private education of all kinds as products. I use the term ‘luxury’ product, not as a value judgement but as an economic category of good which costs more than the average consumer can afford. For example, this calculation can be accomplished through a comparison of statistical family types. Like brands such as Bentley or Cartier ultra elite schools which do not take scholarship students exist in a cost category that will always be aimed at the wealthy. See, Ann Marie Kerwin, “Brands Pursue Old Money,” *Advertising Age* 27, no. 21 (2001): 7-8.

## CHAPTER TWO. Constructing Intellectual and Beautiful Civic Kingdoms: Guides Promoting Geneva, Lausanne and Neuchâtel as Educational Centres, 1890-1914.

Readers of the 1909 *Guide to Switzerland* learned that in addition to being the playground of Europe, Switzerland was also its “classroom” for “several thousand English boys and girls are always being educated in Switzerland, the chief centres, Geneva, Lausanne and Neuchâtel, being in the French-speaking part.”<sup>259</sup> While Swiss tourism guides such as *Guide to Switzerland* directed readers to all three centres in French-speaking Switzerland, the civic tourism guides promoting towns as educational centres did not. Instead they attracted readers to individual “civic kingdoms,” generally excluded all reference to anything “Swiss” and, for the most part, avoided any discussion of other “education centres.”<sup>260</sup> This chapter investigates a small sample of education-focused tourism guides which advertised these three “recommended” educational centres during the period 1890-1914. It analyses the social construction of civic landscape as idealised educational tourist place in these documents.<sup>261</sup> Education-focused guides promoting Geneva, Lausanne and Neuchâtel offer an important window of understanding into what might be called “unwitting” civic contributions to the discursive construction of Switzerland’s reputation as “the classroom of Europe.”<sup>262</sup> Although these texts did not identify towns as Swiss, ultimately as texts

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<sup>259</sup> They also learned Le Rosey and Brillantmont were two “important” schools serving English-speaking students. Anonymous, *Guide to Switzerland* (London: Ward, Lock & Co., 1909), 17.

<sup>260</sup> This exclusion was understandable given the authoring organisations, such as the Society for the Development of Lausanne which “ha[d] for its aim, to interest itself in the future welfare of the town and in all questions relating to the extension and prosperity of Lausanne...” SDL, *Guide to Lausanne* (1896), 4. The name of the individual guides varied, for example, *Guide to Lausanne Switzerland* (Lausanne: Society for the Development of Lausanne, 1888, 1890) or, *Guide to Lausanne and Ouchy: Western Switzerland* (Lausanne: Society for the Development of Lausanne, 1894, 1896, 1899, 1906 and 1907), (hereinafter “SDL, *Guide to Lausanne*”). For an in-depth analysis of civic level tourist promotion in this period, see “Healthy Resorts and Watering Place” in S. Ward, *Selling Places: The Marketing and Promotion of Towns and Cities (1850-2000)* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 30-53. Several studies have discussed the culture-generating capacities of cities as linked to income-generating effects. See for example, A. J. Scott, *The Cultural Economy of Cities: Essays on the Geography of Image Producing Industries* (London: Sage, 2000).

<sup>261</sup> An eclectic assortment of authors produced the guides examined here, including tourism publicity firms, town promotional committees, school commissioners, English churches, universities and freelance writers. For a full list, see Appendix A.

<sup>262</sup> Within the growing body of literature examining the critical imaginative construction of national identity, the role of the region in “making” and “unmaking” identity is a relatively new preoccupation.

sent out to the world from Switzerland they added meaning to Switzerland's destination identity.

The chapter's investigation of the principal strategies guides used to create distinctive, desirable and, most importantly, "educational" images of towns reveals that, although guides promoting Geneva, Lausanne and Neuchâtel exhibited differences in style, voice, and specific content, as a whole they pursued similar stated aims and relied upon similar discursive strategies. Written to augment the pleasure and ease of sojourn and incite desire for visitation, guides provided information and guidance about schooling options, leisure and sports opportunities as well general facts about the towns. The chapter demonstrates that, like most guides of the period, civic texts were preoccupied with enumerating, indexing, defining and interpreting a locale as a quickly apprehended tourist place.<sup>263</sup> It shows that, similar to the prospectuses examined in the last chapter, guides did not provide mimetic, mirror images of destinations, but rather encapsulated and compressed a coherent sense of idealised place between their covers in order to attract visiting students. Promoting a broader and more complex product than private school prospectuses, guides spoke to variety of educational sojourns, a wider demographic audience and a larger intersection between education and tourism. This wider scope means it is not possible to examine them here with the same level of textual proximity employed in the last chapter.

Three thematic sections investigate the idealising and guiding work performed in the document sample. The first section critically examines ideological representations of heritage and demonstrates how progress narratives, enlightenment metaphors, celebrity discourses and references to English travellers constructed

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This chapter stresses the construction of civic identities and their connection to Switzerland's national tourism destination image. It assumes the country's name was also amplified through various regional identities in their constructions of themselves as educational centres. In Switzerland, due to its parliamentary system, there are 23 cultural identities (its Cantons which are relatively autonomous entities). Within the Cantons, there are further identities at the level of towns. Thus, while strong local identities do not necessarily identify themselves as "Swiss" the identity of the country as a whole is built upon the basis of multiple, smaller scale identities. See Grégoire Métral, *Switzerland: From National to Multi-Scale Identities* (Neuchâtel: SIDOS, 2002); For a discussion of the important role regional destination plays in the imagined national communities, see Catharine Brace, "Finding England Everywhere: Regional Identity and the Construction of National Identity," *Ecumene* 6 (1999): 90-109.

<sup>263</sup> Here guides were centrally concerned with producing information to organise the "other-place" for the prospective tourist. For the seminal study on "the tourist gaze," see J. Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Society* (London: Sage, 1990).

Geneva and Lausanne as desirable historical educational places for English-speaking markets. The second section studies the cataloging and classifying work guides assumed in order to render complex systems of education more accessible and attractive to strangers. It argues taxonomies of public instruction showcased local educational systems as tourist attractions. Further, it demonstrates that failure to rigorously adhere to the categorical criteria governing the taxonomies resulted in uneven descriptions of school types that made some options appear more viable and attractive than others. The third part scrutinises ideological representations of towns' constructed infrastructures, natural environs and human geography. It explores how discourses of rational recreation conceptualised towns as learning environments and looks at how nature became the object of educational, productive leisure and English rhetoric. The study shows how representations of local communities positioned the educational centres as well-equipped to serve the needs of an Anglo-Saxon leisure class.

## 2.1 Heritage

Historians of travel have established that in localities across Europe and North America scrambled to market distinct destination identities in the late nineteenth century. One reason for this activity was to earn a share of the global tourist trade.<sup>264</sup> In many cases, selective accounts of the local past or “heritage” were mobilised for the purpose of “place-selling.”<sup>265</sup> Promotional guidebooks, reaching out to consuming travelers for whom tourism often “served as a vehicle for the expression of distinctive personal and social identities” often encouraged the consumption of “historic places”

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<sup>264</sup> Other reasons included selling the frontier, the suburb, and local industry. See S. Ward, *Selling Places: The Marketing and Promotion of Towns and Cities (1850-2000)* (New York: Routledge, 1998).

<sup>265</sup> B. Graham, “Heritage as Knowledge: Capital or Culture?,” *Urban Studies* 39 (2002):1003-1007, 1004. See also, D. Atkinson, “Heritage,” in *Cultural Geography: A Critical Dictionary of Key Concepts*, eds. D. Atkinson, P. Jackson, D. Sibley, N. Washbourne, (London: Tauris, 2005), 141-152:141.

as a means of communicating messages about self.<sup>266</sup> Many promotional guides investigated in this chapter sequestered the power of educational history for tourist attraction. Materials promoting Geneva or Lausanne notably resurrected the heritage needed to suit place-promotion strategies and ensured selected historical facts lent themselves appropriately to tourist attraction. This section explores the use of heritage in guides representing these two towns.<sup>267</sup>

Geneva and Lausanne guides employed selective accounts of local heritage to establish education as *the* distinguishing feature of each town's civic identity.<sup>268</sup> Historical narratives encouraged readers to view education in "Beautiful Intellectual Geneva" or in "Lovely Literary Lausanne" as an inherent aspect of "town spirit."<sup>269</sup> Historicist arguments, convenient for tourist purposes, suggested an organic succession of local developments, conditions and particularities bloomed each town a "unique" educational place. On the basis of this logic guides assured prospective visitors they could do no better than to visit these "leading" educational centres.<sup>270</sup> History was utilised to offer individuals a kind of destinational promise that towns could transform and improve their life quality and chances of success.

Near identical articulations of heritage codified civic space as superior; descriptions of each town's separate historical legacy varied in detail, not form.<sup>271</sup> In both cases, single, heterogeneous and staged stories of "collective memory" forged a sense of attractive educational place.<sup>272</sup> Celebratory historical details, strung into a loose chronology, served as the basis of progress narratives which constructed an

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<sup>266</sup> J. Steward, "'How and Where to Go': The Role of Travel Journalism and the Evolution of Foreign Tourism, 1840-1914" in *Histories of Tourism: Representation, Identity and Conflict*, ed. J. Walton (Toronto: Channel View, 2005), 33-54: 40.

<sup>267</sup> Neuchâtel guides also referenced educational heritage but not to the same extent. For this reason they are excluded from the discussion.

<sup>268</sup> This is not to suggest that a nationalist discourse characterising Switzerland as an essentially educational place did not already exist, however the civic tourism guides did not refer to this nationalist discourse. Moreover, Switzerland was characterised as an educational place in various English-language discourses. For example, "The Swiss as School Masters" – in *Switzerland by Clarence Rook, Switzerland, the Country and its People* (London: Chatto and Widus, 1907).

<sup>269</sup> Personification was often used in the titles of tourism guides, such as, for example the Association for the Interest of Geneva's *Beautiful, Intellectual, Historical Geneva* (Geneva: Soc. Anon. Des Arts Graphiques, 189?-1906).

<sup>270</sup> Language characterising the educational centres varied. The terms "leading," "first-class" and "first-rate" were commonly used.

<sup>271</sup> Here I suggest history-telling was formulaic.

<sup>272</sup> See D. Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

image of the past as one of continual educational advancement. Just as heraldic imagery in Le Rosey's prospectuses or photographs of diplomas pinned to the walls in Brillantmont's served as symbols of pedagogical legitimacy, historic details about towns' intellectual history conveyed a sense of qualified educational space.

The story of steady improvement began in "time immemorial" then progressed more or less directly to the Reformation – the period when, guides suggested, each town's educational spirit came to life. The long following period, running through the Age of Enlightenment to the then present day marked the dramatic ascension that led to towns' exceptional status as educational centres. The main rule of progressive history-telling within this general chronology was to include only the celebrated, canonised and distinctive past and to ignore anything considered controversial, uncomfortable or mundane.<sup>273</sup> Spatial metaphors served as a main device for conveying the scope of progression. Further, selective aspects of celebrity biography proved useful in market segmentation and selection. Examples from guides illustrate how partial and glorified versions of history, together with allegory and celebrity endorsement relayed a social-spatial success story geared to please an elite and, especially English and American audience of prospective tourists.<sup>274</sup>

Progress narratives began with statements such as "From time immemorial the *training of Mind and Character* has been a leading principle of Genevese life,"<sup>275</sup> or "Lausanne has always been considered one of the most literary towns."<sup>276</sup> The first hint of proof pointing to unusually progressive educational histories came with the mention that public schools existed in towns as far back as the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Yet, the Reformation and the period thereafter held the main plot.

In Lausanne, for example, "The introduction of the Reformation was the greatest benefit for it sparked taste for science and letters."<sup>277</sup> In Geneva:

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<sup>273</sup> B. Graham, "Heritage as Knowledge: Capital or Culture?" *Urban Studies* 39 (2002):1003-1017, 1004. See also, D. Atkinson, "Heritage," in *Cultural Geography: A Critical Dictionary of Key Concepts*, edited by D. Atkinson, P. Jackson, D. Sibley, N. Washbourne (London: Tauris, 2005), 141-152, 141.

<sup>274</sup> B. Graham, *A Geography of Heritage: Power, Culture and Economy* (London: Arnold, 2000).

<sup>275</sup> Robert Harvey, *Geneva Guide: Its Sports and Intellectual Resources* (Geneva: Colonne d'Affichage et de Publicité, 1899), (hereinafter "Harvey, *Geneva Educational Centre*"), 5.

<sup>276</sup> SDL, *Guide to Lausanne* (1890), 12.

<sup>277</sup> *Ibid.*

After the Reformation, Calvin founded the College of Geneva ... such was the commencement, small at the outset of the complete system of establishments which has made Geneva an educational centre of the highest rank.<sup>278</sup>

With the historical “cause” of progressive scholastic excellence identified, guides turned to Enlightenment metaphors which envisaged the centuries of intellectual progress following the Reformation.

After the “Academy at Lausanne became a centre of light,”<sup>279</sup> guides instructed, the city “shone with an intellectual brilliancy.”<sup>280</sup> Similarly, the Academy at Geneva also rendered its home city “a centre of light and leading in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.”<sup>281</sup> Such allegorical social spatial metaphors erected a figurative cosmology that helped prospective visitors “see” the historical importance of towns within a relativistic and mechanical framework: that of the intellectual galaxy of Western Europe.<sup>282</sup>

Geneva guides expended considerable effort towards situating the city as among the brightest celestial bodies in modern history. Assessments of the town’s relative intellectual magnitude as a visible and integral part of European intellectual achievement addressed the size issue head on:

Geneva has been termed the tiniest chief of cities. Small though she be, Geneva has had the honour to leave an abiding mark on the tract of civilization.<sup>283</sup>

In short, the idea that within a fixed spatial hegemony the small town was large enough to leave a mark on civilization mapped civic history onto the legitimating dominant metanarrative of modernity. This Europhile rhetoric stressed belonging and importance.

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<sup>278</sup> The Free Inquiry Office, “Geneva as an Educational Centre,” in *Eight Days at Geneva* (Geneva: The Free Inquiry Office, 1906), 11.

<sup>279</sup> SDL, *Guide to Lausanne* (1890), 12.

<sup>280</sup> Ibid.

<sup>281</sup> E. Doumergue, *Geneva Past and Present: An Historical and Descriptive Guide for The Use of Foreign Visitors in Geneva* (Geneva: Atar, 1909), (hereinafter “Doumergue, *Geneva Past and Present*”), 7.

<sup>282</sup> J. MacKenzie argues tourism guides from this period mapped towns according to hegemonic mentalities so as to appear as less daunting “foreign” places. He suggests the development of traveller’s handbooks should be seen “as a major tool of imperialism” as one of many means “for the complete taxonomising of the globe.” See J. MacKenzie, “Empires of Travel: British Guidebooks and Cultural Imperialism in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries,” in *Histories of Tourism: Representation, Identity and Conflict*, ed. J. Walton (Toronto: Channel View, 2005), 19-38:20.

<sup>283</sup> Doumergue, *Geneva Past and Present* (1909), 7.

Quantification served to reify the imprint of importance and success. Insisting that the “work of Genevese scholars and scientists could not be effaced from the great book of human knowledge, without robbing the intellectual fortune of future generations”<sup>284</sup> guides showcased facts, such as “from 1739 to 1880 with a population of fewer than 50 000 inhabitants Geneva had more than 30 representatives at the Berlin and Paris Academies of Science or the Royal Society in London.”<sup>285</sup> This type of enumeration highlighted networking with *the* intellectual hotspots of Western knowledge-making.<sup>286</sup> Reifying civic relations with the “universally” known and respected, the texts “assisted” readers’ interpretations of local place by providing familiar frameworks of understanding.

Guides made strategic use of history to promote their cause and explained that, historically, civic intellectualism *and* beauty attracted visitors. The power of Lausanne to draw educational tourists, for example, was explained as follows:

The admirable situation of Lausanne, the beauty of its surroundings, the salubrity of its climate, together with the intellectual development of its population have attracted, at all times, a very large number of illustrious strangers.<sup>287</sup>

The scope of attraction was framed through grand scale allegorical visualisations that emphasised a past of visitability. Geneva, for example attracted a “galaxy of men of science....”<sup>288</sup> Showcasing the towns as educational tourist meccas that, in the centuries following the Reformation attracted a mixed crowd of visiting “intellectuals,” “world renown scientists,” “cultural elites,” “men of progress” and “a crowd of students of all parts” guides invoked metaphors to erect their educational value and communicated the idea of destinations positively charged with high cultural

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<sup>284</sup> Harvey, *Geneva Educational Centre* (1899), 5.

<sup>285</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>286</sup> “Paris of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was often depicted and marketed as a Cosmopolis, a city defined by its global drive and aim to establish a sphere of transnational influence abroad.” See A. Vari. “Commercialized Modernities: A History of City Marketing and Urban Tourism Promotion in Paris and Budapest from the Nineteenth-Century to the Interwar-Period,” Dissertation (Rhode Island: Brown University, May 2005).

<sup>287</sup> As with nature, the social cultural characteristics of the local people were defined as convenient for tourist purposes.

<sup>288</sup> Anonymous. *University Education at Geneva* (Geneva: Julius-William Fick, 1893), 6.

capital.<sup>289</sup> Thus, the visitation of famous academic and literary elites was promoted as a basis of attraction itself.

Biographical information included in guides about some of the most “illustrious” names that “evoked the souvenir of a great past”<sup>290</sup> served an idealising function. The language of celebrity endorsement was plaintive; it served only to endorse. Thus, while “the name Geneva [,] celebrated by its association with the illustrious names of Calvin, Jean Jacques Rousseau, Voltaire, Byron and others...”<sup>291</sup> was made to stand out on the basis of celebrity, it did so on narrow historical terms. Because tourist heritage engaged neither controversy nor complexity, the raw material of celebrity biography required heavy filtering to render it marketable. All uncomfortable associations were avoided, uneasy question was ruled out.<sup>292</sup> Who celebrated Calvin’s association with Geneva? On what basis did Geneva exile Rousseau? Where did Voltaire move after Genevese authorities condemned his private theatrical performances? When did the Lake of Geneva inspire Byron’s houseguest to write *Frankenstein*, and why? Over such muddled aspects of the past, guides preferred a local history simply “heightened by the presence of Voltaire.”<sup>293</sup> They favoured a Lausanne “rendered illustrious by such scholars as ... Madame De Staël”<sup>294</sup> over the Lausanne Madame De Staël herself rendered “detestable.”<sup>295</sup> The elusive illusion of celebrity presence proved better endorsement than unedited details of the celebrities themselves.<sup>296</sup>

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<sup>289</sup> Ibid.

<sup>290</sup> Association for the Interests of Geneva, *Geneva: An Educational Centre* (Geneva: Association of the Interests of Geneva, 1905), 46 (hereinafter “AIG, *Geneva: An Educational Centre*”). Editions are catalogued in the Swiss National Library.

<sup>291</sup> Ibid.

<sup>292</sup> B. Graham, “Heritage as Knowledge: Capital or Culture?,” *Urban Studies* 39 (2002): 1003-1017, 1004. See also, D. Atkinson, “Heritage,” in *Cultural Geography: A Critical Dictionary of Key Concepts*, eds. D. Atkinson, P. Jackson, D. Sibley, N. Washbourne, (London: Tauris, 2005), 141-152, 141.

<sup>293</sup> AIG, *Geneva: An Educational Centre* (1905), 46

<sup>294</sup> SDL, *Guide to Lausanne* (1890), 12

<sup>295</sup> Ibid. Madame De Staël openly detested her home in Switzerland. Her pronouncement that Canton Vaud “was among the most boring places on earth” where she had been “so intensely bored for such a number of years” was resented by locals. Madame De Staël described herself as compelled to take refuge in the area of her birth because she was refused permission by Napoleon to live in her preferred home in Paris. See F. Gribble, “The Celebrities of Geneva” in *Gutenberg’s Seeing Europe with Famous Authors Volume VI 1851-1919* (Salt Lake City: Kessinger, 2005).

<sup>296</sup> Fame was not so much about a person but rather about a story of a person. For the most comprehensive history of celebrity as a phenomenon see L. Braudy, *The Frenzy of Renown: Fame and its History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

Guides further classified local historical place according to the types of visitors who had visited. Special attention was paid to the “many English illustrious strangers who have made long and frequent visits to the town.”<sup>297</sup> However, the breakdown of social and cultural capital in the case of English “illustrious strangers” was not strictly based upon academic credentials or achievements. Notoriety belonging to historian, actor or King associated Lausanne, for example, with a general feeling of select and cultured Anglo-prestige. It seemed that:

Among English and Americans suffice is to mention a few outstanding names. That of the historian Gibbon is inseparably connected with the town ... where he wrote *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. Kemble, the actor, whose statue may be seen in Westminster Abbey, died, and was buried at Lausanne ... His Royal Highness the *Prince of Wales* visited Lausanne in 1883. He greatly admired the Cathedral.<sup>298</sup>

Such accounts of heritage transformed the lives of those embodying social status into a social text that scripted local sojourn as for the ‘famed and fashionable’.<sup>299</sup> Accordingly, visitation for the purpose of writing the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (six volumes of approximately 1.5 million words) or for local sight-seeing served interchangeable examples of cultured visitation. The presence of royalty, the adoration associated with theatrical stars and the respect allocated to historians of great accomplishment, collapsed, appealed to a power “comparable to saint worship.”<sup>300</sup>

Names and subject categories also highlighted towns’ roles as specifically scholastic centres proven capable of producing celebrated, earned and careered cultural capital. They alluded to the promise that an educational visit to the town would affect the social status of the individual concerned. In the case of one guide a rather detailed list of famous and successful Genevese-educated men and their careers and social positions literally furnished proof of the “Results of Genevese Moral and Intellectual

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<sup>297</sup> SDL, *Guide to Lausanne* (1899), 14.

<sup>298</sup> Ibid.

<sup>299</sup> Ibid, 8. British literary greats discussed in guides included Edward Gibbon, William Wordsworth, Lord Byron, Percy Bysshe Shelley, Mary Shelly, Walter Scott, and Charles Dickens. Contemporary writers were not included. For example there was no mention that Arthur Conan Doyle’s *Sherlock Holmes* mysteries were often set in Switzerland where the character eventually “died.”

<sup>300</sup> The use of heritage served what Dean MacCannell refers to as “sight sacralisation” and can be seen as one of the processes used to mark towns as a “must-see” attraction within the international system of tourist attractions. See D. MacCannell, “Semiotics of Attraction” in *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (Berkeley: University of California Press, [1976]1999):109-131.

Education.<sup>301</sup> The list, a demonstration of the power of the destination as a mechanism for reproducing an internationally distributed cultural capital, enabled prospective visitors to ponder where an academic voyage to Geneva might lead. As exhibited by the first career category posted, candidates could dream high, even to the founding of a religion (table 2.1).

Religion/Theology	Science	Commerce/ Finances
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Founder of a religion</li> <li>• Cardinal</li> <li>• Theologians and Preachers</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Academie des Sciences of Paris</li> <li>• The Academy of Sciences</li> <li>• Archaeologists</li> <li>• Chief Consulting Engineer for the utilisation of the Niagara Falls.</li> <li>• Engineers</li> <li>• Inventor of the Alpine borer</li> <li>• Constructor of the St. Gotthard tunnel</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Great Financiers</li> <li>• Finance Minister to the Duke Leopold of Lorraine</li> <li>• Finance Minister of Louis XVI</li> <li>• Director of the East India Company</li> <li>• Leading banker in London and Paris</li> <li>• Deputy Governor of the Bank of England</li> <li>• Financier of the Paris, Lyon and Mediterranean railway</li> <li>• Donor of a Music School to Geneva</li> </ul>
Politics	Fine Arts and Music	Letters/ Law
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Founders of Empires</li> <li>• Vice-President of the United States</li> <li>• Political Reformer</li> <li>• French Premier</li> <li>• President of the French Senate</li> <li>• Under Secretary for India</li> <li>• Ambassador of George II at the Court of Versailles</li> <li>• Plenipotentiary of Wuerttemberg</li> <li>• Member of the Genevese deputation at the Vienna Congress Representative of Switzerland at the Paris Congress of 1815</li> <li>• Member of the Genevese Councils 1814-1833</li> <li>• Reviser of the Swiss Generals and Military Men</li> <li>• Genevese ministers</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Painters</li> <li>• Painter of horses</li> <li>• Painter of Queen Victoria</li> <li>• Historical landscape and portrait painter</li> <li>• Eminent landscape painter</li> <li>• Painter of Swiss scenery</li> <li>• The greatest painter of Swiss legendary history</li> <li>• Engravers</li> <li>• Celebrated engraver who by order of the U.S. struck the medal destined to carry to a remote posterity the features of the late President Lincoln</li> <li>• Sculptors</li> <li>• Alpine Modeller</li> <li>• Musical Composers and Performers</li> <li>• Distinguished musicians</li> <li>• Celebrated Composer</li> <li>• Pianist Composer</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Historian of Music</li> <li>• Translators of the Bible</li> <li>• Poets</li> <li>• Genevese Jurists</li> <li>• Historiographer</li> <li>• Twenty Novelists</li> <li>• Fabulists</li> <li>• National Dramatists</li> <li>• Philosophers</li> <li>• Educationalists</li> <li>• Lexicographers</li> <li>• Celtic Scholar</li> <li>• Egyptologist</li> <li>• Chinese scholars</li> <li>• Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit Royal Society</li> </ul>

Table 2.1: Results of Genevese Moral and Intellectual Education (Harvey, *Geneva Educational Centre*, 1899)

<sup>301</sup> This was the name of a chapter.

The range of prestigious posts showcased the city as a proven seat of diverse learning. It reinforced Geneva's power of attraction and its educational prestige. The selective focus on "success" relied on the discourse of transformation to brand local place as a tourist place that served as exceptional venue for the development of personal and social identity through education. The representation of local place suggested a first class ticket for life. Such place images invited individuals to view themselves as the future elite with a passport to intellectual citizenship of the world.

Guides were, moreover, quick to point out towns had well-served the Anglo-market for formal schooling. Study abroad in the towns was articulated as an act of continuity with England and the United States' ethno-historic pasts. Guides implied that for the British, study abroad in Geneva or Lausanne was a historically "conventionalised act." Facts such as "[d]uring the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, many young English men came to Geneva for their education"<sup>302</sup> reproduced study abroad in the towns as part of British tradition.<sup>303</sup>

Guides were eager to mention towns continued the practice of educating English royals. To Lausanne "many Royal families send one or more of their members, either for health or education." That "the two sons of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales spent the winter of 1883-84 at Ouchy"<sup>304</sup> for educational reasons was continually reiterated. Similarly, guides stressed American connections to forge a link with another important segment of the Anglo market. Readers learned, for example, that:

When Albert Gallatin departed his country to cross the Atlantic and became famous as an American citizen and a minister of George Washington, he left there, according to his own statements, the two young Penns, proprietors of Pennsylvania and a grandson of Dr. Franklin.<sup>305</sup>

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<sup>302</sup> Anonymous. *University Education at Geneva* (Geneva: Julius-William Fick, 1893), 6. These refugees were allowed to establish their own church in Geneva. For a discussion of British Protestant refugees see Mavis Coulson, *Southwards at Geneva: 200 Years of English Travellers* (Gloucester: Sutton, 1988).

<sup>303</sup> This historical phenomenon was treated as a pilgrimage, an almost sacred voyage whereby elite British youth over the centuries travelled to the town to gain knowledge and status.

<sup>304</sup> SDL, *Guide to Lausanne* (1899), 7.

<sup>305</sup> Anonymous. *University Education at Geneva* (Geneva: Julius-William Fick, 1893), 6. Albert Gallatin (1761-1849), a Swiss, emigrated to America in 1780 where he became a politician. He chose Geneva for the education of his own grandson and that of Benjamin Franklin.

The implicit suggestion that one of the founding fathers of America trusted his grandson's education to the town of Geneva imbued the town with an American prestige that solicited consumer confidence. Guides stressed the history of intersecting social relations included Anglo-attachments to local place. Calling on collective Anglo-memory, guides suggested visitors could replicate elite history by the act of visitation.

Inevitably the texts eventually turned their attention from the celebrated past and attended to the task of promoting the present. Bringing progress narratives to a close, guides seized the opportunity to stress how far towns had come in terms of educational development and to assert that at no time was reputation lost:

It is a far cry from the time of Calvin's Academy to that of the marvelously organised educational institutions with the University at their head which Geneva now possesses, but through that time the city maintained without a break its reputation as a seat of broad and varied learning.<sup>306</sup>

Guides from Geneva and Lausanne suggested that, because of their educational heritage, from the pedagogic point of view each town offered "the greatest and most varied resources."<sup>307</sup> Texts stressed these resources were available for the benefit of current visitors.

Some guides went so far as to suggest the educational institutions had been partially developed as a means to attract visitors:

To show herself worthy of such a glorious inheritance from past centuries, modern Geneva has taken particular care to develop the institutions she already possessed: besides these, others have been created not only for the benefit of townspeople, but as an attraction for strangers coming here for education.<sup>308</sup>

Finally, the logic of a progressive past promised a progressive future. Presenting towns as self-aware, reflective entities that knew how to shape their own development put them in control of the past, present and future. Knowing, for example that "Lausanne is one of those towns, which have known how to place themselves, and remain, in that

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<sup>306</sup> AIG, *Geneva: An Educational Centre* (1902), 7.

<sup>307</sup> I. de Longinski, *Excursions to the Environs of Geneva* (Geneva: Printing Office of the Geneva Tribune, 1899), 23.

<sup>308</sup> *Ibid.*

respect, at the head of progress”<sup>309</sup> the visitor was assured education would likely remain “good.” Told that Geneva “[i]n true progressive spirit keeps abreast of the times - ahead of them almost”<sup>310</sup> tourists received a promise of the most up-to-date education. Thus, past, present and future, “Intellectual Geneva” and “Literary Lausanne” were promoted as ideal educational centres.

Of course, the ambiguity inherent in the term “educational centre” enabled guides to promote a large number of products as “of educational advantage.” The present - built upon the social foundation of the past - was shown to offer a wide spectrum of formal schooling options, rational pursuits and leisure opportunities. These were creatively and systematically conveyed. As guides defined and showcased the options, target markets were increasingly identified and segmented.

## 2.2 Public Instruction

Guides stressed a rich array of schooling options to an international clientele. This section investigates the very official-looking taxonomies of public instruction which categorised educational institutions along set lines, typically age, level of study, gender, funding source, courses offered and cost to a (foreign) student. It demonstrates that, apart from inferring credibility, highly structured and word-economical classifications “miniaturised” public instruction for ease of viewing.<sup>311</sup> Organisational charts of school systems functioned as textual spectacles that simultaneously framed local public instruction as interesting tourist attractions on an intellectual level,<sup>312</sup> and in strictly practical terms, as a very real network of educational pathways available for

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<sup>309</sup> SDL, *Guide to Lausanne* (1890), 20.

<sup>310</sup> AIG, *Geneva: An Educational Centre* (1905), 5.

<sup>311</sup> J. MacKenzie, “Empires of Travel: British Guidebooks and Cultural Imperialism in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries,” in *Histories of Tourism: Representation, Identity and Conflict*, ed. J. Walton (Toronto: Channel View, 2005), 19-38: 20.

<sup>312</sup> The school system, “organised into a stream of impressions” in guidebooks, was only one of a number of “visible” parts of society turned into tourist attractions in late nineteenth and early twentieth century tourist promotion. For a discussion on public works and other social establishments as tourist spectacle see D. MacCannell, “Sightseeing and Social Structure,” in *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (Berkeley: University of California Press, [1976] 1999), 39-56.

the educational enrichment of visiting students. The section shows that the methods used to describe public instruction idealised options and created made-for-market images of public instruction.

On paper, taxonomies of school systems within guides created a large product capable of arousing the interest of a broad-based clientele. The controlled format suggested guides were delivering straightforward and accurate representations of public instruction.<sup>313</sup> Yet, a certain leniency within the structure of the taxonomies, together with incomplete and inconsistent descriptions, rendered an uneven descriptive treatment. In short, equality of format did not translate into an equality of focus. Looking closely at the “maps” it is clear that content restrictions, imposed by the requirements of format, remained flexible enough that guides could continue to target audiences while controlling the portraits of schools.

In the systemic descriptions, certain schools received more positive attention than others. As was the case with the use of heritage, negative aspects remained outside the guides’ jurisdiction. Ultimately, the facts that shaped the scholastic landscape were themselves constructed to meet and satisfy the expectations of dominant markets. Paying attention to which schools were placed in the foreground versus the background, to slippages between fact and value, and to clues that located particular social groups in specific schools unsettles the objectivity or mimetic representation the format promised.<sup>314</sup> While the texts certainly provided ample facts for readers, the manner in which they construed these facts served the guides’ overall idealising agenda.

To help investigate the idealising work of guides, it is useful to draw upon selected English language newspapers of the period, particularly, conversations within the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Christian Science Monitor* and the *Times of London* relevant to the spectrum of scholastic goods guides promoted and their

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<sup>313</sup> Here I suggest that the highly ritualised format, with its predictable and well-defined structure helped infer credibility because its generic “informational” structure was itself recognised and associated with a style of writing commonly used for official and objective reporting. See “Genres and Generic Structure” in N. Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research* (London: Routledge, 1999), 63-105.

<sup>314</sup> Dorothy Smith suggests this method in D. Smith, “An Active Text: A Textual Analysis of the Social Relations of Public Textual Discourse,” in *Texts, Facts and Femininity: Exploring the Relations of Ruling* (London: Routledge, 1990), 120-158.

intended markets.<sup>315</sup> As context and anchor to the wider social, cultural, and historical setting, newspaper discourse is used in this section as an analytical muse to confirm, contradict, challenge and interpret the idealised portraits guides promoted to prospective visitors.<sup>316</sup>

Guides included descriptions of almost every type of “public” instruction. In this context, public instruction referred to schools that were partially funded by public sources or, at the very least, regulated by civic authority. Importantly, the term public did not necessarily imply “free.” The following table (table 2.2) is based upon a compilation of the types of schools promoted in guides of each town. The table shows guides advertised a wide scope of schooling options that were theoretically available to all visitors from infant to post-secondary school ages at the time.

The wide range of formal schooling options encouraged a range of prospective visitors of diverse age and housing needs. The educational centres advertised a school system that included the attendance of foreign students. The lower levels indicated families residing in the towns with small children, the higher levels suggested youth staying in residence at pensions. These offered varying degrees of chaperon and personal service for those attending day school or private lessons.

Although guides included all the types of schools mentioned in table 2.2, on the whole, more focus was placed on schools above the level of compulsory attendance – the fee-charging schools which often charged additional fees to foreign students.<sup>317</sup> Of these, academic track secondary schools and universities received the most attention, followed by commercial, art and music schools. Technical and professional schools received the least attention.

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<sup>315</sup> These particular newspapers are used because they are easily accessed online.

<sup>316</sup> To be clear, I do not suggest these newspapers provide an avenue for historical truth finding, they merely serve as a site of English-language public discourse which offered another view into the time and cultural circumstances in which the promotional guides circulated. As noted by educational historian Rosemarie Pelz the newspaper is the medium through which schooling issues receive the most coverage see, “A Public Text on Curriculum: Representations in the Edmonton Journal, 1984-1994,” Dissertation (University of Alberta, 2003).

<sup>317</sup> Descriptions of infant and primary schools were exceedingly brief.

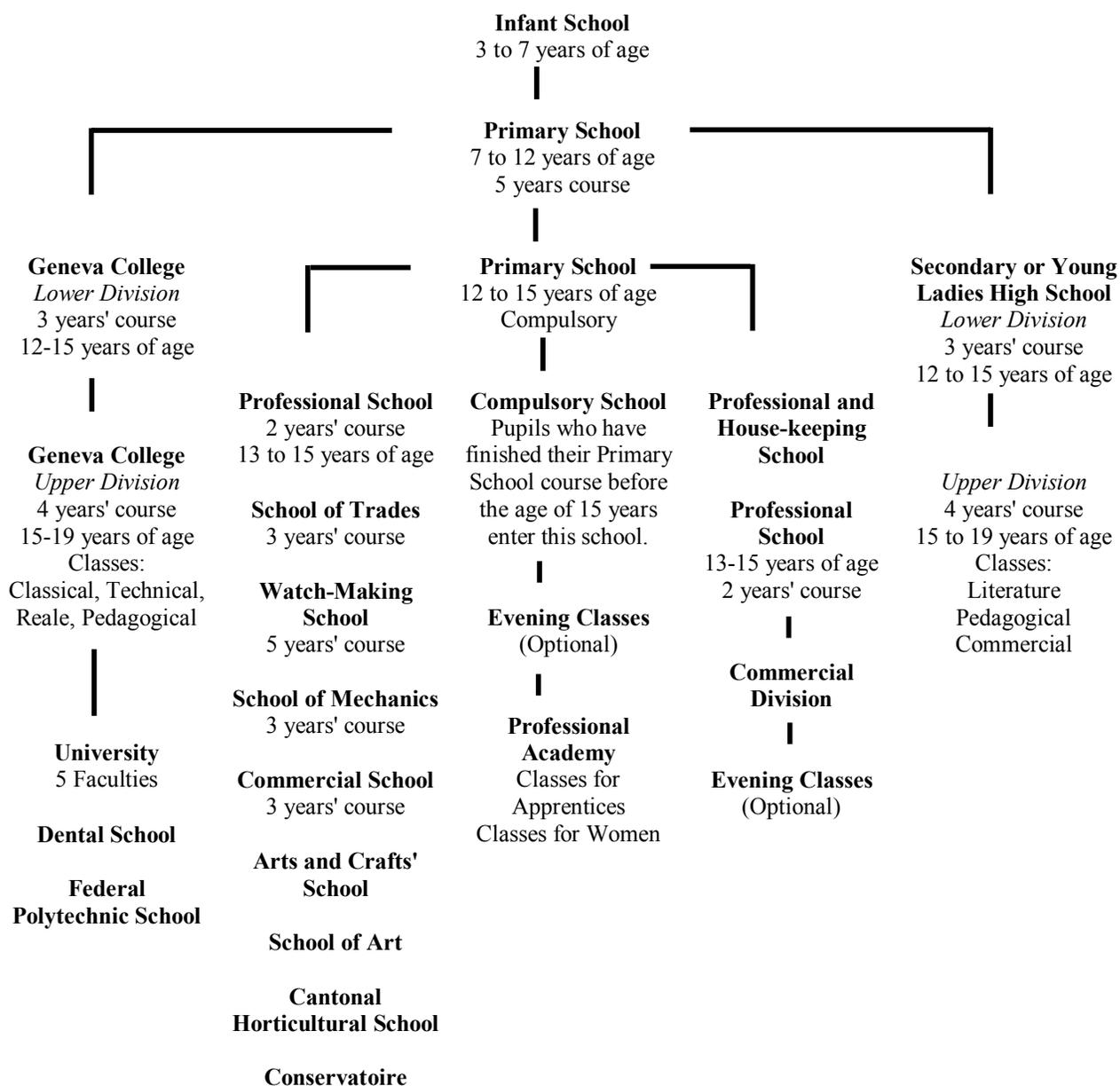


Table 2.2: System of Public Instruction

In order to facilitate readers' comprehension of academic-track secondary schooling and university options, guides carefully described their nature. They literally and figuratively "translated" them into a language English and American visitors could understand. Texts suggested that secondary schools offered the higher levels of primary schooling as well as an extended course of study for children aged 12 - 15. "Colleges," "academies" and "gymnasiums" prepared students between the ages of 13

- 18 for university. Higher level education (which often offered separate classes for boys and girls) consisted of literary schools (or sections) dedicated to teaching classical knowledge (Latin, Greek, rhetoric, logic and mathematics) and modern schools (or sections) focusing on modern languages and science. Some guides suggested, as did *Education at Neuchâtel* (1911), schools focusing on classical subjects “really correspond[ed] to the fifths and sixths of an English public school.”<sup>318</sup>

Descriptions of secondary and high schools simultaneously represented and advocated schools.<sup>319</sup> Facts provided statistics on school size, knowledge of curriculum and other details including cost, location and facilities. Authoritative statements that signaled factuality further instructed readers, providing, for example, truisms on the quality of educational place. Passages on secondary schooling, scattered with declarations such as “English girls can do no better than come to the Girls’ High School at Neuchâtel” or “there is no better place than Neuchâtel’s Gymnase,” highlighted the higher schools as ideal places for English-speaking youth to attend.<sup>320</sup>

Texts readily encouraged readers to envision themselves (or their children) in ideal scholastic spaces, for example in “one of the finest buildings in Switzerland” (the High School for Girls at Lausanne) or in schools where “all the needs of students have been foreseen and sedulously met” (Geneva College).<sup>321</sup> Stressing the “foreign” schools offered a comfortable atmosphere for English speakers, guides anglicised descriptions and pointed out English connections wherever possible. Descriptions of French secondary schools that sounded curiously English resulted. For example, the Collège Gailliard, Lausanne was said to “provide a sound and liberal education ... the games and sports are led by an English master, who is a Cambridge graduate.”<sup>322</sup>

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<sup>318</sup> Gustav Adolf Bienemann, *Education at Neuchâtel* (Neuchâtel: Attiger Bros, 1911), (hereinafter “Bienemann, *Education at Neuchâtel*”), 10.

<sup>319</sup> As is the case of much promotion, guides communicated strategically in that they both informed and expressed a hope for action. For a discussion on strategic communication, see J. Habermas, *Theory of Communicative Action* (London: Heinemann, 1984). In this way, the texts exemplified the early stages of the promotional culture which today dominates capitalist communications. A. Wernick, *Promotional Culture* (London: Sage, 1991).

<sup>320</sup> Bienemann, *Education at Neuchâtel* (1911), 12.

<sup>321</sup> This is a rare example where texts referred to Switzerland. Association of the Interests of Geneva, *A Guide Giving an Account of Public Instruction in Geneva* (Geneva: Atar S.A. 1899), (hereinafter “AIG, *Public Instruction in Geneva*”), 14. Editions are catalogued in the Swiss National Library.

<sup>322</sup> SDL, *Guide to Lausanne Switzerland* (1894), 20.

University spaces were also prime targets for positive judgment. Guides heartily welcomed English-speaking students to attend Faculties of Letters, Science, Law, Theology or Medicine. Among the numerous course descriptions lay suggestions of admirable circumstance and competitive place advantage. Lausanne guides, for example, extolled their university was not only “in a state of great efficiency,” housed “in a superb building,” and well-staffed with “distinguished Professors,”<sup>323</sup> but also that “the education therein given, in all the faculties will stand in comparison with that of the best Universities, Swiss or foreign.”<sup>324</sup> Descriptions of “the University of Geneva - the top rung of the ladder in Genevese education”<sup>325</sup> and of “the University of Neuchâtel ... one of the highest seats of Higher Education in Switzerland”<sup>326</sup> followed similar standards of gradation.

Degree of organisation constituted an important category for tabulating how well universities fared in comparison to their international competition. Claims such as “the School of Chemistry [Geneva] is one of the most admirably organised in Europe”<sup>327</sup> played to modern discourses of order and efficiency. Celebrity ranking of alumni constituted a familiar axis of promotion. “The Englishman Earl Stanhope owed to his Genevese education his remarkable scientific training.”<sup>328</sup> A further ingredient, the academic stardom of past professors, frequently and formulaically appeared as part of the descriptive mix. Facts like “Aggassiz was once a professor at the Academy of Neuchâtel” where “Godot also taught” provided grounds to warrant a visit.<sup>329</sup>

In the sea of accolades and facts, readers could easily discern that, in practical terms, the gamut of secondary schools and university programs boiled down to two main choices: students could either attend as regular students or join special classes to learn French held at many of the secondary schools and universities.<sup>330</sup>

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<sup>323</sup> Ibid., 24.

<sup>324</sup> SDL, *Guide to Lausanne* (1890), 22.

<sup>325</sup> AIG, *Public Instruction in Geneva* (1900), 14.

<sup>326</sup> The School Commissioners, *Neuchâtel, Switzerland: The Schools and Their Buildings* (Neuchâtel: The School Commissioners, 1898), (hereinafter “School Commissioners, *Neuchâtel Schools*”), 23.

<sup>327</sup> Harvey, *Geneva Educational Centre* (1899), 41.

<sup>328</sup> Text refers to Charles Stanhope, 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl Stanhope (1753-1816) who was educated at Eton and studied mathematics at the University of Geneva. See Harvey, *Geneva Educational Centre* (1899), 40.

<sup>329</sup> School Commissioners, *Neuchâtel Schools* (1898), 23.

<sup>330</sup> Also to learn to teach French, or learn another subject in modified French.

Suppression of detail and economy of words provided a seamless version of the first option – that of attending the higher schools as a regular student. The categories controlling the type of information offered about schools that “corresponded” to the higher levels of English public schooling left little room for elaboration and, as a result, important discrepancies were lost in translation. It went without saying, for example, that regular programs in towns’ secondary and higher schools followed a local curriculum, were conducted in French, and were day as opposed to boarding schools. Only one guide from Neuchâtel confronted these differences as relevant and suggested that “[u]nless a boy means to work, and can follow lectures in French fairly easily, he had better not go to the Gymnase ... University.”<sup>331</sup> This frank advice, atypical in a promotional genre, which did not permit negative evaluation nor discuss the potential downsides of educational visitation raises the important question of how texts “guided” prospective visitors through the sea of choices.

Interestingly, with only one exception, guides refrained from discussing the subject of French language acquisition as a rationale for study in the towns. Only *Education at Neuchâtel* (1911) argued the advantage of coming abroad for the specific purpose of learning French. The reasoning was purely British. *Education at Neuchâtel* suggested ineffectual public school teaching and threats to England’s commercial supremacy created a “need” for British boys to travel to places like Neuchâtel and join special French programmes for language training. Assuming the perspective of the English “we,” the scope of the targeted audience narrowed to those familiar with the world of elite private English schooling. Broaching the topic of language education in England the guide suggested:

Few subjects have aroused greater interest during the past few years than the teaching of modern languages in our public schools. Our eyes have been opened by our critics and we have begun to mend our ways. At Oxford indeed ‘home of lost causes and impossible loyalties’ the ten years war is still being waged. Greek is still compulsory.<sup>332</sup>

Displaying a knowledge of English educational affairs, the guide noted that the “Clarendon Commission long ago argued public schools should pay greater attention

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<sup>331</sup> Bienemann, *Education at Neuchâtel* (1911), 11.

<sup>332</sup> Ibid.

to the teaching of modern language”<sup>333</sup> and indicated language teaching methods were beginning to change in the public schools.

However, the text was quick to establish that despite progress, the general quality of language education remained substandard. It argued “[i]f boys are to learn French thoroughly, the ‘Gerund grinders’ among modern language masters” would have to “become as extinct as the dodo” and that:

The effects of some sixty or more years of teaching the living languages as if they were dead, cannot be expected to disappear in less than six, and for some time to come, most boys will have to stay abroad for a year at least in a French speaking country, if they want to learn French thoroughly.<sup>334</sup>

Concluding that boys who were serious about learning French must go abroad, the guide then advocated special programs at the various schools suggesting they offered a “superior” approach in French teaching.

The gender-biased texts suggested such language training would not only benefit boys personally in their own careers but would also help them to better serve their country. Study abroad at Neuchâtel was thus touted as a means to articulate imperial identity. After citing the damning observation by former British Prime Minister, the 5<sup>th</sup> Earl of Rosebery (1847-1929, Prime Minister in 1894-1895) “I think when our national ignorance of foreign languages has become not merely a byword, but almost a commercial disaster, we might reconsider part of our educational apparatus”<sup>335</sup> the guide rallied:

For some years past, we English as a nation have been waking up to the fact, that, if we are to continue to hold our own in the commercial world under the present changed condition of things, it will be necessary to give our sons an opportunity of acquiring not only a theoretical, but also a practical knowledge of modern languages.<sup>336</sup>

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<sup>333</sup> Ibid. For a useful discussion of the Clarendon Commission’s view on modern languages, see J. Roach, “The Public School Community,” in *Secondary Education in England, 1870-1902, Public Activity and Private Enterprise* (London: Routledge, 1991), 153. For original text, see G.G. Coulton, *Public Schools and the Public Needs: Suggestions for the Reform of Our Teaching Methods in Light of the Modern Requirements* (Kent: Simpkin, 1901).

<sup>334</sup> Bienemann, *Education at Neuchâtel* (1911), 4. A “term on compound nouns” suggests the writer was not very familiar with the practices of French teaching in England or Switzerland.

<sup>335</sup> Ibid., 12.

<sup>336</sup> Ibid., 14.

This very British discussion taking place within a Swiss tourism guide linked the educational resources of the town with the needs of the Empire suggesting local place shaped, nurtured, reinforced and confirmed the needs of British imperialism.<sup>337</sup>

While other guides refrained from explicitly arguing the merits of French language training abroad, a very slight variation in font is suggestive. Information about special French classes and programs for foreigners were italicised or, in some cases, set in bold font. Were it not for this highlighting it might seem that most guides assumed an audience comprised of students like American “Miss Ida Welt” who “studied and mastered subjects in French, excelled in chemistry at the University of Geneva” to then become “the only woman chemist in Paris.”<sup>338</sup> The subtle flagging of the less stringent option of joining one of the many French classes especially designed for “foreigners” hailed the attention of a wider audience.

Following Canadian sociologist Dorothy Smith’s suggestion that texts “make connections with the larger, wider set of social relations of the public textual discourse”<sup>339</sup> and taking into consideration the amount of press devoted to the topic of “language study on the continent,” it is clear the simple highlight called attention to a product much in demand among certain elite circles. In an Althusserian sense the italicised font hailed individuals of particular market segments.<sup>340</sup> For example, it recruited those headed for a career in the diplomatic corps, in international commerce<sup>341</sup> or in French language teaching.<sup>342</sup> It spoke to those desiring to “read

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<sup>337</sup> Here it is very clear which country is the dominant one within the binaries of centre. In this conversation, the status of the Swiss in Anglo-Swiss relations seems almost invisible.

<sup>338</sup> Miss Ida Welt graduated in chemistry from Vassar College in 1891 after which she spent two years at the University of Geneva in Switzerland. See also, “Personal Gossip,” *New York Times* January 12, 1894, and “Serious Studies Abroad,” *New York Times* December 17, 1894, 4.

<sup>339</sup> D. Smith stresses the importance of investigating texts as active constituents of the social relations of public discourse. See D. Smith, “An Active Text: A Textual Analysis of the Social Relations of Public Textual Discourse” in *Texts, Facts and Femininity: Exploring the Relations of Ruling* (London: Routledge, 1990), 120-158.

<sup>340</sup> I mean here the use of bold text functioned to recruit subjects by calling them to participate in a widely ideologically inscribed practice. See Louis Althusser, “Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses,” in J. Rivkin and M. Ryan (eds.), *Literary Theory: An Anthology* (Maiden: Blackwell Publishers, 1998): 294-304, as well as Louis Althusser, *Lenin and Philosophy and other Essays*, by Louis Althusser with an introduction by Fredric Jameson (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2001 [1971]).

<sup>341</sup> “French Language in Diplomacy,” *New York Times* December 19, 1896.

<sup>342</sup> “Study of French in Italy,” *Christian Science Monitor* April 30, 1911.

French literature, scientific works or philosophic novels”<sup>343</sup> or simply wishing to “understand the many French quotations found in English newspapers and books”<sup>344</sup>, or even to those individuals needing the “level of fluency necessary for avoiding traps for the unsuspecting tourist.”<sup>345</sup> According to American newspaper discourse, the “nouveaux riches American Europo-Maniacs”<sup>346</sup> interested in increasing their social status through acquaintance of anything French (language, cooks, fashion, dancing) were also hailed, as were the “Ladyships” who wished to speak with their French chefs or “with the Parisian tailors in London.”<sup>347</sup> All in all, the special notice given to special French classes called to an audience wider than that of public school boys wishing to save the Empire.

Suppression of detail and economy of words also provided a seamless version of the second choice, that of attending the “special” French classes for foreigners. Examining the portraits of the classes painted more closely on the basis of “plain facts” suggests the necessity of “looking at texts from a representational point of view in terms of which elements are included ... which elements are excluded, and which of the elements that are included are given the greatest prominence.”<sup>348</sup> A brief comparison of two alternate accounts of the University of Geneva’s “Vacation Course of Modern French at the Modern French Seminary” – one from a promotional guide used in this study and the other from a newspaper article – demonstrates the importance of always considering “the wider set of social relations of the public textual discourse” when interpreting any type of text.<sup>349</sup> The idealising potential of “pure fact” is worthy of consideration.<sup>350</sup>

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<sup>343</sup> “The Value of Foreign Languages,” *New York Times* October 6, 1898.

<sup>344</sup> “The Language of France,” *New York Times* November 1, 1895.

<sup>345</sup> View expressed in “Babel of Languages,” *Washington Post* May 5, 1901.

<sup>346</sup> “The Europo-maniac,” *Washington Post* May 15, 1892.

<sup>347</sup> “The Language of France,” *New York Times* November 1, 1895.

<sup>348</sup> Norman Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research* (London: Routledge, 2003), 136.

<sup>349</sup> See D. Smith, “An Active Text: A Textual Analysis of the Social Relations of Public Textual Discourse” in *Texts, Facts and Femininity: Exploring the Relations of Ruling* (London: Routledge, 1990), 120-158.

<sup>350</sup> The discrepancies between the two descriptions do neither speak to the truth of either version, nor to the truth of the “set of social events” but simply to differences in two textual descriptions. Canadian sociologist Dorothy Smith describes this type of analytical strategy in greater depth in “An Active Text: A Textual Analysis of the Social Relations of Public Textual Discourse” in *Texts, Facts and Femininity: Exploring the Relations of Ruling* (London: Routledge, 1990), 120-158.

*Public Instruction in Geneva* (1899) provided a brief description of Geneva University's vacation course in its taxonomy of public instruction which read:

During the months of July and August, holiday lectures on the French language are given for the benefit of French School Masters and Mistresses who teach French in foreign countries.<sup>351</sup>

The guide noted the vacation courses covered the subjects of:

Modern literature; Classical literature; Analytic Reading of Modern Authors; Institutions and Customs of French-speaking countries; Practical syntax; Gallicisms; Style; Elocution; Reading; Pronunciation.<sup>352</sup>

A serial column in the *New York Times* entitled "Her Point of View" (1899) similarly described the aim of the program as giving:

an appreciation of idiomatic French, to train the ear, to give facility in writing, speaking and delivering written and extempore lectures on modern French Literature.<sup>353</sup>

The column, however, noted:

The work is arranged particularly for Germans, comparison being made between German and French sounds and expressions ... the majority of summer students are German men, who disapprove of women students ... as a result the women are treated with uncompromising severity.<sup>354</sup>

Whether or not "Her Point of View" was correct, the comparison nicely illustrates that even the most direct, fact-based course descriptions potentially idealised the portrait of schools. Imagining momentarily that the column was accurately reported it is clear that a less detailed approach to description would have best suited the University's "wish to add natives of Britain to our *clientele*" as stated in their editorial "Holiday Instruction in French" in the *Times* (1898).<sup>355</sup>

Had guides not deviated in format, it would be difficult to maintain the argument that the provision of plain facts constituted idealisation. However, although guides principally obeyed format and avoided describing schools at the level of the classroom, they weighed into deeper portraits of life at their own convenience. The guide *Geneva Educational Centre* (1899), for instance, keen to provide a fuller portrait of the Geneva Commercial School (another "type" of secondary education that

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<sup>351</sup> AIG, *Public Instruction in Geneva* (1899), 17.

<sup>352</sup> Ibid.

<sup>353</sup> "Her Point of View," *New York Times* July 28, 1899.

<sup>354</sup> Ibid.

<sup>355</sup> Editorial, "Holiday Instruction in French," *The Times* December 17, 1898.

received considerable attention in guides) described the school's "superior"<sup>356</sup> nature down to the level of the classroom detailing a graphic description of pedagogic practice.<sup>357</sup> Readers were advised:

During six hours a week under an able professor, the school is constituted as a *Commercial Office* ... the school stands as a *Firm* doing business (banking, goods etc.) on its own account, on commission, in partnership. Every pupil of the School occupies in turn in this Imaginary Firm the position of General Manager, Cashier, Accountant, Correspondent, Warehouse man ... in fact, all the commercial combination as (sic) accidents and incidents are artificially got up by the Organised School Bureau.<sup>358</sup>

Similar enthusiastic descriptions are found in portraits of Neuchâtel's Commercial School. *Education at Neuchâtel* (1911) noted that inside "classrooms and lecture rooms fitted up with the latest modern and most approved school furniture" and that - just like those at Brillantmont - students looked out onto a "glorious view of the whole chain of Alps, including the Bernese-Oberland, the Dent-du-Midi, and Mont Blanc."<sup>359</sup> As these examples suggest, the taxonomies of public instruction, from moment to moment, varied in level of enthusiastic intensity and level of detail.

In discussing music and art schools, evaluative statements were overwhelmingly positive within the texts dominated by the purpose of knowledge exchange. Readers were required to accept on good faith statements such as the "Institute of Music in Lausanne has formed several virtuosi"<sup>360</sup> and the Geneva Conservatoire was "far famed."<sup>361</sup> Celebrity and Englishness, key means by which guides generated enthusiasm, promoted the Geneva Conservatoire on the basis of its historical association with "the thoroughbred Genevese pianist and composer Thalberg so celebrated in England for his composition "Home Sweet Home."<sup>362</sup> Guides argued "it is not astonishing that the Genevese should possess an art school that can vie with

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<sup>356</sup> This "fact" was discussed in the English-language press. There are many examples including "Commercial Education Abroad," *The Times*, September 12, 1899 and "Special Training for Trade," *New York Times* August 20, 1895.

<sup>357</sup> Harvey, *Geneva Educational Centre* (1899), 30.

<sup>358</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>359</sup> Bienemann, *Education at Neuchâtel* (1911), 14.

<sup>360</sup> SDL, *Guide to Lausanne* (1899), 50.

<sup>361</sup> Harvey, *Geneva Educational Centre* (1899), 37.

<sup>362</sup> *Ibid.*

the best European schools of the kind”<sup>363</sup> and that at Lausanne “lovers of painting can pursue their studies under the direction of some of the most accomplished painters and drawing masters.”<sup>364</sup> Such enthusiasm targeted the widely documented “craze” of English and American students who desired to voyage abroad for a “European” musical or artistic education through predictable means.<sup>365</sup>

However, enthusiasm dropped dramatically when guides discussed other schools on the roster of public instruction that were “open to receiving foreigners.” The schools that challenged stereotypical conceptions about the meaning of an elite Anglo-European abroad - the technical schools - received less focus and few accolades. When the reader arrived at pages describing these schools, descriptive ink suddenly dried up.<sup>366</sup> In many cases six word descriptions sufficed. The school name plus the term “free school” and the qualifier “under state patronage” equaled a portrait.

In the case of the more wordy descriptions, the language used not only signaled an awareness that prospective customers were unlikely to be from the working classes but also served to highlight social distance. Cases where longer descriptions arose affirmed that “difference is the motor that produces texts.”<sup>367</sup> The middle-class ideology of self-betterment for the working classes made its way into accounts of

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<sup>363</sup> Ibid.

<sup>364</sup> SDL, *Guide to Lausanne* (1890), 32.

<sup>365</sup> For a discussion of the craze for musical education see “What Music Students Need to Know,” *Christian Science Monitor*, July 15, 1911. Published accounts by music students in Europe also document this trend. See Mabel Daniels, *An American Girl in Munich* (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 1905).

<sup>366</sup> It is important to note “technical education” in Switzerland did not share the same historical origins as technical education in England or the United States. The educational system in Switzerland is founded upon the three traditions of the Ancien Régime: elementary, vocational and academic education. These schools were rooted in feudal social order. The statistics clearly indicate that these schools mirrored the social classes. The secondary schools that emerged during the 19th century reflect this social stratification. Vocational education has its roots in the guilds of medieval times and in the Protestant work ethic. The guild teacher was also responsible for educating the young boy for social and religious life. Especially in the Lake Geneva region, Calvinism attributed a great significance to the vocation and economic work, also explaining the economic prosperity in the Calvinist region. For girls, schools geared to feminine characteristics were offered. See R. Hofstetter, *Les Lumières de la Démocratie: Histoire de l'école première publique à Genève au XIXe siècle* (Berne: Lang 1998) and C. Jenzer, *Schulstrukturen als historisch gewachsenes Produkt bildungspolitischer Vorstellungen. Blitzlichter in die Entstehung der schweizerischen Schulstrukturen*. (Bern, New York: Peter Lang, 1998.) For British history see S.J. Curtis, “Adult Education and the Development of Scientific and Technical Education” in S. J. Curtis, *History of Education in Great Britain* (London: University Tutorial Press, 1967), 467-512.

<sup>367</sup> Norman Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research* (London: Routledge, 2003), 88.

schools that trained “hands” rather than “minds.” The lowest of these schools were described in the same manner as other public institutions like, for example the asylums which, on intellectual grounds, were of interest to the middle classes. The only difference was tours had not yet been arranged. The “Professional Academy (under state patronage)” in Geneva where “boys intending to become skilled workmen may attend school” was “meant for employees of both sexes who being occupied in the day may improve themselves after their day’s work.”<sup>368</sup>

Descriptions of technical schools point to the salience of particular social identities in the texts as well as to the role tone and manner played in representations of students. Schools for mechanics, fitters, smiths, instrument makers or other types of tradesmen were discussed as schools for “them,” “they” or “those people who.”<sup>369</sup> Guides stated in clear terms the type of people to whom certain technical schools would appeal. A professional school in Geneva was framed “of interest to seamstress apprentices ... to the girls who have to deal with linen garments and work the sewing machine.”<sup>370</sup> Imagining the same guides describing the lectures at Geneva College as “of interest to the boys who have to deal with Latin” clarifies that differences in tone and grammar did indeed matter.

However, a few “non-academic” schools merited further notice. Of the technical schools, clock and watch-making institutes received the most attention. Here accolades returned and guides cited Switzerland’s fame in watch-making to promote these schools to foreigners. Horticultural and agricultural schools similarly afforded more detail. Ultimately the inclusion of all types of schools expanded the product net and consequently guides made certain that no prospective visitor would be completely ignored. The inclusion of all schools of public instruction in guides points attention to the range of markets guides targeted. For example, those like “Mr. Vaughan, a large vineyard owner of California [who] arrived at Lausanne [in 1901] to study the Swiss system of viticulture”<sup>371</sup> or the brother of “Mrs. Joseph Player,” who, after returning home from a watch-making school in Locle, [Neuchâtel], provided his sister with

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<sup>368</sup> Harvey, *Geneva Educational Centre* (1899), 29.

<sup>369</sup> S. J. Curtis, “Adult Education and the Development of Scientific and Technical Education,” in *History of Education in Great Britain* (London: University Tutorial Press, 1967), 467-512.

<sup>370</sup> Harvey, *Geneva Educational Centre* (1899), 29.

<sup>371</sup> “To Study Swiss Viticulture,” *New York Times*, June 21, 1901, 3.

lessons that helped her on her way to becoming one of England's best watch-makers who obtained "the highest award at the Greenwich Observatory Trials" for the chronometre watch.<sup>372</sup>

This brief survey provides a sense of the types of public instruction promoted in education-focused tourism guides. It demonstrates that while the taxonomical method of introducing prospective visitors to the public instruction systems in Geneva, Neuchâtel and Lausanne was very different to the method used to provide visitors with preliminary historical information about towns, the general strategies of idealisation remained the same. In short, selective views, litanies of praise, celebrity discourse, heritage and ideological translations of place that accorded with the target markets' demographics all contributed to an idealised system of education available for visitors.

### **2.3 Rational Recreation**

While certain American cities promoted themselves, as Washington, D.C. did, as "a territory, every inch of value in an [purely] educational way"<sup>373</sup> Geneva, Lausanne and Neuchâtel were promoted as both educational and playful holiday places as well as centres for schooling. As such, at the core of their civic personalities lay schisms of oxymoron. Guides promoted a broad leisure product that included a range of activities for the purposes of pleasure, entertainment, relaxation, knowledge improvement and education in the broadest sense of the word. In the face of a discursively loaded and potentially damning pleasure-work dichotomy, tourism guides approached the leisure end of towns' personas with care. They approached the task of showcasing the attractive tourist features of destinations with caution, disclaimer and caveat. Prior to mapping out recreational avenues, texts waded into a kind of pre-emptive impression management that involved clarifying the nature of towns' playful sides to prevent

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<sup>372</sup> The article states that there were few women watchmakers in comparison to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. See "Few Women Watchmakers," *Washington Post*, February 9, 1908, 8.

<sup>373</sup> "Washington, The Paris of the West," *Washington Post*, September 3, 1911.

misgivings on moral grounds. Various discursive means established a sense of distance from the more dreadful of the civic delights.

Characterisations that, the “large shops in the principal streets [of Geneva] distinguish it as a city of luxury but its historical intellectual atmosphere is by no means swamped by commercialism” alerted prospective visitors to the availability of luxuries while simultaneously reassuring there was no need to fear excess.<sup>374</sup> Assurances that “[s]o long as this city [Lausanne] has such pre-eminent doctors, so long as it possesses a thorough system of education, it has no call to worry about the insufficient popularity of its Casino” simultaneously acknowledged such controversial play venues, downplayed their popularity and pinned the town’s moral reputation on the idea of a predominance of educational tendency in town personality.<sup>375</sup> In some cases, assurance came through the message that towns were ill-equipped for anything but wholesome living: “There is little to distract at present, nor is Neuchâtel ever likely to become a fashionable “Kurort” [fashionable lake side resort] in the future.”<sup>376</sup> Having established precursory absolution, guides freely described, interpreted, catalogued and evaluated local leisured landscape to show how towns and their environs could meet prospective visitors’ recreational needs and desires. Sometimes leisure was framed through educational discourse, in other cases it was linked with discourses of health, citizenship and consumption.

This section investigates the social construction of idealised leisure place. It explores how townscape, nature and “local” residents were idealised as servant to the leisure of English-speaking guests. The first part of the section explores the portrayal of Geneva and Lausanne as ideal sites for rational recreation. The second segment investigates representations of towns’ “environs.” It demonstrates how Alpine and lake environments were portrayed as ideal sites for outdoor education, for experiencing the sublime, and for exercising elite English social status and national identity. Third, the discussion focuses on the representation of sports and sports facilities closer to town

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<sup>374</sup> “Holiday makers will be interested, whether they are pleased or not to learn that even Switzerland is being affected by the modern craving for luxury. Everywhere on heights as in valleys the simple inn is giving way to the grand hotel.” “Switzerland and Luxury,” *New York Times*, June 30, 1907; AIG, *Geneva: An Educational Centre* (1903), 11.

<sup>375</sup> SDL, *Guide to Lausanne* 1896, 7.

<sup>376</sup> School Commissioners, *Neuchâtel Schools* (1898), 6.

and examines discussions of English grounds for sport and society. Finally, the section concludes by analysing social constructions of leisure as a disposition, attitude of mind and set of conditions ascribed to towns. Here it looks at idealised representations of “host” communities, including characterisations of American and English colonies as well as the Genevese, Lausannois and Neuchâtelois people as part of the consumptive infrastructure. The section demonstrates guides portrayed educational centres as ideal sites for the nurturing, negotiation and maintenance of elite Anglo-centric cultural capital through leisure activities and tourist consumption. It shows desirable leisured landscapes were constructed upon the basis of the attractiveness of “other” place and the comfort of “familiar” place. It reveals attraction was not built on the basis of intercultural competence. Instead, constructions of leisure involved hierarchical expectations of local servitude. The section demonstrates representations of leisure in French-speaking Switzerland often centred around Englishness.

Geneva and Lausanne guides were especially “ready to welcome the young foreigner whose leisure hours may there be spent in enlarging his mind and ennobling his soul.”<sup>377</sup> The diversity of activities recommended for these purposes revealed the economies of tourism and education were, wherever possible, combined and capitalised upon. Elasticity in the middle class ideology of rational recreation enabled guides to cast a range of sightseeing and leisure activities as being of educational advantage and therefore, as an important, even integral part of education.<sup>378</sup>

The great vigor with which guides promoting Geneva and Lausanne catalogued and described local options for rational recreation hinted that guide authors were keenly aware that other European cities offered an abundance of competitive tourist activities. Texts laboured to make Geneva and Lausanne stand out as exceptional destinations. To avoid dry recitals of facts, guides enlaced practical detail with

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<sup>377</sup> AIG, *Geneva: An Educational Centre* (1905), 46. These towns were better equipped in terms of recreational and tourist infrastructure than Neuchâtel therefore they devoted more attention to showcasing the town itself as an educative and moralising landscape.

<sup>378</sup> The idea of travel was understood to be in and of itself educational. Moreover, under the ideology of rational recreation, leisure and the “work” of learning were not seen as antithetical. For a discussion of rational recreation as social morality, see P. Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control* (London: Routledge, 1978).

narratives written to appeal to readers' sensibilities and self-interests – to their imagination and desire for self-improvement.<sup>379</sup>

Brochures offered readers a modern combination of self-choice and guidance. Anticipating desire for convenience and wish for simplicity in finding, visiting and appreciating tourist attractions, descriptive accounts were written to require a minimum of thinking on the part of prospective visitors.

Documentaries mapping the “local” cultural landscape of the towns offered layers of distinguishing detail, which implied educational advantage thoroughly bound to the physical materiality of the landscape. Educative advantages lurked in monuments, museums, library collections, promenades, gardens or parks. Narration related civic architecture to the complex sequence of educational events that defined towns' intellectual history. Guides accomplished their purpose of image construction by reinterpreting material landscapes as educative tourist landscape.

Descriptive tours made clear “what ought to be seen.”<sup>380</sup> Like other guidebooks of the period, educational tourist guides “promised not to bewilder readers with an account of everything that may be seen.”<sup>381</sup> Their selective gaze focused on sites deemed intellectually and culturally relevant for the intended audience. Whether guides steered visitors to “wax tablets that belonged to Philip the Beautiful (1308)” or to “sermons by St. Augustin inscribed on papyrus and parchment”<sup>382</sup> visitors were told exactly where to go and what to expect. If, for example, they were at the Cathedral in Lausanne “renovated by Francois Violet le Duc, the stone pulpit should not be passed unnoticed.”<sup>383</sup> Such directive statements provided a systematic approach so visitors

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<sup>379</sup> Here guides tapped into a discourse that affirmed recreation could and should mean “work” and spoke to the strong moral middle class push to be like “Mr. Gladstone, after an exhausting Parliamentary Session, [who] went down to Hawarden, got out all his books on Homer, and refreshed himself by working harder in his library than many a professed student, and as hard out of doors at felling trees as any labouring man,” in “The Demand for Holidays, and the Supposed Necessity,” *The Times* September 16, 1901.

<sup>380</sup> R. Koshar, “‘What Ought to be Seen’: Tourists’ Guidebooks and National Identities in Modern Germany and Europe,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 33, 3 (1998): 323-340.

<sup>381</sup> For an example of John Murray’s guidebooks, see *ibid.*, 326.

<sup>382</sup> Doumergue, *Geneva Past and Present* (1909), 85.

<sup>383</sup> SDL, *Guide to Lausanne* 1890, 13

could cover foreign ground more quickly and, more importantly, be better able to report to those back home about what they learned during their travels.<sup>384</sup>

At times guides actively described the use-value of educative attractions to illustrate the ways and means “Intellectual Geneva” or “Cultured Lausanne” served tourists’ thirst for learning. Geneva texts, for example, animated inert “objects of interest” to bring their pedagogic value to life. Descriptions of “this city in which Busts abounded”<sup>385</sup> regularly activated memorable figures to attract prospective visitors. Statues like that of Augustin-Pyramus de Candolle (1778-1841)<sup>386</sup> edifying “the type par excellence of the [academic] race” offered an opportunity for guides to entice visitors with visions of a man “whose luminous, logical and eloquent method of teaching attracted a crowd of foreign students, and men of science.”<sup>387</sup> Serving as clairvoyant promotion from beyond the grave, Candolle’s deathbed request solicited those inspired by his achievements to “express their esteem through the pursuit of science in Geneva.”<sup>388</sup>

Geneva guides further conveyed the pedagogic aspirations of live attractions, focusing on presenting “quickly apprehended” educational places which promised to help fulfill visitors’ need for simplified cultural learning. Expounding on the pedagogical advantage of attending “the best continental theatre, *Le Theatre de la Comédie*” *Geneva: An Educational Centre* (1903) conveyed the theatre’s mandate:

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<sup>384</sup> This requirement was established as an obligatory component in the ritual of tourism in the age of the Grand Tour. See J. Steward, “‘How and Where to Go’: The Role of Travel Journalism in Britain and the Evolution of Foreign Tourism, 1840-1914” in *Histories of Tourism: Representation, Identity and Conflict*, ed. J. Walton (Toronto: Channel View, 2005), 39-54: 42.

<sup>385</sup> The “golden years of monuments” existed in the time between the revision of the Swiss Constitution in 1874 and the beginning of World War I in 1914. In the final quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a considerable number of artistic monuments were erected in Geneva. For discussion see G26, Plattform für Kunst, Gesellschaft und Kultur, Bern, “Denkmäler der Schweiz,” [http://www.g26.ch/bern\\_denkmal\\_05.html#text\\_06](http://www.g26.ch/bern_denkmal_05.html#text_06) (accessed August 1, 2005).

<sup>386</sup> Candolle was a Genevese natural scientist who founded the first botanical garden “Jardin botanique des Bastions” in Geneva in 1817. While a professor in Montpellier, France, he reorganised the *Jardins des Plantes* in Montpellier in 1808. In 1816 he returned to Geneva where he was offered a chair in Natural History (Botany and Zoology) which he held until 1834. Retrieved from the Dictionnaire historique de la Suisse, Berne - Rédaction René Sigrist at <http://www.memo.fr/Dossier.asp?ID=672> (accessed August 1, 2005).

<sup>387</sup> Doumergue, *Geneva Past and Present* (1909), 85.

<sup>388</sup> Ibid.

*first* to give the intellectual playgoer the opportunity of seeing, under the most favourable conditions the *chef-d'oeuvre* of the modern purpose play and in *the second place* to be an educative force by performing the masterpieces of the French Classic Comedy, each being introduced by a lecture of twenty minutes or half an hour, on the play itself.<sup>389</sup>

While not every guide identified pedagogic value this explicitly, educational advantage was implied everywhere.<sup>390</sup> The main message was that towns were enthusiastic, flexible communities open for the business of rational recreation and continually working on how to meet tourists' needs to see, learn and easily navigate the geography of attractions.

The texts emphasised that towns had operative and effective tourism infrastructures and were eager to provide directions and explanations that reduced need for mental and physical effort in navigating to, from and inside educational attractions. They endeavored to make leisure in 'foreign' place less intimidating – to show easy access to the short-lived forms of ocular consumption that lie at the centre of tourism.<sup>391</sup> For instance, medical and industrial sites were construed as additional options for rational education. The asylum at Lausanne, “a few minutes ride by the Echallens railway,” was noted to be “open to tourists by special arrangement.”<sup>392</sup> Further, “a tour of the asylum permitted visitors to learn about the most modern methods of care.”<sup>393</sup> An up-to-the minute style of reportage provided a sense new arrangements were always in progress. “In order to help visitors learn about the watch-industry” the *Geneva Educational Centre* reported “we have applied to Messrs. Patek, Philippe & Co. asking them to allow foreigners to visit their watch-making manufactory.”<sup>394</sup> The same guide predicted “therein the observant tourist will be able to learn about watch-making ... all the processes of watch-making will be carefully

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<sup>389</sup> AIG, *Geneva: An Educational Centre* (1903), 17.

<sup>390</sup> Guides played on the idea that art had an educational effect and encouraged the lifting of self through the contemplation of beauty. Relying on the Latin meaning of *educere* [related to *educare*], to lead forth or develop, the guides seemed to also include a literary-humanist idea of education with its concept of a broad education of the individuals that encompassed the muses and fine arts.

<sup>391</sup> J. Urry, *The Tourist Gaze* (London: Sage, 1990), 33.

<sup>392</sup> SDL, *Guide to Lausanne* (1899), 31. Like the school system the asylum was another “visible” part of society turned into tourist attraction in late nineteenth and early twentieth century tourist promotion. See D. MacCannell, “Sightseeing and Social Structure,” in *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (Berkeley: University of California Press, [1976] 1999), 39-56.

<sup>393</sup> SDL, *Guide to Lausanne* (1899), 31.

<sup>394</sup> Harvey, *Geneva Educational Centre* (1899), 36.

explained to him.”<sup>395</sup> Such descriptions reiterated the idea that towns were keen and flexible enough to re-package locales in order to offer their guests novel experiences.

Flexibility of educational advantage extended to the idea that towns offered intelligent avenues for leisure and learning inside and out. Outdoors environments, characterised as significant and governing settings, became metaphors for the overall quality and feeling of educational tourist space. The famed beauty of the tourist landscape assured an overall pleasantness of place. Speaking to the fear that strong focus on education might convey an overly serious, joyless place, a Lausanne guide asserted:

But let no one imagine that this [scholarly] spirit is dour and ponderous. An earnest bent of purpose, a weight of learning and of highly responsible effort are in no way to be made to be a charge on attractiveness. ... The broad-smiling landscape governs all, its humour rules the town.<sup>396</sup>

The claim that pleasant landscape governed over the hard, onerous and even ugly aspects of education infused contentment, lightness and beauty into the overall place image. Here, beautiful landscape – the backbone of Swiss tourism – constituted an essential component of the tourist product.<sup>397</sup> In this respect, education-focused tourism guides, similar to many other tourist brochures eagerly promoted towns and their environs as attractive, relaxing, invigorating, pleasurable and fundamentally inspiring places. Texts linked natural places to discourses of human development and relied upon dominant cultural tropes that natural places elevated, expanded and strengthened human character.

Two types of natural landscapes figured prominently. Alpine magnificence and the unsurpassed beauty of Europe’s largest lake were presented as intellectual, soulful and sporting resources.<sup>398</sup> In these spaces of perennial grandeur, visitors were said to learn from nature, learn to conquer, classify and appreciate nature and/or to be healed

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<sup>395</sup> Ibid.

<sup>396</sup> SDL, *Guide to Lausanne* (1899), 13. Geneva guides also distanced the city from the “gloomy spirit of Calvinism” while they maintained the spirit of the Protestant work ethic.

<sup>397</sup> This fact could hardly have escaped readers who were continually reminded in the English press that “beauty pays every time.” Switzerland was frequently “admired” and “criticised” in English-speaking newspapers for its ability to sell its beauty. For example, sentiments such as “[i]t pays a country to be beautiful and interesting ... in some cases whole communities subsist almost entirely upon the money spent by travellers, a class of people who are regarded by the natives as wealthy and proper subjects for ‘fleecing’ ... of all the countries Switzerland is the one which most frankly makes a national business from this” were common. See “Beauty Pays Every Time,” *Washington Post*, January 3, 1904.

<sup>398</sup> Lake Geneva is Europe’s largest lake.

and rejuvenated by it. In local natural environments one could exercise an extended British power, escape the confines of modernity, perform high-class activities and experience an extraordinary range of leisured activities.

Although neither Geneva nor Lausanne is situated directly in the mountains, guides emphasised the pedagogic power of “the Alps, the cradle of spirit and truth.”<sup>399</sup> The educational advantages of alpine landscape were cast as both scientific and spiritual. The city of Geneva was described as “of all places, an Intellectual Centre where Alpine tourists may investigate the Alpine World with the maximum benefit for body and soul.”<sup>400</sup> The Alps were further characterised as “a veritable scientific laboratory.”<sup>401</sup> Lausanne guidebooks reiterated the profits to be gained from “single-minded and sincere attention to the Alps and Alpine circumstances.”<sup>402</sup>

Texts classified Alpine space as unspoiled, natural and holy. Descriptive representations of the Alps promised visitors a chance to experience the sublime. “Silence on the bluff,” could “inspire creativity” and lead the visitor into closer communion with “higher thought.” The Alpine tourist could feel “like Moses on Mount Sinai.”<sup>403</sup> Guides promised a physical platform far away from the noise of modern metropolis while hearing directly from a “higher being.”<sup>404</sup> Representations effectively cast the Alps as an unpopulated world. Unlike other Swiss tourism guides of the period, education-focused guides did not construct the communities living within the mountains as part of the attraction. “Alpine folk” were omitted as was their stereotyped, simplistic, “low” but honest culture.<sup>405</sup>

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<sup>399</sup> Harvey, *Geneva Educational Centre* (1899), 6.

<sup>400</sup> Ibid.

<sup>401</sup> Ibid. The idea of alpine travel for scientific purposes was well-known. Genevese physicist Horace Benedict de Saussure began his research in 1760 when he was offered a substantial prize for the first ascent of Mont Blanc. De Saussure made yearly climbs to gather botanical knowledge and became famous for climbing Mont Blanc (4808.45 m.). The Salève, which reaches 1380 metres, was not an area for alpine scientific study. See J. Ring, *How the English Made the Alps* (London: Albemarle, 2000), 19.

<sup>402</sup> SDL, *Guide to Lausanne* (1899), 13.

<sup>403</sup> Ibid.

<sup>404</sup> Ibid. The portrayal of the Alps as a place for “silence” and “pure air” was frequently questioned in the press where Swiss Alpine place was frequently referred to as spoiled tourist place. Sir Bertrand Dawson showed the reverse side of the Alpine picture. He referred to the presence of disease and germs on the mountain resorts, to the imperfectly ventilated hotels, from which visitors seeking health came back bitterly disappointed. “Health on Heights,” *The Times* May 14, 1914.

<sup>405</sup> Many tourism guides of the period described the “peasants” who lived in Swiss alpine villages as a tourist attraction in a similar manner that North America’s First Nations were defined as a tourist

The image of vacant, de-territorialised landscape presented alpine spaces as open for touristic re-territorialisation.<sup>406</sup> This idea was quickly accomplished when guides promoting Geneva and Lausanne - neither of which were climbing centres - referenced mountaineering as “a naturally British subject.” Neuchâtel, not a mountaineering centre per se, was located nearby a sizable mountain. This feature appeared consistently in the promotion as a virtual challenge. One guide, for example, boasting [incorrectly], that “[n]o other town in Switzerland has a mountain as high as Chaumont at its very back”<sup>407</sup> effectively called prospective visitors to imagine themselves conquering the biggest of mountains. Guides from all towns reminded readers that this British sport was best practiced in Switzerland:

Of course, mountaineering is the sport *par excellence* here as in all over Switzerland, and there are delightful scrambles to be made in the Jura or the Savoy Alps.<sup>408</sup>

Inciting the legacy of British conquest over the broad-smiling nature that governed towns highlighted connections between Alpine rurality and Britishness. In some cases, Swiss land was literally labelled British. Landscape imagery solidifying the bond between local playground and Anglo-identity, for example references to the Geneva’s closest mountain – the Salève as the “seven Shakespeare’s Cliffs,” made foreign place familiar.<sup>409</sup>

Alpine landscape was peopled with images of tourists performing new and exciting types of elite tourism. Winter fashion and summer sensations advertised an especially exciting set of sporting practices.<sup>410</sup> Guides instructed that “[i]n winter,

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spectacle. For a discussion of the stereotyping of Swiss folk see S. Bolle-Zemp, “Institutionalised Folklore and Helvetic Ideology,” *Yearbook of Traditional Music* 2 (1990): 127-140.

<sup>406</sup> Thus while the lakeside towns were not remotely alpine they were advertised on the basis of proximity to the mountains. By doing so they tapped into the power of the Alpine myth – the powerhouse behind Switzerland’s destination image and national identity. See E. Kaufmann and O. Zimmer, “In Search of the Authentic Nation: Landscapes and National Identity in Canada and Switzerland,” *Nations and Nationalism*, 4 (1998): 483-510.

<sup>407</sup> Bienemann, *Education at Neuchâtel* (1911), 8. However, this statement is factually incorrect.

<sup>408</sup> AIG, “Sports at Geneva,” in *Geneva: An Educational Centre* (1905), 53.

<sup>409</sup> Ibid.

<sup>410</sup> Skiing, for example, was an extremely elite sport until the interwar period. The British popularised the sport of skiing after Sir Arthur Conan Doyle published an account of his ski journey in 1894. Sir Arnold Henry Moore Lunn was instrumental in developing the sport of skiing in Switzerland; he published many books on the history of skiing in the Swiss Alps. See, for example, A. Lunn, *Mountain Jubilee* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1943).

tobogganing and skiing are all the rage.”<sup>411</sup> Carefully cropped photographs erected a winter landscape for boys (see Fig. 2.1).

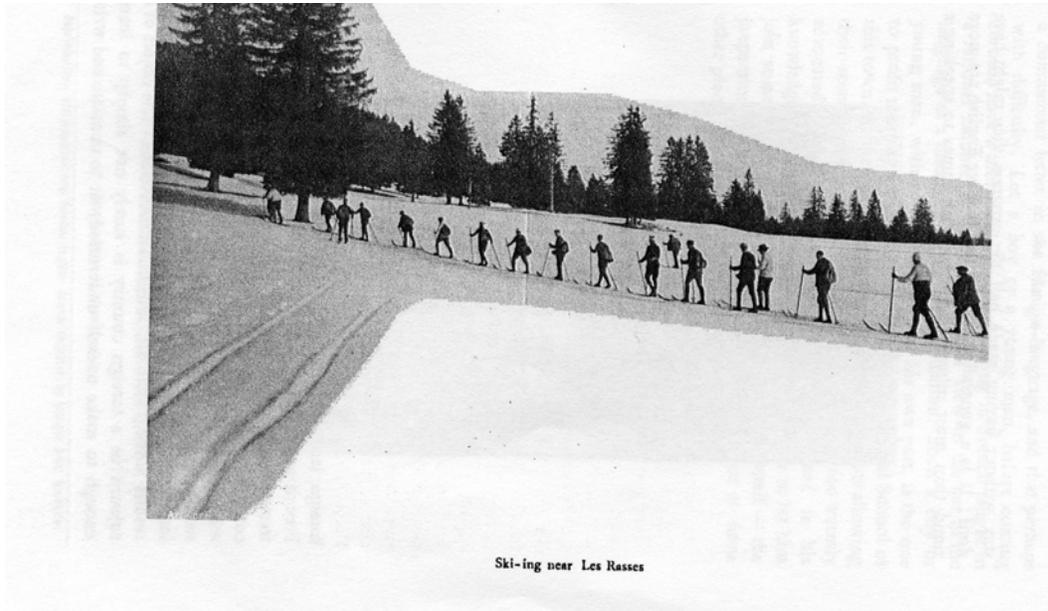


Fig. 2.1: Skiing (Education at Neuchâtel, 1911)

Prose penetrating “the Grottoes of the Salève” near Geneva<sup>412</sup> conveyed a sense of heat-of-the-summer excitement. One guide, rhetorically asked “[h]ow many roysterers, youths and maidens have left the town to ramble under these shady grotts ... How many a wayfarer in her natty white dress and her straw hat decked with bluebells has enlivened the retreat!” It then exclaimed “[a]nd, oh! For the poetic dreams and whispering of love elicited by these deserted rocks....”<sup>413</sup> That this type of “inspiring, elevating, and moralising influence of such perennial grandeur” might have worried more anxious parents seemed to have escaped this author’s attention.<sup>414</sup>

Literary heroes’ exalted descriptions of Lake Geneva grounded aesthetic educational advantage in the low lands. Repeated references to *Emile* and citations by famous English literary pilgrims invited tourists to join cultured circles and glean their

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<sup>411</sup> AIG, “Sports at Geneva,” in *Geneva: An Educational Centre* (1905) 53.

<sup>412</sup> Quote taken from “Genevese novelist Dubois-Melly,” Harvey, *Geneva Educational Centre* (1899), 8.

<sup>413</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>414</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

own inspiration from “the largest and most picturesque lake of Western Europe.”<sup>415</sup> Byron’s words, dripping with emotion, hinted at the magnitude of stimulation and testified the lake offered:

Unimpeded breathing... a bliss which puts you in sympathy with bird-life, frees you soaring into the luminous ether of blue space and makes you span over with the wings of imagination on every horizon.<sup>416</sup>

Similar amplifications by Ruskin differentiating the “marvelous blue” colour of the lake illustrated the great potential of the “ever answering glow of unearthly aquamarine, ultra marine violet blue, gentian blue, peacock blue, river-of-paradise blue, glass-of-painted-window blue”<sup>417</sup> as an ideal subject for artistic composition. Here guides included poetry and painting as advantages capable of awakening “a deep and widespread joy in nature, and a keen appreciation of the lavish natural beauty amid which the town of [for example] Lausanne is set.”<sup>418</sup>

Images of a superior bathing resort environment presented the provision of health, pleasure and British pastimes. Homing in on complex sensations of a seaside holiday, guides advised readers of the advantages of lake over sea-bathing and suggested Lake Geneva offered both the warmth of Mediterranean and the coolness of the bracing British sea.<sup>419</sup> One guide explained:

The softness of the water is both soothing and refreshing to the bather who can obtain that luxury and feel steeled even more vigorously than he would after a sea bath.<sup>420</sup>

Images of British literary greats combined with practical information about English regattas added an expensive, exclusive, private appeal that ruled out any thoughts of the public beach.<sup>421</sup>

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<sup>415</sup> Rousseau’s well-known novel commonly credited with “making the shores of the Lake Geneva into a Mecca for aesthetic, nature idealising pilgrims”. Harvey, *Geneva Educational Centre* (1899), 18.

<sup>416</sup> Ibid.

<sup>417</sup> Ibid.

<sup>418</sup> SDL, *Guide to Lausanne* (1907), 7.

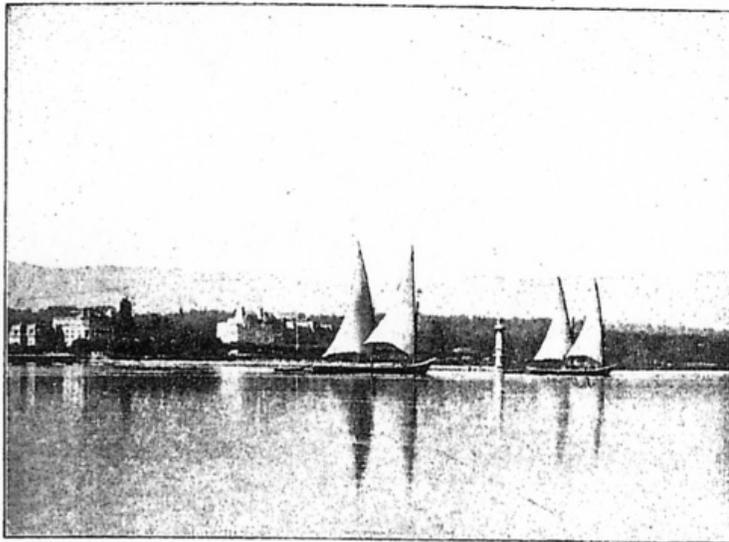
<sup>419</sup> The selling of the seaside as a place for a healthful holiday became more intense in the late Victorian and Edwardian periods. British resorts made much of the idea of “bracing,” a key term used in publicity while French resorts spoke more to luxury and comfort. For a treatise on the social history of advertising seaside resorts in Britain, see John Beckerson and John Walton, “Selling Air: Marketing the Intangible at British Resorts” in *Histories of Tourism: Representation, Identity and Conflict*, ed. J. Walton (Toronto: Channel View, 2005), 55-67.

<sup>420</sup> Harvey, *Geneva Educational Centre* (1899), 18.

<sup>421</sup> By the final decades of the nineteenth century, 70 - 85 percent of working class people could afford the occasional seaside holiday in England. Travel for a seaside holiday on the continent was, however,

While living at Coligny, *Byron kept a yacht* and was constantly sailing around the lake. *Private steam launches abound.* Nothing is more charming than cruising from shore to shore and from town to town where comfortable hotels await the yachtsmen. During the months of June, July and August six or seven regattas are on the run...numerous English yachts take part in them....the Squaw built by Clayton, 10 tons, the Fairy, Ibis, Shark...<sup>422</sup>

Visitors were thus encouraged to view Lake Geneva as an elite Anglo-place associated with British cultural celebrities and sea-faring-type adventure. Images of large white sails in front of a shoreline decorated with Belle Epoque buildings (Fig. 2.2) visually communicated the of an idea “exclusive sporting environment” and offered proof that the area was graced by social networks able to afford such luxury.



PHOT. F. BOISSONNAS, GENEVA.

BARNS OF THE LAKE OF GENEVA.

Fig. 2.2: Barks of Lake Geneva (Geneva: An Educational Centre, 1905)

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out of the question for most. See F.M.L. Thompson, *The Rise of a Respectable Society: A Social History of Victorian Britain 1830-1900* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), 291. The popular seaside resort became commonly understood as a place where working class people could relax and escape the gaze of the moralising middle classes. See P. Bailey, *Popular Culture and Performance in the Victorian City* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998): 30-46. British resorts used yachting to promote an exclusive tone though not all towns succeeded in attracting yachtsmen and many summer regattas proved unsuccessful. In England, Cowes and Torquay were preferred sites. See J. K. Walton, *The British Seaside: Holidays and Resorts in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000).

<sup>422</sup> Harvey, *Geneva Educational Centre* (1899), 17.

The cataloguing of tourist activities established a sense of high-class, English and prestigious place on Alp, lake and - closer a field to “home.”

Guides expressed a concept of leisure that, on the one hand, enveloped ideas of freedom, pleasure and sportive pursuits and, on the other hand, referred to particular attributes of classed identity. When they classified leisure activities they relayed the ‘classed’ circumstances in which these activities occurred. In this way, they sought also to communicate information about the social conditions that permitted comfortable and leisured circumstances.<sup>423</sup> Guides communicated the idea that Geneva, Lausanne and Neuchâtel were sufficiently equipped with the infrastructure needed to support a leisured class. Texts also hinted the towns were ideal places for those of the less-than-leisured class to replicate a more luxurious lifestyle. Two types of human landscapes figured prominently. Idealised representations of the English colony as well as of local French-speaking hosts suggested centres offered a high classed lifestyle and the comforts of English home.

Texts represented the Anglo-American colonies as, functionally, a leisured class. A description of the social make-up of the Lausanne colony was typical. It described the English community as composed of:

Those persons who come with their families to make their permanent abode, for the most part, men of property, officers retired, or on leave, who have come to the town for the beauty of the country, the healthiness of the climate, the good living and the superiority of the educational establishments.

The phrase “for the most part” left it unclear whether English men or women working in towns were counted as part of the English colonies. Community caricatures defined local English colonies as a leisured class on the basis of two fixed characteristics. First, the community was, when at the destination, free from paid occupation. Second, the purposes given for their residence corresponded to conceptions which dictated leisure was a state of being in which a wide range of activities were pursued for the purposes of pleasure, entertainment, knowledge development, health building and relaxation. Since the definition of “residency” used in guides was tied to a sojourn of two months

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<sup>423</sup> For a discussion on the factors such as class as well others social variables such as gender, age, and ethnicity affecting leisure participation in the British context, see P. Borsay, *A History of Leisure* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2006) and C. Rojek, S.M. Shaw, and A.J. Veal (eds.), *A Handbook of Leisure Studies* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

or more - the time period after which a permit for residence was required - the “resident colony” and de facto “leisured class” included a mix of residential and classed circumstances. Representations of the English colony populated by a leisure class forwarded an idealised image of a leisured place.

Stereotypical and selective representations of local French communities supported this vision. The “English and Americans, who are enjoying the hospitality of a foreign country and have the good fame of their own to maintain”<sup>424</sup> were depicted as well-supported and serviced by locals who were singularly defined and stereotyped in their enabling relationship to English-speaking guests. Caricatures of the local townspeople intimated that the formerly stated “intelligent” local people were wise enough hosts to know not to interfere with British society but rather be of service. Statements such as “[i]t is necessary to remember the Genevese are known as being very hospitable and polite people,”<sup>425</sup> “[i]ndividually, the Vaudois is open-hearted, cordial and favourably disposed towards tourists”<sup>426</sup> or “the people at Neuchâtel are hospitable” promoted the idea of a place made free by townspeople who were welcoming but not intrusive hosts.<sup>427</sup> The image of a community of English visitors who, as a class, benefited from the hospitality of locals reinforced a vision of towns as leisurely places where English-speaking individuals could expect to be served.

Texts also efficiently communicated local businesses were adept at satisfying the “needs” of the leisured class. Descriptions as well as classified advertisements in guides helped prospective visitors envision how well “the large shops in the principal streets”<sup>428</sup> could cater to the material desires and commodity fetishes of the resident English colony. Brochures catalogued Anglo-oriented businesses, making it clear prospective visitors were, for example, free to attend *Old England Tailors and Dressmakers* to order tailor-made costumes “made by a first class English cutter” as they were at liberty to buy a “[g]reat assortment of direct imported American shoes for ladies and gentlemen” at the *English and American Bootmaker*.<sup>429</sup> Far away from

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<sup>424</sup> Anonymous, *Geneva, Switzerland* (Lausanne: [s.n.], 1893), 1.

<sup>425</sup> Ibid.

<sup>426</sup> SDL, *Guide to Lausanne* (1888), 9.

<sup>427</sup> Ibid., 5.

<sup>428</sup> Ibid.

<sup>429</sup> Harvey, *Geneva Educational Centre* (1899).

home visitors could feel safe for the *Grand Pharmacy Fink English and American Chemist* offered the “largest stock in Switzerland of English and American patent medicines”<sup>430</sup> as well as the opportunity to have “[p]rescriptions dispensed according to the British and United States Pharmacopoeas.”<sup>431</sup> Images of valued cultural objects such as luxury goods and imported English/American products, together with characterisations of local business communities as committed to English service, functioned as assurances of the material capacity of the educational centres to preserve the standards and traditions of an Anglo-community.

Local French hospitality framed in the guides did not extend to the personal or social level. Contact with local people, infrequently discussed, left readers to imagine dealings according to a local’s role as educator, shop-keeper and polite person, favourably disposed towards tourists. Unlike the prospectuses discussed in the last chapter which celebrated and advertised French culture, guides did not invoke the symbolic power of French-styled hospitality. Instead, they portrayed a hospitality which, at its core enabled Britishness. All the comforts of an elite English home abroad were branded as part of the consumable leisure product – intercultural social or playful contact was not. Guides credited their hosts with granting strangers the freedom to segregate - to feel so completely at home that they could build their own gathering places. They emphasised the English were free to socialise on their own grounds among their own people. Idealised, selective and stereotyped accounts of English colonial hospitality also functioned to forward an idealised image of the towns as leisured places. Descriptions of English “colonial” infrastructure communicated further ideas about the leisure potential of educational centres.

In the exact manner in which particulars about local public schools were furnished, guides mapped colonised space. Infrastructure, catalogued and evaluated, was described in idyllic terms. Guides directed prospective visitors to a range of private and public English facilities. Potential visitors were shown where they could play elite English games, amuse themselves within their own society, attend English churches, and read English literature. Details selectively relayed and delivered with

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<sup>430</sup> Ibid.

<sup>431</sup> Ibid.

idealising commentary brought attention to the allure of an “English golf club in beautiful and admirably laid grounds,”<sup>432</sup> to “an English tennis ground unrivalled in Switzerland,”<sup>433</sup> and to a church run by the “Bishop of London.” The effectiveness and convenience of colonial infrastructure was emphasised wherever possible. In Geneva, for example, golfing was available at a place with “all the comforts of an English ... Club”<sup>434</sup> which was “started by a number of prominent members of the English and American colony” and was only “[t]en minutes from the Town.”<sup>435</sup> Representations of English infrastructure and society framed educational centres as a type of home away from home improved by the resort-grade setting.

Guides emphasised that English colonies had not only created infrastructure for adult enjoyment but had also taken into consideration the needs of youth. Frequent assertions that patriot communities recognised the importance of British public schooling culture assured there was no need to miss out on English games.<sup>436</sup> On the contrary, due to pristine natural landscapes and well-organised sports leagues visitors could anticipate English and, to a less extent American, games in a better-than-home environment. Seeing as “field sports are rightly considered by English parents as indispensable to the physical development of their children” guides assured towns offered markedly healthful facilities. Texts differentiated the quality of local place from certain English locales where “field sports may be carried out in places so vulgar, so repulsive, that children are rather debased than improved by exercises.”<sup>437</sup> They promised that in Lausanne “[t]he young foreigner will find cricket grounds luxuriously laid out.”<sup>438</sup> They further implied sojourn in the educational centres did not involve the forfeit of a successful English sporting lifestyle with assertions such as “[t]here is an English football club [in Neuchâtel] which has so far won most of its matches.”<sup>439</sup>

Guides idealised English colonial space as “leisured” conveying that educational centres were private, unfettered places where it was possible to reproduce

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<sup>432</sup> Ibid., 19.

<sup>433</sup> SDL, *Guide to Lausanne* (1890), 34.

<sup>434</sup> AIG, *Public Instruction in Geneva* (1900), 30.

<sup>435</sup> Harvey, *Geneva Educational Centre* (1899), 19.

<sup>436</sup> For a comprehensive analysis see J.A. Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

<sup>437</sup> Harvey, *Geneva Educational Centre* (1899), 18.

<sup>438</sup> Anonymous, *University Education at Geneva Switzerland* (Geneva: Julius-William Fick, 1893), 6.

<sup>439</sup> School Commissioners, *Neuchâtel Schools* (1898), 11.

Englishness outside of England. Although it may seem odd to associate “leisure” with the work of social reproduction; in the “tourist colonial context” this freedom could not be taken for granted. Announcements that, with few restrictions, colonies were able to socialise, discipline, monitor and educate their own youth came with idealised images of community. Portraits of unified and harmonious Anglo-American colonies suggested onsite support, comfort, guidance and a morally appropriate social environment. Portraits thus figuratively transported the English residential communities from French-Swiss cultural contexts making them appear far removed from the local, French normative and regulatory systems that reproduced Genevese, Vaudois or Neuchâtelois social identities.

The benefit of colonies perfectly capable of socialising youth according to English/American social norms was especially highlighted with regard to the male youth.<sup>440</sup> Neuchâtel, for example, met “boys’ need to feel that he is one of a whole, of a fellowship, and not an isolated unit.”<sup>441</sup> Moreover, when stationed there, “the boy could feel he is a member of an organised body of his fellow countrymen, English and American, who are enjoying the hospitality of a foreign country.”<sup>442</sup> This vision of support assured parents “back home”:

The herald’s voice can be heard as in the model Greek city of old, and the herald’s voice is the collective influence of older English and American residents who are willing to help in the organization of that corporate life which is the first essential to a healthful existence.<sup>443</sup>

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<sup>440</sup> “Women Students Abroad,” *Washington Post* January 20, 1895. Despite the fact that the French-speaking region was renowned for its high number of “lady students” guides discussed the example of boys. To have discussed socialising opportunities for female students risked drawing into the discussion images of immorality that were often used to deter the practice of young women studying in European towns and living in pensions.

<sup>441</sup> School Commissioners, *Neuchâtel Schools* (1898), 11.

<sup>442</sup> By 1910 Americans in Geneva seemed to have sufficient numbers to maintain their own “colonies.” Geneva and Lausanne had the highest number of individuals of non-native mother tongue since the census in 1888 until World War II. The earliest census with information on English speakers from 1930 places the highest number of English-speaking individuals of all large Swiss cities in Geneva and Lausanne. See H. Ritzmann-Blickenstorfer (ed.), *Historical Statistics of Switzerland*, Zurich: Chronos (1996).

<sup>443</sup> School Commissioners, *Neuchâtel Schools* (1898), 5. The guide finally conceded that “[i]f the boy learns a little less French through this organisation of the English-speaking element” he remains better off as he is “kept from temptations.”

Neuchâtel boys were therefore “distinctly the better for being exposed a little longer, under different surroundings to their own communities.”<sup>444</sup> Sojourning youth, free to take authority and learn their own social citizenry were depicted as in good hands. With countrymen acting as a collective, constructive force, anxious parents in England and America could rest assured a trip to towns ensured the reproduction of Anglo-Saxon social capital.<sup>445</sup>

The impossibility of a simultaneous British and American socialisation aside, the idealised portraits of English host community emphasises the cultural complexities of educational tourist promotion and stresses that the meaning of the term ‘leisure’ was not limited to lists of sporting activities but rather linked to class, ethnicity and community. English-style leisure – a concern of both supply and demand sides of the industry - was clearly written into guides as an integral part of town persona.

From this discussion of leisure it is clear texts targeted an audience that, in class terms, ranged from middle class to Marlborough sporting set. Guides spoke to a wide array of sojourn scenarios and lifestyle possibilities. It is also clear that the work of carving out competitive place advantage broached subjects of leisure and consumerism as well as schooling and education.<sup>446</sup> Texts targeted a broad demographic on these fronts. Announcements that “the same family, which in Great Britain would find itself embarrassed, may here live comfortably and even luxuriously, without charging its budget with any further outlay”<sup>447</sup> appealed to economically-minded elites who took up residence in a foreign country in order to take full advantage of “good quality public schooling.”<sup>448</sup> Descriptions of luxury hotels and

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<sup>444</sup> Ibid., 11.

<sup>445</sup> The blending of American and English society showcased a naivety regarding the degree to which the British people trusted or respected Americans. There was a very large presumption that the local English would embrace the task of guiding American youth who were widely considered as less obedient, worse mannered or ill-bred. The term American, however, likely also enveloped elite Canadians such as “Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Canadian Premier, and Lady Laurier, the Canadian [who] find[s] Geneva charming” who were reported as *Americans in Switzerland* in the *New York Times*, June 23, 1907 p. C2.

<sup>446</sup> H. Berghoff and B. Korte, “Britain and the Modern Making of Tourism: An Interdisciplinary Approach.” In *The Making of Modern Tourism: The Cultural History of the British Experience, 1600-2000*, eds. Hartmut Berghoff, Barbara Korte, Ralf Schneider and Christopher Harvie. (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2002), 14.

<sup>447</sup> SDL, *Guide to Lausanne* (1888 and 1906), 8.

<sup>448</sup> An article about of the cost of living in Switzerland published in the *Washington Post* (1907) questioned the economic advantage of living in Switzerland unless there were children involved and

classified advertisements for expensive private schools targeted those individuals like Mrs. Grover Cleveland who, in 1909, “rented the annex of Hotel Windsor [Lausanne] and will probably make a long stay” because “her son will enter Dr. Auckthaler’s College and her daughters will attend the Villa Cyrano School.”<sup>449</sup> Information about life at the pensions which offered varying degrees of chaperon and personal service so as to enable visitors to attend day schools, partake in private lessons or pursue university studies flagged the case of the student travelling alone. Advertisements of public lectures and rational educational pursuits additionally targeted the more typical tourist interested in personal development. Education-focused promotion thus positioned Geneva, Lausanne and Neuchâtel as ideal destinations for a wide range of purposes beyond language acquisition or instruction. Descriptions of towns and their commodity-rich landscapes stressed a broad capability to cater to educational, cultural, social and recreational needs and desires. The ultimate message was that these destinations were well-equipped for those interested in purchasing lifestyle, making statements of taste, and/or seeking signifiers of status.<sup>450</sup>

The guides examined in this chapter constructed routes to envisioning Geneva, Lausanne and Neuchâtel as ideal educational and tourism centres. In the words of Bourdieu, “the travel guide is a constant call to admiration, a manual of armed and directed perception.”<sup>451</sup> Guides’ role as “the eye of the reader” thus encouraged prospective tourists to mentally transport themselves into these towns and their environs. They invited readers to daydream about intellectually and aesthetically

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suggested “[m]any people are under the impression that Switzerland is a very cheap country to live in, but it is doubtful whether it really is so [by comparison of daily items] ... But where there are children to be brought up Switzerland is no doubt an excellent place for families to [be] setting down in: for education throughout the confederacy costs next to nothing and is first-rate quality.” See “Cost of living in Geneva Switzerland,” *Washington Post*, November 26, 1907, 6. Switzerland was not the only country discussed as an educational bargain. See also *Americans in Europe By One of Them* (New York: Tait & Sons, 1893). “Living Cheap in Brussels” involved “educational advantage” because “public and private schools abound and are moderate in price.” “Living Cheap in Brussels,” *New York Times*, December 24, 1902, 4. See also “The Cost of Living in French Towns,” *The Times*, March 11, 1909.

<sup>449</sup> “Clevelands at Lausanne: Ex-President’s Children to Attend a Swiss School,” *Washington Post*, November 26, 1907, 6.

<sup>450</sup> By the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, there was a push from America for young men to embark on trade with Switzerland as an opportunity and destination of economic value. See for instance, the article in the *New York Times* “An Uncultivated Field: Splendid Chance for Young Men to Make Fortunes by Introducing American Products to the Little Mountain Republic,” January 14, 1895.

<sup>451</sup> Cited in M. Crang, “Picturing Practices: Research Through the Tourist Gaze,” *Progress in Human Geography* 21, no. 3 (1994), 359-367.

rewarding places that enriched intellectual personas, increased career possibilities and enabled Anglo-Saxon traditions. To encourage this imagineering, authors sold a total “good” educational tourist product which could evoke a desire to spend time in the towns.

This chapter has critically examined ideological representations of Geneva, Neuchâtel and Lausanne as desirable educational and tourism places. Educational-focused tourism guides promoting these three centres contributed to the creation of a discourse of civic educational personalities that supported larger visions such as that expressed in the 1909 *Guide to Switzerland* which asserted Switzerland was both playground and classroom of Europe.<sup>452</sup> Many different educational landscapes have contributed to Switzerland’s valuable international reputation as a country long associated with notions of educational quality. Because Switzerland’s identity has been imaginatively constructed through regional identities, it is critical to look closely at localised visions of educational-tourism place. This chapter has identified some of the strategies materials used to create distinctive and desirable “educational” town images. It has shown guides promoting Geneva, Lausanne and Neuchâtel created unique place-images of town but relied upon similar discursive strategies to create these visions. In the textual work of classifying local place, documents also interpreted towns for tourism markets interested in a range of educational sojourns. Three thematic sections judiciously investigated ideological representations of heritage, school system taxonomies, town infrastructure, natural environs and local communities which constructed towns as educational centres competitively positioned to serve the instructive and leisure needs of an elite or aspiring elite Anglo-Saxon clientele.

Critical historical studies of tourism guidebooks including historian Laurent Tissot’s research on Swiss texts has emphasised guidebooks provide a means of understanding changes in mental representations of places over time. Guidebooks which inform readers how to see places inevitably provide limited and ideological views. On the basis of the information they provide, some visions of destination are

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<sup>452</sup> They also learned Le Rosey and Brillantmont were two “important” schools serving English-speaking students. Anonymous, *Guide to Switzerland* (London: Ward, Lock & Co., 1909), 17.

made more possible than others.<sup>453</sup> This chapter ends by providing some examples of the Swiss educational geographies that guides either enabled or disabled. By constraining the discussion of the place-making practices to the concrete, smaller windows of geography the texts offered, it becomes easier to clarify which educational-tourist scenarios were more readily imaginable than others.

Based on the information the guides surveyed in this chapter provide, it was, for example possible to see oneself standing in the garden of the Hotel Gibbon<sup>454</sup> and imagine Byron standing in the same garden in 1816 imagining Gibbon in the same patch of land in 1787 thinking to himself as he wrote the last lines of *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* that the future of his historical ideas lay in the hands, minds and historical imaginations of his successors. It was less probable to view oneself standing in the garden of the Château de Cirey (Lausanne) imagining Voltaire running through the same garden in 1759 chasing away “detested” English tourists. Envisioning Marxist organiser Boleslaw Limanowski in 1868 coordinating the International Alliance for Socialist Democracy in Geneva was absolutely impossible.<sup>455</sup> Despite guides’ educational focus one would never have known that Switzerland’s most famous pedagogue, Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827), maintained his Institute at the southern end of the Lake of Neuchâtel in Yverdon from 1807 to 1809.<sup>456</sup> The confines of civic focus obscured such broader views of the French-speaking region’s rich educational heritage.

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<sup>453</sup> L. Tissot, *Naissance d'une Industrie Touristique. Les Anglais et la Suisse au XIXe siècle* (Lausanne: Éditions Payot, 2000). For discussion in English, see L. Tissot, “How did the British Conquer Switzerland?” *Journal of Transport History* 16 no. 1 (1995): 21-52.

<sup>454</sup> The *Guide de Lausanne*, 1890 advertised the Hotel Gibbon. Already in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, hotelier Antoine-Jérémie Dejean (1721-1785) renamed his hotel, the Auberge du Logs-Neuf as Hôtel d'Angleterre (translation: Hotel of England) in order to attract elite British guests. Dejean pioneered the concept of a British elite-focused hotel. He furnished the interiors of the hotel according to English ideals and included romantic-styled English gardens. Hotels such as this one, having attracted and accommodated British elites, if fortunes began to decline, later advertised on the basis that an elite (Byron for example) had stayed at the hotel. See R. Flueckiger-Seiler, *Hoteltraeume: Zwischen Gletschern und Palmen, Schweizer Tourismus und Hotelbau, 1830-1920* (Baden: Hier und Jetzt, 2001).

<sup>455</sup> Geneva was also a refuge and base for internationalist socialists. The International Alliance for Socialist Democracy was founded there in 1868. The city harboured, for example, Limanowski who created the first Polish Marxist journal *Rownosc*.

<sup>456</sup> For a detailed discussion on the influence of Pestalozzi (1746-1827) on the French-speaking region, see R. Guimps, *Pestalozzi: His Life and Work* (New York: Appleton, 1909). Heinrich Pestalozzi created an impressive oeuvre, including the foundation of four educational institutes. The most famous of these was his Institut d'Yverdon which at the height of its time in 1809 hosted 166 students (only 78 Swiss), mostly born to elite European families. See M. Soetard and Ch. Jamet, *Le pédagogue et la modernité, à*

Based strictly upon information provided about public instruction, it was possible to conceive attending a wide range of public schools; however, some scholastic circumstances were harder to visualise than others. One would never have known classrooms at Neuchâtel's Professional School (Nouveau Collège des Terreaux), where girls received training in ironing, offered astonishing views of the Schreckhorn, the Moench, the Eiger and the Jungfrau. It was easy to imagine learning French; it was difficult to envision the methods of French teaching.

Certainly there was no indication that educational centres could also be places where "School Teachers,' Shocked By Loose Morals" could "no longer take students out for their usual walks, for fear of seeing Prof. Giron out and about the town with one of his students - the Princess of Saxony."<sup>457</sup> Moreover, students could hardly dream that when out walking for rational recreation in some parts of town they might see "city filth, scenes of debauchery or lasciviousness" as they would in many other European cities.<sup>458</sup> Was Lausanne really a "bustling little city, where it is hard to keep away the temptations in a student's path" where "... soirees at the Casino are usual"?<sup>459</sup> What about the "Seven American students of the Geneva University [who] went missing in the Alps"<sup>460</sup> or the "English student [who] drown[ed] in [the] lake"?<sup>461</sup> Scant information on the local people made it impossible to foresee possibilities of joining in on Schwingen (Swiss wrestling), Hornussen (baseball Swiss style), or match shooting. The always positive "promotional" tone, on the other hand spared readers visions of locals promulgated in critical guides. Ideas that "[t]he Swiss people, the Dutch of the mountains are cold, unimaginative, money-seeking and notorious for their efforts to obtain money from travellers"<sup>462</sup> were nowhere to be seen. Visions of "Brits"

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*l'occasion du 250e anniversaire de la naissance de Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827)* (Bern, New York: Peter Lang, 1998).

<sup>457</sup> "School Teachers' Shocked", *New York Times*, January 17 1903.

<sup>458</sup> N. Gerondetti, *Modernising Sexualities: Towards a Social-Historical Understanding of Sexualities in the Swiss Nation* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2005).

<sup>459</sup> "Travel and Study in Lausanne," *New York Times*, July 7 26, 1912.

<sup>460</sup> "Missing Mountain Climbers Sighted," *New York Times*, July 3, 1903.

<sup>461</sup> "Travel and Study in Lausanne," *New York Times*, July 7 26, 1912.

<sup>462</sup> T. Cook, *Cook's Handbook for Switzerland* (London: s.n., 1900). This cynical interpretation is also seen in newspaper discourses. Statements such as "[n]ot only is he willing to gratify the foreigner's whimsical cravings when they assert themselves, but he zealously anticipates them" were typical. See "Hotels of Switzerland," *The Washington Post*, July 12, 1898.

appalled with the behaviour of American “Buster Browns” invading Switzerland<sup>463</sup>, and thoroughly sick of their “whining for such things as ice-cream sodas, sundaes or lemonade”<sup>464</sup> were similarly absent. The ideological gate-keeping of the guides considered in this chapter certainly privileged a number of views while muzzling others.

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<sup>463</sup> “Buster Brown Abroad: Switzerland Suffering from Invasion of American Boys,” *Washington Post*, September 17, 1905.

<sup>464</sup> “Travel and Study in Lausanne,” *New York Times*, July 7 26, 1912.

### CHAPTER THREE. Sun Cures and Serious Studies? The Interwar Advertising Campaign of a High Altitude School

The previous chapters of this thesis have examined texts that promoted schooling in the low altitude, French-speaking lake districts which birthed Switzerland's educational tourism economy. This chapter shifts perspective; it looks at texts promoting education at high altitude. The chapter explores Beau Soleil's interwar prospectuses as a means of understanding how one school's advertising, utilising tourism poster artists and American advertising techniques, reconfigured the Alpine fantasy to include the idea of serious studies. Between the wars, year-round stays in the Swiss Alps were more typically associated with health problems with schooling. The growth of winter tourism following World War I extended the regular tourism season but did little to raise the classroom of Europe to new heights.<sup>465</sup> The majority of private international boarding schools resided on the Swiss plateau. Beau Soleil's desire for recognition as a "serious school" which offered "sun baths" required a strong publicity campaign. To be successful, its advertising needed to counter long-standing socio-spatial stereotypes that Swiss mountain villages were backward, mentally deficient locales to be escaped rather than desired by those with scholarly ambitions.<sup>466</sup> As mentioned, prospectuses are small windows through which to view the social construction of Switzerland's destination identity. Beau Soleil's interwar documents offer an excellent vantage point for understanding the historical branding work of high altitude schools – a key component of the dream. The chapter critically

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<sup>465</sup> Switzerland's tourist trade was built largely upon the reputation of its mountains which compared to North American Alpine destinations had a geomorphic lead. The glacially scoured shoulders, long cleared of forests facilitated resort construction. For a full discussion of the geographical advantages, see P. Thompson, *The Use of Mountain Recreational Resorts: A Comparison of Recreation and Tourism in the Colorado Rockies and the Swiss Alps* (master's thesis, Boulder, Col.: Graduate School of Business Administration, 1971).

<sup>466</sup> Higher altitude in Switzerland was a place for a small minority of the Swiss population and for tourists. In the 1920s the high Alps also remained a particular place for medical visitors and were especially popular with those who sought cures on the "magic mountains." Most famously, travellers arrived for tuberculosis treatment but many appeared to address other diseases as well. Thomas Mann's *The Magic Mountain* (1924) made the Sanatorium at Davos famous. The novel presented an entirely unromantic account of life as a member of the "half-a-lung club" tuberculosis clinics in Switzerland. See T. Mann, *The Magic Mountain*, translated by H.T. Lowe-Porter (London: Secker and Warburg, 1927).

examines ideological representations of school property, curative practices, scenic views and educational practices used to convey a sense of desirable educational place.

The chapter is structured around the school's two main phases of promotion which paralleled the substantive renovations in 1930. The first section contextualises the promotional claim of "unique" in the 1927 pre-renovation prospectus. It analyses the textual construction of the schools' curative practices within a broader historical framework. The second, longer section, examines the post-renovation prospectuses of the 1930s. These documents, more than any others in the sample investigated in the thesis exhibit the look of a hybridised prospectus/tourism advertising genre. By investigating some of the creative, poetic, visual, and psychological advertising strategies of the prospectuses, the section clearly illustrates the blurring of education and tourism in the place-making efforts of Switzerland's entangled educational and tourism economies.

### 3.1 Pre-Renovation Promotion

In the decades following World War I, Beau Soleil transitioned from a children's home to a boarding school.<sup>467</sup> An advertisement for Beau Soleil in the education-focused tourism guide *Schools and Sports in Switzerland* (1927) (see fig. 3.1) denoted the beginning of a lengthy marketing campaign to reconfigure a new institutional identity.<sup>468</sup> The fine print suggested the owners and directors, Mrs. and Mr. Terrier-Ferrier, faced an uphill battle.<sup>469</sup> In 1927, "Serious Studies" at Swiss private boarding schools occurred in locations of low altitude. "Sun Baths" took place at high altitude levels, in the many sanatoria and children's homes partly responsible for medical

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<sup>467</sup> The term "children's home" described private, family-run businesses which cared for weak and delicate children. In Switzerland such homes were often located at high altitude. Beau Soleil, originally a small children's home in Gstaad, moved to Villars-sur-Ollon in 1920 and then to its current location in the village in 1926. During the interwar period the institution was known by a number of different names. Unfortunately there are no surviving prospectuses from the period 1910-1926.

<sup>468</sup> R. Perrin, *Schools and Sports in French Switzerland: Some Facts and Figures* (Lausanne: Perrin's Travel Bureau, 1927), 58.

<sup>469</sup> On paper, Mrs. Ferrier was the proprietor and Mr. Terrier the director.

tourism fame.<sup>470</sup> Beau Soleil's attempt to fuse these oppositional elements under the single heading "Home School" injected a contradiction into the heart of the newly manufactured identity – a contradiction professional advertising agencies would eventually be summoned to resolve.

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ALTITUDE 4200 FEET

## HOTEL MONTESANO

VILLARS sur BEX

STRICTLY FIRST CLASS HOTEL OF MODERATE SIZE.  
AN ENGLISH COUNTRY HOUSE IN THE SWISS ALPS.  
ALL ROOMS WITH RUNNING HOT & COLD WATER.  
SUITES. WITH PRIVATE BATHROOM, ETC.

NEAR ALL SCHOOLS AND SPORTS.

**Villars - sur - Ollon** (Vaud). Altitude 4.100 feet (1256 mètres), 23 hours rail from London. Dry. Bracing. Sheltered. No Wind. High sunshine average : December 180 hours, January 217 hours, February 190 hours, March 192 hours.

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**HOME SCHOOL FOR CHILDREN**

Founded in 1910 Alt. 4200 Ft. **BEAU SOLEIL** Completely reorganized in 1926



**VILLARS s. Ollon**

Open Air School For Boys & Girls of 7-14.

Serious Studies.

Sun Baths.

Sports & Games.

Open during holidays. Entire charge taken.

Principal :  
B. H. FERRIER

**No Sanatoria.**

Fig. 3.1: Advertisement for Beau Soleil in *Schools and Sports in Switzerland*, 1927

This section investigates how Beau Soleil's pre-renovation prospectus of 1927 negotiated the symbolic qualities associated with high altitude. It opens by looking at the characterisation of Beau Soleil in a section of *Schools and Sport in Switzerland*

<sup>470</sup> Children's homes were known to place health before education.

(1927) entitled “High Altitude and Migratory Schools”<sup>471</sup> and proceeds to examine the school’s strategy of positioning itself as “unique.” The section demonstrates that like in Le Rosey and Brillantmont’s earliest prospectuses, school location, architecture and social environment were key promotional elements.

The boldly printed words “no sanatoria” R. Perrin stamped under Beau Soleil’s 1927 advertisement in *Schools and Sports in Switzerland* intentionally distanced the school from the feared buildings commonly associated with year-round stays in the high Alps (see Fig. 3.1). The statement also substantiated the travel agency’s romantic claim that *High-Altitude Schools* represented a *new category* of Swiss boarding school “inspired by the popularity and influence of the American ‘Summer Camp’ which has spread across the ocean and particularly made itself felt in Switzerland subject, of course, to the usual Swiss assimilation and modification.”<sup>472</sup> In an era pervaded with threat of illness and mesmerised by the concept of “new,” the tactic was transparent: the declaration “no sanatoria” rescued the school’s identity from the clutches of the region’s medical tourism past, free to subsume a fresher aura for the future.

According to the tourism guide, Beau Soleil was located at the geographical heart of an exciting, innovative and important new development in Villars-sur-Ollon, a small village in the Vaudois Alps that “could reasonably claim to be the leading Educational place among all mountain resorts of Helvetia.”<sup>473</sup> Readers learned that the careers of both the school and village “in this capacity [were] just commencing.”<sup>474</sup> The guide characterised Beau Soleil as one of “two mixed schools specialising in open air studies and sun baths” that accepted “*none but medically-certified healthy children.*”<sup>475</sup> The school’s own prospectus of the same year tells a different story.

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<sup>471</sup> R. Perrin, *Schools and Sports in French Switzerland: Some Facts and Figures* (Lausanne: Perrin’s Travel Bureau, 1927), 27-31.

<sup>472</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.

<sup>473</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>474</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>475</sup> *Ibid.*

The “usual Swiss modifications” notwithstanding, the program described in “*Beau Soleil: Maison d’Enfants et Institut*” (1927) (see fig. 3.2) was more sanatorium than American summer camp. The prospectus advertised cures rather than camp fires. Interior photographs of Beau Soleil depicted children’s temporary living quarters bearing little in common with a tent or cabin (see fig. 3.3). Seemingly, Beau Soleil accepted only those students holding a valid medical prescription. The “no-sanatoria” school served none but medically certified *unhealthy* children.<sup>476</sup>

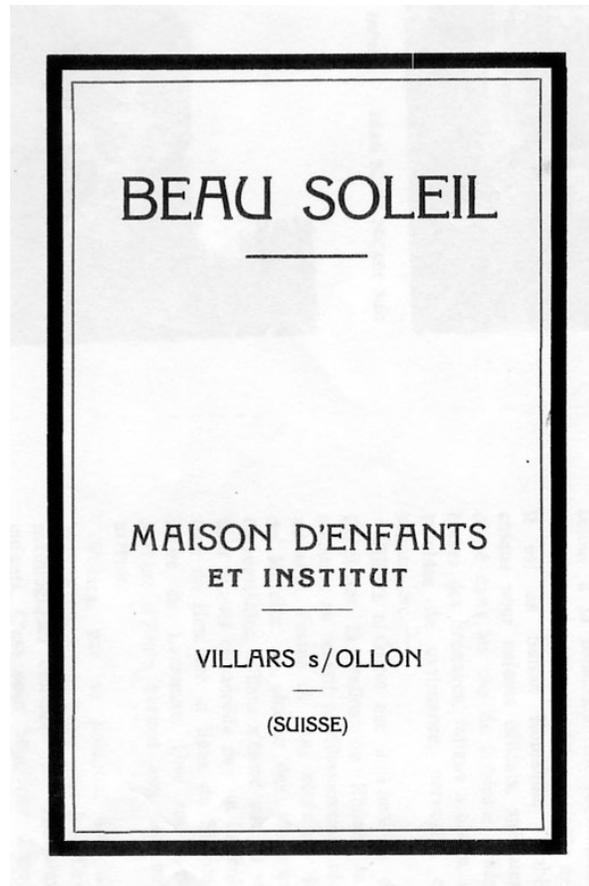


Fig. 3.2: Cover, Beau Soleil Prospectus 1927

The descriptor “none but healthy” used in the travel guide was thus not, strictly speaking, factual. Yet, at the same time, the descriptor was not entirely without truth. Likely it served as a euphemism, meaning “no tuberculosis cases.” However, the travel guide’s suggestion that the school was similar to an American summer camp obscured the reality that the school was designed for the medically ill.<sup>477</sup>

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<sup>476</sup> The prospectus also stated Beau Soleil did not accept infectious students but did not specify “no sanatoria.” Technically, the school met the definition of a sanatorium, although it was not one that served tuberculosis patients. Often this term was used with this latter meaning in mind. The short phrase “no sanatoria” suited the confined space of a small advertisement. This example shows how abbreviated grammar in advertising can oversimplify to the extent that the message becomes factually inaccurate while remaining widely understood.

<sup>477</sup> For an excellent overview of American summer camps (New York) in the interwar years see Leslie Paris, “Children’s Nature: Summer Camps in New York State, 1919-1941,” Dissertation (University of Michigan, 2000).

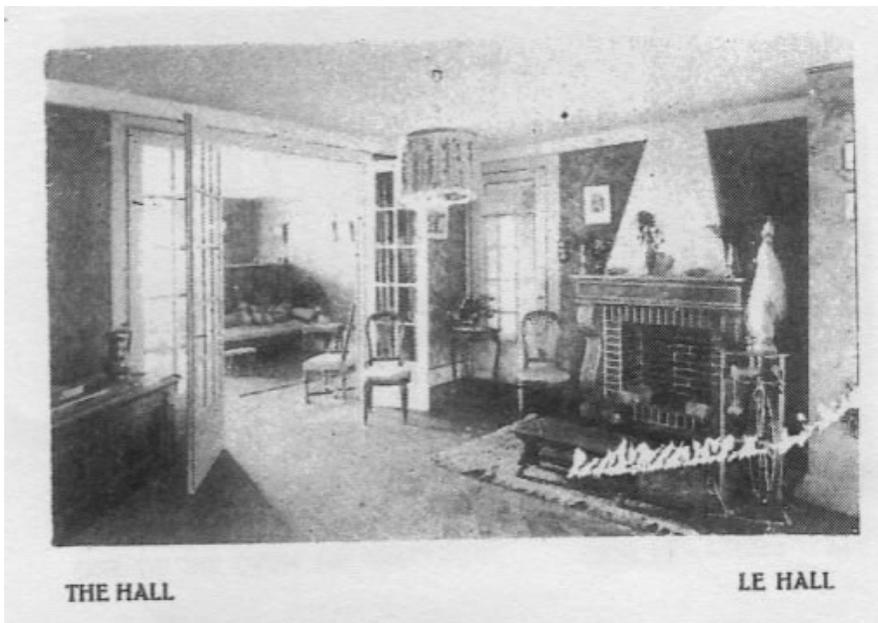


Fig. 3.3: Photographs depicting the interior of Beau Soleil (1927)

The 1927 school prospectus was straightforward. It declared Beau Soleil's medical orientation within the first few sentences. The plain and factual sounding text, unlike Perrin's travel guides was devoid of most modern copy characteristics. It avoided abbreviated modes of speech and superlatives. It showed temperance in the use of emotive adjective clusters. It did not inundate the audience with strings of

positive exhortations.<sup>478</sup> The only lexical frivolity it indulged was the commonly used descriptor “unique.” The only well known advertising technique to which it succumbed was the “one of a kind” tradition. The claim “unique,” a hallmark of many types of advertising at the time, provided a simple way of avoiding referential explicitness and the cumbersome entanglement of the full truth. It followed one rule: ignore the competition.

Historian Arnold Toynbee’s (1889-1975) observation that “advertising makes statements, not to tell the truth but to sell goods ... Even when its statements are not false, truth is not the object” most accurately characterised the content and style of the document.<sup>479</sup> For those with modest knowledge of the medical tourism trade that occurred in the first decades of the twentieth century in the Vaudois Alps, the 1927 prospectus provided little clarification. While the Terrier-Ferriers made no effort to hide Beau Soleil’s clinical practices, their sales method disguised the curative roots behind the medicalised treatment offered at the school. The following analysis re-establishes these connections. By dismantling the self-portrait of the high-altitude school as an educational institute standing alone in the world without an industry to support it and placing the school’s medical practices in historical context I demonstrate how the prospectuses’ medical ignored the existence of the schools’ competition and downplayed the health risks attached to Beau Soleil’s services.<sup>480</sup> In this way the prospectuses more easily fostered a sense of idyllic school place.

The 1927 document informed readers that Beau Soleil was “a unique establishment for delicate children.”<sup>481</sup> Cases of “general feebleness, bronchial weakness, school fatigue, nervousness, growth problems and those in need of

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<sup>478</sup> For a discussion of the importance of these strategies in the language of advertising in the interwar or “modern” period of advertising see Geoffrey Leech, *English in Advertising: A Linguistic Analysis of Advertising in Great Britain* (London: Longman, 1966).

<sup>479</sup> See Arnold Toynbee and William Bernbach, “Is it Immoral to Stimulate Buying” in *Bill Bernbach’s Book : A History of the Advertising that Changed the History of Advertising*, ed. Bob Levenson (New York: Villard Books, 1987), 194.

<sup>480</sup> The object of looking for silences in the text is not an endeavour to establish whether or not the school provided a true image of the school but rather, to show the selective nature of the image constructed of the school in the text.

<sup>481</sup> Beau Soleil. *Beau Soleil. Maison d’Enfants et Institut* (Beau Soleil: 1927), 1.

convalescence” were especially welcomed.<sup>482</sup> The “unique establishment,” however, offered little that was truly novel.

Open air schools existed in Europe as early as 1903 in Germany and 1908 in England.<sup>483</sup> The first open air forest school of Switzerland was founded through communal initiative in Lausanne in 1908.<sup>484</sup> Two similar private institutions emerged in Geneva in 1912 and 1913.<sup>485</sup> Children with weak constitutions were the impetus behind developing such school initiatives. A belief that fresh air fostered strength and treated conditions such as malnutrition, anemia, heart and pulmonary disease fueled the schools. High altitude open air studies took place in Switzerland as early as 1911.<sup>486</sup> The early presence of these schools raised suspicions about the “uniqueness” of Beau Soleil’s open air school.



Héliothérapie. — Les Dents de Morcles, Chaîne du Mont Blanc et Dents du Midi.

Fig. 3.4 Rollier’s heliotherapy, Beau Soleil, 1927

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<sup>482</sup> Ibid.

<sup>483</sup> For a discussion of the open air school concept and British examples, see Hugh Broughton, *The Open Air School* (London: Isaac Pitman and Sons, 1914).

<sup>484</sup> Peter H. Pearson, *Education in Switzerland 1916-1918* (Washington: Government Printing Office, Division of Foreign Educational Systems, 1919), 14-16.

<sup>485</sup> Ibid.

<sup>486</sup> Ibid.

The specific clinical practices advertised were not original. The prospectus claimed the school offered two curative methods: the “cure of the sun and air” and the “Rollier Method” (see fig. 3.4).<sup>487</sup> Anyone familiar with the Rollier Method would have realised this distinction was akin to the difference between tap and bottled water. The Rollier method was a cure of the sun and air: *the* dominant sun and air cure of the Vaudois Alps.<sup>488</sup>

Dr. Rollier, or the Sun Doctor, developed the method of heliotherapy or light therapy for the treatment of tuberculosis. His cure rested on the theory that the sun contained antibacterial, analgesic and strengthening properties.<sup>489</sup> In 1903 he began practicing his ideas one valley over from Villars-sur-Ollon, at Leysin.<sup>490</sup> By 1927, Rollier offered “the most approved treatment of extra-pulmonary tuberculosis” in Western medicine. He oversaw thirty-six sanatoria in the Vaudois Alps treating over 3000 patients.<sup>491</sup> He also managed a Rollier Method school, Ecole au Soleil that opened in 1911.<sup>492</sup> This model school functioned to demonstrate the application of the Rollier Method in a school environment (see fig. 3.5).

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<sup>487</sup> Beau Soleil, *Beau Soleil. Maison d'Enfants et Institut* (Beau Soleil: 1927).

<sup>488</sup> This comparison was only possible with knowledge from outside sources because Beau Soleil cited the Rollier cure in name only. The prospectus did not include any information as to who Rollier was, what the Rollier method involved or what the Rollier treatment claimed to cure. Whether or not the Terrier-Ferriers assumed readers were already informed about these issues was unclear.

<sup>489</sup> Rollier developed Heliotherapy by following up on British doctors Arthur Downes and Thomas Blunt's scientific discovery that green, blue and violet rays held anti-bactericidal properties. Rollier proposed controlled bodily exposure to sun would help cure non-pulmonary tuberculosis, including in the bones, joints, lymph nodes, and genitourinary tract. For a full explanation of the scientific benefits, see D. Rosselet, MD., “The Scientific Basis of Heliotherapy: A Physical and Biological Study of Light” in *Heliotherapy*, A. Rollier (London: Henry Frowde and Hodder and Stoughton, The Lancet, 1923).

<sup>490</sup> Rollier chose the location of the Swiss Alps for three reasons. First, the Alps provided sufficient transportation and accommodation infrastructure. Second, Switzerland was famous for its high altitude and climatological *air* cures and, third, the Swiss Alps offered the high intensity of solar rays needed for his experimental medicine. He chose Leysin because the village already enjoyed a reputation for health cures. Already in 1789 Thomas Malthus discussed the health benefits of Leysin in his book *Essay Upon the Principles of Population* (London: Johnson, 1789). Malthus compared average life expectancy of the people in Leysin - 61 years - to that of other Europeans. The location was argued as healthy in part because of its isolation from communicable diseases. After 1828 the Swiss sent their children to Leysin for health cures. Following 1873 the village became a known site for European health tourism. For more on the early curative history of Leysin see, F. Morin, *Leysin: High Climatic Station 4785 feet, Vaudois Alps Switzerland* [Prospectus with Illustrations and Plates] (Montreux: Soc. De L'Imprimerie, 1903).

<sup>491</sup> In the mid-1920s there were over 3000 patients in Leysin, many of whom were international. By the 1930s Dr. Rollier was a doctor to many prominent patients including Indira Gandhi. See Institute and Museum for the History of Medicine Zurich, <http://www.mhiz.unizh.ch> (accessed March 11, 2007).

<sup>492</sup> See F. Morin, *Leysin: High Climatic Station 4785 feet, Vaudois Alps: Sanatoriums for the Special Treatment of Tuberculosis* (Montreux: Soc. De l'Imprimerie, 1903) and Louis C. Vauthier, *The Sanatorium Universitaire of Leysin* (Guilford: Billing and Sons, 1927).

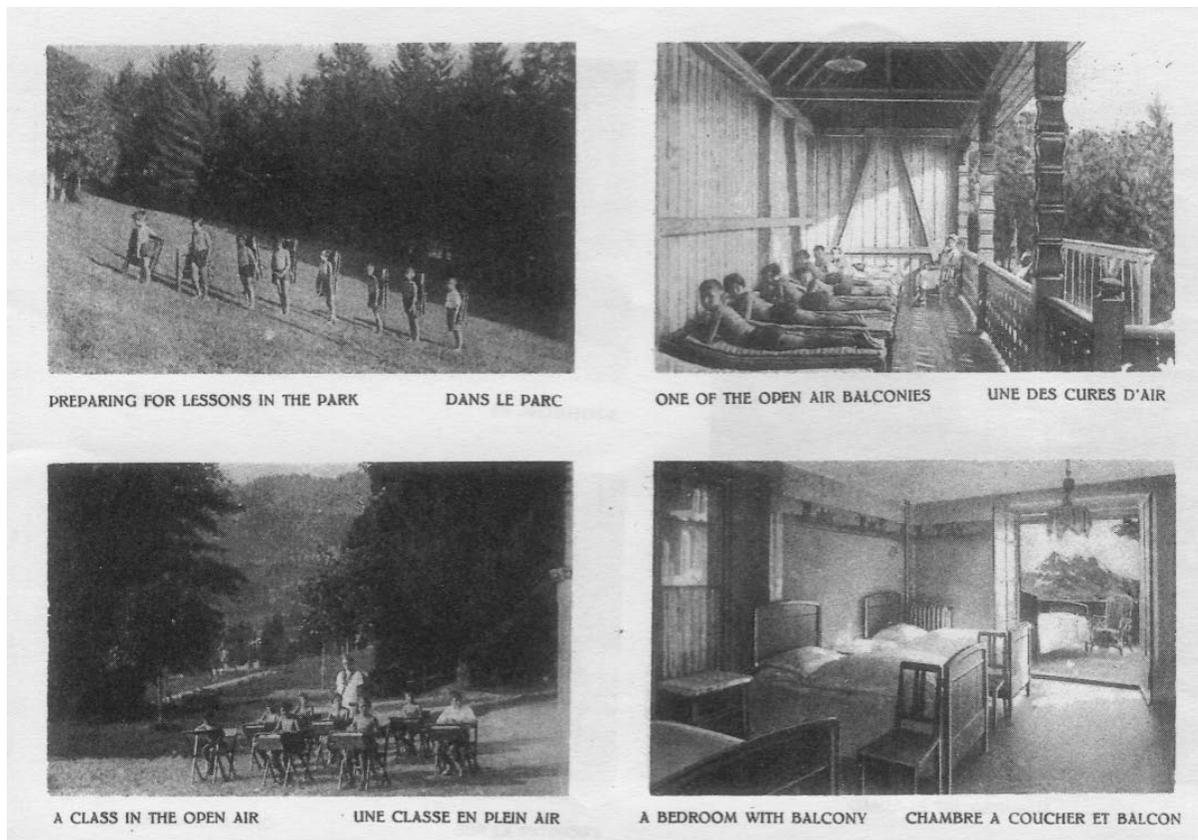


Fig. 3.5: Scenes of Heliotherapy at Beau Soleil

According to his 1923 *Heliotherapy*, Dr. Rollier created Ecole au Soleil “to provide an *anti-tuberculosis environment* for children who, for various reasons, were considered to be particularly liable to contract tuberculosis.”<sup>493</sup> The students were treated with heliotherapy as if they had the disease. If children developed tuberculosis on site, they were transferred to one of the better-equipped Rollier clinics.<sup>494</sup> In the mid-1920s, Ecole au Soleil also treated a limited number of children with certain non-tubercular illnesses - illnesses deemed, through scientific experimentation, likely to respond favourably to heliotherapy. Life at Rollier’s school was nearly identical to life

<sup>493</sup> A. Rollier, *Heliotherapy* (London: Henry Frowde and Hodder and Stoughton, 1923), 154.

<sup>494</sup> According to Rollier there was no cause for panic. The disease was infectious (airborne and transmitted through the gastrointestinal tract); however, those with adequate immune systems were less susceptible.

at his clinics. The most significant difference was that children attending the school *studied* during their sun exposure sessions, winter or summer (see fig. 3.6).<sup>495</sup>

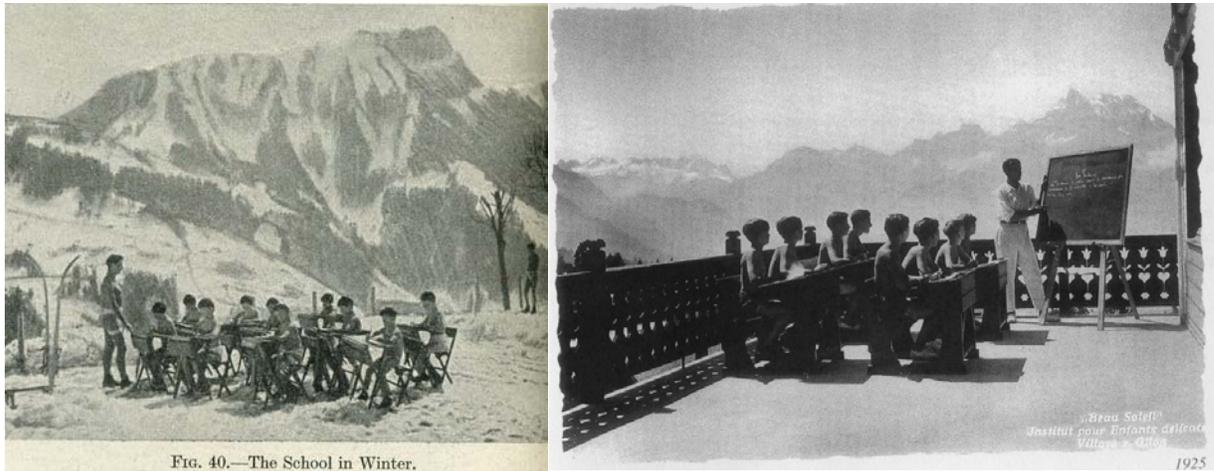


Fig. 3.6: Students at Ecole au Soleil studying in winter - this practice followed the premise that the low temperatures of winter offered a bracing effect strengthening the body (left); students at Beau Soleil (1925) studying outdoors in summer (right).

Although Beau Soleil's 1927 prospectus presented the Rollier Method as something other than the principle cure offered, by all appearances they were one and the same. A comparison of Ecole au Soleil and Beau Soleil's curative methods as described in the prospectuses indicates similarities outweighed differences.<sup>496</sup> Both schools offered a total program incorporating fresh air, proper diet, rest, and individual medical attention. They provided a cure for restoring and strengthening children's health based upon the principal that UV rays possessed anti-bacterial properties and strengthened the immune system. Both offered a specialised architectural environment which enabled students to rest or study indoors while still exposed to rays (i.e. south facing open and closed glassed galleries, large windows, balconies where children could be wheeled out in their beds for sun exposure during enforced daytime rest). They provided outdoor classes using portable wooden desks as well as Swedish drill, indoor artificial radiation and hydrotherapy. Identifying differences between the cures

<sup>495</sup> For more information on Rollier's school see A. Rollier, *Heliotherapy* (London: Henry Frowde and Hodder and Stoughton, 1923), 154-159.

<sup>496</sup> *Ibid.*, 154.

is challenging. The photographs and textual descriptions were almost interchangeable. The most visible difference lies in the school uniforms; pupils attending Beau Soleil wore shorts while children at Ecole au Soleil wore loin cloths. In this regard, one might argue the sun exposure level for students at Beau Soleil was fractionally less.<sup>497</sup>

If more serious differences existed, the 1927 prospectus failed to explain them. The informed reader could do little but conclude that the claim of “unique establishment” was one of many advertising statements oriented towards selling the product as opposed to documenting the finer product details. The inclusion of the claim was not unusual within advertising world at that time.<sup>498</sup> Certainly, from a promotional perspective, the decorative phrase “unique” was preferable to the description “exact copy.”<sup>499</sup> Interwar advertising intended to distinguish one’s business from others and the deceptive differential, a standard exaggeration, was often considered a harmless habit of the trade.

While there was little apparent difference between the Rollier cure and Beau Soleil’s medical practices there were obvious differences in this cure was advertised. Rollier, in his advertisements, as in his medical texts books, stressed parents should be informed and educated on the dangers, counter indications and science of his sun cure treatment. Children, he said, were especially sensitive to the sun. Heliotherapy was not designed for every child, nor was it useful for the treatment of all diseases.<sup>500</sup> In

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<sup>497</sup> The children wore little clothing to maximise sun exposure. Dr. Rollier noted there was “considerable prejudice” against this practice. He wrote: “[p]ersonally, I do not consider anything more decent than the body of a child bronzed by the sun. I would go further than this, and affirm, with the conviction my experience with large numbers of small boys and girls has given me, that the habit of living naked in the open air does not provoke any sensuality, but suppresses the very *raison d’être* of the unhealthy curiosity which often troubles the mind of the child. Nudity soon becomes quite a normal condition, and the child rapidly loses his astonishment at it.” A. Rollier, *Heliotherapy* (London: Henry Frowde and Hodder and Stoughton, The Lancet, 1923), 156.

<sup>498</sup> For further discussion see L. Bogart, *Strategy in Advertising: Matching Media and Messages to Markets and Motivations* (Lincolnwood, Illinois: NTC Business Books, 1986), 96-101.

<sup>499</sup> The similarities between the two schools, and the obvious borrowing of method raised a number of questions. The most pressing query was why Beau Soleil would obscure the medical origins of its practice while at the same time claim offer the Rollier cure to select students. Quite possibly there was a legal reason for this oversight. In the prospectus the Terrier-Ferriers mention they only administer the Rollier cure when supervised by the schools’ own doctor, Dr. Roussiaud, “[a]ncien médecin du Grand Hôtel à Leysin” (the Rollier Clinic). Very likely, Rollier had some authority over who was allowed to administer his method.

<sup>500</sup> For further discussion see L. Dodds, *Modern Sunlight* (London: J. Murray, 1930); G. Scott, *The Common Sense of Nudism, including a Survey of Sun-Bathing and “Light Treatments”* (London: T.W. Laurie, 1934).

contrast, Beau Soleil's 1927 prospectus contained no warning or mention of possible counter indications.

The difference was especially noticeable when comparing Rollier's descriptions of the sun cure with that provided by the school's own doctor in "*Villars-sur-Ollon, Station D'Altitude*," a medical tract which comprised the final pages of the prospectus. A former employee at Rollier's clinics, Beau Soleil's attending doctor Dr. Roussiaud wrote the report with no mention of the word "Rollier." The content of the report was similar to that of Rollier's own publications, except in its silence about the risks, drawbacks, and limitations of the sun cure. In this regard, Dr. Roussiaud's report functioned in a similar manner to the advertising genre known as scientific copy. This genre was commonly seen in a wide range of promotion in the 1920s and 1930s.<sup>501</sup> Regarding the post-World War I period, advertising historian Ernest Sackville Turner suggested:

Gone were the days when it was necessary to pretend that the secret of an ointment had been whispered to a titled traveller by a dying hermit in a cave at Petra. Now every specific was the result of years of laboratory testing.<sup>502</sup>

The science advertised in promotional materials defended claims of quality. Any scientific understanding which would have diminished the endorsement was, however, omitted.<sup>503</sup>

The report commenced with a complicated description of climatic conditions of Villars-sur-Ollon and continued with an explanation of how these climatic conditions benefited children. Readers learned the village was ideally located at a high altitude (1300m) on a south-facing plateau that provided shelter from the North Wind. The conditions were perfectly suited; the number of annual sunshine hours was high and yearly rainfall low. The climate, regulated by Lake Geneva, did not experience extreme variations in temperature. Readers were then advised about the benefits of this

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<sup>501</sup> For a discussion of the important role science and technology played in advertisements in the 1920s, see T. O'Guinn, C. Allen and R. Semenik (eds.), *Advertising* (New York: South-Western College Publishing, 1999), 72-75.

<sup>502</sup> E.S. Turner, *The Shocking History of Advertising* (London: Michael Joseph, 1952), 223.

<sup>503</sup> It was not until the late 1930s that legislation banning the scientific advertising for major illness cures such as tuberculosis, cancer, and diabetes was introduced. For a discussion of British law, see E.S. Turner, *The Shocking History of Advertising* (London: Michael Joseph, 1952), 236-237.

situation. In short, high altitude fostered better circulation, increased appetite, and healthier blood-cell production.

Unlike Dr. Rollier who classified Swiss climatic health resorts into four distinct categories according to their height above sea-level and advised about the different levels prescribed for specific health conditions, Dr. Roussiaud equated high altitude with increased health for all concerned. He did not, as did Dr. Rollier, indicate that attending the wrong level of altitude could prove ineffectual or even dangerous. Nor did he warn parents that children at the higher levels of altitude would likely experience symptoms such as shortness of breath, dizziness, heart palpitations, insomnia and nervous excitability for the first ten to fifteen days while their bodies adjusted.

Dr. Roussiaud's assessment of the medical benefits of sun rays mirrored Rollier's theories in some respects. Like Rollier, for example, he informed readers the radiating action of the sun benefited the children because UV rays possessed bactericidal properties.<sup>504</sup> However, Dr. Roussiaud's suggestion that the sun was a general tonic differed from Dr. Rollier's analyses. This type of general claim, made without reference to therapeutic guidelines was one Dr. Rollier suggested breached ethical stipulations in medical practice.<sup>505</sup> Dr. Rollier argued in many of his writings that overly optimistic scientific claims about the sun cure which failed to discuss the downsides of the

**If you were free to live..**

WERE you today to throw off the restraints of social conformity . . . would you, too, first satisfy that inborn craving for Ultraviolet? Would you discard the trappings of civilization to spend strenuous health-brimmed days in the beneficent sunlight?

For most convention-ridden people such action is denied. But the vital Ultraviolet portion of the sunlight can be brought right into the home by means of the justly-famous *Alpine Sun Lamp*. For years this apparatus has been used by physicians for the application of Ultraviolet as a powerful remedial agent. Now, with the growth of the preventive ideal, physicians are making it available to their patients for regular irradiation as a means to complete physical fitness.

To those who accept the obligation of a healthy body for themselves-- and their family... who glory in a robust tan throughout the year... the *Alpine Sun Lamp* has a vitally interesting message.

Ask your physician about it... and write for the treatise "Ultraviolet for Health."

Send today for this free booklet and for the complete list of dealers which will gladly mail you a copy of this booklet.

**The Original ALPINE SUN LAMP Luxor Model**

HANOVIA CHEM. & MFG. CO., Dept. DL, Newark, N. J.

Please send me, free, a copy of the book "Ultraviolet for Health."

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_  
My Physician's Name \_\_\_\_\_

Fig. 3.7: Advertisements for sun lamps were not uncommon in the interwar years (1930)

<sup>504</sup> Incidentally, the usefulness of radiant action for non-infected students was not explained.

<sup>505</sup> He noted the sun could cause a number of skin conditions such as urticaria, herpes simplex, eczema and could lead to sun stroke or worse. Medical science did not validate concerns about cancer until the 1940s.

treatment contradicted medical authorities and established medical practice in Switzerland and abroad.

Many medical experts on heliotherapy in the 1920s and 1930s were united in a concern that the “splendid effects of heliotherapy in high mountains” were “over-estimated and abused” and that the “abuse of this factor has led to a fashionable bronzing to which especially young people fall victim” (see fig. 3.7).<sup>506</sup> The idea that the sun was a tonic or panacea was frequently rejected in medical discourse.

In this way, the uniformly positive tone conveyed by Beau Soleil through the “*Villars-sur-Ollon, Station D’Altitude*” report placed the prospectus closer in genre to scientific advertising copy than to critical medical assessment.

This promotional strategy, of course, reveals nothing about the actual medical practices at the school. At various points, the 1927 prospectus claimed Beau Soleil correctly followed medical regimes. These assertions suggested a diligence on the part of the school directors with respect to proper medical practice. The fact that Dr. Roussiaud was a former doctor at Rollier’s clinics suggested he was very aware of the arguments about safe sun cure practices. Since children attended the school based upon their own doctors’ prescriptions, the ultimate responsibility fell to the prescribing doctor rather than the institution.

It is beyond the present scope to inquire into Beau Soleil’s medical practices. Here, Dr. Roussiaud’s report is viewed in the context of historical advertising which followed the logic “[s]urely it is asking too much to expect the advertiser to describe the shortcomings of his product? One must be forgiven for putting one’s best foot forward.”<sup>507</sup> Ultimately, as with any complex service product including *Rollier’s cure*, even with the fullest disclosure, purchases were still based upon faith and representation of medical practices in advertising reflected authors’ choices about which “facts” to include.

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<sup>506</sup> A. Rollier, *Heliotherapy* (London: Henry Frowde and Hodder and Stoughton, 1923), 154. For further international discussion on heliotherapy at the time, see Caleb Williams Saleeby, *Sunlight and Health* (London: Nisbet & Co., 1923); Paul Lazarus, *Handbuch der Gesamten Strahlenheilkunde, Biologie, Pathologie und Therapie* (Muenchen: J.F Bergmann, 1928, 1931); Paul F. Armand-Delille, *Héliothérapie: Actionthérapie et Stérois Irradiés* (Paris: Mason, 1931); *Ile Congrès international de La Lumière, Biologie, Biophysique, Thérapeutique* Copenhague (Copenhague: Engelsens & Schroder, 1933).

<sup>507</sup> Medicinal advertising was not legislated in Europe until the late 1930s. E.S. Turner, *The Shocking History of Advertising* (London: Michael Joseph, 1953), 203.

Dr. Roussiaud's report continued to be appended to prospectuses well into the 1930s. The majority of the later advertising however, differed radically in form compared to the 1927 brochure. While the 1927 text was "informational" in style, later brochures resembled the sort of advertising consumers had come to expect in the 1930s. The 1927 prospectus made small steps towards fostering a positive image for the school by employing the claim "unique" and, by avoiding discussion of the negative aspects of the service. Later prospectuses adopted a wider array of advertising strategies.

### 3.2 Post-Renovation Promotion

In 1930, Beau Soleil invested heavily in the renovation of its school buildings. In subsequent years, the Terrier-Ferriers radically increased their advertising budget. This section explores Beau Soleil's post-renovation prospectuses which were designed with assistance from J. Barreau & Cie, an advertising and publishing house in Paris which edited and published promotional tourism guides and picture postcards.<sup>508</sup> A look at the more dramatic and, from an advertising point of view, "sophisticated" prospectuses produced in the 1930s suggests the Terrier-Ferriers invested substantial resources, work and creativity into campaigns.<sup>509</sup> By the end of the interwar period, Beau Soleil's promotion resembled the period's leading advertising which, according to historian James Woods, was "...colourful, ingenious, often spectacular, and at times incredible."<sup>510</sup> In an age when "almost anything could be sold and was" the school endorsed itself with the same intense creativity that others employed to sell soap.<sup>511</sup> Pre and post-renovation changes aside, the section as a whole explores how engineered descriptions and opportunistic photographs crafted an idealised sense of place that, by

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<sup>508</sup> This company had an art department, a staff of copywriters as well as publishing facilities.

<sup>509</sup> Unfortunately, many of the prospectuses from the 1930s do not contain an exact date of publication.

<sup>510</sup> James Playstead Wood, *The Story of Advertising* (New York: Ronald Press, 1958), 366.

<sup>511</sup> Ibid. For an excellent summary of the nature of advertising during the interwar period see also Vincent Vinikas, *Soft Soap, Hard Sell: American Hygiene in the Age of Advertisement* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1992).

the end of the period, openly targeted former recreational tourists living in European cities who had healthy children attending school. When high-profile graphic designer and world-renowned poster artist Roger Broders took control of the artwork and editorship, the quality of the brochures reached new heights. With their evident creativity, visuality and brashness, the prospectuses reflected creative developments in the advertising industry which was influenced by the new psychology of advertising.<sup>512</sup> The new brochures made visual and poetic use of the school's high altitude location in the Vaudois Alps to help sell the "new" Beau Soleil and enhance its symbolic aura or "brand identity" (see fig. 3.8 for examples of Broders' art).<sup>513</sup> The importance of this new style of advertising to the school's survival through the Great Depression will never be known. The prospectuses do suggest the Terrier-Ferriers placed faith in modern advertising.

Unfortunately, a lack of research on Swiss private boarding school history makes it impossible to judge the extent to which schools generally utilised modern advertising techniques in publicity. A rare statement about the relevance of advertising to American schools during the interwar period indicates the advertising industry had made some inroads into school publicity. In 1929 advertising historian Frank Presbrey wrote:

Advertising has made hundreds of students where without it there would have been one ... Advertising technique has been effective in creating a desire to go to some school and obtain the concrete advantages which the advertisements have pictured.<sup>514</sup>

Whether or not Beau Soleil's prospectuses were pioneering or simply part of a larger trend in this regard remains an open question. Beau Soleil's school publicity, however,

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<sup>512</sup> For a discussion of advertising and the new science of psychology in the 1920s and 1930s, see J. Sivulka, *Stronger than Dirt: A Cultural History of Advertising Personal Hygiene in America (1875-1940)*, (Amherst, N.Y.: Humanity Books, 2001), 134-138; For a detailed discussion of the growth of the American advertising industry until 1927 see F. Presbrey, *The History and Development of Advertising* (New York: Double Day, 1929)

<sup>513</sup> There was tremendous growth in advertising art during the 1920s and 1930s. Roger Broders (1883-1953) illustrated many large accounts. He painted editorial illustrations for magazines and books and was a prominent artist figure in the outdoor advertising field. Roger Broders was schooled at the National School of Decorative Arts in Paris. He became famous for his postcard-style tourism posters. He worked with several different printing houses, including J. Barreau & Cie, Paris where he illustrated and edited Beau Soleil's [193?] prospectus. He visited every place he drew, and therefore likely visited Villars-sur-Ollon. Broders' posters were internationally known.

<sup>514</sup> F. Presbrey, *The History and Development of Advertising* (New York: Double Day, 1929), 610.

demonstrates that advertising design companies were involved in the promotion of education long before the period of late capitalism. Contemporary observations by social theorists that advertising genres only made their way into the realm of educational publicity after the 1960s require revisiting (see fig.3.8).<sup>515</sup>



Fig. 3.8: Two of Roger Broders' many posters: ice hockey at the World Championships in Chamonix (left) and a winter scene of the Vosges and the Alsace, north of Basel in France (right)

By the interwar period, decades of tourist publicity had successfully broadcasted idealised alpine images to an ever-widening circle of visitors.<sup>516</sup> The dominant reading of the Swiss Alps was positive; natural beauty and health-giving

<sup>515</sup> Here I mean the three organisations creating and circulating advertising, the advertiser, the advertising agent and the publisher. For a clear discussion on the relationship of poster artists to the tourist advertising business which addresses the European situation, see John Hewitt, "Posters of Distinction: Art, Advertising and the Railways," *Design Issues* 16, no. 4 (2000): 2-25.

<sup>516</sup> D. Di Falco, P. Baer and C. Pfister (eds), *Bilder vom besseren Leben: Wie Werbung Geschichte erzahlt* (Bern: Haupt, 2002), 12.

benefits a foregone conclusion. Whether or not a Swiss vacation was affordable, few escaped the message that the Alps were an ideal playground and place to relax. The publicity blitz resulted in a pool of pre-fabricated positive descriptors that provided a convenient source for enriching Beau Soleil's promotion. Market-tested phrases such as "stunning panorama," "quiet valley," "snowy slopes," or "sunny terraces" were sprinkled throughout school prospectuses in hopes of excellent results.

Prospectuses demonstrated that beauty could be an added selling feature for any good or service, including a school.<sup>517</sup> While the 1927 prospectus had relied upon a photographic Alpine view to promote the school on the basis of a "beautiful location" (see fig. 3.9), post-1930 brochures included photographs *and* other types of skillfully produced graphics, including colourful textual descriptions and high quality illustrations.



Fig. 3.9: View of Villars from Beau Soleil

Alpine attractiveness was "enhanced" and relayed through what American copywriters at the time referred to as "word magic."<sup>518</sup> The feeling of the mountains was constructed using metaphoric expressions, attributive adjectives and other grammatical techniques. For example one text exclaimed:

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<sup>517</sup> F. Presbrey, *The History and Development of Advertising* (New York: Double Day, 1929), 611.

<sup>518</sup> E.S. Turner, *The Shocking History of Advertising* (London: Michael Joseph, 1952), 190.

Settled in an open valley, Villars-sur-Ollon offers the stunned eyes an imposing panorama of Switzerland. You can see profiles of numerous alpine peaks including ‘la grand hat’ (Mont Blanc). The opulent valley is sprinkled with little towns and villages that, by evening, glow like jewels of light. All that you see makes a deep impression on your soul. It is a vision of beauty.<sup>519</sup>

The clichéd “literary” landscape was intentionally written according to modern copywriting’s stylistic guidelines which preferred effective sales language to a high literary approach.<sup>520</sup> The wittingly sentimental composition aimed to swiftly create an emotional environment where people wanted to buy.<sup>521</sup> Like an atlas of fantasy, the prospectuses detracted attention away from the serious, mundane, everyday and laboured to establish a lighter, more dream-like state of mind.<sup>522</sup> If readers could enter the mood-scape of a fantasyland where villages sparkled like glitter about the Alpine landscape, the advertisement accomplished an important beginning in making a sale.<sup>523</sup>

Poster-style paintings sought similar effect (see fig. 3.10). In Broders’ representation of Villars-sur-Ollon appearing on the back cover of a late 1930s prospectus the boundary between reality and fantasy blurred. The Alps, muted and softened, stood behind snow-covered chalets. Symbols, the Alps represented a world once removed. To the prospective visitor they were to be a kind of heaven: a far-away tourist place appealing to consumer passion and sentiments for the sublime.

According to the logic of advertising psychology, poster tourist art projected desirable place images onto tourist destination identities. It appealed to the economy of desire rather than necessity.<sup>524</sup> Poster-style art did not simply illustrate or complement;

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<sup>519</sup> Beau Soleil, ed. R. Broders, *Beau Soleil* (Paris: J. Barreau & Cie, [193?]).

<sup>520</sup> S. Rolland, *The Advertising Handbook: A Reference Work Covering the Principles and Practices of Advertising* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1921), 77.

<sup>521</sup> For a discussion about the psychological theories behind this technique, see Ellen Mazur Thomson, “The Science of Publicity: An American Advertising Theory, 1900-1920,” *Journal of Design History*, vol. 9 (1996): 253-272.

<sup>522</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>523</sup> For a discussion of language use in advertising during the period, see H. De Bower, *Advertising Principles* (New York: Alexander Hamilton, 1917).

<sup>524</sup> Although France gave birth to modern poster art, Switzerland pioneered the European travel poster. According to H. Hutchinson in *The Poster: An Illustrated History From 1860* (London: Studio Vista, 1968), by the 1930s the pictorial poster had become a matter of Swiss national pride and asset of international importance. Careful regulation of poster sites and civic censorship on aesthetic and social grounds ensured the high standards of Swiss poster art. For a full history, see chapter seven, “The Vintage Thirties in Europe,” 1930-1938” pp. 112-138. See also “Switzerland” in A. Well, *The Poster: A Worldwide Survey and History* (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1985), 245-261. In this way art in advertising became an emotive sign whose connotations of quality, taste, and discernment could be attached to the

it communicated on another level. In these respects, Beau Soleil's use of Broders' poster art followed a well-tested pattern of tourism advertising.



Fig. 3.10: This tranquil winter scene spoke a thousand words to those in cities with rushed and busy lives

However, candy-coated phrases and arresting visuals constituted only one aspect of the creative strategy used to increase student recruitment. In the face of a market with less income and lowered economic confidence, the Terrier-Ferriers, in line with many other types of advertisements, incorporated stronger tactics of psychological suggestion.<sup>525</sup> According to Dexter Masters' *The Intelligent Buyer and the Telltale Seller, A Moral Reader*:

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services advertised. See John Hewitt, "Posters of Distinction: Art, Advertising and the Railways," *Design Issues* 16, no. 4 (2000): 2-25.

<sup>525</sup> For a discussion on the early influence of psychology on advertising, see E.S. Turner, *The Shocking History of Advertising* (London: Michael Joseph, 1952), 157-160.

The depression changed things a bit; it was harder to sell things to people without money. But the drive to sell salable appearances was never harder. Truth in advertising was set aside, as it would be on numerous later occasions, while with shock effects, tropismatic reactions, animal orientation, forced movements, fixation of ideas, and verbal intoxication advertisers tried to drum up what business could be found.<sup>526</sup>

The post-renovation prospectuses did not shy away from invoking both “positive” and “negative” psychological strategies of modern advertisement.<sup>527</sup> Nor did they forgo the publicity trend of “hypnotic suggestion.”

As is well discussed in historical literature, psychological strategies used in consumer advertising operated on both psychoanalytic and behaviourist models. Advertising psychology was often straightforward in its techniques, conscious in targeting particular human emotions and, direct in its use of consumer suggestion. Where the commonplace hypnotic method was applied, it was done with open simplicity. The theory was simple. First texts intended to lull readers into a relaxed frame of mind. Second, suggestions distorting memory or perception were applied and a problem introduced. Third, a solution was propounded in hope of effecting post-hypnotic control over buying behaviour. The prospectus of 1932 exemplified the application of “personalised” psychology and hypnotic suggestion to advertising.

In the 1932 prospectus, for the first time the reader became the protagonist of the promotional story. His or her emotions, motivations, and capacities constituted the vantage point from which the promotion was presented. The logic of situating the reader/prospect within the context of the advertisement relied upon the understanding that people are more likely to pay attention when the story is about themselves. The heavily-plotted text “recalled” readers into pleasurable Alpine circumstance.<sup>528</sup> Then, through suggestive technique, it “reminded” readers about the joy they had already experienced while on holiday in the Vaudois Alps. On the basis of this manufactured

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<sup>526</sup> D. Masters, *The Intelligent Buyer and the Telltale Seller, A Moral Reader* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1966).

<sup>527</sup> In broad strokes, the psychological “laws of feeling” incorporated into advertising strategies followed behaviourist principles. On this point, see Ellen Mazur Thomson, “The Science of Publicity’: An American Advertising Theory, 1900-1920,” *Journal of Design History*, vol. 9 (1996): 259.

<sup>528</sup> Here I suggest the Alpine environment as pleasantly abnormal from the perspective of the tourist seeking transcendence from everyday life.

nostalgia the narrative instructed readers the Vaudois Alps were to become part of their lives in the near future:

You may have already visited Villars-sur-Ollon and had a joyful sojourn in the Vaudois Alps. Under a radiating sky, you admired the diverse profile of the Savoy Alps, the numerous peaks of the Dents du Midi, the grandness of the glaciers along the Mont-Blanc chain. You admired the peaks which will soon become familiar: the Dents de Morcles and the du Muveran.<sup>529</sup>

In this way, the marketing endeavoured to embed its targeted market at the centre of an evolving plot which would eventually conclude with the purchase of schooling at Beau Soleil.<sup>530</sup>

After imbuing the Alps with a personalised romanticism the text reminded readers about thoughts and dreams they had experienced at the conclusion of their holiday:

You may have had wished to live here longer seeing this rich horizon... Your work called you away and you responded, descending back to the cities, to the flatness. But without doubt you also thought that if you had to leave all this, the children, they, the happy children, should not be excluded from the healthful air, the sun, the sporty and happy life the mountain offers. [...] You wished that, at least they could live up there.<sup>531</sup>

Following this happy recollection the text turned sharply. Soon readers would find themselves thrown suddenly into the type of “life review” that is said to follow Catholic death.

From a vantage point somewhere beyond the timeframe of the everyday world, readers “remembered” and “reviewed” their post-holiday lives. A series of changing images (each detailing a post-vacation episode of logical thought and moral decision-making) forced readers to “see” the horror of their own past, to understand the negative impact their decision to leave Villars had on their children and finally, to fully understand the foulness of their reality:

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<sup>529</sup> Beau Soleil, *Une Maison D'Enfants Dans Les Alpes, Sports* (Beau Soleil: 1932), 1.

<sup>530</sup> This “intentionally hypnotic” method was rejected and accepted within the advertising industry on the same logic – that it rendered the audience suggestible and docile and attempted to condition readers not think for themselves. See Arnold Toynbee and William Bernbach, “Is it Immoral to Stimulate Buying” in *Bill Bernbach's Book : A History of the Advertising that Changed the History of Advertising*, ed. Bob Levenson, 192-194 (New York: Villard Books, 1987), 194.

<sup>531</sup> Beau Soleil, *Une Maison D'Enfants Dans Les Alpes, Sports* (Beau Soleil: 1932), 1.

But so far you have let go of the wishes you had for your little children. You reasoned that the children too, have their task, their work, and that they too have to prepare themselves to be what you are, or more. You firmly believed that their preparation for the future was as important as your own work, so you thought that you had to agree to a city life for them, to agree to the impure atmosphere of the street. You chose this life for them so that they, in the colleges of the city, in the numerous classes they receive instruction, could capture the education that is an indispensable weapon to the soul, the precious tool for the spirit, the only instruction that allows men [persons] to make his [their] life.<sup>532</sup>

The painful realisations did not, however, last long. Very quickly following judgement came atonement. Readers were spared guilt as the text helped them to come to a new understanding of their behaviour:

You were only following the tyrant custom that sees people returning in September or October, to the noise, the impure air, the life in the city which is sometimes tedious for adults and always bad for children.”<sup>533</sup>

With this newly dawned enlightenment the narrative returned readers to the present providing them a new chance and ultimately a happy ending:

If you have concluded the alpine life is only a dream for your children, then you have been too pessimistic and you have not understood the goals of this grand, clear, newly-constructed building which is disposed with a joyful majesty at the heart of the alpine plateau of Villars. But fortunately you saw the house and home, its park in the sun. You heard cascades of joy and happiness echoing from young life – You saw [and chose] “Beau Soleil.”<sup>534</sup>

Bullied, shamed and hopefully redeemed, readers were transformed into the ultimate heroes of the action. Using the technique of narrative interpellation, the marketing transformed a specific type of reader into a buyer: the urban-dwelling, middle-class recreational tourist who sported a nostalgic longing for rural ideals as well as a demanding job, wife, and children.

This dramatic technique was used to promote a diverse range of products including, most famously, soap. Most typically it was used to advertise less expensive products than a high-altitude boarding school. An advertisement for the American soap manufacturer LifeBuoy’s entitled “Isn’t *health* worth guarding, too?” illustrates. The advertisement first asked: “Isn’t the splendid health of our youngsters worth guarding

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<sup>532</sup> Beau Soleil, *Une Maison D’Enfants Dans Les Alpes, Sports* (Beau Soleil: 1932), 2.

<sup>533</sup> Ibid., 1.

<sup>534</sup> Ibid., 2.

too? It's so natural and vital, like air and sunshine that one forgets how easily it can be lost." It next advised: "the dust of the streets is less safe than sand ... children cannot always be on sunny beaches...." Finally it provided readers with a solution to "protect your children with soap." According to Pamela Laird, in *Advertising Progress: American Business and the Rise of Consumer Marketing* (1998), these types of narratives reflected an effort to engage the audience while linking product features to customer benefits.<sup>535</sup> Such "[r]eason-why methods served advertisers by encouraging consumers to trust new products in a nearly unregulated marketplace."<sup>536</sup> Beau Soleil, selling a more complicated "product" offered a more radical and expensive solution. The answer to dirty and unsafe streets was to rescue children and place them in the Alpine sun.

Beau Soleil's interwar prospectuses exaggerated the narrative problem in order to match the price of the solution. To justify costly propositions that children needed expensive alpine schools as opposed to low-cost soap, the brochures explained their somewhat complex product. The slight admission that parents were likely confused by "the goals of the grand, new constructed building"<sup>537</sup> (see fig. 3.11) signalled product image problems and may well have indicated the school could not obtain sufficient business. Several contradictions at the heart of the school's enterprise were disorienting and challenged the development of a coherent corporate identity.

Following the 1930 renovations Beau Soleil appeared more like a sanatorium than ever before (see fig. 3.11). Photographs detailing nurses in uniforms and doctors in long, white coats did not correspond to the school's claim to serve "vigorous and strong children" as well as "delicate and weak children."<sup>538</sup> Further, the core curative practice – the sun and air cure - readers learned, was administered to the entire student body.

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<sup>535</sup> P. Laird, *Advertising Progress: American Business and the Rise of Consumer Marketing* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 295.

<sup>536</sup> Ibid.

<sup>537</sup> Beau Soleil, *Une Maison D'Enfants Dans Les Alpes, Sports* (Beau Soleil: 1932), 2.

<sup>538</sup> Beau Soleil, *Une Maison D'Enfants Dans Les Alpes, Sports* (Beau Soleil: 1932).

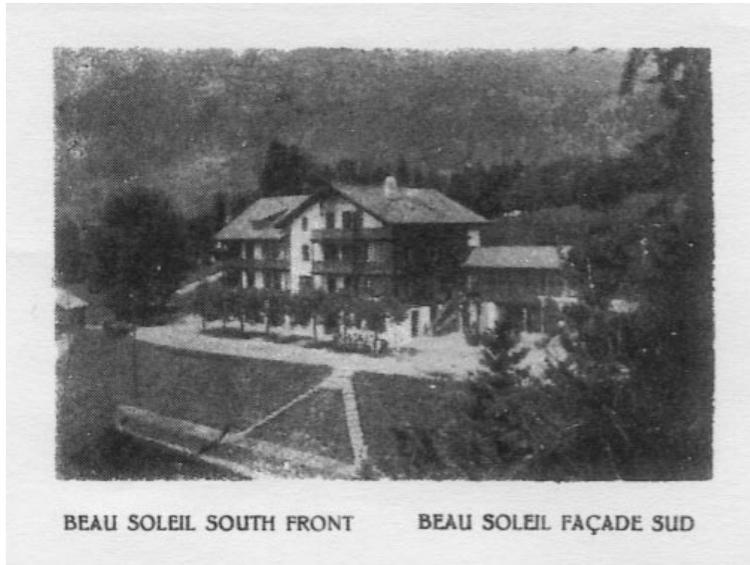


Fig. 3.11: Beau Soleil before (above) and after renovations (below)

Beau Soleil faced the same recurring problem: that sanatoria, no matter how glamorous or ideally located, repelled potential customers. The modern-looking hospital or clinic, or, for the sake of the children “school,” may have slightly appealed to parents desperate to help their children achieve health. Despite its generously large windows that offered bright rooms, the power of the building to attract the parents of healthy children was limited. Trapped in a conundrum created by “reason-why” logic, Beau Soleil adopted the creative platform that all children, healthy and delicate alike,

required medical therapy, specifically, a specialised therapy available only at high altitude.

The concept that healthy children should be treated as if they were sick, begged explanation. Prospectuses of the 1930s and early 1940s waged a pro-active response to anticipated objections and opposing points of view. Not surprisingly, the first issue addressed was the odd sight of healthy children undergoing curative therapy (see fig. 3.12). As a means of answering the question of why healthy young people needed to be lounging on sun beds under the watchful eye of a nurse, prospectuses took the principle of health-before-study to extremes. Readers were informed that:

During their growing years most children are very much in need of mountain air, sun and rest because their bodies are imbalanced and unstable. It is useless to have them study in this condition. Before studying one needs to be healthy. Without health there will be no studies. The city tires and weakens children. Life at high altitude does not weigh them down. Growing children need lengthy stays in the mountains for, if the stay is very short and the child has to continue his studies in town, he will see all the benefit drain away and he will fall into a poor condition. What is the profit in that?<sup>539</sup>



Fig. 3.12: Children at Beau Soleil undergoing curative therapy

The logic of the “answer” likely prompted even the least curious reader to wonder what evidence Beau Soleil could produce to support the claim that study in the city was “useless.” From an advertising point of view, however, it proved unproblematic.

Following the maxim “appeal to reason in your advertising and you appeal to about four percent of the human race”<sup>540</sup> logic in advertising was less important than emotional appeal, a surer method of establishing truth. The prospectuses repeatedly

<sup>539</sup> Beau Soleil, *Études, Santé, Sports* (Beau Soleil: 1935), 21-22.

<sup>540</sup> E.S. Turner, *The Shocking History of Advertising* (London: Michael Joseph, 1952), 210.

addressed emotional concerns. Even though the prospectuses reiterated infectious cases were not permitted (although ill children were), the text anticipated parents of healthy children were likely to object to the presence of sick children. The texts spoke to an implicit concern about the mood-atmosphere of the school. The medical aura of the new buildings implied a cold and depressive environment associated with hospitals or other types of institutions. Prospectuses employed various strategies to counteract such misconceptions, the most simple of which was to inform readers that Beau Soleil was not a cold place. The brochure explained to readers the building reconstruction intentionally created warm surroundings. There were, for example, “no long corridors like in schools or hospitals” but rather “rooms painted in lively colours.”<sup>541</sup> The décor was characterised as “like that of a family home” plain, unpretentious and cozy.<sup>542</sup>



Fig. 3.13: The use of perspective in this illustration places the emphasis directly on the healthy-looking boy

High quality illustrations of the buildings were chosen as an effective medium to deflect attention away from the scary image of the institution. Illustrative technique was also frequently used in interwar advertising “to lighten up what might otherwise be a serious and unpleasant message.”<sup>543</sup> The cover of the Beau Soleil prospectus

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<sup>541</sup> Beau Soleil, *Études, Santé, Sports* (Beau Soleil: 1935), 6.

<sup>542</sup> *Ibid.*, 6

<sup>543</sup> M. Sutherland and A. Sylvester, *Advertising and the mind of the consumer: What Works, What Doesn't, and Why* (Sydney: Allen Unwin, 2000), 116.

designed by Broders emphasised health. The image of a rosy-cheeked boy on skis supported by a backdrop of beautiful and broad horizons (see fig. 3.13) indicated this small master of his Alpine world was neither feeble nor weak. Energised and on top of the world he looked as though, after the picture, he would immediately go out and conquer the Alps on skis. Further, by occupying the foreground of the picture he became large; the school nesting in behind him, dwarfed, lost its imposition.

Broders' poster skills re-mastered the image of the institution from the inside out. The image of a strong child in front of an institution historically associated with the weak signaled a sense of wholesome country vigor. The image of life inside the institution signaled that all was well on this front too. The illustration entitled "*Coupe Verticale Montrant La Disposition Intérieure de Beau Soleil*" (see fig. 3.14) a "demonstrative visualisation" provided a non-threatening, easy-to-understand and enhanced orientation.

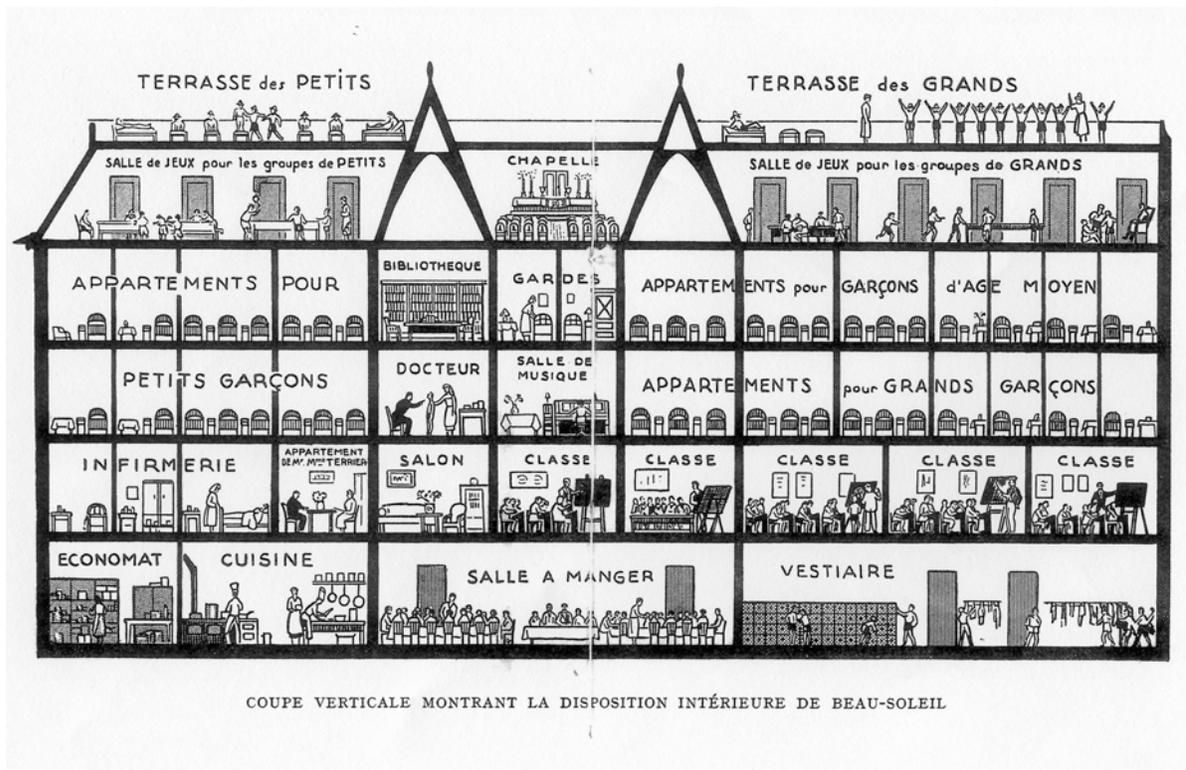


Fig. 3.14: "Coupe verticale montrant la disposition intérieure de Beau Soleil"

The visual power of Broders' sketch of the constructed environment succeeded on three levels. First, the drawing efficiently explained practical aspects of the service by allowing the institution's spaces to be observed within one view. The floor plans, represented through a vertically-cut sectional drawing, conveyed information of room function, graphically illustrating what would happen where. Second, the drawing offered slice-of-life thumbnail-sized drawings of gestured figures and domestic furnishings which brought the building to life. The miniature tableau provided a collage of idealised explanatory subtexts which elaborated on the nature of the school's everyday activities through warm and jolly scenes that suggested both arrested and impending action. Third, the unlikely symmetry of the composition conveyed the total establishment as an ordered, supervised and well-organised environment.

Broders' visual compositions illustrated how Beau Soleil met a wide range of human needs. Although the sketch predated Maslow's triangle, it visibly evoked a similar hierarchy.<sup>544</sup> The foundational lower floor, a realm of efficiency, control and order, indicated basic needs at the dollhouse school were well attended. The detail of architecture, settings, clothes and furnishings added visual pleasure while explaining about everyday life at the school.

The scene in the bottom left corner opened upon an apron-clad woman neatly stacking shelves in the *économat*. The image suggested systematic domestic management. Next door, a cook wearing a *toque blanche* cap that signified "chef" stirred a large pot in a modern-looking kitchen. With labour-saving devices and kitchen help, his presence conveyed a sense that the school provided quality food cooked in a controlled, professional manner. The two larger rooms which fill the bottom left corner further tackled questions of everyday necessities. In the refectory, the Terrier-Ferriers graced the head table. They dined with their students, overseeing the meal. Their panoptical placement in the room assured parents their children would be well-fed and failure to eat would be noticed. Tables full of students indicated

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<sup>544</sup> In this way the sketch recognised "[t]oday, the more progressive business man is searching out the unconscious needs of the consumer, is producing goods to satisfy them, is bringing the attention of the consumer to the existence of such goods...." A. T. Poffenberger, *Psychology in Advertising* (Chicago: A.W. Shaw Company, 1925), 38.

predictability, routine, and meals regulated at set times. But it was in the *vestiaire*, the final wing of the floor, where parents could view the conduct of unsupervised children arrested in the action of daily dress (see fig. 3.15).

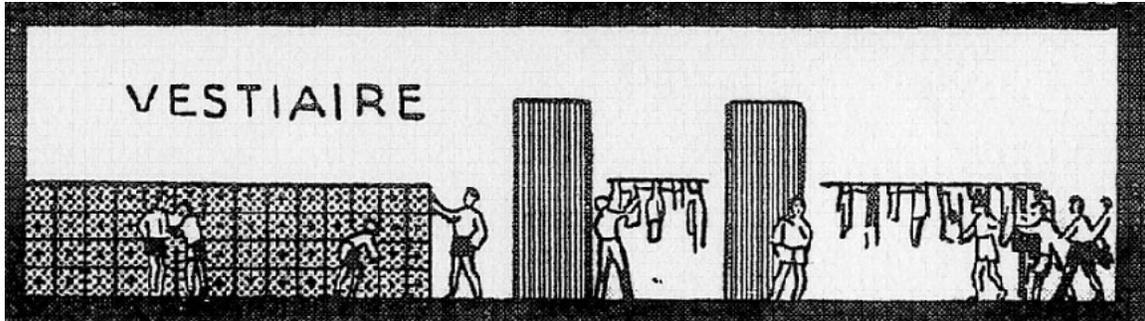


Fig. 3.15: Each row of pictures reads like a comic book

This room conveyed the immediate impression that children at the school were regimented without being drones. In the ordered environment of a change room, the young figures were caught in stances of playful elasticity. Two boys stood talking and, as they opened the lockers in front of them, a third boy some distance away joined in the conversation. This “one hand in his pocket and the other casually holding a locker” boy engaged in conversation, not dressing. Meanwhile, a handful of boys at the other end of the room retrieved and returned clothing to a rack where everything on it was spaced the same width apart; no piece of clothing touched or overlapped. The relaxed locker room chat occurred within a scene of overall decency. The image brought to life a subtext that at Beau Soleil the children were neat and tidy, properly behaved and yet, still youngsters. The scene conveyed a great deal about the school’s capacity in child-training. Shown in the everyday scenario of routine dressing, parents were allowed to view children as they behaved in an unsupervised environment – an ideal test of the school’s effectiveness. The dressing room scenario passed with flying colours. It illustrated children sufficiently well-trained to be able to be relaxed enough to enjoy each others’ company while fulfilling their duties of neatness in daily practice and upholding the decency and decorum expected in unsupervised changing.

The second floor addressed more complex human needs. The depiction of a veiled nurse conveyed the idea of ideal healthcare. With her hand holding the foot of

the bed she was frozen into a posture of watchful concern. The well-tucked in child in the small bed could thus rest flat on his back in the exemplary infirmary environment. The drawing assured parents sick children were well attended.

Next door, the Terrier-Ferriers magically appeared again. They sat across the table facing one another over a bouquet of flowers (see fig. 3.16).



Fig. 3.16: The apartment of Mr. and Mrs. Terrier at Beau Soleil

This representation of an intimate family scene

highlighted the fact that respectable heterosexuality lay at the heart of the enterprise. The sight of their private quarters signaled onsite management as it illustrated ordinary private lives occurring within the extraordinary context of the institution. Domestic harmony and parental figures assured customers the school offered a pleasant family atmosphere. The private salon of the directors next door hinted they too had a special location for socialising where, possibly, older or privileged students would receive extra care and attention. The cozy room existed as a haven encased by thick walls; those inside it likely forgot that right next door were five classrooms designed for serious study.

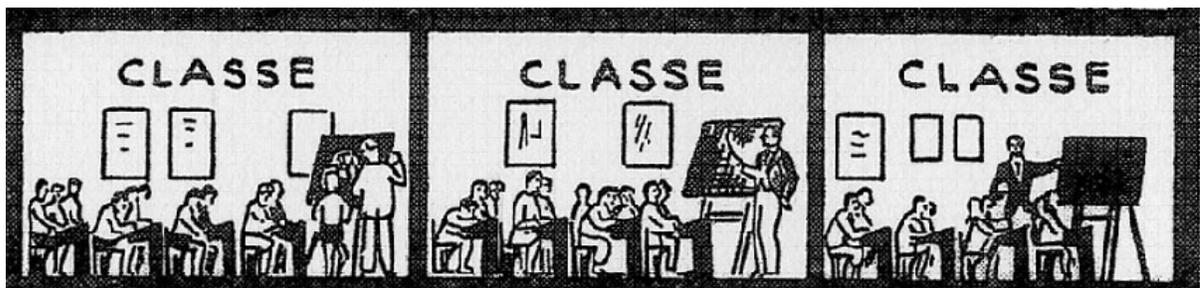


Fig. 3.17: Depictions of learning arrangements in Beau Soleil classrooms

The row of classrooms to the right addressed a radically different set of human needs and attested to pedagogical quality at the school (see fig. 3.17). The body language of the teachers represented earnest and hardworking schooling methods. All

stood beside blackboards at the front of the classroom; their bodies expressed the action of a thoughtful teacher. All teachers held the attention of pupils who were drawn in the most eager of sitting positions.

The third, fourth and fifth floors illustrated a mixed story of moral sleeping arrangements, proper medical care and cultured refinement. The dormitories revealed civilised sleeping conditions and hinted at controlled sexuality. The labels on the drawing revealed the students were divided by age group. The guardroom on the same floor conveyed the singular message that at night a live-in attendant supervised the children.

The sight of a doctor's office assured parents the school offered an in-house physician. The consultation that occurred inside the room revealed serious investigative action. The pliant child sandwiched between nurse and doctor had little choice but to comply. The drawing conveniently captured the actors of the medical drama in subdued and decent circumstances. The parents saw nothing of the frenzied, messy and awkward scenes of active illness, its treatment or after-effects on the room.

In the chamber next door, music was created in the *Salle de Musique*. Four sheets of music on the stand and hands fingering both high and low octaves implied high-level playing; parents were possibly seeing the music teacher in private afternoon practice. Sliding diagonally up one square, the library, well-stocked with books, embodied appropriate literary facilities and opportunities for higher study. The solace of the room amidst the activity of the great house affirmed the school provided for quiet study space.

However, it was the top floor and its rooftop terrace that grabbed readers' attention. That scene cast an exceptionally favourable, albeit somewhat unusual, light on the institution. The chapel crowned the building like the top layer of a tiered cake (see fig. 3.18). Rows of chairs

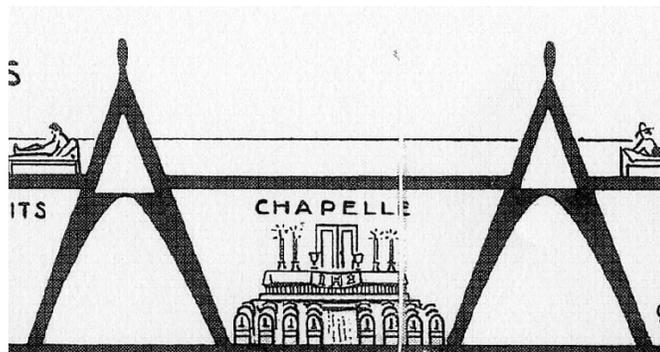


Fig. 3.18: The represented centrality of the Chapel at Beau Soleil

for the child parishioners, like dowels, supported graduated levels of the temple. The altar, iced with a white tablecloth, formed a smooth, rectangular slab set ablaze by four candles that glowed at equal intervals around the outer perimeter. A set of ecclesiastical chalices awaited the sacrament of communion. The elegant and exacting holy miniature informed readers Beau Soleil prioritised remembering Christ through mass and sacrament.

A tennis table in the adjacent *Salle de Jeux pour les groups des Petits* revealed the spaces of the school conveniently provided room for all needs. The well-constructed building held within its walls bold, but ultimately complimentary, contrasts. The scenes of active and noisy play which surrounded the chapel created the impression that recreation and spirituality were both accorded an elevated sense of importance. Older and younger boys enjoying games in their respective wings could enjoy a space equivalent to the size of three classrooms.

Finally, the action on the roof-top terrace suggested Beau Soleil offered something special above and beyond the typical boarding school. On the *Terrasse des Grandes* children in shorts reached their arms toward the sky. The nine little champions standing in military alignment made Swedish drill seem fun. One child, too ill to participate, was propped up on elbows witnessing the activity. Although the minority in his medical sun bath, he was nevertheless not alone. On the opposing terrace a more relaxed atmosphere allowed younger children to bask in the sun. Some read, others played and one looked down over the edge to enjoy the view from on high.

The living picture of the school as a whole provided a jolly yet disciplined impression. The medical care appeared to occur naturally and without undue emphasis. The drawing consciously illustrated a boarding school that was at once solid and fantastical, full of vitality, but a home too for the weak. The scene revealed a boarding school imaginatively expressed for marketing purposes. It projected an environment in which prospective consumers could more easily imagine placing their children. The stark contrast between the thumbnail sketch of the doctor's office in Broders' montage and the photograph *La Salle des Rayons – Ultraviolets* revealed the effect of visuals was directly tied to the illustrative medium used. The ultra-modern look of artificial

heliotherapy demonstrated how medical scenes in particular could be difficult to present in photographs in a manner that did not frighten the audience (see fig. 3.19). The thumbnail caricature illuminated the visual attempts that conveyed non-humorous medical scenes could not avoid looking somewhat unpleasant.

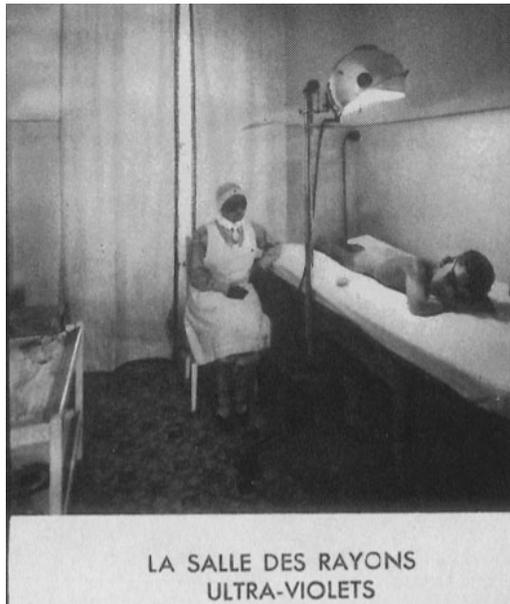


Fig. 3.19: The photograph (left) visually informed parents about the abstract medical treatments of the school. The frightening side-effect of the image was mediated by the supervisory figure of the nurse. Both child and nurse have their eyes properly shielded indicating safe practice of the medical therapy. Nevertheless, the photograph itself did not transmit an overall appealing image. The sketch (right) assures children and parents alike of medical attention.

This photograph of medical practice was somewhat unique however, and it was visual portrayals of joyful aspects of the school, drawn or photographed that were in abundance. The prospectuses included as many visual indicators as possible that communicated Beau Soleil as a happy place. Animated child characters, like those in the illustrations of boarding school novels impressed a joyful tone on the institution. Visual clichés of children enjoying sports and games entertained the readers as much as they informed and equally addressed readers of all ages (see fig. 3.20).



Fig. 3.20: In these sports-focused illustrations a pleasant experience was visualized for the reader. The berets of the hockey players raised the question as to whether the image might have been also used for another commercial purpose. Photographs of Beau Soleil students did not show this type of uniform. Alternatively, the hats might have been added to give the scene a boy-scout look.

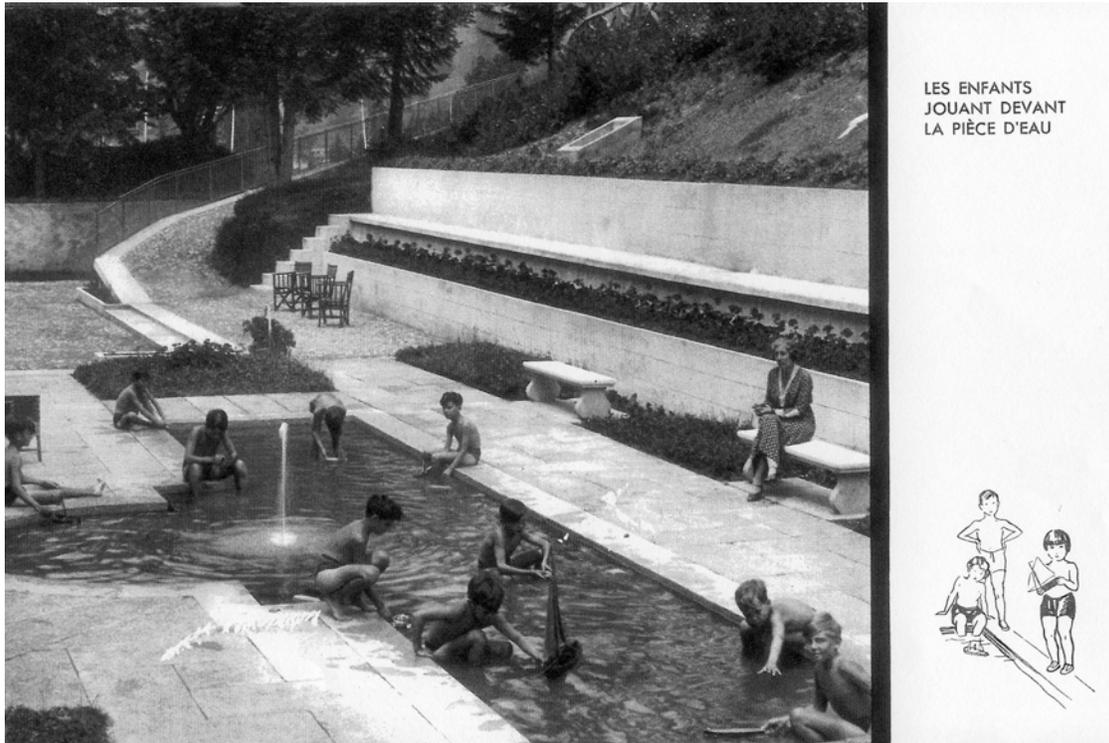
Illustrations similar to the ones pictured above were multi-functional. For the parent already persuaded by the school's merits, they could be used to convince their children. Were they to catch the interest of the child of a dissuaded parent, they may well have prompted a lobbying effort. In any case, as fictional characters they encouraged children to identify with them as they did with the illustrated characters in children's stories.

Advertising psychologists argued visual combinations of drawing and photographs were very effective (see fig. 3.21). In the 1925 book *Psychology of Advertising*, Albert Poffenberger suggested that the use of visuals could "short circuit" the mind of the consumer and directly target the emotions for a visual "symbol plucks all of the strings of the human heart at once."<sup>545</sup> Photographic insets placed beside drawn illustrations served "proof" that reality in fact corresponded to the

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<sup>545</sup> Albert T. Poffenberger, *Psychology in Advertising* (Chicago: A.W. Shaw Company, 1925), 36.

representation in the drawing. Alternatively, a sketched drawing beside a photo added appeal to the image of the page as a whole.



3.21: This visual combination of photograph and miniaturised sketch communicated the idea of supervised, relaxed enjoyment. The photograph spoke to different audiences. To mothers it conveyed the attractive reality that another woman would perform the often tedious (and in water situations vital) responsibility of minding children.

Finally, because the drawings were of such fine quality the prospectuses joined the ranks of the very best advertising for children's products; it was far too pretty to be thrown away.<sup>546</sup> A number of advertisers counted on this fact to extend the life of the advertisement which might also be passed around because of its novelty. It is critical to stress that the visual images were coordinated to complement the written text. Statements such as “[w]ith a fun sportive life, and a prevalence of pure mountain air and sun [...] the harmonious development of the body, mind, and soul assured”<sup>547</sup> were reinforced by the sense of happiness the visuals conveyed. The 1935 prospectus informed readers that the school was “like a family not an institution” and the images

<sup>546</sup> M. Klamkin, *Picture Postcards* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1974), 173.

<sup>547</sup> Beau Soleil, *Études, Santé, Sports* (Beau Soleil: 1935), 3.

of youngsters playing seemed to be confirmation.<sup>548</sup> At Beau Soleil, the text promised “the children feel completely at home and so it is not like the bitter life of boarding school.”<sup>549</sup> The photographs furnished the proof. Prospectuses stressed the directors who operated the school acted like parents, “owners who own and manage their own school and know they have to play the role of parents, for authority, for affection.”<sup>550</sup> The representation of the couple at the heart of the building demonstrated their central and intimate role in the school. Prospectuses emphasized Beau Soleil was atypical in that it was not managed by an outside board but rather a married couple who lived at the school and treated it as their home in creative way. The Terrier-Ferriers laboured to ease parents’ minds and convince them they were more than qualified to properly care for their children. The illustrations and text examined thus far stressed the aspect of childcare, but the interwar prospectuses also focused on education. The critical connecting theme was that Beau Soleil was a school with experience mastering the difficult achievement of life balance.

The interwar prospectuses were designed to showcase the advantages of attending Beau Soleil. Authors worked especially hard to write quality education into the appeal. Mountain-tops, though discursively steeped in enlightenment clichés, were not renowned for formalised higher learning. Miles from the nearest university, “backward villages” had their own reputation. The character of Villars-sur-Ollon did not match the intellectual image of, for example, Geneva. The social stereotype of the Alpine peasant often served the archetypal nemesis to the learned scholar. Discourse of alpinism and peasantry presented an image problem that was rigorously solved in the interwar prospectuses through a deep discussion of the pedagogical methods of the school.

Beau Soleil’s interwar prospectuses considered the topic of education last. The subject of “serious study” was broached through the theme of life balance and quality care. Education was represented as one end on a work-health-sports continuum. The Terrier-Ferriers explained to parents they were more than capable of providing a balanced life. Their commitment to education was equally as strong as their dedication

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<sup>548</sup> Ibid., 6

<sup>549</sup> Ibid.

<sup>550</sup> Ibid.

to health. In short, they wanted to “end the dilemma of parents who wish to provide their children with good instruction while at the same time helping them become good, strong and healthy.”<sup>551</sup> The prospectuses communicated educational excellence through a number of different arguments. The words the 1935 prospectus cover title (see fig. 3.22), for example, promised parents Beau Soleil would reconcile “studies, relaxation, and sports.”<sup>552</sup>

All of the prospectuses, however, promised pupils at Beau Soleil would receive an excellent education that compared favourably, if it did not surpass the level of education delivered in the schools of the lower regions of Switzerland or in other European cities. Parents were assured that the isolated nature of the location did not imply lower standards or lesser qualified teaching staff. One argument employed to support this claim was that after all, Beau Soleil was still a Swiss school.

Beau Soleil’s materials leaned heavily on Switzerland’s reputation for educational excellence. Swiss teachers, prospectuses informed, “were trained in seven universities and at normal schools.”<sup>553</sup>

The 1935 prospectus declared there was no better education than Swiss education for other countries were “deprived of the Swiss educational tradition, the Swiss personnel.”<sup>554</sup> Non-Swiss education “suffered for it lacks Swiss trained excellence which has been gained over generations of experience with the service of children.”<sup>555</sup>

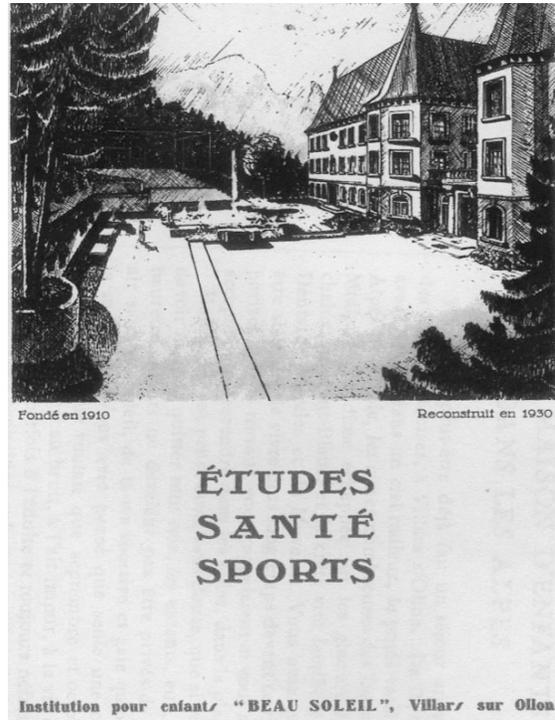


Fig. 3.22: The arrangement of words on the cover of this 1935 prospectus spoke volumes.

<sup>551</sup> Beau Soleil, *Études, Santé, Sports* (Beau Soleil: 1935), 3.

<sup>552</sup> *Ibid.*, 3

<sup>553</sup> *Ibid.*, 20.

<sup>554</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

<sup>555</sup> *Ibid.*

Heritage arguments were employed for quality assurance. The history of tourism and visitation were combined with ideas of democratic pluralism to more fully explain the distinct nature of Swiss education. The texts instructed that “Switzerland is a country for sojourn, but also for education”.<sup>556</sup> Because the country was situated “at the cross road of grand European nations” it played a historical role in “uniting all the civilisations and all the cultures.”<sup>557</sup> Switzerland’s struggle for freedom and experience of subjugation “submitted to the Romans, invaded by the Barbarians, liberated again” resulted in a national culture with “respect for different traditions” but that, at the same time “exhibits a spirited independence under which it freely serves with a deep and humane comprehension for all mentalities.”<sup>558</sup> This background and international mentality was said to equip the country for providing international education. The brochure explained “[b]ecause of this spirit it can work with children from other countries and give them physical care and give a very serious intellectual education.”<sup>559</sup> These arguments, as I discuss in the next chapter were almost identical to those put forth in the Swiss National Tourist Office series of education-focused guides.

Pedagogical considerations on top of this historical perspective extended discussion and stressed considerable experience in education. A quotation by Goethe summarised the founding spirit of the institution. Following Goethe’s adage that “all theory is gray my friend, but the golden tree of life is forever green”<sup>560</sup> the school operated according to pedagogical theory and accumulated teaching experience. Texts asserted “Goethe’s maxim was always present in the mind of educators” at Beau Soleil who understood fully they “worked not on cold, inert matter, but on subtle life forces.”<sup>561</sup> Based on the understanding that “the individual child is the product of different influences” including “the old, obscure influences that come through the mysterious role of heredity and the influences of his life experience” the school

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<sup>556</sup> Ibid.

<sup>557</sup> Ibid., 20.

<sup>558</sup> Ibid.

<sup>559</sup> Ibid.

<sup>560</sup> Ibid., 18. This quotation was originally taken from Goethe’s *Faust*, Part I, from a conversation between Mephistopheles and the scholar.

<sup>561</sup> Beau Soleil, *Études, Santé, Sports* (Beau Soleil: 1935), 18.

understood that each child was “the result of these influences” but that “his personality is not a clone of any of them.”<sup>562</sup>

For these reasons and since despite “resemblances between characters no two souls are identical” the school found it:

highly important that before the educator approaches his task he must set aside the baggage of ideas he carries with him, the methods and principles that he will later utilise and remind himself that the complex spiritual forces he must guide overflow all rigid frameworks and defy all of his theoretical understandings for, with no child is there ever an exact fit between theory and the moving reality of a young life.<sup>563</sup>

Prospectuses instructed readers to remember that “it is only after long years of practice that the teacher arrives at a method that is subtle enough, tested enough to adapt itself to the different temperaments” before going on to assure them “[a]t Beau Soleil we start our educational tasks with 25 years of experience and a quarter century of tradition.”<sup>564</sup> Prospectuses also sought to assure readers that all the teachers at Beau Soleil kept up with the times despite their isolated location. They noted “[t]he director and his assistant consulted knowledgeable university men who frequently visited the school.”<sup>565</sup> With experience and modern knowledge the school was thoroughly equipped to maintain standards suggesting “[w]hile we admit there is no absolute perfection in pedagogy, we approach our task with methods tested by long years of experience and proved by repeated successes [...] We offer a modern educational establishment that comes with the quality of experience.”<sup>566</sup>

This rather lengthy discussion served merely as a pre-amble. The brochure detailed the nature of teacher training in Switzerland and went on to further discuss the approach of the teachers at Beau Soleil and the curriculum. A specialist in the field taught each subject. Commonly, like in other larger Swiss private schools, native speakers taught English, French, Italian and German and aficionados schooled the pupils in the various musical instruments. The text advised that the directors broadly followed the Ministry of Education in France’s curriculum – only slightly abridged to meet Swiss requirements.

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<sup>562</sup> Ibid.

<sup>563</sup> Ibid.

<sup>564</sup> Ibid. 18-19.

<sup>565</sup> Ibid., 19.

<sup>566</sup> Ibid.

The 1935 prospectus also assured parents schoolwork was “accomplished in an excellent moral atmosphere that was good for concentration and infused with energy and mutual trust.”<sup>567</sup> The students’ work was constantly verified to ensure that what was taught was in fact understood. The promotion stressed that moral education was not overlooked. Beau Soleil held “that science is only a useful instrument when directed by conscience.”<sup>568</sup> The teaching was said to be based upon the following values: “loyalty, honesty, punctuality, generosity.”<sup>569</sup> The school honoured “the nobility and generosity of the feelings.”<sup>570</sup> While the school accepted all denominations of students and respected all forms of religion, it taught according to a Christian code of ethics. It assured parents that teachers would strive to fortify the children in their individual faiths. Catechism classes were taught and mass attendance made possible.

Parents were informed that the school employed an “iron hand in silk gloves approach” to nicely encourage children to change their behaviour. The prospectus stated that “[e]veryone tries their best to encourage children” and always “looks for the good in them [and] unless their parents object, studies are always pushed forward.”<sup>571</sup> The prospectus suggested parents could anticipate receiving report cards “with marks attesting to the fact that the child followed a regular program” and which “allowed the child to re-enter the next level at any school.”<sup>572</sup>

Photographs visually reaffirmed the school could educate without compromise. Students could receive the benefit of the sun without it interfering with their concentration whatsoever. Photographs also depicted the close attention the students received in their outdoor studies (see fig. 3.23).

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<sup>567</sup> Ibid., 14.

<sup>568</sup> Ibid., 15.

<sup>569</sup> Ibid.

<sup>570</sup> Ibid.

<sup>571</sup> Ibid., 15-16.

<sup>572</sup> Ibid., 14.



Fig. 3.23: This photograph taken with a telephoto lens visualised serious study despite an unusual learning environment. The teachers' positions, like those of the teachers shown in the montage, communicated individual attention. Their placement outside on a corridor which ran the full length of each classroom suggested panoptical supervision. Importantly, their formal attire solidified the idea that serious studies could indeed take place in high altitude schools. On the mountain-top in Villars-sur-Ollon it was business as usual.

The images transmitted a sense of the beautiful mountainous environment and helped the viewer “see” the fresh air. The scenes showcased the control the teacher maintained over his students who ignored completely the panorama surrounding them (see fig. 3.24).

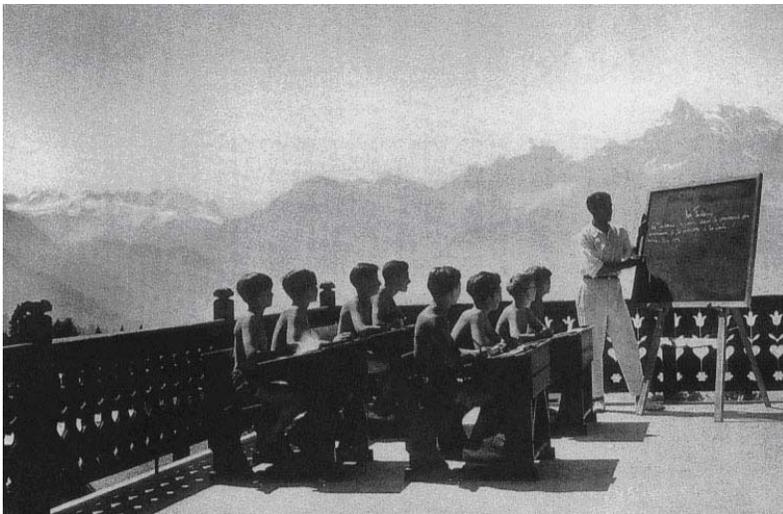


Fig. 3.24: Education was also visually demonstrated through photographs (left) and illustration (right). In these scenes, the students appear eager and attentive despite basking in the sun and wearing only shorts. Their attention is absolutely focused on their kindly-looking teacher dressed in sporty white or a fashionable suit.

The words of the 1935 prospectus provide an excellent way into the conclusion of the chapter. This text reiterated that “[i]nstruction at Beau Soleil often reaches a level much higher than the level of education in the towns.”<sup>573</sup> It thus identified the precise challenge of promoting high-altitude schools in the interwar period – that high-altitude schools were judged academically according to the high standards associated with schools at low altitude. The passage entitled “Results” insisted:

Every parent who can afford it has the obligation to support their children’s health. Every parent whose financial situation allows it has another important obligation - to provide an excellent education. Beau Soleil’s motto is education, health, and sport. So why hesitate to give responsibility of your children to Beau Soleil? [...] Children who stay a full year leave our school enriched with health and full of a joy for life. Importantly they also leave with a very good education.<sup>574</sup>

Though such assurances, Beau Soleil convinced parents that serious studies and sun cures were not an oxymoron.

This chapter exploring Beau Soleil’s interwar prospectuses has brought the promotion of Swiss education at high altitude into the frame of the thesis. It has examined texts which challenged and altered the shape of Switzerland’s scholastic reputation as the classroom of Europe by attaching high altitude spaces to the images of a study abroad industry constructed in the low altitude, French-speaking lake districts where Switzerland’s educational tourism economy developed. This shift in perspective has enabled an understanding of some of the specific difficulties high altitude institutions faced when staking out claims for themselves as serious schools. The chapter has clarified international private schools utilised the skills of tourism graphic artists as well as modern advertising copy to reconfigure their institutional identities. While today, schools like Beau Soleil which exist at high altitude no longer battle socio-spatial stereotypes that Swiss mountain villages are backward, mentally deficient places, during the interwar period the acceptability of village space as a serious place of study could not be taken for granted.

This chapter’s examination of some of the choices made in school representation highlighted the problems attached to major shifts in corporate image. Beau Soleil’s situation at 4100 ft (1250 m) ensured location attributes would figure

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<sup>573</sup> Beau Soleil, *Études, Santé, Sports* (Beau Soleil: 1935), 16.

<sup>574</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.

prominently in promotion however, the ways in which location would play a role were not fixed. The chapter has shown that, in some ways the factor of high altitude proved to be both a blessing and a curse. Through romantic images and descriptions of mountainsides the prospectuses used well-tested images associated with desirable tourism geography. Yet, as much as the high Alps conjured images of beauty and health, they also invoked the ugly stigma of tuberculosis associated with mountain sanatoria. Beau Soleil's sanatoria-looking buildings, coupled with its isolated location created issues requiring explanation to prospective parents. Illustrative drawings visualising life at the high altitude boarding school addressed these concerns. They detailed daily life school practices and answered questions regarding food, clothing, and supervision and health care practices. Psychological techniques including hypnotic suggestion provided another means of targeting markets within urban settings. The school's use of these strategies reveals private schools were marketed with the same techniques used to promote consumer goods. The focus on outlining the school's pedagogical practices demonstrates Beau Soleil was eager to be taken seriously as a school. Constant reassurance that the school was in touch with the academic world beyond the village when paired with references to the superiority of Swiss education indicated the school was keen to be considered part of the classroom of Europe and that it was willing to invest heavily in advertising to achieve this aim.

#### **CHAPTER FOUR. Promoting the Land of Education: Two Education-Focused Guidebook Series Selling Switzerland, Her Schools and Sports (1922-1942)**

Studies of tourism guides have contributed to the growing body of literature which critically examines the imaginative construction of nations' international tourism identities. Destination images - the outcome of complex discourses, social relations and social practices - are interrelated with concepts of national identity but often differ significantly from local conceptions. Tourism brochures contribute towards both destination and national identities. They produce, reproduce, stereotype and market nations and generate competing visions of place. This chapter investigates ideological representations of desirable educational and tourism places in two interwar series of education-focused tourism guides. One series, *Switzerland and Her Schools* was the result of collaborative effort between the Swiss National Tourist Office (STO) and the Swiss Private Schools' Association (SPA). These government sanctioned manuals represented Swiss education from a nationalistic perspective. They framed Switzerland as "self" and endeavoured to distinguish the country's educational system from all others. The "education department" of R. Perrin, an international travel agency based in Lausanne created another series, *Schools and Sports in Switzerland*. This set of documents generated a view of Switzerland convenient to a travel agency that offered services to visiting students in French-speaking Switzerland. Following modern advertising principles, the brochures described the product of Swiss education and sports from the vantage point of consumer needs. By analysing these two education-focused tourism series promoting Switzerland as the classroom of Europe, the chapter engages with social constructions of Switzerland at the national level.

The chapter focuses on three crucial areas to explore the advertising of Swiss education in these two different interwar series. The first section analyses representations of Swiss educational heritage. It concentrates principally on the government series which highlighted history as a priority. It details how patriotic progress narratives, Alpine symbolism and idealised representations of Swiss democracy constructed Switzerland as a nation predestined to dominate in the areas of childcare and education. The second part investigates taxonomies of public and private

instruction. It critically examines the cataloguing and classifying work of guides and assesses the ideological means used to render Swiss schools attractive to the visiting student. The third section studies the role leisure played in promotion. It reveals each series held very different ideological understandings of what exactly the terms “education” and “tourism” meant and shows how these ideological variations impacted the extent to which guides positioned leisure and sports activities as tourism commodities.

#### 4.1 Heritage

This section concentrates on the role Swiss educational history played in interwar guidebooks. It focuses almost entirely on the Swiss National Tourist Office series. This imbalanced treatment reflects discrepancies in the documents. In short, R. Perrin had little to say about Swiss educational heritage. The National Tourist office, on the other hand, expounded at some length on the subject. The different levels of attention devoted to history in each series reflected overall differences in viewpoints and priorities. While the Nation Tourist Office insisted visitors could not appreciate the value of a Swiss education without understanding its history, R. Perrin took it for granted that visitors could appreciate the quality of Swiss schools without historical knowledge of their historical development. The discussion of R. Perrin’s use of heritage is thus quickly executed. In its interwar series entitled *Schools and Sports in Switzerland* the following one paragraph synopsis of educational progress sufficed:

Switzerland’s wonderful educational organization has been solidly built up on the experiences of past years, and works as a perfect machine that embodies all the very latest and most practical and far reaching ideas of this branch.<sup>575</sup>

With this statement, the travel agency conveyed a very modern version of Swiss educational history – one which focused attention on the present, summed up the past

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<sup>575</sup> R. Perrin, *Educational & Residential Advantages* (Lausanne: Perrin’s Travel Bureau, 1930), 3.

in mechanical metaphors and equated the “latest” developments with the idea of educational quality. In some ways, this description shared basic elements with the progress narratives seen in earlier guides. The historicist argument suggested a succession of historical developments resulted in a unique, evolved and advanced educational place. Yet, ultimately the one sentence evaluation did not rely on “local” heritage to establish education as the distinguishing factor of destination identity. In this respect, the National Tourist Office *Switzerland and Her Schools* series followed a more similar heritage formula to that seen in earlier guides. It engaged in historical discussions and brought in a number of historical facts. Controversial, uncomfortable and mundane aspects of educational history were avoided; the historical achievements of a “tiny” nation emphasised. Yet, this series compared to the civic guides discussed in Chapter Two summoned the power of a very different educational heritage – one intertwined in domestic political history and concepts of Swiss nationhood.<sup>576</sup> The remainder of this section concentrates on the National Office’s use of history in communicating a sense of ideal educational place.

The Swiss National Tourist Office guidebook series introduced the idea that Switzerland was predestined to ascend to supreme international educational glory:

The peoples of the earth have carved their names in the annals of the human race, each in letters of their own. Some in power, some in technical progress and organization; others in art, philosophy and science. The tiny nation in the heart of the Continent of Europe has always left its mark – on the page dedicated to the education and upbringing of youth. This was Switzerland’s mission, the part she was destined to play in the history of European civilization.<sup>577</sup>

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<sup>576</sup> The STO guides are housed at the Swiss National Library in Bern and/or the Swiss National Tourist Office Archives in Zurich. They are Swiss National Tourist Office Zurich and Lausanne, *Switzerland and Her Schools: Education* (Lausanne, Swiss National Tourist Office Zurich and Lausanne, 1922), (hereinafter “STO, *Switzerland and Her Schools*, 1922”); Swiss National Tourist Office Zurich and Lausanne, *Switzerland and Her Schools: Education - Instruction* (Lausanne, Swiss National Tourist Office Zurich and Lausanne, 1925), (hereinafter “STO, *Switzerland and Her Schools*, 1925”); Swiss National Tourist Office Zurich and Lausanne, *Switzerland and Her Schools* (Lausanne, Swiss National Tourist Office Zurich and Lausanne, 1930), (hereinafter “STO, *Switzerland and Her Schools*, 1930”); Swiss National Tourist Office Zurich and Lausanne, *Switzerland and Her Schools: Education* (Lausanne, Swiss National Tourist Office Zurich and Lausanne, 1940), (hereinafter “STO, *Switzerland and Her Schools*, 1940”); Swiss National Tourist Office in Conjunction with the Swiss Private Schools’ Association, *Schools and Education in Switzerland* (Zurich, Swiss National Tourist Office Zurich, 1942), (hereinafter “STO and SPA *Schools and Education in Switzerland*, 1942”).

<sup>577</sup> Although no names were mentioned, the message was clear: that Britain had achieved power, Germany technological progress, France philosophy and science, and Switzerland education. See STO

Describing the educational evolution of a country preordained to fulfill the role of educator among nations, the series relayed a history of the unraveling of Switzerland's educational self.<sup>578</sup> Whereas earlier guides had emphasised towns' historical contributions to European cultural development, focused on towns' participation in European intellectual exchange and heralded towns' proven abilities to attract a galaxy of intellectuals, cultural elites and esteemed visitors, the interwar series emphasised domestic historical circumstances and self-determined achievement.

In this respect, *Switzerland and Her Schools* resembled countless other European tourism guides of the 1920s and 1930s which bolstered nationalistic views. Representations of national superiority, racial destiny and glorified historic accomplishment have been identified and analysed in German, French, British, and Italian guides.<sup>579</sup> Although Nazi guides are often cited, strong patriotic sentiment with markedly racial overtones is seen in tourism guides promoting fascist, communist and democratic countries alike.<sup>580</sup> Whether or not guides were created as a specific ideological means to foster national sentiment or simply reflected an age of heightened nationalism, it is clear many interwar European guides were not immune to discourses of nationalism.<sup>581</sup>

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and SPA *Schools and Education in Switzerland* (1942). Further, the language of national mission and "peoples" is clearly linked to the widely propagated racialist ideas of the "historical missions" of, for example, the "Anglo-Saxon" and "German races."

<sup>578</sup> The assumption of historical mission implied an idea of evolution which, in a root sense implies the "unrolling of something that already exists." See "Evolution" in R. Williams, *Key Words: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (London: Fontana, 1976). STO, *Switzerland and Her Schools* (1925 and 1930), 4.; STO and SPA *Schools and Education in Switzerland* (1942), 2.

<sup>579</sup> Scholarship on German tourism guides, including Rudy Koshar's account of the Baedeker and other series has noted demonstrations of national pride in many German tourism guides gave way to "more alarming statements of national chauvinism after 1918." These statements peaked in the time of the Nazi regime when, after 1933, the government "emphasised the national potential of tourism" and made increasing use of tourist propaganda as a venue for fostering national identity. See Rudy Koshar, "'What Ought to be Seen': Tourists' Guidebooks and National Identities in Modern Germany and Europe," *Journey of Contemporary History* 33, no. 3 (1998): 323-340, 333. See also Kristen Semmens, "'Travel in Merry Germany': Tourism in the Third Reich," in *Histories of Tourism: Representation, Identity and Conflict*, ed. J. Walton (Toronto: Channel View, 2005), 145-158. French historians, including Ellen Furlough have similarly documented a rise of nationalist sentiment in interwar tourism guides suggesting brochures reproduced "ideologies of empire" through "chauvinistic depictions of French military, cultural and racial superiority." See Ellen Furlough, "Une Leçon des Choses: Tourism, Empire and the Nation in Interwar France," *French Historical Studies* 25, no. 3 (2002): 442-473, 455.

<sup>580</sup> For discussion see L. Tissot (ed), *Development of a Tourism Industry in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries, International Perspectives* (Neuchâtel: Alphil, 2003).

<sup>581</sup> This was very much the case in Germany as viewed in the "Strength through Joy" campaign encouraging domestic tourism so the German people could acquire a geographically informed feeling

Swiss historians have observed the tourist guides served as vectors of the “unusually strong and spirited nationalism” that arose in Switzerland between the wars.<sup>582</sup> While a review of historical literature on interwar Swiss nationalism is beyond the present scope, the interwar awakening of the Swiss patriotic spirit and, in particular, the revival of Swiss heritage myths and Alpine narrative provides relevant background for understanding the use of heritage in the education focused *Switzerland and Her Schools* series.<sup>583</sup>

In broad terms, the representation of heritage in *Switzerland and Her Schools* corresponds with Swiss historian Riccarda Torriani’s observations that interwar Swiss nationalism gained emotive force through government-instigated celebrations of Swiss achievement and thought.<sup>584</sup> Torriani’s analysis of the use of history in informational displays at the National Exhibition of 1939 – an event she suggests captured the spiritual height of nationalist sentiment between the wars – reveals that the history as exhibited served a deliberate tool “to educate the Swiss in Swissness.”<sup>585</sup> The exhibited “heritage” presented a Swiss history “free from any influence from abroad and based upon values and schools of thought developed on Swiss territory.”<sup>586</sup> This observation provides one basis of comparison for the series. Torriani’s assertion regarding the role of Alpine symbolism sets up another.

Swiss history, Torriani asserts, was not in itself the principle glue used to solidify patriotism. With no singular “racial base” but rather a poly-ethnic and multi-lingual populous, Switzerland constituted its own historical challenge when it came to

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for their nation. For a comprehensive discussion see Kristin Semmens, *Seeing Hitler’s Germany: Tourism and the Third Reich* (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2005).

<sup>582</sup> Unfortunately, this has not been explored in any great detail. See Eric Kaufmann and Oliver Zimmer, “In Search of the Authentic Nation: Landscape and National Identity in Canada and Switzerland,” *Nations and Nationalism* 4 (1998): 483-510.

<sup>583</sup> Heightened interwar patriotism is generally explained to be the result of a number of domestic and external factors including economic and political uncertainty. Various Swiss historians suggest interwar patriotism peaked in the 1930s. Some propose patriotic surges were the consequence of the psychological terrors of Nazi propaganda which threatened Swiss democratic life. The most extreme political patriotic reactions saw calls to abolish the use of “Reich German” in official Swiss German domains.

<sup>584</sup> Riccarda Torriani, “The Dynamics of National Identity: A Comparison of the Swiss National Exhibitions of 1939 and 1964,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 37, no. 4 (2002): 559-573.

<sup>585</sup> Ibid.

<sup>586</sup> Ibid. While Torriani does not discuss education, a distinctly “Swiss” educational history formed part of the exhibition. One of the themes was private and public schooling. See Special Edition for the National Exhibition 1939 of *Die Schule in der Schweiz [Schooling in Switzerland]*. *Archiv für das schweizerische Unterrichtswesen* 25 (1938).

forging a sense of collective identity. Given the country's 22 individual confederate states, Volkish nationalism did not always incline favorably towards "sharing" historical accomplishment - "Swiss" heritage, notoriously difficult to define, served no guaranteed basis of solidarity. Torriani contends that Alpine symbolism strengthened the force of Swiss heritage at the exhibition as it did during the interwar period as a whole by serving as anchor for collective identification. This observation is supported in Oliver Zimmer's analysis of interwar Swiss nationalism which holds "an obsessive, environmental-determinism" enveloping both historicism and naturalisation is seen in Swiss nationalist rhetoric between the wars.<sup>587</sup> Zimmer's research into the history of Swiss nationalism affirms the Alps "depicted as a force capable of determining national identity" constituted an important basis of unity for the Swiss people.<sup>588</sup>

A very "Swiss heritage" steeped in notions of the naturalised nation marked the educational heritage erected in the government series. International influences on educational development were not emphasized; rather, the evolution of Swiss schooling was explained as an outcome of particular historical conditions. Guides advised readers that the country's manifest destiny as educational nation was best understood by looking inward.<sup>589</sup> Yet the historical method of introspection required for understanding the special qualities of Swiss education did not amount to a desire for isolationism.<sup>590</sup> Addressing the relationship between foreigners and Swiss schools, the series acknowledged that Swiss education had developed into an attraction for strangers but emphasised this development, though welcomed, was not deliberately staged. The heritage provided in order for outsiders to achieve a full historical appreciation of the "Swiss" component of Swiss education spoke to what tourist

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<sup>587</sup> Oliver Zimmer, *A Contested Nation: History, Memory and Nationalism in Switzerland* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003). See also Eric Kaufmann and Oliver Zimmer, "In Search of the Authentic Nation: Landscape and National Identity in Canada and Switzerland," *Nations and Nationalism* 4 (1998): 483-510.

<sup>588</sup> Zimmer argues the Alps began to serve as a popular symbol of nationalism in the late nineteenth century, peaking as a national symbol during the 1930s. See Oliver Zimmer, "Nationalism in Europe 1890-1940," in *Studies in European History* (New York: Palgrave, 2003).

<sup>589</sup> Ibid.

<sup>590</sup> In this way the patriotism exhibited in Swiss tourism guides was markedly different than that seen in the guides of countries with an ongoing imperial agenda.

historian Dean MacCannell has characterised as modern tourists' desire for difference - for consuming authenticity.<sup>591</sup>

Progress narratives detailing the nature of authenticity supported the idea of a Swiss-made educational past. Narratives starred an all-Swiss cast or, more accurately, a history set firmly inside the geographical bounds of modern-day Switzerland. The story of steady improvement began predictably in "time immemorial" - a vague pre-historical period after which progress alone followed. Guides asserted, "[f]rom the start, and in constant succession down through the years, a continuous line of educationalists, humanists and reformers followed one upon the other, moulding, discovering, and improving."<sup>592</sup> Unlike first period guides which marked the "real start" of educational history during the Age of Enlightenment, the interwar series birthed this history in medieval times and Alpine circumstance:

The history of education in Switzerland begins in the far distant past – so far back that time has erased its first records. A faint echo comes to us from the famous monastery school at St. Maurice; we know too that St. Gall's venerable scholastic tradition came as early as Carolingian days. Then came Ensiedeln, later Engelberg with Abbot Frowin its first great educationalists.<sup>593</sup>

In contrast to the light imagery that imbued the beginnings of progress narratives of first period guides with visions of Geneva and Lausanne illuminated in illustrious international interchange and well connected within the grid-like constellations of European thought, the scene of pedagogical birth amid medieval monastery and mountain setting appeared almost primordial.

On the surface, the lonelier imagery marking the start of the progress narratives in second period guides corresponded nicely with a "Swiss" vision especially since any details contradicting this impression were omitted. The reference to St. Gall, for

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<sup>591</sup> MacCannell points out one of the ironies of the global tourist trade that while tourism generally results in global homogeneity it relies on the marketing of difference. See D. MacCannell, "Semiotics of Attraction," in *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (Berkeley: University of California Press, [1976]1999): 139.

<sup>592</sup> In this sense, the series applied an idea of progress that was clearly linked to the idea of civilisation and improvement and also to the idea of evolution which implies "an inherent principle of development to higher forms." For a discussion of the relationship in meaning see R. Williams, *Key Words: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (London: Fontana, 1976). STO, *Switzerland and Her Schools* (1925 and 1930), 4.; STO and SPA *Schools and Education in Switzerland* (1942), 2.

<sup>593</sup> STO and SPA *Schools and Education in Switzerland* (1942), 2. The 1922, 1925 and 1930 editions began similarly.

example demonstrated the representation of “national” history was, despite the new birthmark, similar to representations of civic history in the earlier guides - a selective and conditional achievement. Although not obvious from the text, the interwar guidebook series situated the commencement of the story of “Swiss” education in 613 in a monastery founded by an Irishman (Gallus) at a pedagogical site of learning which remained outside “Swiss” territory until 1712 when - “pillaged by the Swiss who spared nothing”- the site witnessed most of its intellectual content (books, papers and so forth) removed and taken to Zurich and Berne.<sup>594</sup> Placing the start of Swiss educational history at this particular junction illustrates that *Switzerland and Her Schools* like other vectors of Swiss nationalism colonised domains of the historical “life world” as convenient. St. Gall’s history as Swiss heritage was implicated in a complex interplay of national power yet the image of a sacred medieval scholastic tradition (with imperialistic aspects of the history absent) was easily absorbed into the national myth of Swiss education. In the end, the impression served to texture Swiss educational identity with a vague and romantic sense of medieval origin.

The impression of a primordial, mountainous, mysterious and monastic educational past extended forward in time, overshadowing the educational accomplishments of the Reformation now relegated to narrative silence. From medieval times the progress narrative skipped quickly to the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century which, according to the series:

saw men like Rousseau, the apostle of education through Nature; Pestalozzi, the educator of all his successors; Wehrli, the kind hearted helper of the poor; Pater Girard, the apostle of a cheerful spirit of mutual assistance in the school; Martin von Planta, the new humanist and philanthropist; Fellenberg, the social aristocrat.<sup>595</sup>

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<sup>594</sup> W. Horn and E. Bonn, *The Plan of St. Gall: A Study of Architecture and Economy of, and Life in a Paradigmatic Carolignian Monastery* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 178. See also G. Cyprian Alston, *The Catholic Encyclopedia* VI (New York: Robert Appleton, 1909).

<sup>595</sup> STO and SPA *Schools and Education in Switzerland* (1942), 2-3. Johann Wehrli (1799-1855) was in charge of the school for the poor, initiated by P.E. Fellenberg, in the Eastern part of Switzerland. It was the model for the agricultural Wehrli-schools. Philipp Emanuel Fellenberg (1771-1844) founded a number of educational institutions in Hofwil close to Bern, and developed new types of schooling, such as the school for the poor, the upper primary school, the higher scientific school for the sons of higher feudal classes as well as a girls’ school. The most outstanding and internationally famous educational accomplishments before 1830 were those of private institutions such as Fellenberg’s pedagogical province in Hofwil. Priest Gregor Girard (1765-1850) was involved in the development of the Swiss public and democratic school system and during the years of 1804 and 1823 developed the public school

Pushed along the ideological pathway leading to the dawning age of progressive public schooling, the narrative adorned snapshots of “celebrity” biography with humanistic phrases communicating a public spirited, class-conscious plot that was absent in the heritage of the earlier guides. Among the apostles, kind-hearted helpers of the poor and philanthropists lay a past ready to explain the evolution of public education.

But the plot was not to move this quickly or be so simple. Having moved hastily towards the abolition of privilege, the rise of democracy and child-centered pedagogical theory, the narratives paused and this “public” image was quickly amended. The 1942 guide (co-authored by the private schools association) in particular intended that readers grasp “that many of the official schools were the outcome of private enterprise before being taken over by the state, and in many cases private teaching has played a pioneer part.”<sup>596</sup> The 1925 and 1930 guides had already announced the “official schools” had been long “stimulated by the *useful competition of private institutions*” but the 1942 effort was even more insistent.<sup>597</sup> Intent on clarification it repeatedly reminded the audience that:

Looking back into the history of Swiss education, it will be observed that the latter owes much of its progress and success to the invaluable services rendered by private schools. Thus, Heinrich Pestalozzi’s famous school at Yverdon was a private establishment. During the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries private schools and private education in Switzerland developed into one of the most noteworthy features of the cultural life of a nation. Their influence and development were confined to no single part of the country - neither to the German, the French nor the Italian-speaking district.<sup>598</sup>

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system of Fribourg (in the French speaking region of Switzerland) according to the Bell-Lancaster method (mutual instruction between advanced students and slow learners). In 1761 Martin von Planta (1727-1772) founded the seminar school in half of the castle Marschlins in Haldenstein, in the south eastern part of Switzerland, where boys and young men were educated to become responsible citizens. He himself was in London in 1750 where he intensively studied the British endeavours to reform schooling and was particularly interested in the establishment of private schools. For further details, see W. Boehm, *Woerterbuch der Paedagogik* (Stuttgart: Kroener, 1994), 219, 280, 731, as well as *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz*, Bern. <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D28712.php> (accessed January 7, 2007) and E. Wenneker, “Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon,” Band XIX, columns 1080-83, Verlag Traugott Bautz: 2001, at [http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/p/planta\\_m.shtml](http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/p/planta_m.shtml) (accessed January 7, 2007).

<sup>596</sup> STO, *Switzerland and Her Schools* (1942), 42.

<sup>597</sup> STO, *Switzerland and Her Schools* (1925 and 1930), 4.

<sup>598</sup> STO and SPA *Schools and Education in Switzerland* (1942), 23.

Private schooling, accorded a special place in educational history and cited as a historical “cause” of progressive scholastic excellence, was thereupon neatly inserted into the peoples’ history and linked to the “features of the cultural life of a nation.”<sup>599</sup>

The idea that the influence and development of private schools was “confined to no single part of the country or geographical area” spread a deliberately representative “Swiss” vision onto the progress narrative.<sup>600</sup> The history of private schooling, vaguely defined, ignored the French-speaking area’s role in the history of private international schooling.<sup>601</sup> Unlike the earlier period guides which highlighted the role visitors played the *Switzerland and Her Schools* series ignored correlations between outside markets and private schooling. Moreover, while private schooling was characterised as “one of the most noteworthy features of the cultural life of a nation” the particular values associated with this “noteworthy” feature remained unclear.<sup>602</sup> What exactly private schooling added to Swiss culture continued to be as uncertain as to which types of private schools the text referred. Historical tensions between public and private schooling also did not enter the narrative. Pestalozzi’s failure to make inroads into the public schools - the *raison d’être* behind his decision to govern a school for the wealthy - went undiscussed. Texts preferred “the educator of all his successors”<sup>603</sup> to the “subversive” educator whose government refused to hire him as a public school teacher, rejected his pedagogical models, and refused to fund his scholastic endeavours.<sup>604</sup>

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<sup>599</sup> Ibid.

<sup>600</sup> Ibid.

<sup>601</sup> Useful in a series intent on nationalising the international schooling industry.

<sup>602</sup> STO and SPA *Schools and Education in Switzerland* (1942), 23.

<sup>603</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>604</sup> There is a certain irony surrounding the Association of Private Schools of Switzerland’s use of Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827) for the purpose of proving the contribution of the private schooling industry in Switzerland for, although the pedagogue did administer a private school, his life’s work was devoted to the cause of public duty towards the poor and his pedagogy derived in part from the example of the peasantry, specifically, the processes of learning exemplified by the peasant mother and her child. More interestingly, it was *because* he operated a private school for the elite that public school system organisers were not interested in listening to his pedagogical ideas which were thought not relevant or workable in the public school system. See M. Soetard and Ch. Jamet, *Le pedagogue et la modernité, à l’occasion du 250e anniversaire de la naissance de Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827)*, (New York: Peter Lang, 1998).

In any case, regardless of characterisations of influence, all guides, including the 1942 edition, were quick to sweep the progress narrative along to the time of “evolved present.” They eagerly remarked:

it is a far cry from those days to the present, and the intervening years have seen many a noble spirit come and go, hewing new steps out of barren rock to guide the new generation.<sup>605</sup>

The series informed readers that “today, as we wander through Switzerland, we see everywhere traces of the old pioneer tradition and the results of a steady evolution.”<sup>606</sup>

The series asked readers to envision a land where the progressed educational “spirit is everywhere - in busy town and Alpine village, for the children of the rich and the children of the poor.”<sup>607</sup>

The sparse but merry descriptors articulated a historical spirit of educational progress that left no room for contradiction. The spirit of progress was one strained of “negative” class-conscious elements. That, for example, the socially-minded Fellenberg believed education should vary from class to class, that he believed education for the Swiss peasantry should “reconcile them to a life of simplicity, economy and self-discipline” and “train them to enjoy their small amount of worldly goods so they would not seek satisfaction outside these tasks”<sup>608</sup> did not arise. The idealised visions of heritage in the series mapped out an educational past that simply affirmed the “[o]ne trait ... general throughout the whole institution of public education ... the spirit of progress the Swiss school is inspired by.”<sup>609</sup> The idea was to tell a story of historical evolution resulting in “a state system that caters for every social layer of the population; indeed disregards them.”<sup>610</sup>

The series emphasized education in Switzerland could not be understood by reference to scholastic or pedagogic history alone. Because education as a subject was intrinsically linked to the evolution of the Swiss polity - to Swiss culture, values, social institutions, economic development and international personality - a broader historical

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<sup>605</sup> STO and SPA *Schools and Education in Switzerland* (1942), 2.

<sup>606</sup> STO, *Switzerland and Her Schools* (1925 and 1930), 4.

<sup>607</sup> STO and SPA *Schools and Education in Switzerland* (1942), 2.

<sup>608</sup> W.A.C. Stewart, “New Schools and Europe, 1890-1918,” in *Progressives and Radicals in English Education, 1750-1970* (London: MacMillan, 1972): 7.

<sup>609</sup> STO, *Switzerland and Her Schools* (1925), 10.

<sup>610</sup> STO and SPA *Schools and Education in Switzerland* (1942), 21.

analysis addressing the historical development of a collective “educational and professional” and “democratic” culture was required.<sup>611</sup> This political message distinguished the government series from earlier guides.

Although, in terms of format, the series proved a near repetition of earlier progress narratives (the Swiss educational past was severed in the context of a dramatically improved present) the journey towards modern education was one of an isolated “hewing new steps out of barren rock” rather than one of contributing light and knowledge to European civilization. The progress narratives not only relied on a different set of metaphors and but also on a distinct corollary of historicist logic. The series executed a distinctly “Swiss” logic of cause-and-effect relationships to explain the complex chain of historical events that created an educational nation. Brochures argued that physical and human geographical conditions, together with political and international factors, “caused” the evolution of the pedagogical nation. Swiss soil, Swiss people, Swiss democracy and Switzerland’s role in international relations were advanced as key factors explaining the country’s educational mission and ultimately, its elevated status as a study abroad destination.

The barren rock that constituted the base of Swiss landscape was posited as a causal factor in determining an educationally-advanced Swiss national character. An environment deprived of natural resources fostered the speedy development of a “self-propelled, self-determining, and pioneering peoples.”<sup>612</sup> In short, the Swiss were required to develop excellent educational systems in order to survive:

The Swiss have always been pioneers; indefatigable labour was necessary before the barren poverty of their land could be overcome. The federal, the cantonal as well as the municipal authorities have always been open to sacrifice with regard to the schools, well conscious of the fact public wealth depends upon them. They are educated to lead a productive life.<sup>613</sup>

The fixed historical condition of a barren landscape meant that “perhaps [more than] in any other country, capable and intelligent workmen were needed, the soil not being particularly generous.”<sup>614</sup> An impoverished natural resource base, authorities willing to

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<sup>611</sup> STO, *Switzerland and Her Schools* (1930), 3.

<sup>612</sup> STO and SPA *Schools and Education in Switzerland* (1942).

<sup>613</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>614</sup> STO, *Switzerland and Her Schools* (1930), 20.

invest in schooling as a means for public survival and collective wealth implied the school system was, in historic terms, the key to Switzerland's prosperity.

In short, the nation's landscape *required* a pioneering education system to overcome poverty. The proof of the efficiency of the educational system was found in the economy. By deduction the reader was to understand that the investment in education paid off. The series stated, for example, Switzerland was "financially one of the soundest trading nations in Europe."<sup>615</sup>

Educational pioneering produced effective teaching methods. While the series did not articulate race-based, genetic ideologies as such, it embraced the idea of an environmentally-determined national character. By default, it suggested an "essentialist" vision of nationality. The 1925 guide declared "the Swiss have a special talent for imparting knowledge, their pedagogic qualities being highly appreciated abroad."<sup>616</sup> The 1940 guide reiterated: "The Swiss possess a natural gift [in] teaching which is readily recognised by its neighbours."<sup>617</sup> By 1942, this "fact" was stated casually: "Switzerland is the home of good air and good teachers."<sup>618</sup> Pedagogical talent was posited as a shared and inherited trait that linked a disparate racial collective and arose due to environmental conditioning.

The series strengthened the knot between education and nationhood and articulated the idea of a "natural" nation of "learners." Given the essential make-up of Switzerland's "natural human geography," guides suggested the Democracy was further compelled early on to learn "how to take advantage of her complexity."<sup>619</sup> The circumstance of being a nation "[f]ormed of three races, speaking three and even four languages"<sup>620</sup> suggested, the series advised, an ongoing de facto relationship between "nation" and an intellectually challenging and mind-broadening environment. Assuming that "mental grasp is extended by varied contact" guides identified the historical and continuing presence of "the Italians of the Tessin, the French Swiss of

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<sup>615</sup> STO and SPA *Schools and Education in Switzerland* (1942), 38.

<sup>616</sup> STO, *Switzerland and Her Schools* (1925), 4.

<sup>617</sup> STO, *Switzerland and Her Schools* (1940), 7.

<sup>618</sup> STO and SPA *Schools and Education in Switzerland* (1942), 26.

<sup>619</sup> *Ibid*, 38.

<sup>620</sup> STO, *Switzerland and Her Schools* (1925), 4.

the West, the Germans of the Centre and East”<sup>621</sup> as a human geography that manifested its own source of intellectual stimulation and learning. The idea that (individual and collective) Swiss “intelligence” had vast experience being “stimulated by the several national languages each which discloses a separate moral and literary horizon” created an image of evolved, inter-cultural learners.<sup>622</sup>

The image of nation as teacher and learner was solidified in arguments linking the Swiss democratic system to educational evolution. The STO suggested the requirement of Swiss democracy that citizens be educated about the political processes and issues of their country as a whole configured Switzerland, early on in its history, as an exemplary setting for public instruction.<sup>623</sup> Given that “[i]n no other country can the citizen exercise such a free and direct influence concerning state matters” and that “[a] democracy such as this can only exist by the intelligence of the individual”<sup>624</sup> Switzerland, the series explained, had strong political motives to instigate systems for educating its people. As the “oldest democracy on the European continent”<sup>625</sup> the country’s political system constituted another pioneering and enduring cause propelling educational progress.

This logic however, would be contradicted in the sections of the guides devoted to the topic of girls’ education. The 1930 brochure noted that in some respects, Switzerland was “behind” in democratic progress. The text asserted:

Although Switzerland, being rather conservative as far as customs are concerned, has not gone as far as other countries in Europe and America, with regard to emancipation and female suffrage in particular, most professions in this country are open to women, as well as the various schools and colleges.<sup>626</sup>

A decade later, this sentiment was repeated:

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<sup>621</sup> Ibid.

<sup>622</sup> Ibid.

<sup>623</sup> These statements were, of course the core arguments behind the evolution of public education in Western democracies. The point here is that Switzerland seized upon these popular notions, raised itself as the nature model, the “original” and hence “best,” and articulated the arguments as a defining aspect of nationhood and, in the context of the series, of tourist destination. The idea of racial superiority was not linked to a doctrine of imperialism or political domination, or to the idea of “pure racial stock.”

<sup>624</sup> STO, *Switzerland and Her Schools* (1940), 8.

<sup>625</sup> Ibid.

<sup>626</sup> STO, *Switzerland and Her Schools* (1930), 26.

If Switzerland, a country whose tendencies are somewhat conservative, is not so advanced as some other countries in Europe or America with regard to the emancipation of women and especially in the matter of suffrage, still, *in theory*, most of the careers open to men are open equally to women and all of the educational advantages are within their reach.<sup>627</sup>

While the series raised the issue of women's suffrage it did not relay this "quirk" of Swiss democracy when discussing Swiss educational heritage, preferring instead an educational history driven by images of an evolved democracy.

Using language celebrating the success of ethnic plurality and Swiss democracy, the series conveyed idyllic images of Switzerland as a place of freedom and peace - an environment especially suitable to childrearing and education and to liberal ideas of cosmopolitanism and international education. In the first instance, the idealised view of Switzerland as a peaceful locale was founded upon its multicultural domestic populous. The series asserted:

Formed of three races, speaking three and even four national languages, Switzerland is a "League of Nations" on a small scale, the pioneer of that peaceful and harmonious cooperation between the different nations, which is the aim of the league.<sup>628</sup>

The texts explained further, "Switzerland is not a conglomeration of people – there is but one people, united by mutual respect and tolerance, and the desire for peace."<sup>629</sup> In the second instance, the vision of a peaceful landscape was achieved by a historical and geographical determinist idea that "due to the particular topographical and ethnological situation, Switzerland has at all times served as intermediary with regard to the surrounding areas."<sup>630</sup>

Swiss schools, an outcome of particular circumstances, were ideally suited for fostering patriotism, but were also perfectly designed for international students seeking intercultural experience. The series posited the country offered a historically developed "authentic" and advanced multicultural and democratic education that was by nature

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<sup>627</sup> STO, *Switzerland and Her Schools* (1940), 35.

<sup>628</sup> STO, *Switzerland and Her Schools* (1925), 4.

<sup>629</sup> Here there is a clear sense of "nation" referring to a politically organised grouping rather than a racial group. However, the implicit proposition that a conglomeration of people was somehow negative suggests compliance with the ideology of race-based nationalism. As we see elsewhere Switzerland's strength is in her weakness, that being the mixture of races viewed as impure and weak. STO and SPA *Schools and Education in Switzerland* (1942), 54.

<sup>630</sup> STO, *Switzerland and Her Schools* (1925), 4.

patriotic but not insular. Furthermore, because the school system had evolved to become an instrument not made to “nationalise” in any respect other than to internationalise, foreign students needed not fear socialisation in the values of a “foreign” country.

Educational institutions were further equipped for furnishing an efficient, mind-broadening intercultural education due to their location in a country experienced and competent in another type of cross-cultural intelligence – that of solving conflict caused by intercultural differences. Deftness in international relations was accompanied by deftness in international education.

Having explained the development of Swiss education, the series “let the outside in” to the narrative and declared Switzerland had always been a country open to international visitors. The series emphasised a vision of Switzerland as a “natural” meeting point of all people. It explained “[t]he choice of Switzerland as the home of *The League of Nations* [paid] less homage to her virtues than the recognition of her historic *rÔle* [sic] as the natural meeting place of the peoples.”<sup>631</sup> Linking this history to the trajectory of the boarding schooling industry the text suggested:

European parents in the 18<sup>th</sup> century began to send their sons and daughters to Swiss boarding schools and institutes. Forms may have changed but the traditional spirit has remained – put its mark on every good Swiss private school. These school days of friendship and contact with one’s fellows from right across the world are perhaps the finest gifts to make to youth, besides being of inestimable benefit to those whose subsequent profession demands broad-mindedness and knowledge of the world.<sup>632</sup>

The idea that European parents had historically selected Switzerland for their children’s education because its boarding schools’ infused a spirit of inter-cultural goodwill while delivering an education that prepared for careers in professions demanding open mindedness complemented the image the country had always been “a place of international rendezvous” and was, in fact, the historical “meeting place of pilgrims of the whole world.”<sup>633</sup> The representation of a land long known for fostering “Friendship and contact with one’s fellowman” suited the purposes of a tourism guide

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<sup>631</sup> STO, *Switzerland and Her Schools* (1940), 6.

<sup>632</sup> STO and SPA *Schools and Education in Switzerland* (1942), 25.

<sup>633</sup> Ibid.

promoting international education. Yet, it is important to stress that this was only one vision of Swiss heritage that appeared in Swiss National Tourist Office guides which remained flexible in content to meet the needs of different ‘public relations’ contexts.

It is worth briefly comparing the construction of Swiss heritage with other guides written in the same time frame – 1943. Here I consider the STO’s souvenir tourism guide “produced for members of the American Forces Visiting Switzerland” (1943) *Switzerland a Short Survey*.<sup>634</sup> This guide’s characterisation of the country’s multicultural population, for example, erected a less peaceful view: “the history of Switzerland is but a succession of internal conflicts, the tale of a labourious search for an inner harmony, not exempt from bloodshed....”<sup>635</sup> Conclusions drawn about the relationship between the poverty of the Swiss soil and child-rearing practice was also less rosy. With such poor soil it could not provide for all its children so Switzerland historically “sent forth her sons to foreign lands where they have proof of valor and often of heroism on the battlefields. On the return home to the fatherland, these soldiers served to keep alive the fighting spirit of their fellow countrymen.”<sup>636</sup> The guide, reminding that “Swiss soldiers in America have done honour to their fatherland...did not Colonel Henry Bouquet of Rolle, put down the Indian rebellion at Pontiac?”<sup>637</sup> also noted that one of the “most popular Swiss songs, says that in every child a soldier is born.”<sup>638</sup> Thus while *Switzerland and her Schools* turned to history to stress Switzerland as a pioneer of peaceful and harmonious cooperation and chose not too include within its story of educational progress the full details about how this history related to Switzerland’s colonial past (St. Gall) other guides celebrated the “historical eras when the Swiss did not confine themselves to purely defensive warfare” and the time when “the Swiss conquered and the fear they aroused soon spread far and wide.”<sup>639</sup>

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<sup>634</sup> Swiss National Tourist Office and the Swiss Office for the Development of Trade, *Switzerland: A Short Survey Dedicated to the American Forces Visiting Switzerland*, with foreword by Enrico Celio, Federal Councillor, Chief of the Federal Transportation and Communications Department (Zurich: [s.n.], 1943).

<sup>635</sup> Ibid.

<sup>636</sup> Ibid., 30.

<sup>637</sup> Ibid., 58.

<sup>638</sup> Ibid., 27.

<sup>639</sup> Ibid., 11. The so called “Imperialistic Age of the Confederation.”

The differences in the use of heritage in tourism guides points to the importance of context in the discursive construction of destination images. This thesis has as its goal the critical examination of ideological representations of desirable educational and tourism places. This section has explored ideological representations of educational heritage in the Swiss National Tourist Office series of interwar guidebooks. It began by looking briefly at the private travel agency R. Perrin's one line summation of educational progress but focused primarily on the *Switzerland and Her Schools*' series. The section has revealed this interwar series presented, for the most part, a very different vision of educational history that that produced by the education-focused tourism guides discussed in Chapter Two. Unlike the first period guides, the interwar government series relied on neither class elitism nor historical reference to the British market. Citing Switzerland as the natural meeting place of the peoples the guides hailed a wider market.<sup>640</sup> Also dissimilar was that narratives made no room for the international influence upon educational development. The set of historical facts and figurative settings telling the narrative of educational progress constructed a nostalgic heritage that was notably more Swiss, public, patriotic and democratic. The causes stated were notably more linked to natural and human geographical conditions and the needs of the economy.

The large claim that Switzerland was predestined to take her place in the world as the country of education and childcare carried a racialised undertone, but ultimately this claim reflected the series' main goal of "othering" which is aptly described by cultural geographer Gillian Rose as "defining where you belong through a contrast with other places, or who you are through a contrast with other people."<sup>641</sup> At the same time, the series' focus on the historical relationships between education, Swiss economic progress and democracy communicated Switzerland had much in common with English-speaking markets which were heavily committed to espousing the twinned ideology of public education and democracy throughout the interwar years. The strong focus on self-determinacy combined with frequent references to "pioneering" and "pilgrims" hinted that the series aligned itself with American markets

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<sup>640</sup> STO, *Switzerland and Her Schools* (1940), 6.

<sup>641</sup> Gillian Rose, "Place and Identity: A Sense of Place," in: *A Place in the World? Places, Cultures and Globalisation*, ed. Doreen Massey and Pat Jess, 87-118 (London: Open University Press, 1995), 116.

in particular. Generally speaking, the educational heritage, as written in the *Switzerland and Her Schools*' series, helped foster an image of the Swiss educational system as one that had evolved perfectly to provide for the needs of the modern democratic world. Further, the intrinsic inter-cultural and peaceful make-up of the country suggested the educational advantages of Switzerland went even further in offering solutions to the problems of the 20<sup>th</sup> century by providing an international, democratic education useful for global economic and inter-cultural competence which would not interfere with visiting students' sense of national identity. Not lost in the heritage conveyed was the key role private education played in the progress narratives. As proof of private enterprise its prominent role confirmed Switzerland's strong commitment to the capitalist system.

## 4.2 Pathways of Education

While the Swiss National Tourist Office series and R. Perrin did not place the same amount of emphasis on Swiss educational heritage in guides, the two different series provided a similar number of pages dedicated to outlining the educational pathways open to foreigners. Both series catalogued educational options and constructed a taxonomy of the Swiss system of instruction. In this task they faced similar obstacles. On the basis of views expressed in at least one article in an American newspaper, the Swiss education system was “most likely the most complicated system of schooling in the world.”<sup>642</sup> Each series took a different approach to capturing, organising and presenting the very complex educational system. This section explores their respective maps to Swiss “educational geography.” It investigates the partial, simplified and selective representations of the Swiss school system. This section commences with an overview of the basic levels of the educational options described. Then, it explores some of the strategies used to promote the main “levels” of the system beginning with

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<sup>642</sup> “Switzerland, School System of Cantons,” *Christian Science Monitor*, January 9, 1940.

descriptions of early childhood and primary education. Because R. Perrin did not include these levels, only the National Tourist Office descriptions of the lowest rungs of schooling are analysed. The discussion then, looking at both series of guides, explores differences of promotional style at the level of secondary post-secondary, university, vocational and technical education.

By the interwar years Switzerland’s educational system involved differentiated paths of education and guides manifested the different visions of the array of Swiss educational possibilities. The taxonomies of schooling provided the context for one’s choice; their easy to follow format advertised a land of education where seemingly schooling for every taste could be found (see table 4.1).

R. Perrin, 1927	STO 1930
--	Infant and Preparatory Schools
--	Elementary Schools
Grammar schools	Secondary or Grammar Schools Higher Grammar Schools
Universities	Universities
High Commercial Schools	Commercial Schools and Universities Commercial Training
Technical Schools	Professional Instruction and Vocational Schools
Hotel-keeping Schools	--
Agricultural Schools	Agricultural Schools
Every Type of Private School for Both Sexes	Private Schooling: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- small boarding schools</li> <li>- larger international boarding schools</li> <li>- private commercial schools, colleges</li> <li>- New Schools</li> </ul>

Table 4.1: Index of Promotional Pathways as promoted in R. Perrin (1927) and Swiss National Tourist Office (1930)

*Switzerland and Her Schools* began its tour of “the network of roads to educational goals”<sup>643</sup> with the lowest levels of pre-primary and primary schooling.

<sup>643</sup> This expression is taken from H.G. Rickover, *Swiss Schools and Ours. Why Theirs Are Better* (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 1962). Rickover discusses the Swiss system from kindergarten to post-secondary schools or university as both a successful network of interrelated educational practices

These levels served as an ideal springboard to affirm Switzerland's destiny in childrearing. Its treatment of these schools projected an idealised, generalist view of the workings of the heart of public schooling; descriptions of these lowest educational rungs emphasised the progressive roots. The textual geography of model circumstances advised:

As soon as the child has reached the age allowing it to understand the rudiments of instruction, it is sent to *Infant Schools* and taught by specially trained school-mistresses. The mode of teaching in these classes corresponds to the natural capacities of the child, and is imparted by means of games.<sup>644</sup>

Accentuating international agreement and establishing common ground with English and American markets, the series asserted:

Mrs. Maria Montessori, too, whose authority in the education of the young is well known and appreciated in America and England, has found numerous admirers in Switzerland, the importance of her methods in assisting the child in its first spontaneous expansion without discouraging natural curiosity by abstract notions, being fully recognized.<sup>645</sup>

Having flagged an association with the well known progressive educational reformer Maria Montessori (1870-1952)<sup>646</sup> and touched base with key target markets. The series drew attention to Switzerland's own heroes of the reform pedagogy who, according to Swiss historian Jürgen Oelkers "successfully triumphed over antiquated institutions and whose new ideas of education appealed to many."<sup>647</sup>

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leading to a profession and a complex diversity due to the federalist, decentralised educational system with its variety of cantonal as well as municipal rules and regulations.

<sup>644</sup> STO, *Switzerland and Her Schools* (1925) and (1930), 6. According to Swiss historians of education, progressive reform was more discussed than implemented. See J. Oelkers, "Reformpädagogik vor der Reformpädagogik," Presentation at the International Standing Conference for the History of Education (ISCHE 26) on 14 July 2004 at the University of Geneva.

<sup>645</sup> STO, *Switzerland and Her Schools* (1930), 7. Maria Montessori had a strong influence on progressive education in Britain and America following World War I. See "Maria Montessori" W.A.C. Stewart, *Progressives and Radicals in English Education* (London: MacMillan, 1972) and R.C. Orem. *Montessori: Her Method and the Movement: What you Need to Know* (New York: Capricorn, 1974).

<sup>646</sup> Montessori did not spend much time in Switzerland but her name signified the imprint of historical and modern pedagogues on the infant schools and kindergartens.

<sup>647</sup> J. Oelkers, "Reformpädagogik vor der Reformpädagogik," Presentation at the International Standing Conference for the History of Education (ISCHE 26) on 14 July 2004 at the University of Geneva.

In this respect psychologists such as Claparède, Pierre Bovet, and the Institute Rousseau,<sup>648</sup> have largely contributed to enlightenment concerning the best mode of educating youth in its tender age, by means of their vast experience by which the official school authorities were not loathe to benefit.<sup>649</sup>

This method of description continued and primary education was similarly construed. The portrayal built a clear image of an advanced country which provided its young the best care according to the latest theories.

The representation of the lower levels of schooling did not so much address real circumstances of teaching and learning in pre-primary and primary schools, as much as they conveyed a notion of trustworthy education. The ideal vision of a gentle yet solid foundation for further education performed by innovative pedagogues set the tone for describing the system as a whole. References to foreign students only came later, in relation to the public high schools, private boarding schools, vocational training and university studies.

Both series guided readers through a complex educational geography where public, semi-public and private institutions covered the “same” levels of schooling and, in many cases offered similar types of options. R. Perrin simplified this terrain by carving out “two pathways for visiting students.” This series differentiated public and private education on the basis of boarding services. In broad strokes it painted state-controlled institutions as types of schools which on the whole did not offer boarding. It suggested private institutions were schools which did provide lodging. This categorisation did not capture the extreme variety of public or private schooling scenarios however, it did create manageable choices.

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<sup>648</sup> Edouard Claparède (1873-1940) created L’Institut Rousseau, the Institute of Educational Sciences in Geneva in 1912 and appointed Pierre Bovet (1878-1965) to direct the institute. See D. Hameline, “Edouard Claparède,” in: *Prospects: The Quarterly Review of Comparative Education* (Paris, UNESCO: International Bureau of Education), vol. XXIII, no. 1/2, (1993), 159–71. The establishment of the Institut Jean-Jacques Rousseau in Geneva in 1912 has been suggested as the birth place of the scientific reasons behind reform pedagogy. For further discussion on the delineation of the “old” and the “new” pedagogy see J. Oelkers, “Reformpädagogik vor der Reformpädagogik,” Presentation at the International Standing Conference for the History of Education (ISCHE 26) on 14 July 2004 at the University of Geneva. Further, the study of child psychology increased in the years between the wars both in Europe and North America. The internationally organised progressive movement stressed a child-centred approach to learning that gave greater attention to the individual needs of children. See W.A.C. Stewart, *Progressives and Radicals in English Education 1750-1970* (London: MacMillan, 1972).

<sup>649</sup> STO, *Switzerland and Her Schools* (1930), 7.

R. Perrin provided a client-centred taxonomy of Swiss schooling. It suggested “[g]irls or boys coming to Switzerland for the purposes of study can adopt one of two courses”<sup>650</sup> and advised:

[Visiting students] can go to one of the State-controlled institutions – none of which, except in the Catholic Cantons, take boarders or they can enter one of the many excellent Private Schools or Pensionnats which abound throughout Switzerland and particularly in and around Lausanne which offer ideal conditions of boarding.<sup>651</sup>

The state-controlled institutions outside Catholic Cantons which accepted boarders were excluded, as were the many private schools which were not boarding schools. With this approach, the R. Perrin guides avoided entanglement in the complex task of creating a taxonomy capable of mapping state-controlled and private school options in terms of type or level. It also avoided “differentiating” between the quality of private and public schooling.

The R. Perrin series created a taxonomy rooted in the perspective of the consumer. It presented a description of the school system in Switzerland which actively advised, directed and evaluated. Parents were, for example, dissuaded from choosing the “freer life of a student at a State School, living in a family or Pension” unless their offspring were “of a responsible age and character.”<sup>652</sup> Parents were provided no descriptions of state schools but were furnished with a host of commentary on private boarding schools, “establishments, which take students of Public or High School age, are thoroughly equipped for both work and sport and leave nothing to be desired in the matter of hygiene, diet and general comfort.”<sup>653</sup> The series further narrowed the conception of schooling in suggesting the majority of private boarding schools and the “better” programs were in the French-speaking region, “especially in and around Lausanne.”<sup>654</sup>

The STO’s classification starkly contrasted with the R. Perrin’s “choice-based” taxonomy. *Switzerland and her Schools* provided a more complex nomenclature. Scrutinising its characterisations of public and private education, a different vision

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<sup>650</sup> R. Perrin, *Schools and Sports in Switzerland* (1927), 6.

<sup>651</sup> Ibid.

<sup>652</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>653</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>654</sup> Ibid., 6.

arose. For example, the government series indicated that students attending “public secondary schools could “often board and live cheaply with the families of the masters.”<sup>655</sup> Furthermore, unlike R. Perrin, the *Switzerland and Her Schools* series made an attempt to “distinguish” between the general qualities of public and private education. This was a difficult task. The series sought to present a balanced view and provide a positive image for both public and private education. The texts – the creation of both the Swiss Private Schools Association and the Tourist Office - keenly communicated that the flourishing private schooling industry did not in any way represent a failing in the Swiss public system.<sup>656</sup> Following this logic, the series entered into a “distinguishing process” centered on justifying the existence of private schools in a country which had developed a “superior” public education system. The 1925 guide, for example, stated that “[i]n spite of the efficiency of Swiss official schools, private educational establishments have maintained their *raison-d’être*”<sup>657</sup>; the 1930 guide concurred “the existence of private educational establishments is fully justified.”<sup>658</sup> The 1940 guide added “[a]lthough the official teaching in Switzerland is so very harmonious and complete, private teaching is also required.”<sup>659</sup> The 1942 edition positively delved into the distinguishing process.

Addressing the issue outright, the guide stated “it may be asked whether there is any justification for the existence of these private schools, seeing that public education has been so well fostered and perfected.”<sup>660</sup> Having raised the question, the text provided its own answer:

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<sup>655</sup> STO and SPA *Schools and Education in Switzerland* (1942), 7.

<sup>656</sup> Dr. Lusser, president of the Private Schools Association wrote the series which was edited by the STO. Only in 1942 was this cooperation acknowledged on the guides themselves. A. Laett, “School and Education in Switzerland,” *Schweizer Erziehungsrundschau [Swiss Revue of Education]*, 2 (1929-30): 56.

<sup>657</sup> STO, *Switzerland and Her Schools* (1925), 29.

<sup>658</sup> STO, *Switzerland and Her Schools* (1930), 30.

<sup>659</sup> STO, *Switzerland and Her Schools* (1940), 42.

<sup>660</sup> STO and SPA *Schools and Education in Switzerland* (1942), 24.

The State schools aim at the maintenance of an average standard of education, besides undertaking other tasks of national and general importance which can only be fulfilled with the help of substantial public funds. And while the private schools also have to work for a certain definite educational standard, their real aim is to comply with special, individual wishes and requirements of pupils.<sup>661</sup>

However, other sections of the same guide defined the essence of public schooling in near identical terms:

Perhaps to a higher degree than in any other country public schools take into consideration the individual and characteristic ability, talents, inclinations of each pupil. Small classes are further conducive to this end, [...] there is nothing stereotyped in the method [...] In every department of educational life the same care is taken to foster and assist individual character, and it is one of the first principles of Swiss educational methods that the teacher should respect the personality of his pupils.<sup>662</sup>

The distinction was subtle. Private schools “complied” with individual requirements; public school considered “individual abilities.” Both types of education offered small classes, did not rely upon on stereotyped methods or ignore differences of personality.<sup>663</sup> In the end, the guide maintained an ideological argument based on “different but equal parity” and beneficial reciprocity between public and private schooling.

Above the level of secondary or high school neither series of guides delved into issues of private or public provision. In the case of the universities – this criteria did not apply and in the case of vocational and professional schools, no distinction between the quality of private and public (or semi-public) schools was made. The two series “corresponded” in their choices to present university education as the next rung up the ladder following secondary schooling – public or private. Both series accepted the idea of university as the highest educational achievement and afforded this level more descriptive attention than vocational and professional schooling. In Pierre Bourdieu’s words of assessing educational paths, they flagged the pathway leading to

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<sup>661</sup> Ibid.

<sup>662</sup> STO and SPA *Schools and Education in Switzerland* (1942), 4-5.

<sup>663</sup> Swiss educational journals at the time decried the fact that “[the public school] cannot possibly individualise in classes with 30, 40 and more pupils. Sensitive, weaker students as well as the highly gifted who get bored in classes do not get what they need.” “Public and private education,” *Schweizer Erziehungs Rundschau [Swiss Revue of Education]*, 6 (1933-34): 143.

the highest symbolic capital.<sup>664</sup> However, each series “promoted” Swiss universities differently. STO guides framed Swiss universities in relation to a larger international market, emphasised size as an advantage and advanced popularity as a statement of quality. R. Perrin guides directed readers to the University of Lausanne, compared only on the basis of cost, and relied upon the power of individual biography to sell certain departments.

*Switzerland and her Schools* defined the quality of Swiss universities through relational and comparative statements.<sup>665</sup> The series highlighted Switzerland’s proportionally high number of universities stating “Switzerland counts no less than seven universities for four million inhabitants [Lausanne, Neuchâtel, Geneva, Fribourg, Berne, Basel or Zurich].”<sup>666</sup> Noting “the universities belong to the Cantons”<sup>667</sup> it then positioned the Swiss system of university governance and organisation in relation to other “leading” systems in Europe. The guide assured that, relative to systems in other countries, Switzerland’s decentralised system did not represent a weakness:

Far from enfeebling the course of study by a dispersal of energy, as might be feared when comparing the Swiss universities with the much frequented ones of other countries, the Swiss system assures, on the contrary, the most solid methods of instruction.<sup>668</sup>

This mono-logic argument answering the “fear and concern” of the implicit antagonist (those assured centralised systems were most efficient) textured the narrative by providing universities in Switzerland with the distinct trait of pedagogic solidity. With its constant comparative tone, the series perceived an international market with choices; it anticipated a market apt to make decisions on the basis of the intrinsic organizational qualities of a national system of higher education within an international framework.

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<sup>664</sup> For a concise explanation of symbolic capital combining both the social and concomitant economic value of a university degree from a reputable institution, see Bourdieu, P. *In Other Words. Essays Toward a Reflexive Sociology* (Oxford: Polity, 1990).

<sup>665</sup> For a theoretical discussion of differentiation as a discursive strategy, see Norman Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research* (London: Routledge, 2003), 66.

<sup>666</sup> STO, *Switzerland and Her Schools* (1930), 16.

<sup>667</sup> Ibid.

<sup>668</sup> STO, *Switzerland and Her Schools* (1922), 24.

The issue of size was also framed as a comparative advantage. The series instructed “[b]eing small and compact, Swiss universities give a more thorough and individual training” suggesting “a more personal contact with Professors and fellow students than is possible at other and larger Universities.”<sup>669</sup> Swiss professors “whose influence is all the stronger because the number of students is smaller” would have more influence on the visiting student than the Professors at other universities with larger classes.<sup>670</sup> Through this argument the STO series supported its overarching theme that Swiss education was, at its core a personalised, individualised product. It interrelated this logic with high quality.

Popularity among foreign students served another qualifying axis. The series informed:

The convenient conditions of admission, the cheapness of education, and the absolute freedom of thought which prevail in the Swiss Universities have for many years attracted the attention of students from all parts of the globe.<sup>671</sup>

The positive connotations associated with the term “popular” conveyed a sense of preferred place which overrode nascent understandings of the meaning of popularity. That Swiss universities were in part “popular” for painful reasons did not arise. Their democratic policies of admission were welcomed and only this positive angle of “attraction” entered the text. That in some cases popularity was closely associated with those coping with the loss and pain remained unstated. That popularity was closely associated with discriminatory policies elsewhere also played no role in the promotion.<sup>672</sup>

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<sup>669</sup> STO and SPA *Schools and Education in Switzerland* (1942), 48; STO, *Switzerland and Her Schools* (1925), 16.

<sup>670</sup> Ibid.

<sup>671</sup> Foreigners with a “permit of domicile” were eligible to attend on the same basis as other students. Those without the permit were required to pay additional fees. STO, *Switzerland and Her Schools* (1940), 25. The series informed its readers that “[b]etween 1903 and 1919 the total number of Swiss and foreign students increased from 6000 to 10 000 [and] today [1922] foreigners form a good third of the university students.” It was made clear which universities had a proportionally large foreign population. “Fribourg counts 273 foreigners against 251 Swiss, Geneva 745 against 1457, Polytechnic schools 569 against 1457.” R. Perrin, *Schools and Sports in French Switzerland* (1923), 24.

<sup>672</sup> The guides presented this pathway, *as if* anybody could attend. However, the tertiary pathway was only open to a meager circle that came from high socio-economic and classed background. Also, taking into consideration the foreign audience and the fact that before World War I about 90 percent the foreign female student population at Swiss universities was foreign and afterwards fell to about 20 to 24 percent in the interwar period, one could assume that the national texts would want to encourage such

R. Perrin's taxonomy, like that of the National Tourist Office referenced Switzerland's seven universities. However, it implemented a very uneven evaluative assessment in geographical terms. In scope the series narrowed directly to the University of Lausanne and, specifically to two departments. First, *the School of Modern French for Foreigners* was cited as "excellent." Second, the "very special school attached to Law" was deemed "outstanding." The extent of international comparison reached only to the level of costs: "roughly equivalent to those in England."<sup>673</sup> Like in the education-focused guides of the earlier period attraction was tied to professor celebrity. Monsieur Reiss, for example loomed large. His course on "Scientific Police Instruction [with] the special application of chemistry, anthropometry and photography to Police methods, the only one of its kind in Switzerland" was boosted on account of Reiss being "the most celebrated criminologist of all time."<sup>674</sup> Finally, the guide continued to emphasise advantages from the visitors' viewpoint noting "[d]iplomas and certificates carry weight throughout the whole world."<sup>675</sup> By promoting the possibility of English students acquiring high symbolic capital in the form of a Swiss university diploma, for a price equivalent to a degree at home, the guide implicitly added the surplus value of a foreign educational system to the credential.<sup>676</sup>

While the symbolic capital associated with the university diploma went some distance in explaining why guides paid considerable attention to the Swiss university (an institution attended by a very small minority of the population), the logic governing the taxonomies was harder to grasp when it came to descriptions of vocational and professional schools. The National Tourism Office series highlighted

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influx. Despite of their greater access to higher education, women were not discursively instigated by the guides. See, Marco Marcacci, "Etudiants," *Dictionnaire historique de la Suisse*, <http://hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/f/F10429-1-4.php> (accessed June 1, 2007). For more detailed information on university student statistics, see H. Ritzmann-Blickenstorfer (ed.), *Historical Statistics of Switzerland* (Zurich: Chronos, 1998), 1178-1187 and Emil Wettstein et al., *Die Berufsbildung in der Schweiz. Eine Einfuehrung* (Luzern: DBK, 1985), 158 ff.

<sup>673</sup> R. Perrin, *Educational & Residential Advantages* (1930), 8.

<sup>674</sup> R. Perrin, *Schools and Sports in French Switzerland* (1923), 8. Archibald Rudolph Reiss (1875-1929) was a celebrated scientific criminologist, a forensics pioneer who was appointed to the University of Lausanne in 1906.

<sup>675</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>676</sup> Pierre Bourdieu sees the certificates or diploma from a particular school, like titles of nobility, as the most tangible expression of symbolic capital. See Pierre Bourdieu, *In Other Words. Essays Towards a Reflexive Sociology* (Stanford: University Press, 1990): 135.

certain vocational and professional training programs over others. R. Perrin provided scant commentary in this direction all round, save a very curious discussion found under the heading of “hotel schools.”

During the interwar period there were 88 regulated vocations in Switzerland which, counting sub-specialisations made for 122 different trade oriented exams.<sup>677</sup> In theory, foreign students in Switzerland could train for a very wide range of careers in anything from business, engineering, trades and manufacturing to agriculture, social work, and nursing. Although the National Tourist Office made a concerted effort to encompass the main categories of vocational and professional schooling; scholastic pathways to the many diverse careers available in Switzerland received different levels of treatment. Some pathways were in any case prohibited for the foreigner, such as security-related training (policing and military), or post office training. But of those permitted, relatively few were described to any depth.

The taxonomy provided more descriptive room for those schools which offered training in traditional, nostalgic and/or leading economic sectors. The nation’s international trade reputation served as the mainstay for communicating a sense of attractive vocational-training place. For example, the nation’s competitive reputation in “watch-making, embroidery, weaving, and in the manufacture of small mechanical goods” promoted professional schools.<sup>678</sup> The 1925 and 1930 guides suggested:

These industries are known and appreciated in the whole world, and [it] is by no means rare that agents of foreign and rival industries come to Switzerland in order to study new methods and models.<sup>679</sup>

Here the series tapped into the symbolic capital of the industries for which the nation was long known – not necessarily its strongest production sectors in the interwar years. The series advertised schools on the fame of the traditional economy.<sup>680</sup> Watch-

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<sup>677</sup> Emil Wettstein et al., *Die Berufsbildung in der Schweiz. Eine Einfuehrung* (Luzern: DBK, 1985), 158 ff.

<sup>678</sup> STO, *Switzerland and Her Schools* (1925 and 1930), 30.

<sup>679</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

<sup>680</sup> Watch-making and textile industries were closely linked to Switzerland’s successful international market. Jonathan Steinberg studied the wealth of Switzerland historically and found. “Pierre Bairoch shows that from 1880 to 1950 only the United Kingdom had a higher gross-national product per head of population than Switzerland [...] By 1913 embroidered good at Sfr 215 million stood at the top of the list of Swiss exports, followed by watch-making at Sfr 183 million, with other textiles and machine tools well behind.” See Jonathan Steinberg, *Why Switzerland?* (Cambridge: University Press, 2002), 163 and 171.

making, for example marked a cliché Swiss industry that had gained notoriety when Switzerland garnered awards in the World Fairs of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. By the 1920s and 1930s, it still ranked but less so than chemicals. Textiles were another mainstay of an older economy that had, prior to World War I been a top export.<sup>681</sup> This industry severely damaged in 1914-1918 would never fully recover.<sup>682</sup>

The series' choice to highlight the educational option of agricultural schools in Europe's second most industrialised country inserted a longer term nostalgic. The fact that "[e]ven travellers visiting Switzerland in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries expressed their astonishment at the abundance of corn, wine, fruit and livestock they found there, for by nature the region is by no means fertile"<sup>683</sup> sold the advantage of contemporary agricultural schools. While the watching-making, textile and agriculture industries surfaced, some larger economic accomplishments were omitted.

Descriptions of commercial schooling, for example, relied upon Switzerland's trade heritage but did not advertise on the basis the lucrative banking trade. For example, texts explained:

Switzerland, with her Alpine passes and international crossroads, has, from time immemorial had an important place in European trade ... today Switzerland is financially one of the soundest trading nations in Europe.<sup>684</sup>

However, that description went no further. The series did not encourage students to visit Switzerland on the basis of its international banking reputation. Given interwar controversies over banking and the introduction of banking secrecy, this omission was unlikely to be oversight.<sup>685</sup> While it is impossible to assess the true cause for any given

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<sup>681</sup> The textile industry had developed in Switzerland during the 19<sup>th</sup> century to the degree where, for example in 1890, the silk factory owners were some of the wealthiest individuals in Switzerland with annual incomes of over 100 000 Swiss Francs (R. Sarasin-Stehlin earned 505 000, R. DeBary 181 000, or G. Senn-Simmoth 167 000 Swiss Francs) compared to an annual income of a female primary school teacher of 800 Swiss Francs. See J. Hardegger et al, *Das Werden der modernen Schweiz*, vol. I (Basel: Lehrmittelzentrale, 1996).

<sup>682</sup> See Jonathan Steinberg, *Why Switzerland?* (Cambridge: University Press, 2002), 188 ff.

<sup>683</sup> STO and SPA *Schools and Education in Switzerland* (1942), 39.

<sup>684</sup> *Ibid.*, 38.

<sup>685</sup> In theory, guides could have employed Swiss banking success as an argument for trustworthiness and discretion. In a time of political upheaval, the omission of a commercial path relating to the success of Swiss banks marked the intentionally "neutral" character of the represented educational options. Banking as a politically difficult and sensitive topic in the 1930s did therefore not figure in the guides. The Swiss Tourism Office was not likely to advertise that it did not welcome foreign students into the world of banking training for reasons of trust. Doing so would have brought the economic aspect of

silence, the examination draws attention to the fact that the National Tourist Office series directed foreigners to some educational paths over others.

Another curious silence in the National Tourism Office guides was hotel schooling. The fact that tourism marked one of Switzerland's most important international exports did not become part of the text, nor did the international fame of its hotel schools.<sup>686</sup> R. Perrin's assessment of vocational schooling, on the other hand, leapt right in. Its description reveals that the Swiss economy could be incorporated into tourism guides in more ways than one. Under the heading of "Hotel Schools" the travel agency drew attention to the hotelerie industry and forgot to include any reference to the hotel schools themselves. It stated:

It is impossible to ignore the ever growing importance of Hotel Keeping and catering, not merely as a means of livelihood for the individual, but as an attractive outlet for investors' capital and, therefore deserving of the serious attention of capitalists and financiers of the highest class; a fact that has daily attention among the great financial houses of the world.<sup>687</sup>

This "genre mixing" created a hybrid between education-focused tourism promotion and tourism investment solicitation.<sup>688</sup> This portrayal of the Swiss tourism industry as a lucrative and attractive arena for investment within a taxonomy on Swiss schooling options is taken here as a metaphor highlighting the intimacy between tourism and education. The slip from a discussion of hotel schools to a discussion of Swiss tourism as an attractive outlet for investors' capital reifies one main difference between the two interwar tourism series that is further explored in the next section. In short, the travel agency series made no efforts to downplay the profit-motive in educational tourism. It had no qualms about the idea of seeing education as a commodity that, along with

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education to close to a neutral country that did not want to portray itself as a "nation of fences." In his book *Switzerland Exposed*, Jean Ziegler describes the role Swiss imperialism has played in the reproduction of an imperialist oligarchy through banking. See Jean Ziegler, *Switzerland Exposed* (London: Allison & Busby, 1978).

<sup>686</sup> The tourism industry possessed significant economic national value. Hotel statistics of the years 1926 to 1928 estimated the number beds in Swiss hotels as 180 000 and "the total use of food in Swiss hotel kitchens from January 1 to October 31, 1927 added up to 151 million Swiss francs." These figures affirmed the asset of the hotel industry to the Swiss economy while comparing it to the significant contribution private schools made. In "Fremdenverkehr und private Erziehungsinstitute [Tourism and private educational institutes]," *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, no. 818, May 1, 1931.

<sup>687</sup> R. Perrin, *Schools and Sports in Switzerland* (1927), 15-16.

<sup>688</sup> Stephen Ward, *Selling Places: The Marketing and Promotion of Towns and Cities 1850-2000* (London: Routledge, 1998), 3.

tourism, was important for Switzerland's economic welfare. The government series on the other hand, did not bring the profit side explicitly into the text. In some ways, this distancing manifested as a distancing of education from tourism itself.

This section has demonstrated differences in the representation of Switzerland school system for foreigners. It has shown guides constructed desirable place on very different taxonomies of schooling. The juxtaposition of classification techniques highlighted that, as was the case in first period guides, certain scholastic landscapes were privileged over others. The discussion now shifts to look at how these interwar series represented sports and leisure. It turns to what R. Perrin referred to as the "tourism end of educational tourism" - at what the National Tourist Office preferred to call not tourism but the "outdoor facets of Swiss education."<sup>689</sup>

### **4.3 The World Beyond the Classroom**

When looking at how cultural excursions, Alpine stays, sports and lake side activity was promoted it becomes clear that the National Tourism Office and R. Perrin had different ideas about what it was they were promoting. For R. Perrin these activities – like education – were tourist commodities, the sale of which contributed to the Swiss economy. It suggested:

An important fact to be grasped is that Switzerland, as a whole, has one abiding industry and important source of revenue "Tourists." I use this word in its widest sense to include passing travellers or more or less permanent visitors seeking education, health, sports and leisure...<sup>690</sup>

For the Swiss National Tourism Office cultural excursions, Alpine stays, sports and lake side activities constituted the "play" part of Swiss education. This section shows that both the National Tourist Office and R. Perrin promoted idealised visions of Switzerland as "classroom and playground of the world" but that each had its own

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<sup>689</sup> STO and SPA *Schools and Education in Switzerland* (1942)

<sup>690</sup> R. Perrin, *Schools and Sports in Switzerland* (Lausanne: R. Perrin, 1927), 65-66.

conceptions of what classroom and playground meant.<sup>691</sup> Analyzing the representation of life outside the classroom, the section illustrates ideological differences fostered two very different visions of the educational-tourist product. It investigates the National Tourist Office's representation of this product as "Swiss education." It explores how the travel agency series compartmentalized leisure as a "tourism attractions that were only-but-always-second in importance to studies and work."<sup>692</sup> First, the section assesses differences in the information provided on cultural excursions. Second, it explores differences in the information provided on outdoor activities and sports.

Just as the "first period" education-focused tourism guides inserted pre-emptive statements testifying to the moral appropriateness of leisure in the educational tourism centres, "second period guides" also clarified no student abroad in Switzerland would go astray. R. Perrin promised that the parental angst "justifiable as regards many Continental cities"<sup>693</sup> was not justified in the case of Switzerland – a country to which one need not hesitate to send the young and inexperienced."<sup>694</sup> The travel agency suggested parents should not fear their children getting caught up in "private, unsupervised troubles while in Switzerland" and explained the country had no 'dangerous social environments'.<sup>695</sup> The Swiss National Tourism Office also claimed Switzerland" could "preserve the young generation from the consequences of unfavorable environments" because the country was "fortunate in that she possesses no large cities, no densely packed areas."<sup>696</sup> Yet, despite similar assurances, both series had very different understandings of the meaning of favorable and unfavorable environments for children. For the National Tourist Office Swiss culture and nature were ideal spaces for child development on account of their distance from modernity and consumerism. Meanwhile for R. Perrin, Switzerland offered "the happy hunting

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<sup>691</sup> For example, see R. Perrin, *Educational and Residential Advantages of Switzerland* (1930), 4 and STO, *Switzerland and Her Schools* (1925), 34.

<sup>692</sup> R. Perrin, *Schools and Sports in French Switzerland* (1923), 23.

<sup>693</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.

<sup>694</sup> The discursive discussion citing the modern industrial city as dangerous, unhealthy and immoral had been a preoccupation within the young sciences of Swiss psychology and psychiatry since the turn of the century. For a historical discussion in relation to Swiss cities, see Natalia Gerondetti, *Modernising Sexualities: Towards a Social-Historical Understanding of Sexualities in the Swiss Nation* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2005).

<sup>695</sup> R. Perrin, *Schools and Sports in French Switzerland* (1923), 27.

<sup>696</sup> STO and SPA *Schools and Education in Switzerland* (1942), 17.

ground for tourists of all nationalities, in which those of the Anglo-Saxon race predominate”<sup>697</sup> – a world where visiting children, youth and adults alike were provided the opportunity to consume fascinating old churches, movie theatres, fashionable winter sports and the latest in beach culture.

Each series’ classification of the advantages of cultural excursions marked the first difference. *Switzerland and Her Schools* argued the efficacy of schooling in general depended upon the quality of the wider cultural environment. The series reaffirmed the country had an ideal cultural infrastructure to support its schools:

In every form of education the influence of the teacher is dependant to a great extent on the environment of his pupils... the cultural setting of any educational establishment is a decisive factor in its success or failure.<sup>698</sup>

The nation, keenly aware “learning must be balanced” understood “the ‘side-shows’ of school life played an important part in schooling.”<sup>699</sup> The series emphasised all students participated in “cultured” activities including “excursions, visits to museums, factories and other sites.”<sup>700</sup>

The Swiss National Tourism Office expressed a concern, however, that the foreigners might not appreciate the fact that Switzerland was a country that offered quality cultural pursuits. Contrary to the common international perception that Switzerland had little in the way of cultural infrastructure to offer “[i]n this respect, Switzerland possesses almost unique advantages.”<sup>701</sup> Countering outsiders’ misconceptions, the series explained why Swiss cultural infrastructure was often “overlooked by the hurrying tourist.”<sup>702</sup> In short, visitors ‘failed to see Swiss culture’ because the Swiss did not display their culture in the usual European manner. Since “in Switzerland there [was] little or no ostentation, no artificial display of cultural life in huge exhibitions” and, further because there was “no unnatural concentration of her musical activities in a single town,” visitors assumed these elements were missing.<sup>703</sup> The series assured readers however, “the intellectual life of Switzerland [was] equally

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<sup>697</sup> Ibid., 52.

<sup>698</sup> STO, *Switzerland and Her Schools* (1922).

<sup>699</sup> Ibid.

<sup>700</sup> STO, *Switzerland and Her Schools* (1925 and 1930).

<sup>701</sup> STO and SPA *Schools and Education in Switzerland* (1942), 52.

<sup>702</sup> Ibid., 53.

<sup>703</sup> Ibid., 52.

active and vigorous throughout the whole breadth of the land.”<sup>704</sup> In fact, those with “more time to look would find themselves surprised;”<sup>705</sup> everywhere “flourishing societies interested in history and art, not to mention exhibitions, libraries and museums” could be seen even “in such tiny places as Stans, Schwyz and St. Moritz.”<sup>706</sup> Thus, visiting students had access to cultural opportunities at all points. As a bonus, were spared undue pretension and exposure to unnatural displays of cultural excess.<sup>707</sup>

While the government series drew attention to Swiss cultural infrastructure, for the most part R. Perrin ignored cultural advantages. The only guide (1930) to mention cultural opportunities presented a different vision. In the context of a descriptive tour of towns in French-speaking Switzerland, the R. Perrin guide pointed to Lausanne’s cultural effulgence. With the mechanics of a lighthouse this focus concentrated on the cultural activities of one small town, while, at the same time, widening the scope of “Swiss” culture.

Traditional high-brow cultured pursuits were mapped alongside new popular entertainments. R. Perrin’s taxonomy of attractions and amusements wove indiscriminately back and forth between high and lower brow spaces. The tour went from “tourist sights” such as the Cathedral “built in the purist ogive style of the XIII century with a rose-window and glazed mullions,” from a “master piece in the art of Swiss glass making” to venues such as Lausanne five cinemas with their “plush seats.”<sup>708</sup> Readers were ushered from places like the leading cinema, the Capitole “a marvel of the very latest improvements for the comfort and safety of audiences” directly into “one of the best theatres for the French Language where new plays are given soon after first appearing in Paris.”<sup>709</sup> In the course of the complete tour, the guide targeted a wide demographic. It not only flagged the attention of youth interested in

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<sup>704</sup> Ibid.

<sup>705</sup> Ibid.

<sup>706</sup> Ibid.

<sup>707</sup> In addition to these tasteful cultural advantages, the series suggested that Switzerland was unique in offering visitors pedagogical excursions to “*educational museums*.” These “permanent exhibitions of school materials with archives and libraries” attached to teachers’ seminars and university pedagogic sections offered “a unique opportunity to learn first hand from the professional and educational culture of the Swiss.” STO, *Switzerland and Her Schools* (1922), 50.

<sup>708</sup> R. Perrin, *Educational and Residential Advantages of Switzerland* (1930), 18.

<sup>709</sup> Ibid.

Americanised popular culture but that of parents who also wished them to experience older cultural habits on the side.<sup>710</sup>

On the whole however, both interwar series assumed an audience more interested in Switzerland's mountains than its museums. Both assumed enthusiasm for lakes, sports, fields and the advantages of outdoor life. But each series idealised the Swiss landscape on different fronts.

*Switzerland and Her Schools* argued that the efficacy of modern schooling depended upon the wider cultural environment. It pointed out that the quality of education was also tied to the natural environs. Switzerland was not only aware of the importance of the outdoors to children but was unusually blessed in natural endowment:

In olden days the essential requirement of a school was a school room; what surrounded it was of little importance. The environment in which the character of a child developed was disregarded. Today all that has changed, and here again Switzerland has made the most of Nature's bounty.<sup>711</sup>

As the series described Switzerland's environs, the "spaces" of childhood expanded. In concentric circles the play space of youth extended beyond the realm of schoolyard, outside the limits of towns, to finally encompass the entire country:

Every little village school has its gymnasium, every private institute and college its sports grounds. In fact, the whole country is one huge playground, the Playground of Europe.<sup>712</sup>

Later, the extent of the playground reached a still higher pinnacle: "Switzerland had little by little [become] the 'Playground of the whole world.'"<sup>713</sup>

However, the collapsing of the idea of school playground with tourist space harboured a dangerous proposition: children's and tourist's place collided. With this suggestion, a socially protected, supervised area consciously removed from the adult world became one with the very adult world of tourism. Applied literally the extended

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<sup>710</sup> The Americanisation of Europe's youth was a constant issue of the period. Reports from the *New York Times* in 1925 that "you can see yourself how cheap and common many of the pictures are..." blamed the United States for not only the presence of American movies, but its influence on movie making in Europe. See "The Americanisation of Europe's Youth," *New York Times*, January 25, 1925. See also, Lary May, *Screening Out the Past: The Birth of Mass Culture and the Motion Picture Industry* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980).

<sup>711</sup> STO and SPA *Schools and Education in Switzerland* (1942), 8.

<sup>712</sup> STO, *Switzerland and Her Schools* (1925), 49.

<sup>713</sup> STO and SPA *Schools and Education in Switzerland* (1942), 12-14.

metaphor implied school children in Switzerland shared their playground with playmates of one hundred and sixty odd countries who lived in hotels and visited Switzerland to experience pleasure. Nature's bounty aside, for the Swiss National Tourism office this discursively crowded image required remediation. This was accomplished simply.

A suggestion that outdoor areas for visiting children were physically separated from the locale of the tourist resort rescued the image of study abroad in Switzerland from the more derisive discourses of cosmopolitanism, and, from what historian Rebecca Walkowitz described as symbolic of "a repertoire of excess, traditions of aesthetic decadence and values such as consumption, syncretism and perversity."<sup>714</sup>

The guide advised:

Quite apart from the cosmopolitan resorts there are little known valleys and forests to be explored, youth hostels everywhere, lakes and rivers for sailing and rowing boats ... little water-rats in the summer are these happy youngsters who in winter ski and skate as if snow and ice were their natural element!<sup>715</sup>

With the explanation that the young "water rat" naturally flourished somewhere outside the realm of the "cosmopolitan resort" the series distanced the ideology of pure childhood from the worst connotations of tourism. This separation occurred consistently in the delineation of Swiss outdoors space as child's space.

The National Tourism Office promoted an image of rural, Alpine and uncrowded space. The idealisation of the country's landscape suited a tourism guide oriented towards childhood and youth. By a circuitous route, the guides defined Switzerland as a country of small towns nestled in the mountains:

If, as has been said, 'all towns are in the country' this saying applies particularly to Switzerland; for every town has beautiful surroundings and one might even say that 'all towns are in the mountains'.<sup>716</sup>

The "if" portion of this logic was critical. As Zimmer previously noted "by 1910, Switzerland was the most industrialized country next to England; the bulk of its population resided in towns that lay in valleys, only an insignificant number of the

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<sup>714</sup> Rebecca L. Walkowitz, *Cosmopolitan Style: Modernism Beyond the Nation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 12. See also, S.C. Aitken, *Geographies of Young People: The Morally Contested Spaces of Identity* (London: Routledge, 2001).

<sup>715</sup> STO and SPA *Schools and Education in Switzerland* (1942), 14.

<sup>716</sup> *Ibid.*, 35.

population resided in Alpine regions.”<sup>717</sup> With this move, the series relied upon the attractive power of what historian Laurent Tissot labelled the “spectacular, romantic and sporty Alps.”<sup>718</sup>

Visual arguments articulated each of these ideas and with varying levels of support in the written text, photographs communicated the Alps as Swiss education. Here I provide three examples of how the 1942 guide represented children and youth in spectacular, romantic and sporty Switzerland.<sup>719</sup>

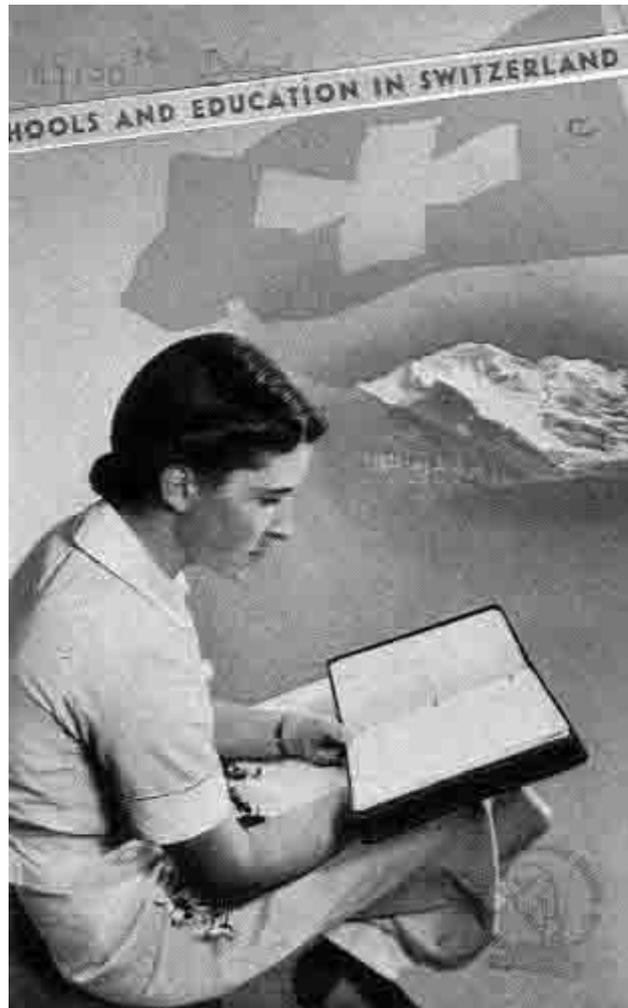


Fig. 4.1: Studious Girl on the cover page of *Schools and Sports in Switzerland*, 1942

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<sup>717</sup> Oliver Zimmer, *A Contested Nation: History, Memory and Nationalism in Switzerland* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 218.

<sup>718</sup> L. Tissot, *Naissance d'une Industrie Touristique. Les Anglais et la Suisse au XIXe siècle* (Lausanne: Editions Payot, 2000), 7-8.

<sup>719</sup> The images of any guidebook of the series could have been used for this purpose.

The cover image of the 1942 document illustrates how the series communicated the 'spectacular' Alps as Swiss education and demonstrates in this instance education in Switzerland was a gendered and classed vision as well as a serious and leisurely affair. The jacket of the tourist guide was a composition of three photographic images formatted to appear as one portrait (see fig. 4.1). The scene was a simple one. In the foreground, solitary and silent, a girl sits staring fixedly at the pages of a book. A figure of intense concentration, she is oblivious to the panoramic view surrounding her. Quietly, in the distance she is joined by the presence of the "Virgin," one of Switzerland's most famous mountain peaks flawlessly superimposed onto the cover page as background.<sup>720</sup> The third element of the composition - the Swiss flag - sails directly over head. Filling the upper-right quadrant 'sky' of the vertically rectangular cover page space, it confirms a Swiss alpine scene. A banner-like title binds studious girl, spectacular Alps and Swiss flag together under the heading "Schools and Education in Switzerland."

This visual and spatialised taxonomy classified the meaning of Swiss education to foreign students on several levels. On one level, the romantic representation clearly infused the ideology of Alpinism with that of white middle-class femininity. Its blurred visions of serious study and leisure at high altitude connected Swiss education to a particular narrative of girlhood. The image testified Switzerland was already host to a particular type of girl - the meticulously tailored white-dress type of girl who wore her hair so tightly in place that it liquefied smoothness. A type who, though keen to wander Alpine meadows collecting flowers, was ultimately disciplined enough to set flowers down during study time. The image equally invited such girls to come to Switzerland. The image advertised the country was open to receiving young ladies whose white, good-looking countenance complied with aesthetic standards of taste and whose behaviour reified both "good student and good girl." Finally, at the same time the image asserted that "Education in Switzerland" fostered the production of such ideal-typical girls, it suggested this pedagogical work was accomplished in the mountains.

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<sup>720</sup> The mountain in the background is the "Jungfrau" which means "virgin." It is located in the Bernese Oberland near Wengen and Grindelwald, towns which are among the most popular tourist regions of Switzerland.

The cover also provided an indication of pedagogical leanings and ideas of girls' education. It told about a country progressive enough to support unconventional scholastic circumstances yet conservative enough to maintain strict standards during such liberal experimentation.<sup>721</sup> At the same time it suggested that, in Switzerland, girls conformed to detail-oriented expectations but in moments of warranted passion, were allowed to forget details and concentrate on the more profound issues at hand. The consequences of flowers strewn across the lap, the squashing effect of studious posture on daisy pollen, the material frailties of white linen - quite forgotten: when reading in the Alps, girls in Switzerland were granted the freedom to loose all self-consciousness. They could forget the details carefully edged collars and cuffs. They could risk staining their clothes for the sake of knowledge.<sup>722</sup> Swiss education as shown supported notions of ideal girlhood and yet did not forfeit girls' right to study hard.

On another level, location and logistics communicated ideas about the class background of targeted markets. The image assumed an audience which sought silence on the bluff far away from modern, industrial life. It clarified that study in Switzerland involved high altitude mobility – a mobility that, for the non-Swiss did not come at low cost. Clearly, Switzerland maintained sufficient transportation and accommodation infrastructure to enable civilised dress and study at high altitude. In the context of a tourism brochure, this meant Switzerland was a place for those who could afford to send their daughters abroad – who had the means to enable the privilege of picking flowers and reading in an alpine environment. From the perspective of a railway worker such brochure images evidenced “[t]his yearning for a simple and easy Alpine life is truly an elitist project...the sort of cocooning and concentrating on the personal world - this is the true main stay of our local tourism

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<sup>721</sup> In this way the image forms part of a larger discourse on childhood and youth. As a subject undergoing the processes of Swiss education, the girl represents conformity with middle and upper-class practices of displaying social identity. In the process of becoming a dedicated and productive citizen, the girl reinforced the idea of a country capable of disciplining deviant behaviours, adept in encouraging people to recognise the desirability of having normal, clean health and productive bodies.

<sup>722</sup> The flowers resemble the famous “Edelweiss” but are more likely daisies. The image predates the song “Edelweiss” featured in *The Sound of Music* (1959). For a discussion of the cultural relationship between flowers and femininity, see Bram Dijkstra, *Idols of Perversity: Fantasies of Feminine Evil in Fin-de-Siècle Culture*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 16.

business.”<sup>723</sup> The line between “backwoods mountain poverty with out even a proper school house” and notions of a desirable out of doors “education in Switzerland” remained a question of perspective, politics, reading and personal point of view.

The cover page pointed to the complex, embodied and lived accretions of cultural capital that were promoted as Swiss education. The image stood argument for how Swiss education was related to the “cultural politics of the body ... the active and transformative role the body plays in relation to the capitalist process that produce it.”<sup>724</sup> Through connections between aesthetics, appearance and spectacular location the illustration presented a story about student bodies tied into social practices which operated in favour of certain location-relevant gendered and classed identities.



Fig. 4.2: “Alpine Lake in the Engadine” accompanied the “Importance and Scope of the Private Schools of Switzerland” (1942)

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<sup>723</sup> B. Schumacher, “Popularising Vacationing and Trade Union Politics: The Railway Men’s Holiday Home, A Swiss Case Study, 1890-1930,” in *Development of a Tourism Industry in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries, International Perspectives*, edited by Laurent Tissot, 293-305 (Neuchâtel: Alphil, 2003), 294.

<sup>724</sup> R. Londhurst, *Bodies: Exploring Fluid Boundaries* (London: Routledge, 2000), 37.

Not all photographs, however, so directly labeled and staged Alpine images as Swiss education. Some depended upon textual messages outside their frame and on hegemonic ideals of romanticism for comprehension. The photograph in the chapter “Importance and Scope of the Private Schools of Switzerland” is a case in point (see fig. 4.2).<sup>725</sup> The image - a young boy lying on a high meadow typified the picturesque.<sup>726</sup> It epitomised the “romantic Alps” in the classical tradition - the visual foundation of Swiss tourism. In terms of composition the picturesque emerged in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. It was defined as “that kind of beauty which would look good in a picture” and arose through strict adherence to artistic form:

Picturesque nature was selected and improved upon to conform to standards of formal composition. Invariable the foreground was peopled by shepherds, lovers or some other sign of human presence, unusually dwarfed by nature features such as mountains, gorges or waterfalls in the background with towering trees framing the ensemble.”<sup>727</sup>

The child as part of the visually ordered spatial discourse was ideally situated, however, it is only from the written text that the image could be understood as an illustration of Swiss education per se.<sup>728</sup> With the explanation that “nature infuses new vigour and courage into minds” the boy could be seen as under the influence of an educative aesthetic. The “activity” of the boy resting in his passive recumbent pose was that of active spectator; his productive lulling providing him strength, “taste” and the emotional knowledge that comes by being struck-silent by the sublime.<sup>729</sup> Thus, the look of idleness, of a scene often associated with touristic relaxation and sightseeing was not one of leisured laxity but one of learning. The educational activity as described was “not of such a nature to have weakening effect on the child’s character.”<sup>730</sup>

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<sup>725</sup> STO and SPA *Schools and Education in Switzerland* (1942), 23.

<sup>726</sup> The boy is gazing down at the Palace hotel in St. Moritz (one of the most exclusive tourist resorts in Switzerland).

<sup>727</sup> Peter Holger Hansen, “British Mountaineering, 1850-1914,” Dissertation (Harvard University, 1991), 23.

<sup>728</sup> For a discussion of the relationship between childhood and nature during the Romantic period, see “Romanticism” in Denis Lawton and Peter Gordon, *A History of Western Educational Ideas* (London: Woburn, 2002).

<sup>729</sup> For a discussion on the visual framing of schooling and education as subject, see K. Rousmaniere, “Questioning the Visual in the History of Education,” *History of Education* 30, no. 2 (2001), 109-116.

<sup>730</sup> STO and SPA *Schools and Education in Switzerland* (1942), 14.



Fig. 4.3: Ski-jumping: A part of Swiss education, STO 1942

Photographs capturing male children and youth at play in the ‘sporty’ Alps were similarly narrated as scenes of Swiss education. Boys with ropes taking in a panorama vista following a climb were headed for the “academic Alpine clubs huts built in the mountains.”<sup>731</sup> Boys - vertical and mid-air -were indeed skiing but, also engaged in Swiss education (see fig. 4.3). The guide explained:

It is a whole education in itself to spend a few sunny days in numerable ski huts in the mountains: an education in independence, mental and physical, in cleanliness and purity, in appreciation of the beauty and romance of nature.<sup>732</sup>

Numerous photographs of summer sports including images of children “skijoring,” bob-sleighting, lugging, and tailing, as well as playing ice-hockey or figure skating were explained as just part of the regular activities that occurred in the course of a Swiss school day. In Switzerland, for foreign students:

Work and study do not fill up the whole of a school day. Young people who have spent a term or two at a Swiss lakeside or Alpine school have very definite impressions as to the things from which they have acquired most benefit! .... One will remember, first and foremost, glorious hours of skiing, glorious hours of sailing, a third hiking or mountain climbing.<sup>733</sup>

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<sup>731</sup> Ibid.

<sup>732</sup> Ibid, 15.

<sup>733</sup> Ibid., 12.

The quantity of pictures of children at sports supported the Swiss philosophy of schooling as propagated in the guides. Since “[y]outh needs an outlet for its exuberant strength and spirits, the more outlets the merrier” the guide provided an abundance of examples of the kind of outlets *Switzerland and Her Schools* provided.<sup>734</sup>

R. Perrin would also discuss the mountaineering and skiing. It mapped the Swiss Alps and its activities as tourism. The Swiss mountains were a British, sportive and consumerist place. This series reminded prospective tourists that sportive action in the Swiss Alps was “a naturally British subject”<sup>735</sup> and in this way, the series naturalised the consumption of tourism as an extension of British nationhood.<sup>736</sup> English visitors at alpine sports enacted a bond between the Alps and Anglo-identity; they performed sports, relaxed and enjoyed time off from work and school. They enjoyed the advantages of ‘Schools and Sports in Switzerland’ as opposed to Swiss education. R. Perrin, saw no need to differentiate between adult and children’s tourist spaces: readers of all ages constituted potential customers.

R. Perrin discussed Alpine sports within a consumer education discourse, painting a picture of the ecstasies and freedom of winter sports dependant upon buying equipment, shopping wisely, and choosing the proper attire. The series assumed the role of adviser, confidant and friend. Guides served roadmaps to experiencing the joys of liberal, democratic free market choice in Switzerland. In this way it sequestered what Victoria de Grazia termed the “soft power” of American consumer culture that created an interwar transatlantic culture<sup>737</sup> also in Switzerland.

The series animated a democratic ethos centred on individual liberty and freedom of choice in the marketplace with its descriptions of winter sports. The well-equipped skier was said to be one who possessed everything life could offer: “The skier, properly clad and shod with a pair of well-fitting smooth gliding skis, need envy

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<sup>734</sup> Ibid. The idea that children needed to express natural impulses in sporting ways has been widely discussed as a moral discourse linked to ideological views of modern youth. See S. Jackson, *Childhood and Sexuality* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1982); for a discussion of the new professions and idea on adolescence see Joseph Kett, *Rites of Passage: Adolescence in America, 1790 to the Present* (New York: Basic Books, 1977).

<sup>735</sup> R. Perrin, *Schools and Sports in Switzerland* (1927), 38.

<sup>736</sup> Ibid.

<sup>737</sup> Victoria de Grazia, “Introduction,” in *The Sex of Things: Gender, Consumption in Historical Perspective*, edited by Victoria de Grazia and Ellen Furlough, 1-24 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 3.

no man.”<sup>738</sup> Through the action of skiing “unquestionably, the King of Winter Sports”<sup>739</sup> tourists could feel “on top of the world” for:

nothing is so thrilling as a swift rush down a slope of virgin snow, with a deep blue sky overhead, out of which shines a glorious sun that causes the snow to sparkle like so many thousands of diamonds.<sup>740</sup>

Descriptions of how tourists in Switzerland could experience skiing culture corresponded with what de Grazia characterised as “the American Market Empire challenge to the pretensions of lionised high culture” by linking “market access to class and status.”<sup>741</sup> In short, visitors needed to intelligently buy their way into the top grades of aesthetic experience and sportive liberation.

R. Perrin assumed an audience eager to be smart consumers, one which understood that the road to experiencing sublime, rather than inferior skiing, was one of consumer education. Thus by providing “a collection of tips and wrinkles as to equipment etc. by means of which the sporting visitor can get the maximum of enjoyment with the minimum of expense and effort,” the series “assisted” those able to spend freely and those needing to watch pennies alike.<sup>742</sup> Because R. Perrin understood that all intelligent buyers were those who learned the relative claims or merits of competing products and did not blindly purchase in ignorance. In the case of skiing, the most expensive equipment did not translate into the most superior. The series understood that an absence of English-language advertising with regards to equipment harmed the consumer and therefore aimed to educate.

Intent on “assisting the consumer to better knowledge, quicker and more intelligent selection of products” the series delved into great detail about ski equipment.<sup>743</sup> For example, it was “simpler and less troublesome to buy your equipment in Switzerland” and best to “seek a specialist outfitter.”<sup>744</sup> When at the store, the tourist should keep in mind the logic of any particular personal needs. It was,

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<sup>738</sup> R. Perrin, *Schools and Sports in Switzerland* (1927), 42.

<sup>739</sup> R. Perrin, *Educational and Residential Advantages of Switzerland* (1930), 39.

<sup>740</sup> Ibid.

<sup>741</sup> Victoria de Grazia, “Introduction,” in *The Sex of Things: Gender, Consumption in Historical Perspective*, edited by Victoria de Grazia and Ellen Furlough, 1-24 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 5.

<sup>742</sup> R. Perrin, *Schools and Sports in Switzerland* (1927), 38.

<sup>743</sup> Ibid., 39.

<sup>744</sup> Ibid.

for example “foolish for learners to buy expensive skis” thus they should aim for skis “between 20 and 30 frs.”<sup>745</sup> It was even more foolish to be confused about the worth of individual parts. Readers were warned “[o]n no account buy cheap fixings for it is on the fixings that your comfort and pleasure depend.”<sup>746</sup> The advice did not stop with utility - fashion and accessories also formed part of the quality winter sport experience.

The series guided visitors on what to wear and how to look while at play. It reminded them to think about style and encouraged readers to get up to date: “The old long alpine-stock is a thing of the past.”<sup>747</sup> “Clothing choices” although flexible to individual styles were not without limits. The series steered readers to individualised expression that looked smart. It directed readers to the most expensive clothing shops for “[a]s regards garments, everything and anything is to be seen in the smart Sports Centres.” Also in higher-priced stores “[t]here is at present no limit to the eccentricity of both in colour and cut.”<sup>748</sup> Some fashion items were required. Brand-names were expected: “One indispensable garment is a thick, woolen sweater — Jazz, Fair Island or white, according to taste.”<sup>749</sup> The advice extended to women as well. “A woman’s costume is almost the same as the man’s” except that the “upper garment consists of a blouse, high and tight in the neck .”<sup>750</sup> Thus equipped, tourists could enjoy “sports that can only or, at all events, most conveniently and advantageously, can be practiced in Switzerland”<sup>751</sup>.

The difference between the National Tourist Office and R. Perrin’s outdoors imaginary was also apparent in the portrait of Swiss lakes. For the government series, lakes were intended for bathing the delicate child into better health. Swiss waters were presented as a stepping stone for those children not yet ready to be put up to higher pastures. For R. Perrin, Swiss lakes were marvels of the modern man-made beach resort.

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<sup>745</sup> Ibid., 42.

<sup>746</sup> Ibid., 38-39.

<sup>747</sup> Ibid., 39.

<sup>748</sup> Ibid., 41.

<sup>749</sup> Ibid., 42.

<sup>750</sup> Ibid., 42-43.

<sup>751</sup> Ibid.

The government series explained Swiss lakes were “ideal for youngsters not quite robust enough for the healthful hardiness of the mountains.”<sup>752</sup> Because the lakeside climates were “mild, without being too softening” the “facilities for sport and play in the water harden[ed] the delicate body with out imposing too great a strain on its powers of resistance.”<sup>753</sup> Photographs of these facilities demonstrated the lake-aspect of Swiss schooling as a rowing, rigorous and relaxing activity (see fig. 4.4).

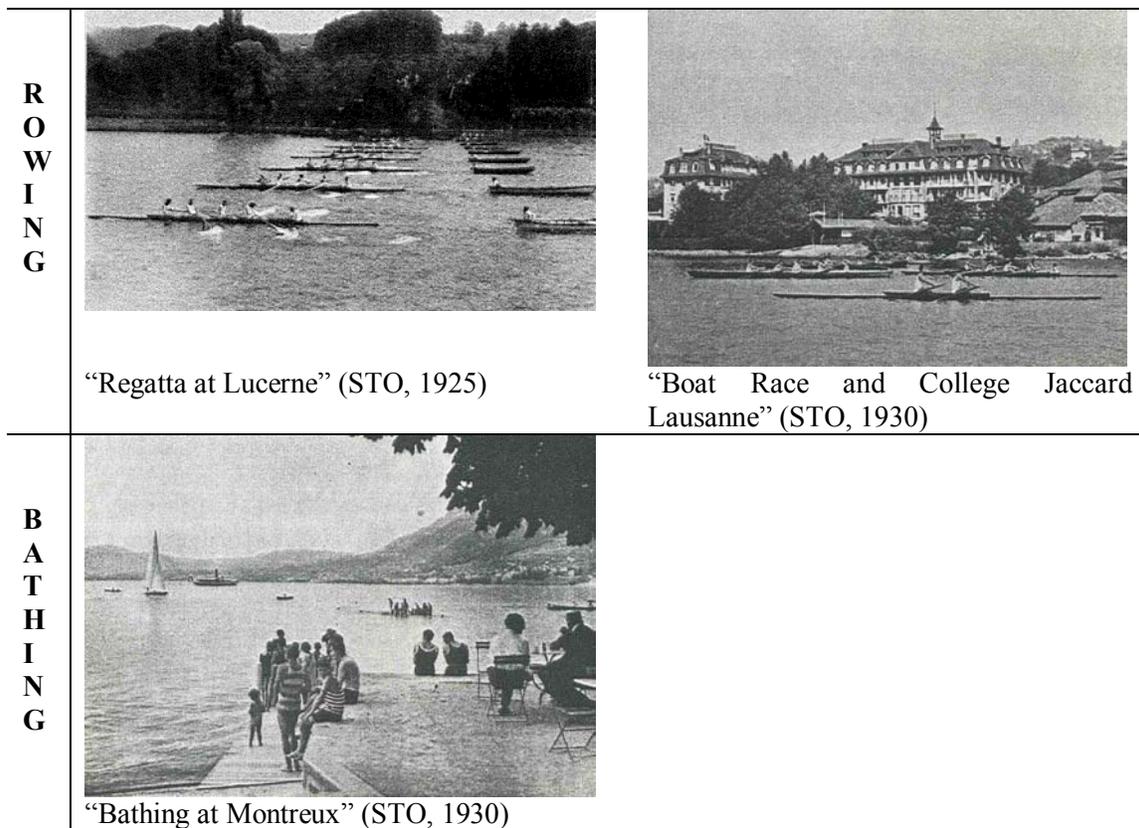


Fig. 4.4: Swiss National Tourism Office Water sports

Going back to the Tourist Office’s claim that children’s’ space and tourists’ space was not one and the same. None of the photographs of the water confirmed the impression of “distance” from the main cosmopolitan resorts. The little water rats (see fig. 4.4, top right) boat racing in front of the College Jaccard school glided along the Swiss Riviera. Assuming they stayed on course within five minutes they would row along the most densely populated lake-front tourism zone in the country – the “square mile” of five

<sup>752</sup> STO and SPA *Schools and Education in Switzerland* (1942), 9.

<sup>753</sup> Ibid.

star resorts at Ouchy. Those sitting on the boardwalk at Montreux were not “[q]uite apart from the cosmopolitan resorts” either.<sup>754</sup>

R. Perrin also showcased the advantages of the water. This series classified the Swiss lake as an ideal space for those wishing to participate in modern trends. The 1930 guide, for example, informed readers “[d]uring the past few years there has been a craze for ‘Fresh Water Bathing Beaches.’”<sup>755</sup> This trend proved fortunate for the landlocked country that according to the guide went out of its way to compete. Now on top of the trend, Switzerland offered the novel experience of the artificial, Alpine lake for “[b]athing Beaches have been established in the mountains in places where the beach has had to be made out of cement, artificially-coloured green.”<sup>756</sup> Along with the aesthetic advantage of a green-coloured cement, the made-made fresh water lakes were warm and surrounded by “sand brought from lower levels.”<sup>757</sup>

Unlike the National Tourist Office R. Perrin did not frame landscape on the basis of notions of nature’s bounty, but rather mapped out a nature that exemplified technological modernity. With visions of an authentically artificial setting improved for tourists, the guide presented a Switzerland equipped to support modern beach culture; a vision of place congruent with the poolside backgrounds recently made fashionable in “popular periodicals and Hollywood movies” wherein “titillating scenes started with stars lying around sun-soaked pools or frolicking in the water.”<sup>758</sup> In case any readers doubted the new outdoor heated pool technology the guide assured “[t]hese things are carefully studied, the initial difficulties have been overcome” and testified “the execution of the workmanship has been so well carried out that visitors are delighted at the privilege they have bathing at either high or low altitude”.<sup>759</sup> In Switzerland visitors could “fully enter into the spirit and joys of the Beach.”<sup>760</sup>

This chapter has analysed the advertising of Swiss education in two different interwar series. It has brought the level of the nation into the thesis and simultaneously

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<sup>754</sup> Ibid.

<sup>755</sup> R. Perrin, *Educational & Residential Advantages* (1930), 33.

<sup>756</sup> Ibid.

<sup>757</sup> Ibid.

<sup>758</sup> Jeffrey Wiltse, “A History of Swimming Pools in America,” Dissertation (Brandeis University, Walton, 2003), 190. See also, Jeff Wiltse, *Contested Waters. A Social History of Swimming Pools in America* (Chapel Hill: University of Carolina Press, 2007).

<sup>759</sup> R. Perrin, *Educational & Residential Advantages* (1930), 33.

<sup>760</sup> Ibid.

shown the region as a constant and significant presence. By investigating the “guiding” work of national education-focused tourism promotion, the analysis has drawn attention to political and economic ideological underpinnings in the texts. Partial, simplified and distorted representations of Swiss educational history fostered the image of the Swiss as natural born pedagogues and the idea of Swiss schooling as an evolved type of education in the government series. The examination of guides’ taxonomies of schooling in both sets of guides revealed selective views, praise, celebrity discourse and heritage constructed an idealised system of education available for visitors. By studying representations of leisure and sports, the chapter revealed R. Perrin counted these facets as tourism commodities but did not equate leisure and sports with education which it classified as a separate tourism product. The Swiss National Tourist Office series, on the other hand shied away from the word “tourism” and especially the words “tourist resorts” – places which it suggested were cosmopolitan and therefore not appropriate for children. Unlike that of the travel agency, the STO series included sports and leisure as part of Swiss education.

## **CHAPTER FIVE. Elite School Spaces, Sports and Resorts: The Interwar Prospectuses of Le Rosey and Brillantmont in International Perspective**

Thus far, the chapters in this thesis have explored representations of educational tourist place from different vantage points of destination. The thesis has examined separate ideological visions of education in Switzerland. It has discussed visual and written depictions of school property, town-scapes, outdoor Alpine and lake-district settings, people, communities and the Swiss nation. This chapter examines Le Rosey and Brillantmont's interwar prospectuses. It returns to the promotional perspective of the individual school however, it focuses on the themes of mobility and transnationalism. During the interwar period, Le Rosey and Brillantmont established strong reputations among wealthy international networks. Demand for their businesses meant the textual work of prospectuses as advertisements was not always required.<sup>761</sup> Nevertheless, these documents continued to uphold a positive image of the institutions and communicate information. The chapter investigates texts which accorded images of schools with considerable transnational symbolic capital. To better understand the promotional currency in the materials, it brings in selective British and, to a lesser extent, American international perspectives.<sup>762</sup>

Analysis oscillates back and forth between the texts and the everyday world of social practices that informed and surrounded them. Close attention is paid to the classed, gendered and transnational social traditions surrounding elite international schooling and promotional networking. The first section analyses Le Rosey's interwar prospectuses. By situating texts within their historical and documentary contexts, the images of the migratory school are more easily understood. A "play by play" discussion of Le Rosey's sporting successes at its winter campus in Gstaad investigates the transnational cultural and symbolic capital embedded in its prospectuses of the 1920s. A close study of a promotional event in the 1930s at the

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<sup>761</sup> It was during this period that they established "global" reputations among the relatively small networks of transnational elites in a position purchase luxury educational tourism commodities for their charges.

<sup>762</sup> These contexts were of course, not restricted to Anglo-Saxon territories.

Savoy Hotel in London situates the sales power of the 1932 text within the settings where it generated meaning. The second section investigates Brillantmont's interwar prospectuses. Images of students at work in the kitchen or at play in exclusive Swiss sporting environments are discussed in relation to English-language stereotypes and clichés about continental finishing schools. They are analysed in light of discourse on Swiss holiday places and cosmopolitan schools. The chapter demonstrates the prospectuses of both schools generated a sense of desirable educational tourist place by both showcasing and, at times, rendering invisible the complex social relations and elite spaces that informed the documents and provided their meaning.

## **5.1 Le Rosey**

This section discusses Le Rosey's 1919, 1926 and 1932 prospectuses within the changing context of the school's interwar development. It focuses on the new aspects of the interwar prospectuses – references to the winter campus and the school's migratory practices. Close attention is paid to schools' internationally acclaimed sporting activities at Gstaad so that the "symbolic" currency of the three prospectuses can be better understood. The detailed descriptive discussion enables a documentary analysis of the school's hockey team photograph which portrays layers of gendered, classed and multicultural socio-spatial meaning. By juxtaposing images of Gstaad excluded from the prospectus, the section reveals the images included as idealised visions of isolated, Alpine landscape. An examination of representations of location in the prospectuses together with an analysis of a complex promotional event held in London in 1934 shifts the focus to the transnational context within which the school advertised itself. The discussion of the promotional trip to the Savoy Hotel in particular, clarifies that the promotional texts examined in the thesis formed part of situated, chained social events which were only partly discursive in nature. It stresses the promotional potential of Le Rosey's interwar prospectuses was dialectically related

to the particular networks of social, cultural, political and economic practices within which the materials circulated.

In 1916, with a student body reduced by the war, Henri Carnal took an experimental step and wintered Le Rosey in the Alps at Gstaad.<sup>763</sup> This decision had a profound influence on the direction of the school and on the appearance of its interwar prospectuses. It is not possible to understand these without comprehending what this move meant for the school and, further, what it meant for tourism in Gstaad. The development of Le Rosey, and of winter sports tourism in Gstaad were very much intertwined. Le Rosey's involvement in bringing high-profile organised sports to the village helped raise the resort's profile. The visitors the school and/or the resort attracted made the village of Gstaad one of the most elite resorts in Switzerland. The phenomenal growth of the school and the tourism industry in the small village swirled around the meaning of the brochures.<sup>764</sup>

Le Rosey's 1916 trip to Gstaad was not its first. The school had travelled to this small village in the Bernese Oberland for summer trips after the Montreux-Oberland Bernois-Railway connected Gstaad via the Golden Pass Railway with Lake Geneva lines in 1907 (see fig. 5.1).<sup>765</sup> In 1914, however, the essential nature of the schools' vacation area changed: the opening of the Royal Winter Palace hotel enabled the resort to offer 'high-class' winter tourism.<sup>766</sup> When Henri Carnal arrived in 1916 his school

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<sup>763</sup> Between 1914-1918 the student body ranged in numbers from 6 in 1914 to a maximum of 32 in 1917, and 23 in 1918 see, H. Carnal, *Le Cinquantenaire du Rosey. Le Rosey: Institut de jeunes gens à Rolle. Album l'occasion du 50e Anniversaire, 1880-1930* (Geneva: Impr. Sadag, 1930), 35 and 68.

<sup>764</sup> As historian Gottfried von Siebenthal noted, the sons of numerous internationally known personalities from nobility, business and trade, and show business attended Le Rosey for sojourns of schooling. Parents often wished to get to know their children's place of education. Because these parents belonged to the upper-class of their homelands, they required appropriate accommodation, standards and services. This fostered the development of Gstaad from an ordinary Swiss village to a noble resort with luxury hotels, good restaurants and a supply of luxury goods in the stores comparable to a cosmopolitan city. G. von Siebenthal. *Gstaad: eine Reise in die Vergangenheit [Gstaad: a journey into the past]*. (Gstaad: Mueller Marketing & Druck AG, 2004), 38.

<sup>765</sup> The opening of the railway coincided with the creation of a tourism office that in 1907 printed 10 000 prospectuses to advertise the village. By 1914 two salon cars were added to carry tourists in comfort to Gstaad on the Golden Pass Route. See <http://www.rail-info.ch/MOB/index.de.html>; see also [http://www.Gstaad.ad.ch/zeitzeugen\\_auf\\_der\\_spur-2.pdf](http://www.Gstaad.ad.ch/zeitzeugen_auf_der_spur-2.pdf) (accessed April 7, 2004).

<sup>766</sup> The construction of the Palace hotel in Gstaad in 1912-1913 was of great significance; it was the only "Palace" in the Bernese Oberland. G. von Siebenthal. *Gstaad: eine Reise in die Vergangenheit [Gstaad: a journey into the past]*. (Gstaad: Mueller Marketing & Druck AG, 2004), 50; *Zeitzeugen Gstaad. "Zeitzeugen auf der Spur."* [http://www.Gstaad.ad.ch/zeitzeugen\\_auf\\_der\\_spur-2.pdf](http://www.Gstaad.ad.ch/zeitzeugen_auf_der_spur-2.pdf) (accessed April 10, 2004).

joined the earliest wave of winter tourists. The presence of the youngsters in the village in winter astonished local villagers in Gstaad and Rolle alike. Carnal's decision to rent the same small wooden chalet the school used for its summer holidays proved even more surprising.<sup>767</sup>

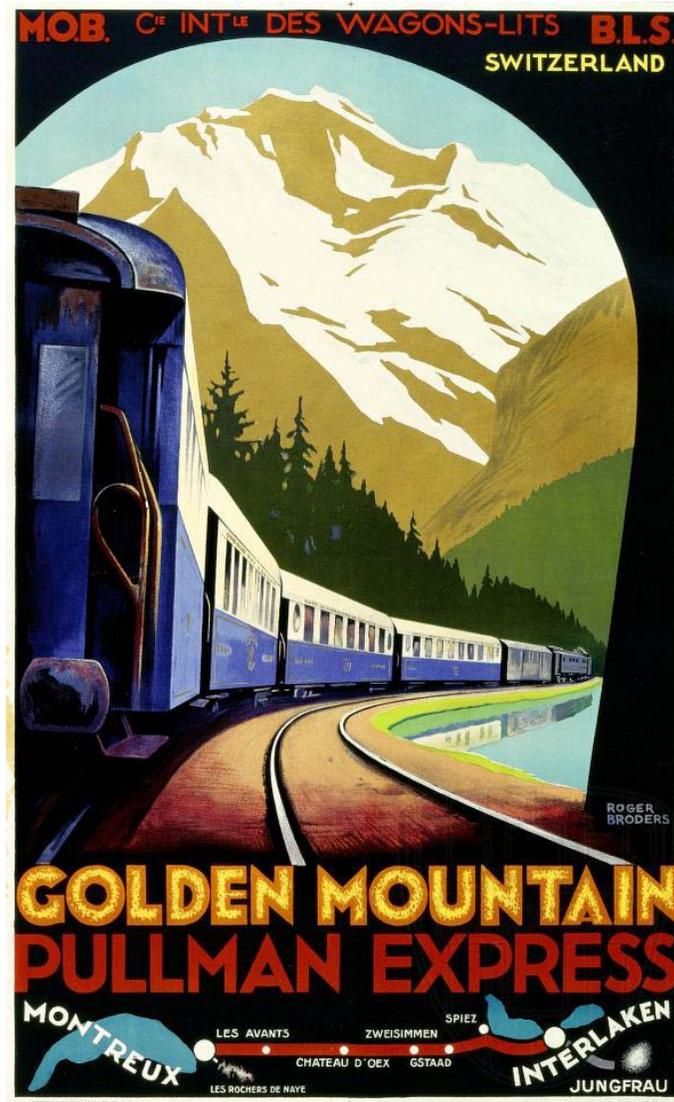


Fig. 5.1: This tourism poster of the Golden Pass or Golden Mountain Railway Roger Broders created demonstrates the small world of tourism in the French-speaking area of Switzerland. Artists such as Broders worked on different accounts within the same region on many occasions.

<sup>767</sup> The origin of the word “*chalet*” derives from the French word for “small castle” *petit château* or *chatelet*.

In theory, Henri Carnal appropriated a valuable architectural symbol into the heart of Le Rosey's school identity – a “petit château.” The “Swiss chalet,” long a treasured tourist symbol had currency in the Western cultural imagination. It signaled Rousseauian ideas and a return to a simpler, Arcadian time. Swiss historian Pierre Jacquet argues by the late nineteenth century the “simple shelter of the Swiss peasant”<sup>768</sup> constituted an enduring, classic cultural motif of Western aestheticism. He maintains that the significance of the chalet lay not only in its simple wooden structure but also in its Swiss Alpine setting. He suggests:

the chalet, the archetype of the countryman's dwelling perfectly adapted to valley, hillside and pasture marked a scene of ideal existence (between man and nature). The Swiss chalet was not merely the peasant's cottage, such as it is found in the countryside the world over; for at least two centuries in the history of aesthetics in the West, it has held an outstanding position as *Swiss*.<sup>769</sup>

However, despite their romantic 'Swiss' aura, the original chalets Henri Carnal leased did not automatically embellish the school's identity with the appealing image of a second castle. In short, young Carnal had chosen to use the chalets during the wrong tourism season. He had moved a “good school” from its prime 'chateau' location around the shores of Lake Geneva into a small building 'ill-equipped' for winter at a time when Gstaad had not yet fully established itself as a winter tourist destination.

In retrospective accounts, Henri Carnal suggested the image of a “regular” boarding school heading to the Alps in winter and staying in a chalet was negatively received among his own circles.<sup>770</sup> For his father Paul Carnal who had recently handed the reins of the institution over to his son – this “brash” idea symbolised the school's downfall; the idea of spending the worst part of the winter in the harsh conditions of the Alps was “a crazy idea of English tourists who, unlike Henri, had the good sense to

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<sup>768</sup> Pierre Jacquet, *The Swiss Chalet* (Zurich: Orell Fuessli, 1963), 16.

<sup>769</sup> The Swiss chalet was discursively constructed as an antidote to the ills associated with modernity, fast-paced living and luxury. While chalets were also seen in the Austrian and French Alps, it was the Swiss Alps that popularised these buildings via tourism. English tourists were especially charmed by the simple wooden buildings with large windows, widely projecting roofs, and quaint decoration in the mid-nineteenth century after Queen Victoria and Prince Albert ordered one be imported and assembled on the grounds of their favourite home, Osborne House in Scotland as a playhouse for the royal children. For details of the Swiss chalet imported in 1854, see English Heritage, “English Heritage Newsletter,” <http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/server/show/conProperty.205> (accessed April 10, 2006) and Pierre Jacquet, *The Swiss Chalet* (Zurich: Orell Fuessli, 1963), 14.

<sup>770</sup> H. Carnal, *Le Cinquantenaire du Rosey. Le Rosey: Institut de jeunes gens à Rolle. Album l'occasion du 50e Anniversaire, 1880-1930* (Geneva: Impr. Sadag, 1930).

stay in places like the Palace hotel.”<sup>771</sup> But Henri Carnal had no intention of housing his students in a comfortable hotel. The idea behind taking his boys to the Alps during winter was to make them stronger in body, mind and soul. He sought the hearty Alps that made mountaineers and skiers self-determined men. He intended to provide a type of outdoor education that was challenging, even grueling – an edification that was not congruent with the softening life found in a well-serviced luxury hotel.

Henri Carnal’s knowledge of elite British, and through his wife, American habits guided his decision. Similar to the owners of the Palace hotel, he relied heavily upon a prediction that the pre-World War I trend among the British upper-classes to enjoy winter sports would continue when life had returned to normal and peace was restored to Europe. He felt strongly that if Le Rosey wanted to captivate interest among elite British social networks, winter sports needed to be included in the school’s program. Without his father’s approval or the understanding of the community in Rolle, Henri Carnal decided to make wintering in Gstaad a permanent part of the school’s practices. In 1919 he purchased the small chalet he had been renting and that same year, an image of “Chalet Rex” stamped “Institut Carnal ‘Le Rosey’ Gstaad” onto to the post-war prospectuses (see Chapter One). Over the next seven years this image brought increasing symbolic capital. In 1919, however, it had yet to take on much promotional significance.

With the war over and few winter sports tourists, school founder Paul Carnal remained angry, sceptical and unconvinced about the school’s “goings on” in Gstaad.<sup>772</sup> It remained unclear how long Swiss tourism would take to recover. Press articles in both England and the United States circulated depressing stories.<sup>773</sup> The cost of living in Switzerland had “climbed 150 percent” during the war years and picturesque towns including Gstaad were empty: “The old tourist rush still failed Switzerland.”<sup>774</sup>

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<sup>771</sup> Ibid.

<sup>772</sup> Ibid.

<sup>773</sup> “Winter Sports in Switzerland,” *The Times*, February 2, 1920.

<sup>774</sup> “Old Tourist Rush Still Fails Swiss,” *New York Times*, July 4, 1920.

News that the hotels in Switzerland had been “damaged by war time tenants” did not help publicity.<sup>775</sup> In 1920, one article reported that during the “last three years of the war hotels filled with interned French and Belgians suffered considerable damage from the wear and tear of men not accustomed to living in such palatial quarters who did not take proper care of the furnishings....”<sup>776</sup> Such bleak tidings however, were not to last. In the hotels of Gstaad and in Chalet Rex massive renovations occurred and the newly refurbished buildings filled up with tourists, students, and their associated visitors. The “logic” of Henri Carnal’s decision was soon affirmed.



Fig. 5.2: Chalet, Le Rosey,<sup>777</sup> 1920

The winter season of 1921 as described in *The Times* was a banner year for the area; Gstaad received mention as “the most enterprising place in the Bernese Oberland.”<sup>778</sup> Moreover, articles indicated “the Bernese Oberland seems to be coming back into favour with Anglo-Saxon visitors.”<sup>779</sup> Le Rosey was an eager participant in and beneficiary of Gstaad’s increasing popularity. In addition to teaching an expanded

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<sup>775</sup> “Old Tourist Rush Still Fails Swiss,” *New York Times*, February 21, 1921.

<sup>776</sup> Ibid.

<sup>777</sup> Le Rosey rented chalets until 1920 when it purchased “Chalet Rex.”

<sup>778</sup> “Winter Sports in Switzerland,” *The Times*, February 24, 1920.

<sup>779</sup> Ibid. The American elite were also very much present in the favourite British winter resorts in Switzerland. See E. Allen and N. John, “The British and the Modernisation of Skiing” *History Today* 53, No. 4 (2003): 46.

scholastic program,<sup>780</sup> sports featured as a key part of school life. It was the school's winter sports that soon made Le Rosey newsworthy. In the early 1920s Henri Carnal, actively involved in the Association of Private Schools in French Switzerland (APSFS), emerged as a central figure organising intramural games in hockey.

In the spring of 1921, for example, *The Times* published a headline that Le Rosey and Gstaad hosted the British Internes Cup – a hockey tournament for the teams of “English” international boarding schools in Switzerland.<sup>781</sup> That autumn *The Times* heralded Le Rosey's involvement in Gstaad's newly organised English Ski Club.<sup>782</sup> Gstaad, “now one of the foremost centres” released schedules of “the very interesting series of sporting events” which were on offer.<sup>783</sup> Le Rosey's sporting events were a regular part of the program – Le Rosey became the only Swiss school to feature in the winter-sports section of *The Times*.

By 1922 winter sports tourism had not only recovered but showed signs of unsurpassed popularity. The “Swiss skiing craze” among the British was evident. The 1922-1923 season saw over 20 000 British skiers in Switzerland.<sup>784</sup> Oxford and Cambridge teams raced in the Engadine, the Public School's Alpine Club became increasingly active and Arnold Lunn and the English Ski Clubs invented, organised and regulated ski competitions.<sup>785</sup>

British and American visitors dominated winter sport tourism. In 1923 it was “expected that the United States and England will supply the largest number of winter sports seekers and tourists.”<sup>786</sup> The sudden boom in winter sport resorts led English-speaking newspapers to offer detailed advice on resort selection. Gstaad was a “recommended” resort for skiing and hockey. One article warned “[e]very town will,

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<sup>780</sup> The program catered to students between 10 and 16 years of age teaching classical, commercial and scientific subjects and training for matriculation exams of “diverse schools Swiss and foreign.” The prospectus consisted of a general collection of sporting photos, a few images of Château Rosey and a summary of classes offered. Louis Johannot et al., *Le Rosey: Un siècle de souvenirs [1880-1980]*, (Rolle: Le Rosey, 1980).

<sup>781</sup> This meant schools with an established English client base. “Swiss Winter Sport,” *The Times*, February 21, 1921.

<sup>782</sup> Secretary Wing Commander Jourbert, RAF “Winter Sports in Switzerland,” *The Times*, December 29, 1921.

<sup>783</sup> Organised by one of the teachers at Rosey who was also the town's winter sports coordinator.

<sup>784</sup> Numbers were regularly tallied and reported in the following season. “British Ski-ers,” *The Times*, December 12, 1923.

<sup>785</sup> “Oxford Wins at Winter Sports Over Cambridge, Switzerland,” *The Times*, February 2, 1922.

<sup>786</sup> “The Swiss Winter Season,” *The Times*, December 18, 1923.

in its advertising say that it offers the best there is in every line of athletics competition [so] care must be taken in the selection of a resort.”<sup>787</sup> It advised Gstaad had “ideal skiing conditions ... the jumps are the very best in the country.”<sup>788</sup> In terms of skiing, “Gstaad ha[d] become one of the most popular resorts for English and American tourists.”<sup>789</sup> The same article also reported the village was “ideal for the very small minority interested in playing ice hockey.”<sup>790</sup> Le Rosey students were among this minority.<sup>791</sup>

Since 1920 the Le Rosey hockey team had won four Swiss National Hockey Championships.<sup>792</sup> This hockey fame was good for business – Le Rosey’s and Gstaad’s.<sup>793</sup> Hockey notoriety constituted an increasing part of Gstaad’s winter tourism and of Le Rosey’s reputation as a well-connected first-class school. Le Rosey became increasingly networked with elite colleges and universities in England, Europe and North America. In 1923 the Le Rosey team embarked on what would become a yearly Christmas ritual – the Rosey-Cambridge hockey match.<sup>794</sup> Playing Cambridge permitted the school a visit from one of its former students and key player on the Cantabs team, Andre Bossier (1916-1920). Other students playing for Harvard, Princeton and other European universities also returned to Gstaad for matches. Le Rosey met European schools on their own turf when on 'hockey tour'.

In 1924, hockey became the focus of excitement in the English press and an increasing source of pride for Le Rosey. The Olympic Winter Games at Chamonix (January 23 - February 11) brought attention to winter sports generally but it was ice

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<sup>787</sup> "Switzerland Ready for Winter Sports," *New York Times*, December 15, 1923

<sup>788</sup> Ibid.

<sup>789</sup> Ibid.

<sup>790</sup> "The Swiss Winter Season," *The Times*, December 18, 1923.

<sup>791</sup> When one goes back into the history of Swiss ice hockey a few decades ago, one does not find the names of Davos [or] St. Moritz. At the time, they did neither yet exist nor play a role on a national level. It was Western Switzerland which held the hegemony in the country for a decade. G. von Siebenthal. *Gstaad: eine Reise in die Vergangenheit [Gstaad: a journey into the past]*. (Gstaad: Mueller Marketing & Druck AG, 2004), 201.

<sup>792</sup> "Hockey," *The Times*, February 12, 1922.

<sup>793</sup> The large ice hockey promoter of the time was Ernest Jacquet. Jacquet was a teacher (1911-1917) at the elite school "La Villa Lausanne" whose physical education was taught by English university men. In 1917 he became a teacher at Le Rosey and played for the "Gstaad – Le Rosey" team. As he had been playing ice hockey actively for 25 years, he was the one who brought Gstaad to a prime rank. G. von Siebenthal. *Gstaad: eine Reise in die Vergangenheit [Gstaad: a journey into the past]*. (Gstaad: Mueller Marketing & Druck AG, 2004), 201.

<sup>794</sup> See "Ice Hockey at Gstaad," *The Times*, December 21, 1923; "Ice Hockey at Gstaad," *The Times*, December 27, 1923.

hockey “that evoked the greatest surprise and admiration.”<sup>795</sup> Five of Le Rosey’s alumni (including at least one Canadian) participated in the 1924 Games of the Winter Olympiad on various teams including the National Swiss team, Harvard’s Varsity team and the Cambridge Cantabs. Team “Le Rosey Hockey Club, Gstaad” (comprised of teachers and senior students) received mention in news reportage on the Olympics when it played and beat Harvard’s Varsity team in a game played a few days following the official conclusion of the Games.<sup>796</sup> With unprecedented numbers of students and a thriving hockey reputation, Henri Carnal had proven himself correct - his father conceded his son's move to winter Rosey in Gstaad was a good idea.<sup>797</sup>

In 1926, the school published a new prospectus which included photographs of its legacy of hockey successes as well as depictions of the Le Rosey boys participating in various other sports including rowing, tennis, football and tug-a-war. Boxing, fencing and riding lessons were also advertised as available upon request. Along with these images, photographs of the school farm, the chalets in Gstaad - Rex (1920) and Le Ried (1925) - and Château du Rosey were included.<sup>798</sup> Yet it was the “new” winter sports images that had accrued significant symbolic meaning.<sup>799</sup> The cultural capital of these photographs can only be appreciated in light of the school’s hockey successes in the early 1920s. The depiction of the school’s prize-winning hockey team, for example, illustrated a strong sense of competitive aggression and male solidarity (see fig. 5.3).

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<sup>795</sup> These winter sports were bobsleighbing, skating, ski-ing and curling. The article suggested “the speed and skill of the Canadians especially has never been equalled at any winter sports event” “Olympic Winter Sports,” *The Times*, January 30, 1924; “Olympic Game at Chamonix,” *The Times*, February 11, 1924.

<sup>796</sup> “Olympic Winter Sports,” *The Times*, January 30, 1924.

<sup>797</sup> H. Carnal, *Le Cinquantenaire du Rosey. Le Rosey: Institut de jeunes gens à Rolle. Album l’occasion du 50e Anniversaire, 1880-1930* (Geneva: Impr. Sadag, 1930).

<sup>798</sup> The prospectus consisted of a general collection of sporting photographs, a few images of Château Rosey and a summary of the classes offered. Louis Johannot et al., *Le Rosey: Un siècle de souvenirs [1880-1980]*, (Rolle: Le Rosey, 1980).

<sup>799</sup> While the school did participate in other winter sports during the 1920s, hockey was the school’s most successful and “exciting” endeavour.



Fig. 5.3: Prospectus photograph of the winning Le Rosey ice hockey team at Gstaad

Trophies were carefully arranged in order to be seen. Such prized promotional visuals communicated the idea of a “winning team.”<sup>800</sup> The highly orchestrated image reflected the school’s congruence with the conventions of masculine sport photography that relied on highly organised and staged poses to highlight team unity and a sense of corporate strength. The team photograph serves as an interesting example of the complex meanings different types of sporting shots conveyed in the context of elite school promotion.

Even though hockey gained notoriety during the 1924 Winter Olympics, it did not carry the same classed connotations as did other team sports, for example, cricket or rugby.<sup>801</sup> In the early 1920s the Canadian/British sport was played in Ivy League

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<sup>800</sup> During this period Switzerland was host to two “national” leagues. The first, the Swiss International Championship (A Series) was in operation from 1908 to 1933. This league did not limit the number of international players. The second league started in the 1915-1916 season did impose such restrictions and survives today. Le Rosey participated in both leagues. The cups represented in the photograph include the Swiss International Championship (1920, 1921) and the Swiss Championship (1921, 1924). The school also played hockey clubs outside Switzerland in locations including Belgium, Italy, and England.

<sup>801</sup> The sport was so new to some countries in Europe that pamphlets for certain European matches explained the nature of the game and its equipment so that viewers could understand what they were watching.

schools, yet was not among the most prestigious of school sports.<sup>802</sup> The hockey photo embraced particular combinations of narratives that, while not fixed implied certain classed, cultured and location-specific meanings.<sup>803</sup>

For the British elites who were the leading advocates of the sport in Europe<sup>804</sup> and who held a special fondness for Canadians – one of the more special colonial pets – the photographs likely symbolised a more attractive scene than depictions of, for example



Fig. 5.4: Children's Turnen or German gymnastics for children were not featured in the prospectuses

German Turnen [gymnastics] (see fig. 5.4). Hockey appealed because of its game's ethic. Like other "British games inculcating strength and discipline"<sup>805</sup> hockey stood for appropriately 'hard' and 'fast' athleticism. It "identif[ied] with an ideal type"<sup>806</sup> representing English public school values of masculinity, rough but fair play and challenging competition.

The winter-sports setting of Switzerland added a further layer of meaning to the image of the "British-Canadian" sport. The Swiss surroundings contributed a

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<sup>802</sup> Although the dominant historical view is that hockey is a Canadian sport that emerged in French-speaking Canada, this idea is complicated by the role the United States played in professionalising the sport and by the sport's older European origins. Great Britain played a pioneering role in institutionalising the rules of the sport and by the role they played in international ice hockey. In 1885, the first official hockey match was held between Oxford and Cambridge in St. Moritz, Switzerland. The first European Championships were also a British event, held at Les Avants, Switzerland. The extent of Britain's historical involvement has been lost today because the country did not maintain a leading role. See O. Kivinen, J. Mesikämnen, T. Metsä-Tokila, "A Case Study in Cultural Diffusion: British Ice Hockey and American Influences in Europe," *Sport in Society* 4 (2001): 49-62.

<sup>803</sup> For a discussion of the complex meanings of sport and resort images see O. Jenkins, "The Circle of Representation," *Tourism Geographies* 5, no. 3 (2003): 305-328.

<sup>804</sup> Certainly it had more currency in interwar Britain than it would have today.

<sup>805</sup> J.A. Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School: The Emergence and Consolidation of an Educational Ideology* (London: Frank Cass, 2000), 69.

<sup>806</sup> *Ibid.*

cosmopolitan, touristic and recreational aura. The sport's discursive ties with Canada – another “mild-mannered” country with “masculine men” – added a sense of conjoined Swiss-Canadian resonance that communicated something other than British upper-class sport played in England.<sup>807</sup>

To parents interested in the school, the image of “championship winning students” with prominently displayed trophies represented an opportunity to imagine their own child present in a similar photograph. The trophies – “markers which identified things worthy of gaze” – signposted significance.<sup>808</sup> Like tourists' snapshots, they provided evidence the place warranted a trip. The image promised the type of photographic currency without a direct 'cash-value', a currency that could also be redeemed within the context of adult social networking. As a prototype of something tangible that could be framed and displayed in the offices of fathers or carried in the baggage of mothers the photo promised the school offered images that could serve conversation piece and statement of family pride.<sup>809</sup> In this way, the picture marketed a place-based “potential.” It represented something meaningful that had to be paid for but could not simply be “purchased.” It portrayed an achievement of children and youth, the exact type of success made possible by purchasing a place for one's son at Le Rosey.

Pragmatically, for some parents the selling power of the photograph may have been the location of the ice itself. The exclusive sportive landscape of Gstaad was by this time known as the “St. Moritz of Western Switzerland.”<sup>810</sup> The idea of a school located in a first-class winter sports resort was very appealing. The photograph harnessed additional meaning for those with insider knowledge aware that the ice rink

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<sup>807</sup> Canadian students were among the most successful ice hockey players at Le Rosey. Louis Johannot et al., *Le Rosey: Un siècle de souvenirs [1880-1980]*, (Rolle: Le Rosey, 1980), 17.

<sup>808</sup> J. Urry, *The Tourist Gaze* (London: Sage, 1990), 47.

<sup>809</sup> In the hands of parents nearby the school or half way around the world, such a photograph provided testament to family unity. Photographs are often used as symbols and proof of family unity. When they surface within social interaction, as in the context of one mother meeting another, they provide tangible proof of emotional harmony in a context of physical separation. For the parents able to demonstrate they have sent their son to one of the world's best schools, the photograph serves as indirect “evidence” of their level of parental support and involvement. These types of emotional situations are accounted for (whether consciously or unconsciously) by schools putting together an “attractive” school prospectus. For an excellent discussion of the meaning of family photographs within a social and cultural context see Gillian Rose, “‘Everyone's Cuddled up and it Looks so Nice’: An Emotional Geography of some Mums and their Family Photos,” in *Social and Cultural Geography* 5 (4), 2004, 549-562.

<sup>810</sup> “Display Advertisement,” *The Times*, November 10, 1924.

Le Rosey used for several of its competitions was literally attached to “an Island for the upper-class” in full swing throughout the “golden twenties” which served as refuge for aristocratic and other glamorous travellers (see fig. 5.5).<sup>811</sup>



Fig. 5.5: Royal Hotel & Winter Palace in Gstaad during the roaring twenties

Viewing the prospectuses as a spatial taxonomy and understanding that exclusions and narrative silence also defined the texts, notable absences become significant. Importantly, the school did not advertise Gstaad’s tourist infrastructure, nor did it depict any part of the every day life of villagers. The village was entirely absent. From the perspective of the prospectus, Gstaad was an isolated, winter landscape peopled by Le Rosey boys alone and their championship sports. In this way the text presented the idea of rural isolation and rustic health and downplayed the idea of busy ski resort (see fig. 5.6).

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<sup>811</sup> The story of the Palace hotels is one of aristocratic tourists in Switzerland who consistently remained loyal to these most elite accommodations which were out of reach for the aspiring middle class because of their exorbitant rates. See Roland Flueckiger-Seiler, *Hotelpaläste: Zwischen Traum und Wirklichkeit. Schweizer Tourismus und Hotelbau 1830-1920* (Baden: Hier und Jetzt, 2003), 15.



Fig. 5.6: Ski jumping in crowded winter resort Gstaad 1928 (top) and populated rural environment (bottom), 1925.

In this way too, the text corresponded with tourist promotion strategies in Gstaad which sold images of isolation, solitude and uncrowded winter sporting landscapes.

Over the course of the 1920s both Gstaad and Le Rosey had successfully sold themselves to elite markets. Hotels thrived. Le Rosey's numbers increased by leaps and bounds.<sup>812</sup> The role of word of mouth promotion in achieving these successes is

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<sup>812</sup> According to Le Rosey's annual lists of new student enrolments the numbers increased steadily in the 1920's, from 42 in 1922 to 63 in 1927, then they remained high until 1933. The majority of students stayed one year or two, while some sojourned longer, a few up to eight years. Louis Johannot et al., *Le Rosey: Un siècle de souvenirs [1880-1980]*, (Rolle: Le Rosey, 1980), 69-72.

recognised throughout the histories of the school and the resort town of Gstaad itself.<sup>813</sup> This networking aspect of the school's promotion was not visibly present in the school's brochures – at least until 1932 when the institution's new prospectus announced the functioning of cosmopolitan word of mouth networks had become *too* effective. The school's reputation exceeded its capacity. It had no need to advertise except to say it was full.

Already by 1927 demand for the school exceeded capacity, so Henri Carnal made the decision to limit the school's numbers to 100 students.<sup>814</sup> The new prospectus of 1932, describing a school that had no need to advertise, apologised that it was unable to accommodate all of the families who wished to enroll their sons. It informed readers that due to physical limitations and a desire for continued quality, the school was forced to turn down large numbers of requests for admission. However, while the prospectus may not have advertised the school that year, it certainly promoted a good image of it.

Le Rosey's self-described "double installation" constituted the focus of the new prospectus. Its nine pages included updated photographs and a brief description of the nature of the school. The brochure provided a detailed list of courses available and logistical instructions for parents with boys enrolled in the school. It spoke of bank payments, clothing requirements and dates. Two new visual devices – a map and an aerial photograph of the Rolle campus – enhanced the look of the brochure and stressed the theme of location. These tools, along with photographs of Campus Gstaad created a greater impression of the school's privileged practices of mobility and geographical advantage.

The map positioned the two campuses in relation to the rest of Europe (see fig. 5.7); the names Rolle and Gstaad were displayed in exaggerated proportion to the vast network of European railway lines. Highlighting the school was connected by rail to all of Europe's major cities, the borderless map afforded a view of Europe designed to prioritise the locations of the school and to reinforce its global mandate.

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<sup>813</sup> Gottfried von Siebenthal, *Gstaad, eine Reise in die Vergangenheit [Gstaad, a journey into the past]* (Gstaad: Mueller, 2004).

<sup>814</sup> Louis Johannot et al., *Le Rosey: Un siècle de souvenirs [1880-1980]*, (Rolle: Le Rosey, 1980).

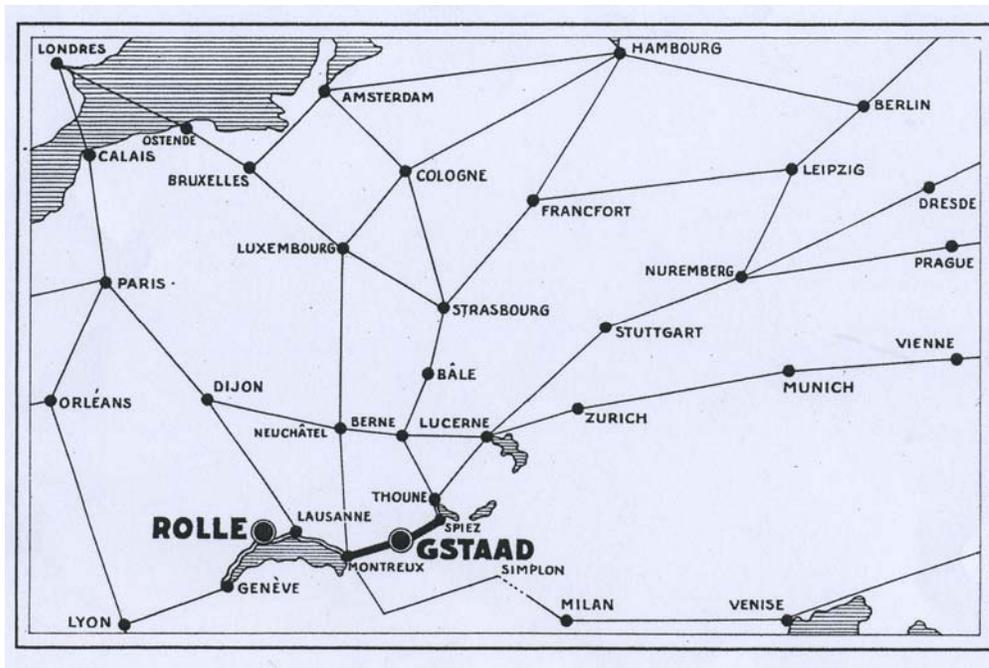


Fig. 5.7: An example of a map included in a Le Rosey prospectus (1932)

The map visually advanced the school's position within a selective web of Western European interconnections. It emphasised a relational sense of place and tied the school to a specific broader context. With the exception of Prague, the map highlighted geographic connections with metropolitan centres in Central Europe and with London, England.

Within Switzerland however, the logic of the depiction followed the path of tourists rather than the main routes of transportation. Non-tourist hubs and transit points, such as Olten were omitted. Scenic trips, for example, to Lucerne were presented as main thru-ways.

The selective and simplified network of transportation communicated touristic convenience and parental proximity. The image with its lack of visible borders stressed the idea of a European union, a de-politicised continent. The map both reflected and reinforced images and imaginings of belonging. Like the school's earliest prospectus covers, the map served to remove anxiety from travel and family/child separation – although now this was done by communicating the idea of mobility and proximity. For students less affected by financial constraints of place the map constituted a potential

route of educational travel.<sup>815</sup> At the same time, the ordered vision detracted from any sense of the student abroad being a rootless, disconnected subject, a nomad freely able to traverse global space.<sup>816</sup>

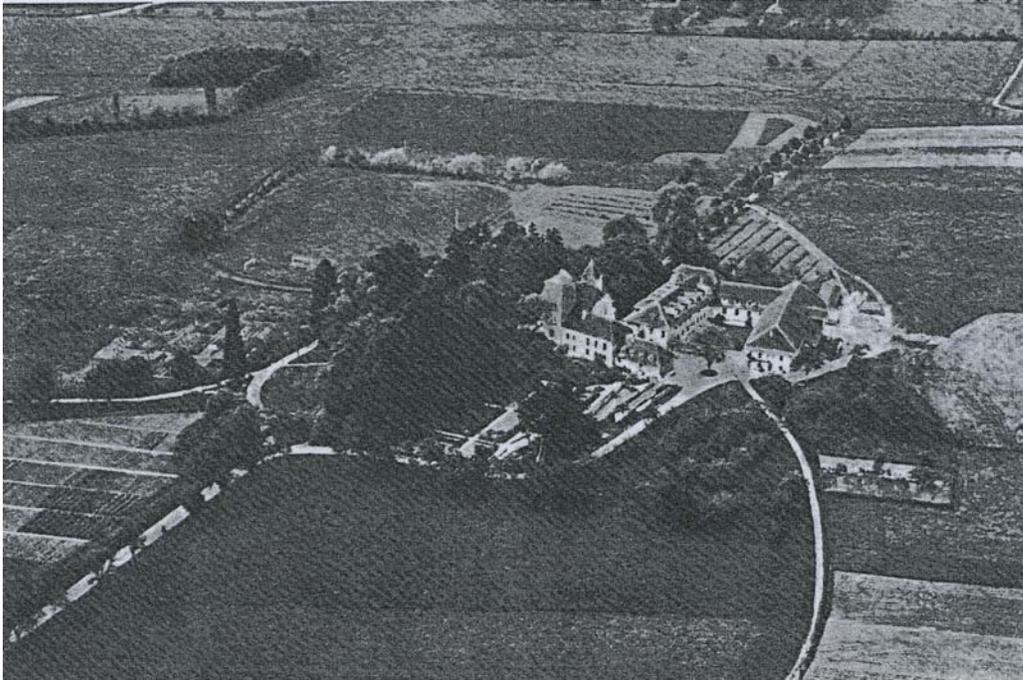


Fig. 5.8: This photograph (1932) indicated the school possessed sufficient means to afford an aerial view of the Rolle campus while also communicating a sense of the school's surroundings.

An aerial view of Rolle campus situated next to the map complimented the map's dual sense of adventure and security while providing a more immediate sense of the school's locale.<sup>817</sup> The photograph captured the *château* and surrounding countryside (see fig. 5.8). Had the photograph been taken from a slightly higher vantage point – or from the same altitude in the opposite direction – the isolated quality of the image would not have been as strong. As it was, the picture obscured the close proximity of the school to the nearby town, a five minute walk from the school.

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<sup>815</sup> D. Massey, "Politics and Space/Time, in M. Keith and S. Pile, *Place and the Politics of Identity* (London: Routledge, 1993).

<sup>816</sup> R. Braidotti, *Nomadic Subjects* (New York: Columbia Press, 1994).

<sup>817</sup> The view from the air remained a very privileged view in 1932. Flights in general (private or public) to Lausanne – the closest airport from Rolle were expensive. It is interesting that the school map did not make reference to the airport which symbolized an even greater proximity from London to Lausanne that enabled some, such as "Mr. Butler to pay a week-end visit to his nephew who has gone to study French in Lausanne." The train journey was 49 hours, the flight 12 and a half. See, "By Air to Lausanne," *New York Times*, May 5, 1922.

It emphasised children had the space to perform childhood in a safe, authoritative-looking and secure setting.<sup>818</sup>

The value of an image unobtainable from any other viewpoint than that of a hot air balloon or airplane affirmed the school was “worth seeing” as it also indicated the school could afford the expense of aerial photography. The view itself of the sizable château on its estate (the largest of any school in Switzerland) showcased Le Rosey as a suitable landscape for socialising students to conform to higher-classed social norms.<sup>819</sup>



Fig. 5.9: Prospectus photographs of Le Rosey's chalets in Gstaad (1932) often revealed the image captured after a fresh snowfall. They depicted the winter campus from flattering angles.

The map and aerial image coupled with professional photographs of the winter campus of now three chalets (Le Ruebli was added in 1928) (see fig. 5.9) highlighted the privilege of a school which moved between ideal locations and variable climates

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<sup>818</sup> As Rivlin and Wolfe suggest schools are now the single most important institutional space in which childhood is experienced. This argument applies to elite male youth during the interwar period. The schoolhouse was a critical point of school's identity and productive ability to provide education. See L. G. Rivlin and M. Wolfe, *Institutional Settings in Children's Lives* (New York: John Wiley, 1985).

<sup>819</sup> It is important to see the school as an institutional geography of childhood and youth as a seemingly adult-looking space that was all about children. See J. James, “Is There a Place for Children in Geography,” *Area* 22 (1990): 278-83.

according to the season. This idea was also central to the written text which emphasised sizable historic and noble buildings as well as reputable and easy-to-locate tourist space. The text indicated:

The school possesses a double installation:

in Rolle (a small town on the Lake of Geneva, 28 km from Lausanne and from Geneva) in the Château de Rosey, a seigniorial residence from the XIII<sup>th</sup> century situated on its own grounds of about 30 hectares;

in Gstaad (a town situated at an altitude of 1100 m., a reputable mountain station of the Oberland, two hours from Montreux).<sup>820</sup>

The advantages of boarding at the XIII<sup>th</sup> century seigniorial Rolle château were, for the most part, left to speak for themselves.<sup>821</sup> Explanatory effort was directed towards outlining the benefits of the bi-campus system. Although two geographical climates were advanced as ideal for the students' health, winter migration was deemed the critical and proprietary advantage of the school.

The prospectus emphasised Le Rosey was the leader in migrational mobile education. The materials asserted Le Rosey was the *first school* to conjoin two ideal climate conditions for education: the beneficial climate of the alpine sun and the mild climate of Lake Geneva.<sup>822</sup> The emphasis on “first” stated the school's place within the new and, according to some, “fashionable corner” of the private boarding school market. R. Perrin's *Schools and Sports in Switzerland* (1927) had, for example, described migratory schools as a category with enthusiasm:

The Swiss Boarding-Schools have, almost from time immemorial, trekked into the mountains for all or part of the Summer vacation, especially those schools specialising in long distance pupils who are unable to get back home even for the long vacation. The tendency, today, is for schools situated on or close by the shores of one or other of the lakes, to continue there for summer and spend Winter vacation in the mountains for the sake of Winter Sports whose vogue is ever on the increase.<sup>823</sup>

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<sup>820</sup> Le Rosey, *Institut de jeunes gens* (Rolle: Le Rosey, 1932), 5.

<sup>821</sup> The prospectus mentioned the benefit of being “a school with its own farm” and assured parents their children would receive excellent nutrition from food grown especially for the school.

<sup>822</sup> *Ibid.*, 5-6. Prospectuses used throughout the late twenties and early thirties changed little. The 1932 materials are discussed here as it is the only prospectus for which a clear date can be established. This document can be taken as typically representative of all Le Rosey's interwar prospectuses.

<sup>823</sup> R. Perrin, *Schools and Sports in Switzerland: Some Facts and Figures*. (Lausanne: Perrin's Travel Bureau, 1927), 7.

The Rosey prospectus, keen to remind readers that Henri Carnal had started this “tendency,” documented the results of the war time “experiment.” Results were evident in “the look of the boys themselves” who arrived back in Rolle in late spring from the “now very reputable skiing resort of Gstaad.”<sup>824</sup> The very tanned, strong and healthy boys had from the start proved the experiment’s success. Migration was indisputably proven as desirable by the surge of demand for the school. This swell in popularity was “testimony that the school met a need that was felt in the area of education.”<sup>825</sup> With 50 years of history behind it and 16 years of wintering at Gstaad the school could now invoke the power of its organisational heritage in promotion.

At this juncture, it is useful to distinguish differences in the cultural meaning of Le Rosey’s claim to be the “first” migratory school as opposed to Beau Soleil’s claim to be a “unique” high altitude school. Even though both schools provided students the benefits of a high altitude winter alpine climate, this provision carried a different connotation for each school. In short, Le Rosey’s bi-campus mobility augmented the symbolic capital of its winter campus. Geographical flexibility afforded Le Rosey the advantage of choice and the ability to “come and go.”

Henri Carnal’s idea of “wintering” in the Alps was also congruent with older aristocratic habits. It evoked the tradition of continual migration among houses and holiday places according to different parts of the season. Le Rosey’s locational flexibility symbolised a creative and modern variation of high society lifestyle. The practice of migration imaginatively combined the respected tradition of boarding school with a prolonged winter holiday. In this regard, Le Rosey had a promotional advantage over Beau Soleil which was “limited” to the one location. It was able to showcase two types of resort settings. It could showcase the excitement of winter sports (see fig. 5.10) while retaining summer and fall passions (see fig. 5.11).

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<sup>824</sup> Le Rosey, Rolle, Switzerland.

<sup>825</sup> Ibid.



Fig. 5.10: Skiing in Gstaad in the 1920's.

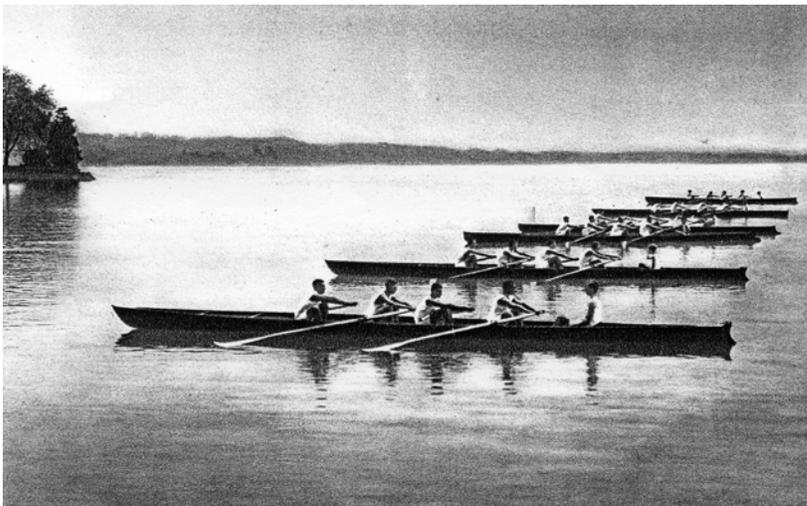


Fig. 5.11: Le Rosey boys rowing on Lake Geneva

From Henri Carnal's perspective, the flourishing school operating at its full capacity marked an opportunity to step back and take a break from the demanding job of directorship. At the end of the scholastic year as his school thrived despite the world economic crisis, he handed over the reins to assistant headmasters.<sup>826</sup> The Carnals moved off campus, entered an "involved" retirement and for health reasons took a holiday from the holidaying school.

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<sup>826</sup> "Lettre ouverte de Monsieur Henri Carnal," in Louis Johannot et al., *Le Rosey: Un siècle de souvenirs [1880-1980]*, (Rolle: Le Rosey, 1980), 61.

Unfortunately for Henri Carnal, this sense of security and satisfaction did not last. While the numbers of enrollment had been going steadily up in the 1920's and remained very high in the few years of the 1930s, by 1933, demand had all but vanished.<sup>827</sup> In the span of one year enrollment declined by 40 percent. At the conclusion of the 1933 school year the 1932 prospectus again became needed as advertisement to solicit students for the fall term.<sup>828</sup>

With the stability Le Rosey had come to take for granted under threat, Henri Carnal faced the reality that all private schools in Switzerland were vulnerable to political and economic unrest. Following in his father's footsteps, he resorted to an advertising practice that had long been laid to rest. On May 19, 1934, for the first time during the interwar period, the classified section of *The London Times* announced:

Mr. Carnal president of the Rosey School, Rolle and Gstaad (Switzerland) will be in the Savoy Hotel every day (Sunday excepted), between 10-12 from May 24 - May 30, at the disposal of parents wishing information.<sup>829</sup>

Soon thereafter - prospectuses in hand - the Carnals travelled to London to drum up business. The choice of promotional headquarters told its own story. As an advertising event, this Savoy action offers an opportunity to consider promotional texts as part of particular, textual and non-textual discursual practices.

The 1932 prospectus worked in concert with a newspaper advertisement and a promotional trip abroad. Its communicative role complemented other types of marketing strategies, including the less tangible sales orchestration that occurred in the lived and grounded contexts of the Canals' elite social networking. Arguably, the Savoy excursion fortified the brochure's promotional strength by bringing its images and ideas of the school into an effective sales setting. During difficult times, the campaign vantage point of one of London's premier "five star" hotels proved a more promising location than that of the Palace Hotel in Gstaad which, by 1934 had virtually shut down as a result of currency fluctuations and inflation.

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<sup>827</sup> Louis Johannot et al., *Le Rosey: Un siècle de souvenirs [1880-1980]*, (Rolle: Le Rosey, 1980), 69-72.

<sup>828</sup> The Depression had taken a toll on the student enrollment at Swiss private boarding schools beginning in 1930. Political unrest in Europe as well as fluctuations in currency had a further negative effect on the industry as a whole.

<sup>829</sup> "Classified Advertising, Educational," *The Times*, May 19, 1934.

Historical records indicate however, the purpose of the trip was two fold. In addition to conducting face-to-face interviews with prospective clients, the Carnals scheduled an alumni dinner. The dinner, also held at the Savoy, generated more publicity than could have been anticipated. A report of the alumni event highlights the reality that prospectuses were documents “linked in a very complexly organised chain of other utterances” over which the school was not in fully control.<sup>830</sup> On June 1, 1934 the Court Circular section of *The Times* noted:

Mr. and Mrs. Carnal presided at a reunion dinner of the Old Boys of Rosey School, Switzerland at the Savoy Hotel on Wednesday evening, Lord Burghley, M.P. [David George Brownlow 1905-1981] proposed the Health of the School.<sup>831</sup>

With this announcement the school received an unintentional yet free endorsement by *The Times* and, indirectly, by the Royal Family. The Court Circular, the official voice of the Royal Family and forum for detailing royal movements referenced the event due to Lord Burghley’s presence. Although unusual, the incident illustrates the ways in which the school benefited from its associations and social networks, in this case, specifically with the Conservative MP for Peterborough (Eton, Trinity College, Cambridge). It shows that the two-fold purposes of the trip conjoined in effect. Without suggesting stage management, the toast of the Sixth Marquess of Exeter (two-time Olympic medalist and M.P in the process of investing millions into physical education and sport in English schools) likely justified the expense of holding court in one of London’s most expensive hotels.<sup>832</sup>

Even so, the promotional symbolic capital accrued from this inter-textual reference in Royal discourse cannot be taken for granted or seen in isolation. To appreciate the concerted effect of the classified advertisement, promotional trip abroad, face-face meetings with prospective clients, alumni dinner and the court circular

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<sup>830</sup> Norman Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research* (London: Routledge, 2003); 42.

<sup>831</sup> “Court Circular,” *The Times*, June 1, 1934.

<sup>832</sup> Burghley won a gold medal for the 440 m. Yard Hurdle at the 1928 Olympic Games and in 1932 he won silver in the 120 Yards. In 1936 he became a member of the International Olympic Committee and British Olympic Association; “Two Cups for Lord Burghley,” *The Times*, July 16, 1930. See also “The Empire Games: An Impressive Burghley’s Successes,” *The Times*, August 18, 1930. In 1948 he became chairman of the organising committee of the 1948 Olympic Games. Later his character inspired the role of Lord Lindsay in the movie *Chariots of Fire* – a film financed in majority by Le Rosey alumni Dodi Al Fayed. See John Welshmen, “Physical Education and the School Medical Service in England and Wales, 1907-1939,” *Social History of Medicine* 9 (1996): 31-48.

citation the promotional Savoy incident as a whole must be viewed within an international context that extended well beyond the confines of the immediate setting.

Alumni records and other sources indicate that in 1934 Le Rosey schooled students from 22 different countries. Within the social composition of the student body, British elites were outnumbered and, in terms of titles, socially outranked. Despite this fact the school chose the Savoy in London and *The Times* as promotional forums.<sup>833</sup> One may well ask: why?

Examining class and geography relationally and thinking of how “specific localities are networked into other spatial scales”<sup>834</sup> it is clear the Savoy, London and *The Times* were important promotional standpoints. On one hand, the choice of perspective can be answered according to what Salvador describes as the logic of illogical target marketing.<sup>835</sup> Patterns in the boarding school industry as a whole indicate the platform of Englishness, of English sports and the medium of the English language were used to promote Swiss private schooling despite the reality that, by the interwar period English students (from England, America, Canada and Australia) represented less than one third of the clientele. Looking more closely at the Savoy excursion, the standpoint of “Englishness” loses and gains meaning. The event suggests that pragmatic as well as cultural factors came into play.

As an exclusive hotel the Savoy represented a place of transnational classed capital. As a housing place for the socially and historically situated textual and non-textual action of Le Rosey’s promotional networking activities, it affected the meaning of the school’s promoted identity in complex ways. The outcome of the social geography of the Savoy, like the effects of the school’s networking practices cannot be construed mechanically. However, despite challenges it is important that both the classed and cultural facets of the promotional vantage point are appreciated to the extent that they can be ascertained.

Although technically and legally an “English” geography, the Savoy was also a space of international class transactions, processes and lifestyles. In name, it

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<sup>833</sup> School records indicate this was the main “promotional trip.”

<sup>834</sup> D. Harvey, *Spaces of Capital: Towards a Critical Geography* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991).

<sup>835</sup> Rafael Salvador, “Les Pensionnats de Jeunes Filles à Lausanne au Tournant du Siècle.” *Mémoire de licence*, Faculté des Lettres, University of Lausanne (1989).

referenced continental Europe (a cultural French region within Western Europe as well as French-speaking Switzerland). It also forged a link with the heritage of the Château Rosey itself.<sup>836</sup> In its history as a successful business enterprise, the Savoy spoke in part to the success of Swiss hospitality, notably to its first manager the Swiss “King of Hoteliers” César Ritz (1850-1918).<sup>837</sup> In the then recent literature (1932) the Savoy was associated with Austrian Joseph Roth’s novel “Hotel Savoy” about the unnamable, generic and “refugee” hotel spaces which served as a transient sheltering place for the existential crises of transnational elites who, living in an age of inflated currency and social unrest sought a haven of socially exclusive “public” and serviced space.

Less obscurely, in its daily practices the Savoy was known as a place of international entertainment, politics and business – one of refined, cosmopolitan food, service and drink. With its Italian kitchen staff, French chefs, and a reputation for British standards of domestic service, the Savoy in the summer of 1934 was also a place to watch stories of Empire. In its theatre that year “Clive of India” entertained. In these measures of cosmopolitanism, examples only multiplied.

On another scale, “location London” provided the promotional event a context also associated with multicultural/elite hybridism. Although with loosened grip, this headquarters of global monetary hegemony still spoke of “the rituals of dealing rooms and trading floors, the rules and regulations embedded in its institutions, right the way through to the conversations held in lodges and smoke-filled clubs to the Square Mile.”<sup>838</sup> The West-End of London carried particular significance, even for Gstaad, a place flouted in tourist advertisements such as “The West-End of the Bernese Oberland” (1933).<sup>839</sup> As historian Judith Walkowitz proposes, as much as London and

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<sup>836</sup> Château Rosey was built at the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century by Savoyard feudal lords who possessed the castle until the 16<sup>th</sup> century. From this time on until the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the castle passed back and forth between Bernese and Savoy lords involved in war.

<sup>837</sup> The Savoy was first managed by César Ritz who later founded the Ritz Hotel. Until the 1960s management remained in the hands of Swiss, French or Italians. See Anthony Mackenzie, *The Savoy of London* (London: Harrap, 1953); Stanley Jackson, *The Savoy: The Romance of a Great Hotel* (New York: Dutton, 1964). In 1923 the Savoy became the first hotel space to be broadcast live to millions worldwide as its orchestra was heard weekly on the BBC’s first dance music program.

<sup>838</sup> N. Thrift, “On the Social and Cultural Determinants of International Financial Centres: The Case of the City of London,” in *Money Power and Space*, edited by S. Corbridge, N. Thrift and R. Martin, 327-355 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), 345.

<sup>839</sup> “Display Advertisement,” *The Times*, May 10, 1933.

the West End in particular signalled Englishness or Empire it signified a space of cosmopolitan performance.<sup>840</sup>

Finally, *The Times* – England’s up-market newspaper of record – provided a reputable and pragmatic medium for communicating the school’s promotion internationally. Its distribution statistics, for example, assured the school’s marketing message would reach across the globe. Or, more specifically, as circulation information printed in the newspaper instructed - the lobbies of select first-class hotels. In sum, these were: the “Savoy” hotel in Sweden, the Palace Hotels in Argentina/Belgium/Turkey, the “Imperial” hotels in Czechoslovakia/Ireland/Japan, the “Ritz” in Paris/Spain, the Continental Hotel Berlin, L’Hôtel d’établissement in Hungary, the Princess Hotel in Bermuda, the Carlton hotel in Johannesburg and, finally the Central Hotel in Jerusalem.<sup>841</sup>

In print, the advertising scope of the school was thus entangled in the hubs and nodes that enabled international communication. The school’s chosen discursive means of advertisement - transnational networks that formed part of a global informational capitalism - offered no assurance the school’s name would be read, but they did at least guarantee potential.<sup>842</sup> At a time when world elites were no longer arriving in Gstaad via the Palace Hotel, *The Times* transported news of Le Rosey to readers on their own ground.

What does this promotional incident tell us about the context in which Le Rosey promoted itself? On one hand, the social, cultural and material circumstances of the 1934 promotional campaign negate any idea that the school advertised itself within a socially elite class that was somehow self-consciously homogenous. Circumstances at the Savoy, in London and in *The Times* prove otherwise. On the other hand, the incident affirms the fluidity of the class relations, practices and performances within which the school advertised was not unguided. Class relations, practices and

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<sup>840</sup> Judith R. Walkowitz suggests the West-End acquired this reputation during the Edwardian period in part due to its “exotic” interpretative dance performances. See, Judith R. Walkowitz “The Vision of Solome: Cosmopolitanism and Erotic Dancing in Central London, 1908-1918,” *American Historical Review* 108, no. 2 (2003), 337-376.

<sup>841</sup> Roland Flueckiger-Seiler suggests the names of palatial hotels revealed the commercialization and commodification of high-class accommodation space. See, R. Flueckiger-Seiler, *Hoteltraume: Zwischen Gletschern und Palmen, Schweizer Tourismus und Hotelbau, 1830-1920* (Baden: Hier und Jetzt, 2001).

<sup>842</sup> “Masthead: The Times in Foreign Countries,” May 4, 1934.

performances occurred within well known circuits, they followed hegemonic paths of economic and social power. Even though the meaning of “Englishness” in this circumstance did not offer a simple answer, the “English” standpoint was a relevant factor if not mechanically so. The event indicated the classed aspects of the promotional processes, although dynamically interrelated with cultural structures and global spaces were not equally determined. In this instance, the Carnals demonstrated particular faith in the ideational power of the Savoy, of London, and of England – in tangible and visible connections with English aristocracy, the ruling world of Western sport organisation and the platform of a West-end “first-class hotel.”

What is most clear is that the school by no means targeted an exclusively British audience it clearly maintained faith in the global reach of the English language. *The Times* delivered the promotional message to where it was capable of reaching “distant” markets. The Shah of Iran for example, like de Rothschilds, Cartiers, Bronsons or Burghleys shared in common access to *The Times* and to the spaces of first-class hotels.

In some respects, the incident symbolized the last vestiges of faith in the power of English imperial networks. In the late 1930s, Carnal, together with the Swiss Private Schools’ Association forfeited a long lived confidence in the potential of ‘English centre’ to attract the attention aristocratic “peripheries.” As another war drew nearer, the Propaganda Society of the Swiss Private Schools’ Association<sup>843</sup> advised the Swiss private schooling industry to adopt more logical, methodical, and scientific promotional tactics. Effective propaganda strategies were to change according to the particular economic and political circumstances of the day. At the end of the 1930s, the political instability of the English-speaking world and of continental Europe served cue to target countries not likely to be wrapped up in the ensuing war.

Whether or not the Carnal's trip to the Savoy in May of 1934 influenced the parents of the 28 new students who were enrolled in 1935 that autumn is unclear. Also unclear is what happened after 1934 to make the number of students climb steadily until 1939 when again the school lost most of its students due to the outbreak of the

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<sup>843</sup> "Propaganda Society of Swiss educational institutes, S.A. Lausanne," *Schweizer Erziehungsrundschau [Swiss Review of Education]*, 3 (1938-39): 17.

war. The school did not publish new prospectuses until the 1940s when the Carnals sold the school. It did not advertise again in *The Times* until the 1980s.<sup>844</sup>

This section has shed light on some incidents in Le Rosey's promotional past. It has argued the school's interwar prospectuses are best understood as part of situated, chained social events shaped by elite networks and specific social, cultural, political and economic practices. It has demonstrated that the qualifiers of location, sport and mobility were critical factors in the schools' promotional history – both inside and outside the textual frame of interwar prospectuses. The images and texts housed in these prospectuses were promotional tools best seen in close relation to tangible historical contexts. When tied to the school's history of winter sport in Gstaad or when seen in particular circumstances in which they were viewed and circulated such as in the Savoy incident, the prospectuses are put in proportion to their meaning. Their significance is properly diminished and subjugated to the larger events within which they were but one small part. This section has purposely taken attention away from the texts. It has shifted focus to the social and classed practices in which texts took on meaning. By doing so it has endeavored to put class back into cultural studies. Turning now to Brillantmont's interwar prospectuses the chapter shows how the girls' school promotion is also best analysed as enacted both on and off page.

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<sup>844</sup> Unfortunately, the school is unlikely to write a history of its promotional strategies. Its public relations shut down completely when in 1965 *Life Magazine* breeched confidence and published a photograph of Winthrop Rockefeller on a story called the World's Most Exclusive Boarding School: A School for the Rich and Royal.' Due to the raging "misconceptions, myths and stereotypes" that surround the school's image it has conscientiously stopped discussing its business with the outside world. The report in *Life Magazine* represented the last time the school would speak to the public about its practices. It retains hope the world will cease talking about "its business" but as the world's most expensive school this is unlikely to be the case. The report indicated that the school had 35 spaces open and 800 standing applicants. "Le Rosey – the World's Most Exclusive Boarding School: A School for the Rich and Royal." *Life Magazine* May 7 (1965).

## 5.2 Brillantmont

According to Rafael Salvador's analysis of finishing schools in Lausanne, following World War I Brillantmont was part of a dying industry (see table 5.1).<sup>845</sup> He argues the pensionnat industry peaked just prior to the war and, for "societal" reasons, slowly disappeared over the course of the interwar period. In his view, changing lifestyles among elite women resulted in a "lessened need" for girls' finishing - "a lifestyle practice phased out by the modern woman."<sup>846</sup>

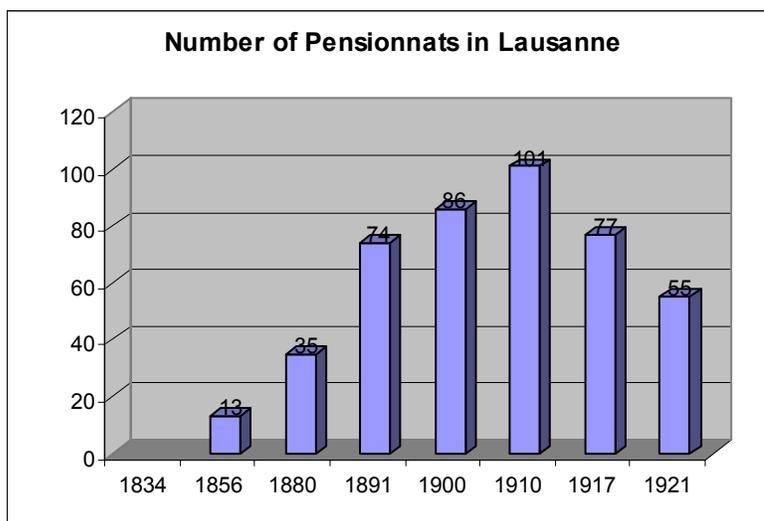


Table 5.1: Number of Girl Pensionnats in Lausanne, 1856-1921<sup>847</sup>

Due to the dearth of historical resources on finishing schooling Swiss or otherwise, and given that Salvador's historical documentation ends at the beginning of the interwar period, it is impossible to assert with any confidence anything about the "death" of finishing schools. Certainly, Brillantmont's experience during the interwar period does not correspond to Salvador's thesis. Statistics show Brillantmont's

<sup>845</sup> Rafael Salvador, "Les Pensionnats de Jeunes Filles à Lausanne au Tournant du Siècle." *Mémoire de licence*, Faculté des Lettres, University of Lausanne (1989), 14.

<sup>846</sup> Ibid.

<sup>847</sup> Data from Rafael Salvador, "Les pensionnats de jeunes filles à Lausanne au tournant du siècle," *Mémoire de licence* (Lausanne: Faculté des Lettres, University of Lausanne, 1989).

enrollment numbers grew significantly during the 1920s.<sup>848</sup> It seems that similar to Le Rosey, Brillantmont was a school on the rise. Yet the shadowy history of the Swiss finishing industry and the ideas of modern womanhood to which Salvador referred challenge interpretations of Brillantmont's interwar prospectus. The quest to understand the promotional texts as embedded in complex and interrelated social practices of elite private international girls' finishing schooling is complicated due to a lack of knowledge of these practices. For this reason, this section analyses Brillantmont's interwar prospectuses (1924, 1932 and 1936)<sup>849</sup> through creative means. To help navigate the silenced history it discusses the content of the brochures as compared to stereotypes and clichés of girls' continental finishing schooling, domestic education and winter holidays in Switzerland found in English language newspapers of record.<sup>850</sup> Stereotypes provide important measures for contrast. As related orders of discourse they raise important questions about the discursive "currency" exhibited in these brochures. Alongside existing primary and secondary sources they help "draw images from the history of girls' education out of obscurity."<sup>851</sup>

The section concentrates on the two areas of Brillantmont's interwar prospectuses which exhibited the most change (compared to those published prior to World War I): photographs of the domestic wing and sports. According to Brillantmont's own records, the interwar period was when "the school modernised."<sup>852</sup>

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<sup>848</sup> Brillantmont reached its pinnacle of popularity during the 1920s. In 1912 the school had 80 students; after the war began in 1914 the number dropped to 15. During the 1920s Brillantmont boarded over 140 students. See Collège International Brillantmont, *Souvenirs: Brillantmont 1882-2002* (Lausanne: Collège international Brillantmont, 2002).

<sup>849</sup> Brillantmont Prospectus, Lausanne, Switzerland, 1924, 1932 and 1936.

<sup>850</sup> Finishing school has long been a cliché. Following Christopher Douglas, this section uses the cliché against itself – it re-replaces what has been so overused, having lost all force of novelty in historical context to loosen the effects of clichéd ideas about Swiss finishing. Discussing Brillantmont's prospectuses in direct reference to clichéd expectations of good finishing schools serves a comparative technique that helps view the school's promotion within a larger context while simultaneously focusing attention on unraveling how the school distinguishes its type of finishing in its documents. See Christopher Douglas, *Reciting America: Culture and Cliché in Contemporary U.S. Fiction* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007).

<sup>851</sup> For a discussion of new qualitative approaches to feminist research that invoke understanding by joining "things which do not normally go together" and creatively crossing source boundaries, see A. Sinner, "Sewing Seams of Stories: Becoming a Teacher During the First World War," *History of Education* 35, No. 3 (2006): 369-404.

<sup>852</sup> Collège International Brillantmont, *Souvenirs: Brillantmont 1882-2002* (Lausanne: Collège international Brillantmont, 2002).

The section thus explores promotional visions expressing Brillantmont's ideas of modern girls' education. The first part of the section turns to the criteria of continental finishing published in the "Women's View" section of *The Times*. The criteria of a "good continental finishing school" as spelled out in the column serves as a springboard for the discussion as a whole. The analysis then moves on to an interpretation of images of domestic education at the school. The portrayals are read in relation to "the problem of the missing servant girl" and the "problem of the untrained mistress." They are interpreted in relation to hegemonic Western domestic economy practices and discussed with respect to ideological markers of "good taste" and gendered indices of elite transnational habitus. In the second part of the section, I discuss images of sport in relation to gendered and classed practices and link this analysis to clichéd stereotypes in girls' physical education as well as winter sports in Switzerland. First, a field sports photograph of hockey is discussed in relation to a representation of hockey in Le Rosey's materials. Second, photographs of girls performing winter sports are measured against gendered and classed cartoon images which captured politicised, dominant English discourses about Britain's latest Swiss sports and holiday crazes. By discussing these images with regard to clichés and stereotypes, as well as within the wider context of social and cultural structures, and sporting and resorting practices, the idealised and unconventional representations that constructed elite girls' school place in the texts becomes far more legible.

Brillantmont's interwar development was by and large, one of growth. In 1920 the girls' school exceeded its pre-War size; in 1924 with 150 students the school reached "capacity." Numbers stayed high, dipped briefly during the early Depression, rose again and then remained high until 1939 when the school shut down at the declaration of war.<sup>853</sup> According to the school's own accounts certain qualities ensured its success in this period. In short, capacity for flexibility and adjustment to changing market needs, as well as the ability to provide stability and consistency, enabled Brillantmont to successfully navigate an unstable economic period.<sup>854</sup>

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<sup>853</sup> Collège International Brillantmont, *Souvenirs: Brillantmont 1882-2002* (Lausanne: Collège international Brillantmont, 2002).

<sup>854</sup> Switzerland had its own pattern of economic depression. Its economy was down in the early 1920s yet comparatively up for the remainder of the interwar period.

While the three available prospectuses published between the wars cannot speak to successes or failures, their content supports the image of a school flexible to social shifts, yet committed to continuity of service and tradition. Throughout the interwar years the photo-narrative style brochures captured new images of students – in the cooking school and playing sports. Updated photographs revealed a certain degree of flexibility. Most, however, showcased the unchanging, empty rooms of the château (see fig. 5.12). While the interior was obviously updated during the war, thereafter it altered little. In content and portraiture style images of halls, salons, dining rooms, kitchens and bedrooms maintained visual consistency. Minute variances confirmed time passed. For example, gas lamps disappeared, carpets vanished, curtains were replaced - chairs moved slightly left, the odd pillow shifted right.



Château Brillantmont. Hall.



CHATEAU BRILLANTMONT : LE HALL



Château Brillantmont. Salon.



CHATEAU BRILLANTMONT : LE SALON

Fig. 5.12: Brillantmont's hall and salon in the 1924 (left) and 1936 (right) prospectuses

Outside of a larger historical context, it is challenging to understand the meanings of the images. What messages did they send about the girls' finishing school? Did the photographs express modern visions of desirable finishing? If so, to whom? By what criteria were they judged? A treatise on the qualities of a good continental finishing school offered in *The Times*' "Women's View" (1921) provides one measuring rod.<sup>855</sup> The column, advising parents what to look for in a continental finishing school, provides a useful historical vantage point for discussing Brillantmont's interwar promotion.

According to "Women's View," the task of identifying a good finishing school was difficult. It required knowledge, effort and good instincts. The column advised that due to the free enterprise nature of the finishing business, parents could not be "too careful in choosing a finishing school for their daughters." The choice was made more difficult because "some schools are long established and have a list of distinguished references, others are fresh in the field; some are run on old fashioned lines, others on new." Given the broad range of choices and standards "parents were understandably perplexed." Before they entered into the difficult process of finding a good school, parents were to make sure that finishing school was, in fact, the best option for their daughters.

When was this educational path advisable? In short, finishing schools were "for girls who will come out, marry, and be mothers of children."<sup>856</sup> In those cases where finishing school was suitable, the social station of the girl in question needed to be carefully assessed. The article advised:

In choosing a school a girl's future must be taken in account. There are schools suitable for girls with a future of affluence before them, and others fitted for girls who must be content with modest pleasures. The girl that has to make her way in this world is less easily suited.<sup>857</sup>

On the basis of these criteria only those girls whose social standing required them to "come out" in society needed finishing school. Only young ladies headed towards marriage and children should undertake an educational trip for continental polishing.

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<sup>855</sup> "Women's View," *The Times*, December 02, 1921. The following quotations in the next two pages are cited from this article unless otherwise indicated.

<sup>856</sup> June Purvis, *A History of Women's Education in England* (Milton Keynes: Oxford University Press, 1991).

<sup>857</sup> "Women's View," *The Times*, December 02, 1921.

The column asserted there were “gradations in the extent of finishing required.” More extensive programs befitted girls whose considerable wealth required a coming out ball. More modest programs suited girls destined for the less elaborate coming out teas. However, the base requirements were the same. The essential characteristics of a good school were not negotiable.

The column informed “the modern finishing school is comfortable, but not luxurious.” Luxury, even if one could afford it, was not ideal in any finishing school. Comfort constituted the first basis on which to judge continental schools. Comfort required bathrooms “necessities, not superfluties.” It required “good cooking,” but not “single rooms” for “on the continent even the best schools had girls sharing.” Comfort did not require opulence. In fact, “overly ostentatious or excessively equipped schools” were to be “avoided at any cost.” The correlation between fees, housing standards and quality was not a simple formula whereby higher-price meant higher quality. The column advised that, as a general rule, “in the case of continental schools fees are necessarily high.” Yet, certain features of finishing programs justified higher fees - others did not.

The school’s moral environment was worth extra expense. Parents were to assess whether a school mistress was adept enough to “save girls from social mistakes.” Appropriate supervision “according [to] the laws and customs of society” was essential.<sup>858</sup> Further, the mistress’s capacity for “teaching the value of taste” merited high price. At a good school a girl’s taste could be “directed into the right channels and her weak points strengthened.” The cultural leanings of the institution further impacted its ability to nurture discriminatory powers.

The “cultural importance of the French language, literature, art, music and history” was a critical factor; however, the best schools were “run on international lines.” Modern girls required “a broad international spirit.”<sup>859</sup> Parents needed to chose

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<sup>858</sup> In France this meant the practice of chaperone. Here the article is referring to the more strict customs for the French *jeune fille* as opposed to the image of the English or American woman in France. “French people did not understand a *jeune fille* going out without a chaperone.” Whitney Walton, “American Girls and French *Jeunes Filles*: Negotiating National Identities in Interwar France,” *Gender and History* 17, No. 2 (2005): 330.

<sup>859</sup> Finishing schools in England offered a similar program. “They had a daily French lesson, elocution lessons, debates on political topics and learnt dressmaking, housewifery and cooking,” Gillian Avery, *The Best Type of Girl: A History of Girls’ Independent Schools* (London: Andre Deutsch. 1991), 258.

a school where daughters could learn to “listen to foreign opinions and look on foreign ways with sympathy.” In terms of the school curriculum, the column reminded finishing schools did not instruct; they educated. Superior schools offered excursions “to picture galleries, theatres, concerts and historic places” to solidify knowledge that was already there - to enable girls to exercise refined feelings and thoughts.

In addition to these facets all excellent institutions provided physical activities; preferably “tennis, dancing, fencing, and riding.” When all basic requirements were in place, the extent and quality of cultural activities and sports justified higher expenses. When a good school was secured, parents could look forward to witnessing their daughter’s “power in the world become greater.”

The column stated that, in addition to the advice it offered, parents should seek personal recommendations. Ultimately, the best and only route to choosing a quality institute was one of consultation. Headmistresses at “good” British schools, British chaplaincies abroad and educational authorities in the country in question were reliable resources.<sup>860</sup> However, even with recommendations in hand, the best method of assessment was “for parents to visit the schools and judge for themselves.”<sup>861</sup> Before doing this, references needed to be checked “from top to bottom.”<sup>862</sup>

When seen in light of the criteria set out in “Women’s View,” Brillantmont’s prospectuses corresponded to most requirements. They showcased a school that, on paper, conformed to the many of the expectations as laid out. Yet, when seen against the standards set out in the column, the images also raised questions that complicated the meaning of stereotypical views.

The question of comfort was case in point. Photographic content highlighted grey areas between comfort and opulence. The written and visual texts spoke to the relevance of clients’ point of view, perspectives and ideas on taste. If “modern finishing schools” were comfortable but not luxurious, was Brillantmont a modern school? According to interwar promotion the school had “bathrooms,” “fine cooking,”

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<sup>860</sup> Gillian Avery noted for most the School Certificate was the end of a girl’s school career and suggests only the very academic schools concerned themselves with the Higher School Certificate. She suggests “[t]he lightweights might be sent off to finishing school, perhaps abroad.” Gillian Avery, *The Best Type of Girl: A History of Girls’ Independent Schools* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1991).

<sup>861</sup> “Women’s View,” *The Times*, December 02, 1921.

<sup>862</sup> See Harvey Levenstein, *Seductive Journey: American Tourism in France from Jefferson to the Jazz Age* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

“single or shared rooms according to wish” – it had a “beautiful situation and grounds.” It also provided a “homelike, refined and comfortable atmosphere.” Did the photographs promote an “overly ostentatious or excessively equipped” school? A “Women’s view” clarifies that it was in the face of these types of questions school owners made choices with regard to content, perspective and attention to detail.

Prospectuses prioritised the theme of moral education and stressed the school “offered a “French tradition” in an “international setting.”<sup>863</sup> The texts indicated excursions to “cultural places,” visiting lecturers and sports “including tennis, swimming, [and] riding.”<sup>864</sup> Were it not for the fact that dancing and fencing were missing, the texts might have exactly matched the criteria.

In the form of a separate list attached to the prospectuses, the school also delivered references. Taking the list of names handed out to prospective clients in 1930 as an example, the text connected its readers to a range of prominent people in Switzerland, France, England, Canada and the United States.<sup>865</sup> Prospective clients could discuss the school with five professors at various Swiss universities. They could consult Swiss doctors, Ministers and bank directors in Lausanne, Geneva, Basel and Zurich. In France they could first check with André Chevrillion, a man Edith Wharton called “the first literary critic in France,” a member of the Academy and colleague of Rudyard Kipling.<sup>866</sup> In England and Scotland those interested could speak to Brid. General and Mrs. Hessey, Lord and Lady Montagu of Beaulieu, Lord and Lady of Inverforth, Sir Alfred E. Lewis, Chief General Manager of the National Bank of London, and Sir Cecil Budd. For those still seeking security the word of a Colonel, Admiral and Lieutenant Commander was on hand. Several English doctors and clergymen were also ready to testify. In Canada names, included...Senator and Mrs. Lendrum McMeans, Sir Arthur and Lady Harris (President of the Bank of Montreal),

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<sup>863</sup> Brillantmont Prospectus, Lausanne, Switzerland, 1924.

<sup>864</sup> Ibid.

<sup>865</sup> It is likely there were references in other countries as the surviving list of names is missing its final page. See, Brillantmont Prospectus, Lausanne, Switzerland, 1924.

<sup>866</sup> André Chevrillion spent part of his childhood in England. His education continued in France. He attended the Sorbonne where he obtained a history masters and doctorate (on Sidney Smith and the Renaissance of Liberal ideas in England during the 19<sup>th</sup> century). André Chevrillion was an elected member of the Academy, a world traveller and writer who resided, at various points in his life in the United States, North Africa and Palestine.

Mr. and Mrs. Edward Martin of Winnipeg and Mr. and Mrs. MacDonald of Fort Qu'Appelle, Assinboia.<sup>867</sup>

Had a prospective client looked to official government and other Swiss tourism guides he/she would have found Brillantmont received a “special” commendation. Yet, as discussed in these documents, the school escaped the common-sense “meaning” of good continental finishing schools as stereotyped in “Women’s View.” Tourism texts add a different historical standpoint to view the interwar prospectuses. Both the R. Perrin and Swiss National Tourist Office series singled out Brillantmont as an ideal, innovative and pioneering “finishing” school. Both publications however, limited their discussion to the school’s domestic wing.<sup>868</sup>

The Swiss National Tourist Office (1922, 1930) informed readers that Brillantmont offered students “excellent specialised training and initiation into the duties devolving upon the Mistress of the household.”<sup>869</sup> R. Perrin (1923 and 1927) similarly endorsed the school but made a direct link to social conditions in England:

Without, in any way whatsoever, making invidious remarks, I should like to mention the Pensionnat Heubi of Brillantmont, Lausanne, has a perfectly equipped school for Housewifery and Domestic Economy where a girl can learn every detail of the management of a private house, including gardening and dressmaking – accomplishments not to be despised in these days of servant shortage.<sup>870</sup>

The tourism guide’s recommendations were incongruent with the stereotypical ideas expressed in “Women’s View.” These descriptions raise questions about what type of finishing education Brillantmont’s prospectuses advertised. Did they advertise on the basis of old or new lines?

Brillantmont’s interwar promotion did not provide tangible descriptions of the types of education offered at the school. One could turn to photographs for explanation; however, images only “pictured” students in two settings – in kitchens and at sport. Thus, viewing only the prospectuses it was difficult to see the *three* types

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<sup>867</sup> Unfortunately, here the list of names has to stop part way through the Canadian references (the last half of the original list is missing).

<sup>868</sup> In the case of the Swiss National Tourist Office guides, Brillantmont was singled out to the exclusion of all other private girls’ schools. In the case of R. Perrin, it alone was recommended until 1930 when the guide referenced additional girls’ schools in the Lausanne area.

<sup>869</sup> STO, *Switzerland and her Schools* (1922), 36.

<sup>870</sup> R. Perrin, *Schools and Sports* (1923), 20.

of education offered.<sup>871</sup> It was clear however, the brochures did not advertise the traditional finishing school section through images of students enacting this type of education nor did they explain about the academic section preparing students for the Swiss Maturity and/or American College Board examinations:<sup>872</sup> they only ‘illustrated’ or, visually explained the domestic economy section by showing images of girls in the kitchen. In this choice, did the texts highlight a traditional or modern vision?

The images of Brillantmont girls in the kitchen raises further questions about the promotional strategies of Brillantmont’s interwar publicity. The line of reasoning found in the English Ministry of Labour’s “Domestic Service Report” of 1923<sup>873</sup> implies the photographs of Villa Brillantmont positioned the school’s image in line with new-fashioned and modern ideas of girls’ education. The illustrations of domestic education corresponded with the criteria of new finishing school requirements for upper class girls as laid out by the Ministry of Labour in response to England’s “domestic service problem.” R. Perrin’s comment to this effect is substantiated by events in England.<sup>874</sup> The servant shortage ‘problem’, well discussed in historical literature has not been explored in relation to continental finishing schools. However, in this particular circumstance, it is useful to do so. The essence of the domestic

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<sup>871</sup> Historical records from the school confirm this was the case. The curriculum of Villa Brillantmont, as advertised, changed little during the interwar years. The school taught “modern, scientific domestic economy.” The finishing at Villa Brillantmont occurred both inside and outside the classroom. Classroom work consisted of French language, art history, political affairs, chemistry, psychology and principles of hygiene. Practical work included the “modern processes of simple cooking and fine cooking” as well as the “art of confiture, conserves, pastry and confection.” Girls had the benefit of gas and electric appliances. As for the daily schedule, the routine was simple - practical lessons in the mornings, sports in the afternoons followed by classroom lessons in the evenings. The fees were “identical to the Brillantmont section.” If R. Perrin’s assessment of typical school costs is any indication, fees were high, slightly over the scale of the “most expensive” category of girls’ private school in Switzerland. See, Brillantmont Prospectus, Lausanne, Switzerland, 1924, 1932 and 1936.

<sup>872</sup> In this way the school was also a stepping stone to other international experiences in various types of professional training. In France higher education was more solitary, professionally oriented and competitive than in the United States where it often provided women with social skills and leadership experience that they might deploy in community service or other public roles. See Whitney Walton, “American Girls and French *Jeunes Filles*: Negotiating National Identities in Interwar France,” *Gender and History* 17, No. 2 (2005): 323-353.

<sup>873</sup> “Domestic Service Ideals,” *The Times*, May 25, 1923; “Domestic Service Report,” *The Times*, October 30, 1923.

<sup>874</sup> The problem was similar in the United States. Although domestic service increased in the 1920s and 1930s the system of domestic service for the middle class was in the process of being dismantled. See Faye E. Dudden, “Experts and Servants: The National Council on Household Employment and the Decline of Domestic Service in the Twentieth Century,” *Journal of Social History* 20, no. 2 (1986): 269-289.

service “dilemma” is often framed in relation to household workers – as a problem of maids and not mistresses. Orders of discourse framing both sides of the ‘problem’ provide important reference points here to help see the “currency” displayed in the images.

Conversations about the domestic side of service as registered in popular forums suggested that, in addition to poor working hours and mediocre pay, many women in the 1920s rejected service as a profession because it offered no unions, lacked protective labour legislation and, important here, suffered from a general lack of modern management. One of the issues discussed as a cause of workers leaving (or refusing to enter)<sup>875</sup> was that of “untrained” mistresses. In short, working under “untrained” management, domestic service workers faced unprofessional, disorganised and ineffective work environments. As cited by the Ministry of Labour’s Report of 1923 many workers “who would stay in service only under better conditions” expressed a desire for domestic work to be “laid down, and planned out as a man’s work is in an office.”<sup>876</sup> This discourse of “need” was taken as a modern demand for schools specialising in training mistresses.<sup>877</sup>

As seen according to the logic of various viewpoints expressed in the *Times* editorial section the images in Brillantmont’s brochures promised a solution. Ongoing discussions in the *The Times* “Letters to the Editor” column addressed the “missing maid problem” and the “mismanaging mistress problem” at length.<sup>878</sup> These

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<sup>875</sup> Domestic education – a science often cited as being of North American origin, was introduced in the English, American and Swiss public schools circa 1890. However the scientific and practical aspects were not generally a significant part of elite girls’ schooling at any level. Brillantmont must also be distinguished from a middle-class teachers’ training program. See also, A. Turnbull, “An Isolated Missionary: The Domestic Subjects Teacher in England, 1870-1914,” *Women’s History Review* 3, no. 1 (1994): 89.

<sup>876</sup> “Domestic Service Report,” *The Times*, October 30, 1923.

<sup>877</sup> The teachers instructing domestic economy institutes were not designed for this task. The professional schools training domestic workers were neither appropriate nor equipped. Public schools for girls in England were also poorly prepared. According to the Head Mistresses Conference of 1924 girls’ schools for the upper and middle-classes were still engaging in “experiments to promote interest and taste in house making.” Institutions for academic higher education, such as Queen’s College were raising money for meagerly outfitted domestic science departments. “50 Years’ Work: Headmistresses in Conference,” *The Times*, June 14, 1924.

<sup>878</sup> The problem of domestic service as played out in the interwar newspaper discourse of *The Times* centered around these problems and proposed solutions. An article in 1937 noted that “[i]n 1923 a report was published of a Committee appointed by the Minister of Labour to inquire into the conditions governing the supply of female domestic servants. With very few alterations it could have been written today.” See, “An Open Door: Why Workers Do Not Enter,” *The Times*, April 17, 1937.

discussions situate the images in Brillantmont's prospectuses within changing classed and gendered English-language discourses on domestic responsibilities and within the quagmire of prospective clientele's contradictory ideas and expectations about appropriate domestic education.

For example, editorial letters criticising and defending mistresses highlighted the shifting ideologies of a privileged woman's role in the everyday tasks of the household. One "well qualified Mistress of the House" wrote for example:

in how many cases will Mistresses take the trouble to train maids? They are out and about almost all day long and every day with golf, tennis, and amusement...<sup>879</sup>

Such complaints, that the "New Woman" took her role in the house less seriously than she should have, blamed everything from sports to mothers to schools. The question of whether young ladies should be taught domestic management and, if so, by whom, consistently circulated.<sup>880</sup> Changing circumstances in household staffing were highlighted as the following letter indicated:

During the course of a long experience of housekeeping with maids varying in number from one to ten and as a Mistress who, in moments of domestic crisis has been found capable of running the house single handed ... I most heartily agree that mistresses should take the trouble in teaching and helping young maids...to do this they need to be properly taught how.<sup>881</sup>

As many would repeatedly point out, to instruct maids, the mistresses themselves required a "modern" domestic education.

According to these types of criteria the "Ecole Ménagère" at Villa Brillantmont fit the bill for the mistress of the house niche market. By teaching the procedures of the modern household, at a 'necessarily high price' the continental school offered a type of education that promised to equip young ladies to teach and train their own staff or to perform this work themselves to the extent desired or required.<sup>882</sup> It taught the business

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<sup>879</sup> "Training Domestic Servants," *The Times*, June 26, 1936.

<sup>880</sup> Ibid.

<sup>881</sup> "Missing Maids," *The Times*, June 27, 1936.

<sup>882</sup> "Higher Education of Women: Queen's College Appeal," *The Times*, May 12, 1922. Queens, Cheltenham and Harrogate had domestic wings however they were not a priority. According to Avery, domestic education was seen by Girls' colleges in the 1920s as inevitably a Cinderella subject "associated with the duds who accommodated in a special domestic arts wing." See Gillian Avery, *The Best Type of Girl: A History of Girls' Independent Schools* (London: Andre Deutsch. 1991), 258.

of managing a household from the bottom up and the top down.<sup>883</sup> Images of the school aided the ability of parents of good social standing to “see” the spaces of the kitchen as spaces related to the refinement of girls. As a stereotype, images of girls in the kitchen were not typically associated with the idea of “mobility” or, for that matter “nobility.” The views of Brillantmont’s kitchen depended upon a gaze able to appreciate the “aesthetic” of the château kitchen and a mentality willing to understand the value of the school’s pedagogical project. They required parents willing to challenge the strong discourse suggesting the activity portrayed in the photographs – domestic education - was for domestic servants or “for dullards.”

The content of the photographs provided some high-class clues. The professional quality of the kitchen portraiture, as well as illustrations of ideal typical working conditions, indicated a privileged education. Congruent with hegemonic codes of domestic processes, as well as with ideals of elite cooking space, the images stressed unremitting attention to hygiene and generous working conditions. They communicated the idea of an efficient kitchen with humane, dignified working conditions. Showing few signs of actual food, modern appliances and light work-load the images conjured up ideas of a model, demonstration kitchen. They did not showcase a kitchen which smacked of factory-style model domestic education classrooms in Swiss public schools of the time (see fig. 5.13).

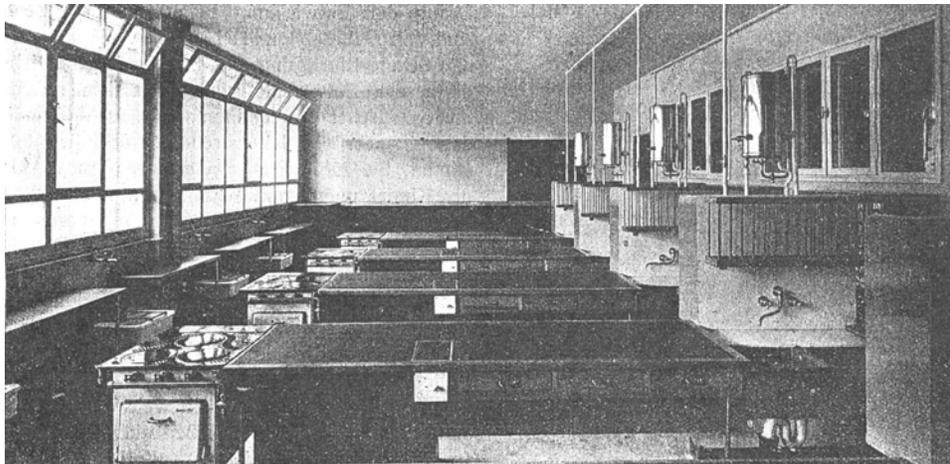
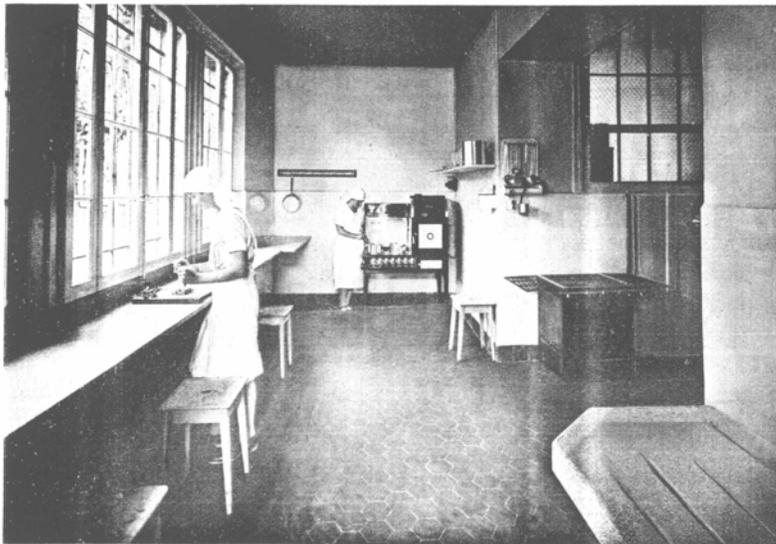


Fig. 5.13: Example of one of the most modern kitchens in a public school, 1930.

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<sup>883</sup> The curriculum differed from, for example, that offered in the middle and high schools of North America. It taught haute cuisine in addition to practical cookery. School history suggests the program was not influenced by American or British developments in domestic science.

Fashionable uniforms suggested something other than “kitchen maid.” As much as the photographs illustrated scenes of domestic “workers,” they highlighted the idea of household “management.” The highly staged, idealized and selective representations maintained the look of light and easily managed domestic activities. The scenes were not suggestive of training for a career working at the stove. A comparison of the 1924 and 1936 texts shows the kitchen scenes to be virtually the same. (see fig. 5.14).



Villa Brillantmont. Cuisine électrique.



VILLA BRILLANTMONT : LA CUISINE ÉLECTRIQUE

Fig. 5.14: Brillantmont's electric kitchen in 1924 (top) and 1936 (bottom).

For some of Brillantmont's students at the time, they also spoke to a type of new, exciting and tasteful schooling. Despite the seemingly simple message, the photographs communicated, reflected and constituted complex ideas about the students at Brillantmont and about the places and practices of the school. The international make-up of the cooking school raised its own questions about the attractiveness of the representation. Situating the images in their historical, documentary and technological contexts, the professional and "European"-looking quality of the kitchen portraiture was key. Alumni records suggest that for parents living far away from Europe the images invoked a desirable type of schooling. The idea that a young girl might travel to Switzerland from as far away as New Zealand, Australia, Indochina, the Philippines, Jamaica or Chile to spend time in the kitchen indicated the photographs pictured an especially desirable kitchen in which to learn Western methods of domestic science. Given the even greater expense of travelling to Europe from these far flung regions it is fair to assume that even in countries not host to the "missing servant problem" the domestic education shown held some appeal.<sup>884</sup>

Knowledge of the school's non-European alumni emphasise the meaning of the kitchen photographs could not be taken for granted. Certainly the school's own historical anecdotes challenge the idea that women with no financial necessity to perform domestic work were one and the same as women with no desire for or interest in household tasks. Rajmata Gayatri Devi (born Princess Gayatri Devi of Cooch Behar) speaks fondly of her experiences of "being taught how to cook" at Villa Brillantmont in the interwar years and laughs about her natural born lack of talent.<sup>885</sup> She recalls the popularity of the domestic side and the fact that students frequently crossed over to the "funner" side of the school during the course of their stay.<sup>886</sup>

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<sup>884</sup> Ibid.

<sup>885</sup> Maharani Gayatri Devi, Rajmata of Jaipur's career took her into politics and pedagogy (she founded the oldest girls' public school in Jaipur, currently one of India's top schools). On the list of *Vogue* and *Time* magazines' most beautiful women of all time list, this Indian Royal attended Villa Brillantmont in the early 1930s. See Rajmata Gayatri Devi, *Enduring Grace* (New Delhi: Roli, 2004). See also, "I've Never Felt Beautiful," *The Times of India*, April 25, 2004 and Rajmata Gayatri Devi, *A Princess Remembers: The Memoirs of the Maharani of Jaipur* (New York: Double Day, 1985).

<sup>886</sup> It is clear from Trothal announcements that Villa Brillantmont served as a stepping stone to various types of higher education. Most often, news of girls in the papers referred to Brillantmont as meaning either section of the school. Amy Vanderbilt, for example, who attended Villa Brillantmont in the 1920s went on to the New York University of Journalism after which she became a business manager for the *Spectator* and then editorial director of Tower Magazines. See "Descendant of Commodore Vanderbilt

Furthermore, the steep academic requirements of the courses challenges common discourse suggesting the activity portrayed in the photographs was “for dullards.” A sound grasp of French was required for an understanding of haute cuisine which was itself a vital component of sophisticated entertaining and good taste.<sup>887</sup> An opportunity to learn the ways of French cookery and Swiss confectionary offered a specialised advantage. Taking into consideration the social practices surrounding the representations of girls in the kitchen, the photographs “worked” at creating a new, modern and unconventional appeal despite their apparent conventional subject matter. It is clear the cultural currency of the images is linked to their tasteful setting.

Yet, if images of Villa Brillantmont were not glaring representations of “new-fashioned” education, the images of sports spelled out a more obvious cutting edge. The interwar texts included a wider variety of sports images than pre-war brochures. The same girls shown in the kitchen were also depicted out and about playing golf, tennis and fashionable winter sports. Between the wars sports became a key component of Brillantmont’s brand image. Over the course of the 1920’s and 1930’s sports photographs portrayed a wide range of locations, took on a more professional look, and, captured competitive action. Certain sportive images conformed more closely to the stereotype of continental finishing than others.

The business of representing girls’ sport during the interwar period was a challenging and delicate task for Swiss finishing schools. Promotional success depended on conveying ideological congruency with old and new fashioned classed and gendered ideas of girls’ physical education. Photographs needed to capture and communicate a sense of elite sportive habitus without going overboard. The school needed to position and distinguish itself among hegemonic private schooling pedagogy. On a basic level, images of sports needed to indicate benefit and advantage for young ladies in training for the crucial roles of wife and mother in elite circles.

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Studies in Switzerland Magazine Editor is Affianced to Morton Gill Clark, Noted World Traveller.” *New York Times*, September 19, 1935. Other examples include Natalie Beech, who went on to study painting at the National Academy of Design. See “Natalie Beach Engaged to be Wed,” *New York Times*, May 22, 1936.

<sup>887</sup> In the 1940s girls were shown being instructed by a male French chef. In Mexico, the elite “made sure their daughters learned French cooking.” See Rachel Laudan, *Power Cuisines, Dietary Determinism and Nutritional Crisis: The Origins of the Globalisation of the Western Diet* The History Cooperative, <http://www.historycooperative.org/proceedings/internations/laudan.html> (accessed July 7, 2007).

They needed to convey a sense of healthful sporting practice which did not “over-do” athleticism or compromise femininity. The 1924 prospectus included six images of girls’ sports and recreation; three of these were devoted to winter sports. Images of tennis, field hockey, and basketball, as well as, of skating, skiing and alpine rambling communicated the school’s sporting identity.<sup>888</sup>

Sports photographs did not simply transcribe practices at the school but were involved in “the more active labour of making things mean.”<sup>889</sup> Narratives familiar to an ideal-typical elite English-speaking audience were especially evident. Here was a girls’ school that offered traditional and new athletic experiences within an ideological framework customers would recognise.

On one hand, the 1924 prospectus revealed the school offered “typical” finishing schools sports. Images of tennis confirmed finishing school normalcy. The more than adequate tennis facilities (three large tennis courts) suggested that Brillantmont matched the basic expectations of its target audience. On the other hand, the document also revealed the school offered “non-typical” sports; those not often associated with the continental girls’ finishing school stereotype. Hockey, basketball and winter recreational activities distinguished Brillantmont from, for example a Parisian school. The staging of the sports photographs, as well as the nature of the sports told a story about the institute’s sporting commitments and pedagogical philosophy.

The quality of the sports images, although notably improved from the earlier pre-War prospectuses, did not match that of the photographs showcasing school buildings. Discrepancies in quality created the impression that sports helped define the identity of the school but did not determine it. The quality of the field sports pictures were on par with images featured in Le Rosey’s pre-war prospectuses discussed in Chapter One. The conditions shown were sufficient. In the context of a Swiss finishing school emphasising traditional concepts of femininity, the “low-grade” quality images did nicely. Had they been taken with the same level of professionalism that captured

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<sup>888</sup> The school offered additional sports including Swedish gymnastics.

<sup>889</sup> Stuart Hall, *Representations: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1997), 124.

the inside rooms of the château school, the field sports photographs may have ended up looking too much like something found in a *boys' school prospectus*.

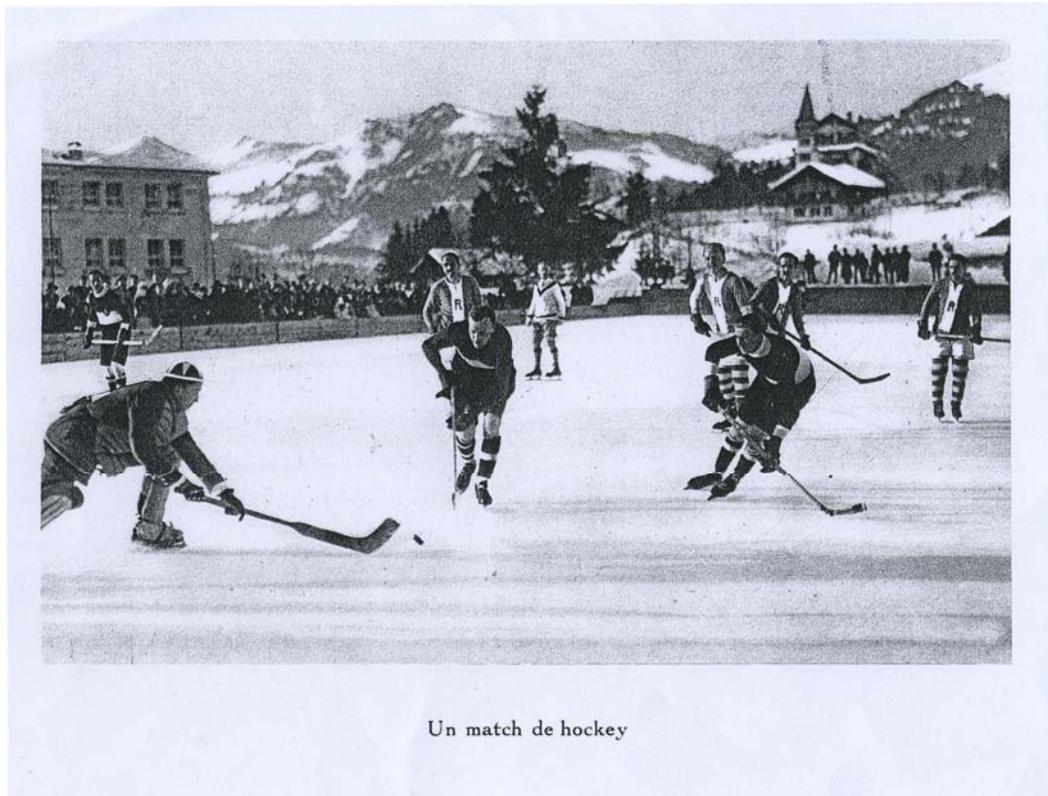


Fig. 5.15: Un match de Hockey, Le Rosey (top) and Hockey, Brillantmont (bottom)

Comparing the photograph “Hockey” (1924) with Le Rosey’s “Un match de Hockey” of the same year (see fig. 5.15) demonstrates that levels of photographic professionalism need not always represent the better set of advertising practices. In this particular case, the “less professional” style of photograph worked in favour of the finishing school’s image. Aesthetic qualities of the sports representations articulated gendered ideologies by distancing the girls’ school from too close an association with competitive action.

Aesthetics standards (or lack thereof) of action photographs are determined by a range of fixed technical and content related aspects. Even without an in-depth technical knowledge of photography, the reader is able to judge an inferior shot from a superior one. Le Rosey’s “Un match de Hockey” aggressively captured boys engaged in a competitive match. It relayed a sense of serious and professional play. It suggested the work of a knowledgeable, careful and detail-oriented photographer. Hockey is an especially difficult sport to catch on film. Its rapid changes of direction and speed affects the ability of photographers to anticipate plays. The clarity of “Un match de Hockey” suggested a quality camera with quick lens speed and excellent depth of focus. The close-up displayed a clear moment of playing action; it skillfully captured the fleeting moment of an excellent sporting photographic opportunity. From an advertising standpoint “Un match de Hockey” provided a clear sense of excitement. The high quality image communicated hockey was one of the schools’ priorities.

From a technical perspective, Brillantmont’s “Hockey” was a relatively inferior action shot of a hockey game in motion. Although on close scrutiny the level of intensity in both matches was equal, the scale of intensity of the girls’ game was lost in the exigencies of photographic portraiture and reproduction. The *image* of girls playing field hockey was less energetic in large part because the photographer was located at too far away from the action. However, in the context of advertising a girls’ finishing school, the distance may well have been adequate. This depiction of field hockey with its distanced gaze detracted from the excitement of the game and from the competitive action of girls’ sports. Thus while Le Rosey’s image displayed a great degree of obligation and professionalism to the sport;<sup>890</sup> Brillantmont’s suggested an

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<sup>890</sup> Unlike Le Rosey, Brillantmont did not include any team *portraits* within its prospectuses.

acceptable, more casual, attitude towards girls' hockey. The photograph "Hockey," existing amid the controversy, enthusiasm and contradictions surrounding the subject of girls' participation in competitive sports achieved middle ground. It simultaneously confirmed old and new ideas of appropriate femininity. The content of the photograph confirmed the school offered field sports, while its style assured the school did not "over prioritise" these activities.<sup>891</sup>

Analysing the photograph as situated within a transnational network of girls' sporting practices, the British public school sports appeal was clear. Girls in gym tunics playing field hockey signalled a connection between Brillantmont and English school traditions. As a representation of sport, it surfaced amid rivalries between different forms of physical culture in various countries. Although the appeal of British sports had extended well beyond the confines of Britain, the school uniform remained a symbol of Englishness as it also expressed a belief in a particularly active breed of girls' athleticism. In this way, the photograph "Hockey" added the appeal of a British-modelled girls' public school or college. Additionally, another picture of team sport entitled "Basketball" forged an American connection.<sup>892</sup> The decision to include images of these sports affirmed a sense of syncretism, hybridity and affiliation with upper and middle-class English-speaking target markets.

Images of winter sports in the 1924 prospectus added yet another layer of meaning to the school's identity. Showing the school off campus, the photographs added a holiday feel. British cartoons provide another discursive vantage point to help contextualise the photographs. They help see what the Swiss location and winter resort meant in the British and, to a lesser extent, American imaginary. When seen within a transnational study-abroad context the images become politicised representations expressing a "mix of the near and far, close and distant."<sup>893</sup>

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<sup>891</sup> In the 1920s, during the so-called "third stage" of new womanhood, society saw harm in the overly athletic woman but was less likely to criticise harshly citing the weakening consequences of sport for the female of the species and her children. British public girls' school remained the greatest advocates of the type of athleticism played in games. While it was generally accepted that physical exercise was necessary for both sexes, the conventional view held that sexual differences should not be ignored.

<sup>892</sup> Basketball invented by Canadian James Naismith (who lived in the United States) gained a reputation as an American game.

<sup>893</sup> Ulf Hannerz, *Transnational Connections: Culture, People, Places* (London: Routledge, 1996), 32.



En course de montagne.

Fig. 5.16: En course de montagne, Brillantmont, 1924.

A photograph revealing girls in the snow with no coats, hats or gloves highlighted the benefits of Swiss Alpine winter holiday geography and climate (see fig. 5.16). As a discursive cliché it spoke to warm spring days and the thrill of being amid snow without cold. From the perspective of British discourse it addressed something Britain was frequently said not to be able to offer or, in a promotional sense credibly achieve. The “fact” of Switzerland’s superior climatic conditions for winter sport as well as the idea that the Swiss capitalised on these conditions for tourist profit was a commonly expressed stereotype. In W.K. Haselden’s (1924) cartoon entitled “Let us make the best of our climate” published in the *Daily Mirror* (not shown here),<sup>894</sup> these facts became points of humour. The ironic suggestion that “[t]he Swiss make capital of their climatic conditions, why should we not exploit ours” was played out in a series of contrasting images that juxtaposed idyllic scenes of outdoor sports in the enjoyable Swiss winter climate and a less than idyllic equivalent in the horrendous winter climate of Britain. The comparative disadvantage of British rain was expressed

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<sup>894</sup> Due to space constraints, not all images are shown. W.K. Haselden, “Let us make the best of our climate,” *Daily Mirror* 2 January, 1924.

as cartoon figures made a dismal-looking sport out of paddling on sops of murky puddles that drenched different settings of British landscape. Within this discursive context, the photograph “En course de montagne” in Brillantmont’s prospectus associated the identity of the school with the well-circulated appeal of Swiss weather and landscape.

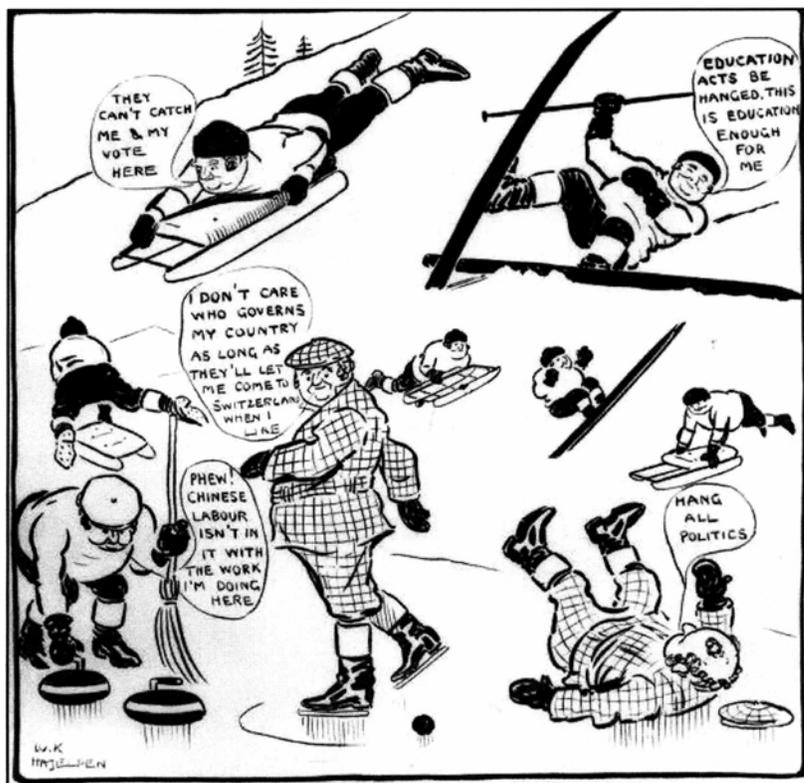


Sports d'hiver.

Fig. 5.17: Brillantmont girls on skis

The images resonated with the idea of a winter holiday place – a place to play, let loose and escape work. A photograph depicting two girls on skis in classic flopped out/ knocked down pose (see fig. 5.17) indicated another familiar and, in a different way, ironic British-Swiss sporting cliché – one fondly linked with the English’s sporting ability to laugh at themselves out loud. The fun image of girls collapsing in a fresh heap of snow, laughing about skis awry and legs twisted in knots affirmed the trials, excitement, and even lunacy of skiing. The photograph associated Brillantmont with good times and amusing winter places that encouraged girls, in an appropriate context, freely to enjoy themselves. The physical mobility, flexibility and unconventional gesticulation – at the heart of the winter sports trend – exhibited a performance of symbolic currency in a photograph.

In these respects, the winter sports images recalled a holiday landscape where the British elites went to escape day to day life – where they went to "hang all politics" and concentrate on the slopes. Yet, like the national personification of Great Britain and popular comic figure "John Bull" who, two decades earlier had already visually projected cultural and political English meanings onto Swiss winter resorts by dragging British politics and education into the scene of alpine isolation, the photographs of Brillantmont's winter holidays are best interpreted as politicized images that were situated within specific political, cultural, economic and social networks (see fig. 5.18).



John Bull Well only it (?) [on reverse] John Bull in Switzerland [on green folder]

Fig. 5.18: Winter sports in Switzerland, *Education Today*, 1928.

In the interwar period the images of girls on skis in Switzerland brought to mind a new political scene articulated in English discourse. On the one hand, like John Bull, the images skated and skied towards the sentiment “hang all politics”<sup>895</sup> on the other, they pulled political associations into the frame through ideological clichés that

<sup>895</sup> W.K. Haseldon, "Winter sports in Switzerland," *Education Today*, 1928.

communicated ideas about personal, social, cultural and – in the feminist sense – political identity. The photographs waded into a slippery gendered and classed discourse of winter sports. Images of girls in loose and carefree poses skirted a symbolic axis charged with modern ideas about young ladies, politics and youth. Their appeal bordered on ambiguous associations between sport, Switzerland, women’s social mobility, elite practices of holidaying and medical ideas of curative rest. This is reflected in Haselden’s “The Flappers Rest Cure after Politics” (see fig. 5.19), which, for example, flagged the idea of Switzerland as a prescriptive place for spoiled, manipulative and playful young “flappers.”



Fig. 5.19: The Flappers Rest Cure after Politics, *Daily Mirror*, 1923

As the cartoon intimated when its main character of the strip pleaded “Mummy, I’m completely worn out - always tired - need a long rest in

Switzerland,”<sup>896</sup> Switzerland was a prescribed place for privileged “rest.” The cartoon’s visualisation of the contradictory meaning of rest was dramatised by the subsequent jettison from skating rink to tobogganing run, to hockey arena, to ski slope and finally, to dance floor. The prospectus images discursively played out these complex classed and gendered meanings of sports and Switzerland for the Modern Woman.

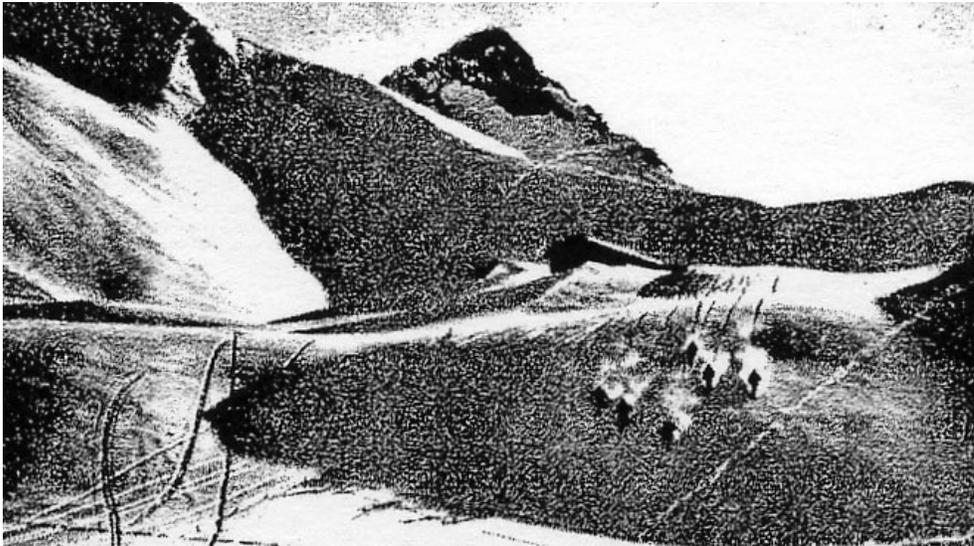


Fig. 5.20: Brillantmont students in a 1932 ski race

In the 1932 prospectus, the visual statements of girl power became even more pronounced. A long distance shot of the Brillantmont girls barrelling down the slopes with snow rising up behind them drew on the “masculine” power of speed (see fig. 5.20).<sup>897</sup> The portrait, reinventing ideas of Swiss finishing, associated the school with an activity in the process of becoming a legitimate sport in the Western world for men. The image referenced the historical British love affair with fast action in the Swiss context and sanctioned this type of speed for girls.<sup>898</sup>

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<sup>896</sup> W.K. Haseldon, “The Flappers Rest Cure after Politics,” *Daily Mirror*, December 11, 1923.

<sup>897</sup> See Lissa Smith, *Nike is a Goddess: The History of Women in Sports* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1998).

<sup>898</sup> While a very small minority of women had been involved in speed sports in Switzerland since the late nineteenth century first on toboggans and then on skis, the image of women racing in 1932 remained uncommon. This Cresta Run type of timed racing that had at one time confirmed the Swiss perception of British elites as “*verrueckt*” [crazy, dislocated] was in the process of becoming an institutionalised and sanctioned sport but men were at the forefront of this legitimation process, not women. Ski-racing, not yet an accepted Olympic sport was a sport in which until 1931 did not see women competing on an international level.

Like Le Rosey's hockey photographs, the images of girls' skiing made a statement about the school's beliefs in physical education. Like Le Rosey's team-photo, underlying the edgy photographs lay unstated connections between the school, Olympic personalities and ideas about the pedagogical benefits of active and vigorous recreational sports. While Brillantmont's winter sports photographs did not showcase a team containing Olympic players, for those with "insider" knowledge, the girls' schools' commitment to winter sports was linked tied to the growing Olympic movement headquartered in Lausanne. Whether or not the daughter of Baron Pierre de Coubertin (the founder and General Secretary of the International Olympic Committee) was in fact one of the girls in the photographs mattered little.<sup>899</sup> Her presence at the school in the interwar period conveyed a prestigious association that signaled her father's approval of Brillantmont's sporting practices. The photographs bore witness to a type of school able and willing to put girls on skis and a school which chose to do so on the informed basis of progressive, private school pedagogy.<sup>900</sup>

At the same time, de Coubertin's role in winter sports emphasised the development of skiing was not entirely a British affair. For those with knowledge that of the daughter of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk<sup>901</sup> also attended Brillantmont, the images signified a type of modern girls' physical education "endorsed" by the leader of the Islamic nationalist movement in Turkey.<sup>902</sup> While the opinions and educational

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The first Ladies' ski club in Switzerland was founded at Hotel Palace in Muerren by Lady Mabel Lunn, Doreen Elliot and Duncan Harvey in 1923. Until the mid-1930s, Swiss ladies learned from their British colleges. The first IOC-sanctioned Winter Olympic Games was held in 1928 in St. Moritz, Switzerland. In January 1924, ski pioneer Sir Arnold Lunn and eight other keen British skiers, including three women, formed the Kandahar Ski Club at Muerren in the Bernese Oberland. Its aims were to further the sports of downhill and slalom skiing and to promote the acceptance of Alpine skiing at an international level. The first skiing races (slalom) were organised in 1922 by Sir Arnold Lunn (1888-1974). The International Skiing Federation formed in 1924 did not accept women until 1931. In 1936, women ski racers were part of the Olympics for the first time. The first Swiss Ski Association was formed in 1930. See Sir Arnold Henry Moore Lunn, *Mountain Jubilee*. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1943.

<sup>899</sup> Pierre de Coubertin's daughter attended Brillantmont. Collège International Brillantmont, *Souvenirs: Brillantmont 1882-2002* (Lausanne: Collège international Brillantmont, 2002), 19.

<sup>900</sup> See Collège International Brillantmont, *Souvenirs: Brillantmont 1882-2002* (Lausanne: Collège international Brillantmont, 2002), 19. de Coubertin was also a keen pedagogue. He delivered lectures on physical education in England, France and Switzerland and wrote articles and books on the subject, see C. Durantez, *Pierre de Coubertin: the Olympic Humanist* (CIO: Lausanne, 1994).

<sup>901</sup> Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was the primary commander in the Turkish War of Independence. His daughter attended Brillantmont in the interwar years.

<sup>902</sup> Mustafa Kemal Atatürk took an active interest in progressive pedagogy at his daughter's school in Switzerland and internationally. For example, he invited John Dewey in 1924 to Turkey to advise him on educational issues. His adopted daughter, Afet Inan (1908-1985) and her sister (the first female

ideologies of the progressivist Kemalist did not figure in the text, they were factions of Brillantmont's transnational target market and that entered into the promotional picture. The networks within which the prospectuses traveled emphasised that the brochures, like other cultural texts, gained their power as a cultural product in relation to other documents and social practices.

The close affiliations between Swiss private boarding schools and modern sporting pedagogy reinforced the cultural capital of a school affluent enough to offer its students proximity to the latest ideas on athletic practices for girls. Here, the images harnessed the special freedom of private schools. As noted in the *Swiss Review of Education* by a Swiss educational researcher elite Swiss private schools, much like British public schools:

have to be viewed absolutely as feudal schools. A high fee closes them to the lower classes which are dependent on state institutions. All advantages in terms of sports and mobility of these feudal boarding schools interrelate to the project of the social delimitation which one can never lose sight of.<sup>903</sup>

When assessing their promotional currency, images must be considered within a broader context. Given that Switzerland competed with France for finishing clientele, the advantages of fashionable winter sports represented an important distinction. Here it is important to see that Brillantmont advertised more than simply a familiarity with French culture; it promoted place-specific sporting practices intrinsically linked to elite winter tourist practices “invented” by the British, but bound to Switzerland and increasingly relevant in other elite circles within a globalizing, and, for some, cosmopolitan world.<sup>904</sup>

As demonstrated in the earlier discussion of the Savoy Hotel, in the case of exclusive schools like Brillantmont and Le Rosey it is critical to clearly identify “what sort of high altitude places” prospectuses showed. Images of schools, sport and resorts

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combat pilot in the world) enjoyed winter sports and shared their father's support for women's suffrage. Afet Inan's finishing school proved a stepping stone to higher education at the University of Geneva. After graduating with a Ph.D in sociology in 1939 Afet became a Professor at the University of Ankara. See Patrick, Kinross, *Atatürk: The Rebirth of a Nation* (London: Phoenix Press, 2003).

<sup>903</sup> Ibid.

<sup>904</sup> Familiarity with French culture represented elite social status. Familiarity with Swiss holidaying represented another axis of advantage. France connoted a place of moral laziness and bohemian decadence. See Whitney Walton, “American Girls and French *Jeunes Filles*: Negotiating National Identities in Interwar France,” *Gender and History* 17, No. 2 (2005): 323-353.

carried strong clues to the “brand” viability of the institutions. Both involved places with “world-class” reputations as exclusive, prestigious and elite resorts.

Images of winter sports in the 1932 text were accompanied by a photograph illustrating where the girls’ school took winter vacations (see fig. 5.21). The image of the Waldhaus Hotel in Sils Maria, St. Moritz, offered an especially fashionable statement. Pupils skiing down the Corviglia ski run (opened in 1928) in St. Moritz, and staying at the Waldhaus Hotel affirmed eliteness for those with the right eye.<sup>905</sup> The Waldhaus Hotel signalled a proximity to elite networks, suggesting cultural wherewithal, financial capacity and gender-relevant mobility.

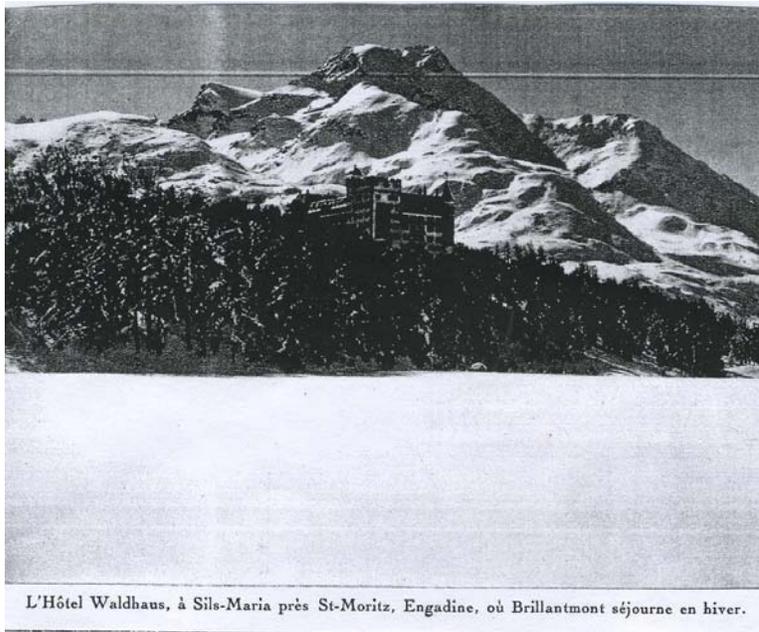


Fig. 5.21: Hotel Waldhaus at Sils Maria, next to St. Moritz, Engadine, where Brillantmont sojourned in winter (Brillantmont Prospectus, 1932)<sup>906</sup>

The same regularities in taste patterns of high society that enabled an the Heubi’s Salon to be understood within a hierarchy of elite space informed the meaning of St. Moritz, the Engadine, and the Waldhaus hotel. For those with the knowledge that during the interwar period the Engadine was a haven for the rich and the famous – a

<sup>905</sup> American actresses, princesses and/or the daughters of other internationally prominent people in the arts, politics, sports and the world of finance who traditionally frequented five star hotels like the Waldhaus in February and March each year. Darwin Porter, *Frommer’s Switzerland, 11<sup>th</sup> Edition* (New York: Macmillan, 2004), 43. For pictorial impressions of the Waldhaus Hotel, see A.T. Schaefer, *The Waldhaus* (Moenchengladbach: Kuehlen, 1998).

<sup>906</sup> The Banff Spring’s Hotel in Canada’s Rocky Mountains named its dining room after this landmark hotel, illustrating the global currency of exclusive tourism symbols.

clichéd backdrop for glamorous American movie stars, chauffeur-driven Rolls-Royces and Switzerland’s most in vogue winter sports resort – the elite connotations of the prospectus image would not have been missed.<sup>907</sup> The representations gained currency through one of the key fashionable places for those who wished to be seen. As drawn by Haselden it was a place for “[w]omen who live for the camera”<sup>908</sup> on par with other elite resorts or sporting places including Monte Carlo on the French Riviera, the Cottesmore Fox Hunting Club of England, and the Wimbledon tennis championships (see fig. 5.22).



*Women who live for the camera. [caption on reverse]*

Fig. 5.22: “Women who live for the camera,” *Daily Mirror*, 1928

<sup>907</sup> This is arguably why it was selected as host city of the 1928 Winter Olympic Games.

<sup>908</sup> W. K. Haselden, “Women who live for the camera,” *Daily Mirror*, February 23, 1928.

The 1936 sporting images communicated a still stronger aristocratic aesthetic of elite education and lifestyle. The collection of sporting lifestyle scenes included riding photographs on the shores of Lake Geneva in the vicinity of Mont Blanc.<sup>909</sup>



Fig. 5.23: Brillantmont girls riding horses (top and middle) and Brillantmont girl playing golf (bottom left) juxtaposed with an advertisement by the Villars Tourist Office [1935] (bottom right)

<sup>909</sup> Mont Blanc (4808 m.) is the highest mountain in the Alps and Western Europe

Photographs of golf told another idealized and idyllic story about the place of Brillantmont (see fig. 5.23). The golf image provides an excellent example of how the many photographs of girls in motion conveyed a glamorous, competitive and clichéd lifestyle through the standardised clichés of tourism advertisement. Such standardised poses exhibited a youthful and active Switzerland. The presence of sportive visual clichés blurred the look of the prospectuses with the genre of picture post-cards and tourism guides. Yet, the positive meanings the holidayesque photographs could not completely be taken for granted as desirable. The letters to the editor column which problematised mistresses who were “out all day long with golf, tennis, and amusement” indicate the sporting component of Brillantmont’s prospectuses did not face uniform acceptance.<sup>910</sup>

Thus far, the clichéd discourses incited in the section to help analyse the girls’ school’s prospectuses within a wider historical context have not included the extremely negative clichés about finishing school and the glamour lifestyle of the young lady studying abroad. Although, from many perspectives it is challenging to see the images in Brillantmont’s brochures as representative of undesirable activities, when the prospectuses were released to ‘travel the world’ they entered a larger discursive context that was, at times, hostile. The anti-cosmopolitanist discourse flouted in the 1935 *Washington Post* article “Glamour of Foreign Titles Often Lures American Girls Away,”<sup>911</sup> for instance, blamed elite finishing schools for corrupting the life course of American debutantes. The ideas expressed in article make it clear that families considering sending their daughters to continental finishing schools made decisions within the context of competing conversations on the advantages and disadvantages of such European educational adventures.

The *Post* article argued that in order to understand “why it is American girls are generally unhappy after marrying foreigners” and, further, to comprehend “why girls who could marry almost any eligible bachelor end up marrying some member of the European nobility or pseudo nobility ... one must analyse the environments in

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<sup>910</sup> “Training Domestic Servants,” *The Times*, June 26, 1936.

<sup>911</sup> “Glamour of Foreign Titles Often Lures American Girls Away,” *Washington Post*, October 27, 1935.

which both bride and groom have moved prior to their marriages.”<sup>912</sup> The article blamed naïve parents who believed finishing schools were the best step for their daughters. Suggesting that some top schools “furnish information on their pupils’ bankrolls,” the article warned that the dangers lurking in finishing schools were the same that lay in the most expensive and fashionable hotels. The risk of American girls being introduced in these circles to “a monkey-like count from some obscure state in middle Europe” was related to “the peculiar complex that assails the American people when confronted with title-bearers.” In short, American girls faced with “the young European man [who] knows as much about women’s clothes as she knows about them herself, who knows how to please women” and who has “made it their profession to be agreeable to women” were more likely than not to turn away from “the American boy” who “has learned to believe that being chosen by the football team in high school is the type of thing girls fall for.” Because “the most romantic people in the world are American girls” parents should, the article warned, resist the glamorous claims of elite schools abroad. Thus, the cultural meaning of Brillantmont’s promotion could not be taken for granted. As texts enmeshed in strong and competing classed and gendered discourses on study abroad, their interpretation was contingent on the mentalities of those viewing them.

This section examined Brillantmont’s interwar prospectuses (1924, 1932 and 1936). It looked at promotional images of a girls’ finishing school produced during a period when old and new-fashioned European finishing schools competed for shifting markets. Lack of study on this aspect of Swiss educational history challenged the analysis. By discussing the texts in relation to stereotypes and clichés of girls’ continental finishing schooling and Switzerland as a holiday destination, the section interpreted the discursive “currency” of the texts. It revealed that in certain areas Brillantmont’s prospectuses corresponded to the criteria of a “good” continental finishing school as set out in the “Women’s View” section of *The Times*. The school advertised a comfortable and moral environment. It emphasised French language and culture but was operated along international lines. Prospectuses revealed the school

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<sup>912</sup> “Glamour of Foreign Titles Often Lures American Girls Away,” *Washington Post*, October 27, 1935. The following citations in this paragraph are cited from this article and no further references are indicated.

offered typical finishing school sports, cultural excursions and accomplishment objectives. The section outlined the areas where Brillantmont's prospectuses veered away from the definitional map proposed in "Women's View." An exploration of images of the domestic economy school suggested depictions of women in the château kitchen represented a new-fashioned type of finishing for upper-class girls. Finally, the section demonstrated the school differentiated itself by way of representations of sports and resorts. A comparison of hockey match portraits in Brillantmont's and Le Rosey's prospectuses evidenced photographic content identified Brillantmont with British public school athleticism yet the photographic style deemphasised the masculine theme of competitive play. Simultaneously, an analysis of winter sports clichés revealed prospectuses were charged with a sense of risk, adventure and the "masculine" power of speed. By referencing selected discourse in English language newspapers of record, the section demonstrated prospectuses generated meaning within transnational conversations of the advantages and disadvantages of such European educational and travel adventures.

The chapter as a whole set out to take the discussion further a field, beyond the immediate confines of the images. It has argued, prospectuses were one part of larger promotional practices which included textual and non-textual forms. This chapter has demonstrated the images shown in the prospectuses are best analysed within the context of the complex, transnational networks and lived experiences within which the schools made choices about which images to include or omit from their prospectuses. By focusing on the themes of mobility and transnationalism the chapter highlighted that the promotional currency in the texts was linked to broader Anglo-Saxon perspectives.

## CONCLUSION

Since the late nineteenth century, Switzerland, a self-professed “playground” and “classroom” of the world, has successfully promoted itself as a desirable destination for international study and tourism. The historically entangled private schooling and tourism industries have steadily communicated idealised images of educational tourism. Many images, particularly during the first half of the twentieth century targeted an elite English-speaking audience which played a strong role in shaping Switzerland’s study abroad economy.<sup>913</sup> This thesis has investigated social constructions of educational tourist place in two different types of promotion aimed at English-speaking markets: private international school prospectuses and education-focused tourism brochures. Concentrating on the period 1890-1945 – when promotional ties between tourism organisations and private schools solidified – the thesis analysed images that were discursively constructed, reproduced and marketed at three interrelated levels of destination: the single international school, the town, and nation.

The texts examined were produced by various authors who constructed visions of education in Switzerland from particular vantage points. These vantage points included the perspective of three long-standing private international schools - Le Rosey, Brillantmont and Beau Soleil; civic tourism organisations representing Geneva, Lausanne and Neuchâtel; the Swiss National Tourist Office and the Swiss Private Schools’ Association as well as of the international travel agency R. Perrin. The visions produced by these different authors contributed to Switzerland’s international image as an educational nation or, as phrased by the popular cliché – as the country of “good air and good schools.”

The thesis has explored the ways in which highly visual, ideologically-charged textual representations of location simultaneously defined, idealised and commodified international education in Switzerland. An analysis of texts produced around the turn of the twentieth century in Switzerland’s French-speaking region - the “birth-place” of

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<sup>913</sup> Perhaps more accurately, an “ideal-typical” Anglo-Saxon market.

the educational-tourism industry - revealed local scales of place played a strong role in promotion. Chapter One demonstrated Le Rosey and Brillantmont's earliest prospectuses (1890-1916) showcased school properties and included a few picturesque images of lakeside and alpine scenes. The early place-image building efforts of these now 'global' schools ignored the larger realities of town and nation. Highly selective and picturesque portrayals of each school's château environment communicated ideas about the quality and nature of the experience offered. Photographic essay style narratives reflected, inscribed and constituted distinctive notions about place and identity: they visually staged scenes inviting prospective clients to enter boarding school-scapes imaginatively to "see for themselves" the gendered and classed advantages of the institutions. The close focus on school property emphasised each school offered a comfortable, contained "home-like" atmosphere. Images of English sportive infrastructure and inter-textual references to English literature assured Anglo-centric markets that each school provided an education of local French culture that was cognizant of English needs and understandings.

Chapter Two demonstrated that, like Le Rosey and Brillantmont's prospectuses, education-focused civic tourism guides promoting Geneva, Lausanne and Neuchâtel (1890-1914) generally excluded all reference to anything "Swiss" and avoided any discussion of other, competitive "educational centres." While guides exhibited differences in style, voice and specific content, as a whole, they sold their towns as educational centres in similar ways. They exhibited a preoccupation with enumerating, indexing, defining and interpreting each town as a quickly apprehended English educational tourist place. Geneva and Lausanne guides in particular, relied on highly selective versions of local educational and tourism histories to create an attractive and consumable sense of historic place. Near identical articulations of heritage codified each civic space as a singularly evolved educational terrain perfectly adapted to meet the needs of English students. Taxonomies showcasing complete systems of public instruction flagged a broad-based clientele. Uneven descriptions of individual schools, however, led visitors towards certain choices over others. Anglicised descriptions of schooling rendered civic instruction more familiar and attractive according to elite British sensibilities. Representations of the leisure side of

the educational centres framed local recreational options as inherently productive. Although constructions of leisure at times hinted to discursive tensions between the “intellectual” and “beautiful” sides of each town’s textual persona, descriptions ultimately textured town-spaces as uniformly moral in every aspect.

Chapters focusing on the interwar period revealed promotional texts noticeably more aware of larger geographies including the mountains and nation-state. Beau Soleil’s earliest prospectuses, examined in Chapter Three, hinted that high-altitude schools faced location-based promotional challenges. Because Alpine environments and sanatoria-like schools were not typically associated with serious study, prospectuses went to great lengths to assure markets of the school’s advantages. Further, in order to sell the school’s practice of offering high-altitude sun-cures for healthy and delicate children alike, Beau Soleil’s advertising relied on psychological propaganda strategies for promoting unconventional boarding school practices. The high-level of professionalism evident in interwar prospectuses, with their high-quality illustrations and skillful copy techniques, suggested Beau Soleil placed considerable faith in the power of modern advertising to secure clientele.

The investigation of two series of “national” level Swiss tourism guides in Chapter Four also revealed the importance of the complex political, economic and social geography involved in the construction of destination images. The Swiss National Tourist Office (STO) series, produced with explicit and implicit assistance from the Swiss Private Schools’ Association, proved nationalism played a key role in representing idealised “Swiss” educational place. The R. Perrin series, on the other hand, revealed Swiss nationalism did not feature in all national level guides. R. Perrin, an international travel agency, wrote from the point of view of English and American tourists. Its consumer-oriented perspective promoted education in Switzerland rather than Swiss education. Explorations of representations of leisure and sports in both STO and R. Perrin guidebooks revealed each series utilized distinctive operational definitions of the terms “education” and “tourism”. The government series defined leisure and sports as Swiss education. It made no reference to either education or tourism as an economic commodity. The R. Perrin guides suggested leisure and sports represented one stream of Swiss “tourism” and schooling and education another.

Unlike the Swiss National Tourist Office, the travel agency discussed leisure, sports and education as Swiss tourism commodities.

The final chapter of the thesis exploring Le Rosey and Brillantmont's interwar prospectuses returned the analysis to the level of the school. However, this chapter discussed representations of single schools within an international framework. By focusing on the theme of mobility, and, by consciously shifting attention away from the immediate frame of the texts, the chapter emphasised elite international school prospectuses are best seen as documents embedded within complex, transnational schooling and school advertising practices. An analysis of images of school sports at winter holiday resorts suggested both Le Rosey and Brillantmont capitalised on the currency of Swiss holiday place within the Anglo-Saxon imaginary. The chapter stressed school prospectuses formed only one part of more complex promotional activities that took place inside and outside of Switzerland.

The chapters as a whole demonstrated that by tethering local capacity to the satisfaction of foreign wants and needs, the wide range of materials examined delineated a social-spatial commodity suitable for outside markets and exclusively available for consumption within Switzerland.

The thesis began by raising questions about the complex historical relationships between education, tourism and promotion in Switzerland. A reference to Dr. Karl E. Lusser's speech at the Annual Congress of the Swiss Tourism Industry (1941) suggested that the question "what did education have to do with hotelerie, transportation and other branches of tourism in Switzerland" represented an unexplored topic in the history of education and in the history of tourism. Recently, criticism about the lack of public awareness about Switzerland's entangled education and tourism economies has echoed Lusser's sentiments. The Education Development and Investment Company of Switzerland (EDICS), a group consisting of members of Parliament, university professors, and Swiss Bankers laments that "despite over one hundred years of an entangled education and tourism economy there remains confusion about this relationship, past and present, among the general public."<sup>914</sup>

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<sup>914</sup> See "Manifesto" for more entrepreneurship in the export of Swiss know-how. EDICS, "Edics' markets," <http://www.edics.ch/markets.htm> (accessed July 16, 2007).

EDICS's "Manifesto to the Swiss people" raised alarm over a complacent public seemingly unaware that Switzerland's historic reputation for excellent education – one of her most valuable cultural assets – was being purchased and used by international, for-profit education companies such as Sylvan Learning Systems who completed a US\$ 15.8 million purchase of a leading hotel management school in Glion as a corporate branding strategy.<sup>915</sup> According to EDICS, Switzerland's consciously developed reputation for excellent education - itself now commodified - should be protected and used for the benefit of Switzerland's own economy.

Noting that on a worldwide basis annual expenditures for private education and training amount to US\$ 400 billion, EDICS warned that if Switzerland was to maintain its historical lead in the private education industries – economic areas now involving a wide range of products beyond study abroad – the public needed to recognise the material value of its ideological destination image and strive to keep this impression "working" for the profit of Switzerland. As this discussion suggests, in a global economy with increased traffic in signs and goods, Swiss education has, like many other "cultural products", become enmeshed in issues of cultural property rights. While the question as to whether the commercialisation of traditional cultural products can extend to education is beyond the confines of this thesis, the fact that this issue is being raised at all points to important questions regarding the commercialisation of educational heritage in past and present contexts.

Already in 1941, Dr. Karl E. Lusser drew attention to the means by which clichés about Swiss education were communicated abroad. He pointed to the role of private international schools and tourism organizations in "trafficking" economically valuable ideational "pictures" of Switzerland as an ideal land for quality education. He

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<sup>915</sup> In 2002, as part of a branding strategy to incorporate the area's reputation for prestigious and quality education already known to global consumers into its own corporate identity, Sylvan Learning Systems, one of the largest multi-national for-profit education companies in the world completed a 15.8 million dollar cash purchase of a leading hotel management school in Glion, Lake Geneva Region, Switzerland. Sylvan desired associating its own name to Swiss educational "know how" and to Switzerland's long-standing reputation as a land of high quality. Cultural, linguistic and spatial turns in the social sciences and humanities have influenced both educational and tourism historiography in their separate domains. Studies from both fields, drawing upon a range of approaches and methods of enquiry have identified promotional texts as rich sources for understanding the textual articulation of idealised educational and tourism landscapes. Historians and contemporary theorists alike have asserted the argument that promotional images are not a reflection but an extension of products of education.

recognised intangible constructions of place to be an important part of the product mix of tourism and study abroad. By stressing that Switzerland's international reputation as a country with both intellect and beauty did not magically fly to distant parts of the globe, Lusser emphasised the role of both partisan and non-partisan players in the diffusion of knowledge about Swiss schools. At the same time, his observations brought attention to Switzerland's reputation as an entity negotiated on an international level.

This thesis took Lusser's comments as a clue that the commodification of education and tourism through promotional images in Switzerland was not new. The most significant contribution of the thesis has been to critically examine ideological representations of desirable educational and tourism places in texts which, to varying degrees, contributed to the eventual reification of education as symbol of Swiss nationhood. While the thesis by no means suggested the texts examined determined Switzerland's destination identity, its tour of textual "Swiss" educational geographies identified prospectuses and tourism guides as important sources for examining ideological images that supported Switzerland's reputation over time. By investigating textual constructions of Swiss educational geographies designed to promote Swiss education as "of high quality", the social construction of high quality educational place has been shown to be a historically contingent process that involved advertising.

The research has added the topic of education to discussions about the historical role images generated within tourism advertising campaigns have played in the development of consumer culture. It has contributed to the history of education by discussing the commodification of Swiss education within a study abroad and tourism industry context. In the course of the analysis, the thesis has illustrated the breath of "product" as advertised for consumption. It has shown that, at the ideational level, this product was complex and blurred. It has also shed light on layers of discursive and socio-spatial tensions that contributed to a bricolage of, at times, contradictory representations in the images of educational place "up for sale". The many social practices, values and ideas represented in promotional texts constructing the study abroad destinations examined here point to some of the ways in which the symbolic marriage between education and tourism took shape. Within the commodifying place-

making images, the union caused more tension in some texts than in others. In some documents tourism and education seemed strange bedfellows. In others they appeared a more natural alliance. At a basic level, the thesis has therefore raised questions about the meanings of education and tourism in textual geographies. The content of the prospectuses and education-focused tourism guides in the sample, as a whole, speaks to the futility of definitional anxieties over either term. No straight forward division between these social practices existed. Ultimately, the congruency of these social practices as represented depended upon underlying definitional assumptions. Why are definitions relevant? Because often, the questions of commodification of either education or tourism are subject to semantic debate.

An interesting observation of the thesis is that negative discursive connotations of tourism surfaced in government texts. As mentioned above, in the Swiss National Tourism Office series, the tourist resort symbolised conspicuous consumption, the realm of superficial social practices built around “false needs,” the gratification of the senses, relaxation, play, sightseeing and idleness. In the same series, education emerged as tourism’s binary opposite; it symbolised distance from consumerist society. It stood for higher levels of culture, human betterment, work, knowledge production, societal progress, democracy and morality. These construals of education and tourism contrasted starkly with R. Perrin travel agency’s declaration that education was an important tourism commodity for Switzerland. Here it is important to separate definitions as represented in discourses in the texts from the texts’ role in defining education as a commodity through promotional action. Clearly, all the texts studied defined education as a tourism product by promoting it within the context of the for-profit tourism industry. While the government series intimated associations between education and for-profit capitalist economic processes were “bad” – or, at very least, best not talked about – the texts of the series nevertheless commodified images of education as a tourism product. In this respect, the travel agency’s simple assertion that relations between education and the for-profit economy were facts of life to be taken for granted appears more grounded in economic reality. The important observation is not, however, that Swiss education (public or private) was implicated in the tourism

economy. Yet, as this thesis has also demonstrated, the more critical question is which types of Swiss education were implicated in the tourism economy, how and by whom.

Exploring texts produced on both the educational and tourism sides of the entangled economy, the thesis has stressed both independent and collaborative promotional efforts of private international schools, their associations and tourism organisations fostered Switzerland's reputation as an educational nation: the thesis has shown Switzerland's "educational image" was also a tourism image. This thesis points to the fact that not all types of educational organisations participated in conscientiously implicating Swiss education in the tourism economy. Its documents raise questions about the role of public and private entities in promotion. The inclusion of one guide prepared by the Neuchâtel School Commissioners reminds us that the public schools did play a role. That the Swiss private school industry helped promote Swiss private and public education on an international level suggests private education was involved in commodifying Swiss education at a broad level. The public, governmental funding of the National Tourist Office indicates the same public funds which paid for public schooling also paid for the promotion of education as a tourism product.

This thesis has addressed issues of power by concentrating on economic factors and on ideological constructions in the texts. It has stressed the documents studied were created within the contexts of specific social practices which were, in turn shaped by social structures and human agency. Viewing texts as elements of social life interconnected with larger social, cultural and political events, the thesis has brought issues of power, the economy, social relations and structures into the discussion. It has closely examined the content of specific texts while endeavouring to situate content in relation to larger "orders of discourses." By identifying the ideological work of texts at the levels of social action, representation and identification, the thesis has shown the place-building strategies were not neutral, objective nor outside the realm of gender, class or ethnic power relations. Through a grounded historical study the thesis has identified some institutional positions, interests, and values that shaped the promotional messages.

The limitations of the thesis address several areas which require further research. The sample of texts studied was linked to larger "chains" or "networks" of

people, organisations and texts. The documents examined participated in weaving together social practices across different domains or fields of social life (education, tourism, the economy) and varied scales of social life (global, regional, national, local). However, the sample studied was limited. The study prioritised texts produced in French-speaking Switzerland. This area is historically significant in the development of the Swiss educational tourism industry; however, other regions in Switzerland were also involved in fostering the country's destination identity. While the original search for education-focused tourism guides at the Swiss National Library did not reveal education-focused tourism guides from other regions that by no means suggests such texts do not exist. During the course of writing the thesis, at least one text from Zurich and another from Basel were discovered at the Library. These suggest that in other libraries or archives additional guides might be found. A comparative study of education-focused tourism guides would provide a more regionally representative analysis. It is also important to investigate guides published in other languages. The Anglo-centric nature of this thesis requires revision. Swiss scholars would bring an important perspective to the topic. Given the international relationships involved, collaborative research would be appropriate.

Further, there are other long-standing international schools in various parts of the country. Records of now-defunct schools also exist. A broader and more varied sample of private international schools prospectuses would reveal further representations of Swiss schools. A larger sample would help establish the extent to which schools relied on tourism advertising resources and techniques. A more extensive study of the general promotional strategies schools used would furnish a more comprehensive understanding. Prospectuses were only one means of advertising. Additionally, the post-World War II promotional campaigns the Swiss Private Schools' Association deliberately targeted non-Western countries and opened up another important chapter in the history of the advertising of Swiss education abroad. One interesting question is whether schools changed their prospectuses according to these wider marketing efforts.

Other types of education focused tourism promotion might also be investigated. The representation of education within the Swiss Federal Railways' newspaper

advertisements during the interwar period, for example constitute a wealth of education-focused “clichés” that differentiated towns in the French-speaking region as educational centres.<sup>916</sup> The separate campaigns produced by Swiss tourism offices abroad have not yet been explored. The education-focused poster campaigns aimed at American public schools offer one site of inquiry. The newspaper editorial campaign launched by the Swiss Private Schools’ Association offers further avenue of investigation.<sup>917</sup>

A further dimension of the promotional story yet to be examined is the role non-profit ideologically motivated international schools and organisations played in marketing. The International School of Geneva (Ecolint)<sup>918</sup> during the late 1930s, was for example, involved with the Swiss Private School Association campaigns.<sup>919</sup> In 1945 the STO, SPA and the International Bureau of Education (IBE) promoted Swiss education in a guidebook.<sup>920</sup> The participation of these not-for-profit organisations adds an important twist to the educational tourism intersection. The participation of Ecolint suggests it is an error to take the proprietary school/ tourism organisation alliance for granted. The participation of the IBE, funded by public schools worldwide, raises questions as to who was funding and participating in Swiss tourism campaigns and for what reasons.

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<sup>916</sup> These advertisements included phrases such as “When you get to Switzerland visit Geneva. The ancient and beautiful university town of Geneva is one of the most attractive and interesting cities on the continent of Europe. It is an unrivalled excursion centre and – since Calvin’s time – a model centre of education.” See Display Ad, *New York Times*, April 30, 1922. Or, for example “universities with summer courses all yours at prices so moderate you will be astonished!” See Display Ad, *New York Times*, May 4, 1933.

<sup>917</sup> Segments of tourism guidebook texts the Swiss Private Schools’ Association forwarded to American papers appeared as regular articles. See for example, “Switzerland’s Invisible Exports Depend on Big Tourism Business; Known as ‘Europe’s Playground’,” *Christian Science Monitor*, July 9, 1936.

<sup>918</sup> The International School of Geneva (Ecolint) is traditionally accepted as the world’s first “international school”. The institution, founded in 1924, was established upon the basis of progressive ideals and for the explicit purpose of fostering world peace by individuals involved in The League of Nations, the International Labour Office (ILO), the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), The International Bureau of New Schools (1899) and the Rousseau Institute. See, M. Knight, *Ecolint: A Portrait of the International School of Geneva, 1924-1999*, (Geneva: International School of Geneva, 1999). See also Robert Sylvester, “Mapping International Education: A Historical Survey 1893-1944”, *Journal of Research in International Education* vol. 1(1), 2000: 90-125.

<sup>919</sup> At a glance, ideologically motivated, non-profit international education intuitively seeks distance from the for-profit tourism industry. This distance cannot be assumed. It is however, important not to overestimate the participation of non-profits. Of the 40 to 60 member schools of the Swiss Private Schools’ Association in the interwar period only approximately 3 were not-for-profit.

<sup>920</sup> A. Laett, “School and Education in Switzerland,” *Schweizer Erziehungsrundschau [Swiss Revue of Education]*, 2 (1929-30): 56.

Questions as to whether private schools and tourism organisations cooperated in promotional campaigns in other countries remain unexplored. While it is often assumed that marketing campaigns crafting for example, Britain, Canada or Australia as ideal places for international education are new phenomena, only further historical study will determine whether or not that is the case.

This thesis has made it a priority to question the manufacturing of imagined educational geographies. By examining a small sample of private schools prospectuses and education-focused tourism guides this thesis has explored textual constructions of destination-images at the intersection of Swiss education and tourism. It has identified the importance of investigating promotional representations of educational and tourism place as mediated, ideological and culturally determined ways of seeing. By researching texts produced on each end of the educational-tourist entanglement the thesis has brought educational and tourism history together and made it easier to see the relationship between private schools prospectuses and education focused tourism guides. As place-making texts that developed within the historical context of overlapping industries the documents examined in the thesis exhibited signs of the interrelated networks of social practices within which they developed. They can be seen as hybridized promotion genres because they shared common discursal purposes and exhibited similarities in textual formats due to borrowed practices and artistic approaches.

By investigating conscious advertising campaigns which contributed to Switzerland's international reputation as classroom and playground of the world the thesis has encouraged critical thought about the historical development of imagined educational geographies within the context of entangled education and tourism economies.

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## Appendix A

I reviewed approximately 25 guides for this chapter, including all the different editions. The first period guides revealed a complex portrait of vested interest, good intentions, and publicity objectives. Different types of organisations published guides: tourism publicity firms (one of which claimed to specialise in “intellectual resources”), non/government-funded town publicity committees, school trustees, English Church groups, and non-affiliated individual authors.

The company Cie Gle Colonnes d’Affichage et de Publicité, for example, published tourism guides and posters and explained its purpose in printing *Geneva Guide: Its Sports and Intellectual Resources* (1899) as “to lay before the Anglo-Saxon public a well argued statement of the Intellectual resources, as well as the Sports to be enjoyed in Geneva.”<sup>921</sup> This company represented the rare *for-profit* organisation that published a tourist guidebook exclusively on education and sports. This firm that “venture[d] to claim precedence of the authors of other Geneva Guide-Books” hired Robert Harvey, Professor of English Language and Literature at the secondary school Geneva Gymnasium, to author the guide and Edouard Jeanmaire (1847-1916), to illustrate the text (see fig. A.1).<sup>922</sup> The British Consul of Geneva, George Philippo personally endorsed the publication with its mixture of English literary prose and early modern advertising copy.<sup>923</sup> The booklet consisted of 78 pages divided into several chapters and was the only sample guide to focus solely on education *and* include paid advertisements.

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<sup>921</sup> Robert Harvey, *Geneva Guide: Its Sports and Intellectual Resources* (Geneva: Colonnes d’Affichage et de Publicité, 1899).

<sup>922</sup> Ibid., Foreword. It is unclear whether guides capitalised letters for effect or whether this was the result of a German typists applying German grammar in an English context. Edouard Jeanmaire was a well known Swiss artist from the Canton of Neuchâtel. See F. Kaufmann, “Edouard Jeanmarie, le Seigneur de la Joux-Perret,” *Nouvelle Revue Neuchâtoise* 58 (1995), 2-27.

<sup>923</sup> I do not mean to suggest Harvey had professional experience in advertising copy-writing merely that he was familiar, as any literate person would have been at the time with the commonly used terms, techniques and strategies of advertising. His choice to use such expressions as “results” is just one example I discuss in the chapter.

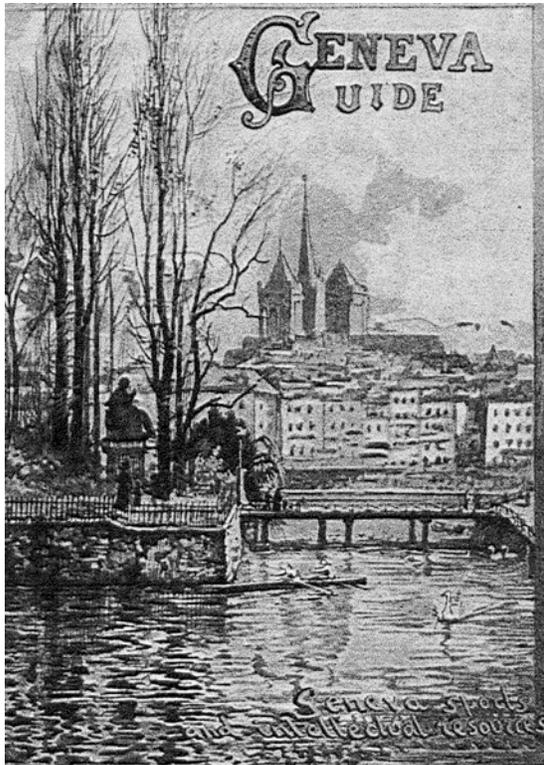


Fig. A.1: Cover by Edouard Jeanmaire (Harvey, Geneva Educational Centre, 1899)

Town publicity committees, including the Association for the Interests of Geneva (AIG), the Free Inquiry Office of Geneva and the Society for the Development of Lausanne (SDL) also promoted education. Each organisation brought its own writing style. The Geneva town publicity committee preferred facts and little commentary. The Lausanne committee preferred less facts and more commentary. Both Geneva and Lausanne town publicity committee guides advertised *the public system of instruction* to foreigners and advised the particulars of paid extra fees.

Between 1899 and 1905 the Association for the Interests of Geneva published annual editions of *Geneva: An Educational Centre* that counted 30-50 pages; between 1899 and 1906 it also released four editions of *A Guide Giving an Account of Public Instruction in Geneva*.<sup>924</sup> Atar, a well known travel guide publisher, distributed *Public*

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<sup>924</sup> These editions are catalogued in the Swiss National Library. There were likely other earlier guides. Association for the Interests of Geneva, *Geneva: An Educational Centre* (Geneva: Association of the Interests of Geneva), (hereinafter “AIG, *Geneva: An Educational Centre*”); Association of the Interests of Geneva, *A Guide Giving an Account of Public Instruction in Geneva* (Geneva: Atar S.A.), (hereinafter “AIG, *Public Instruction in Geneva*”).

*Instruction in Geneva* (1900). They were similar, although *Geneva: An Educational Centre* furnished more details regarding typical tourism options (see fig. A.2).

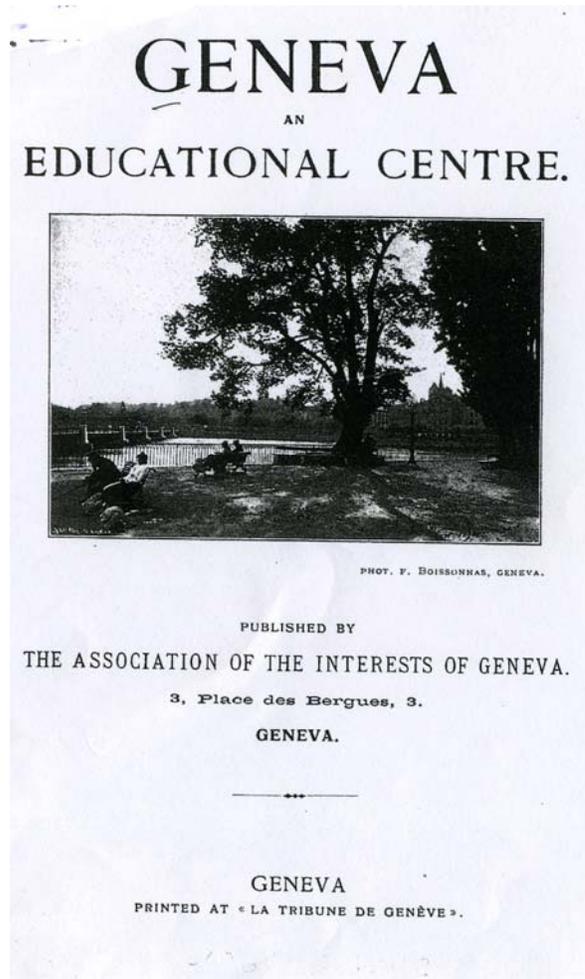


Fig. A.2: Sample cover page (*Geneva: An Educational Centre*, 1905)

The Association's guides aimed to provide:

- (1) an accurate and complete account of educational establishments founded, directed or controlled by the State and Town of Geneva<sup>925</sup>,
- (2) interesting information on Geneva as a scientific, literary and artistic centre and as a starting point for excursions, and
- (3) information on the numerous facilities for athletics and physical culture.<sup>926</sup>

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<sup>925</sup> The Association provided information on topics including private boarding schools, day schools, free schools, professors and teachers, families that took in young boarders and boarding houses in person at their office (The Inquiry Office of Geneva) and by written request.

<sup>926</sup> AIG, *Public Instruction in Geneva* (1900), 3.

The same association also included education as a topic in general tourism guides, such as *Beautiful, Intellectual, Historical Geneva* (four editions between 189?-1906).<sup>927</sup>

The Free Inquiry Office of Geneva published general guides with dedicated considerable attention to education. Using the format of an eight-day tour *Eight Days at Geneva* (189?, 1900, 1901, 1906) included a concise explanation of Geneva's public education system, as well as arguments as to why the city was a superior intellectual centre (see fig. A.3).<sup>928</sup>



Fig. A.3: Advertisement for the Free Inquiry Office (*Eight Days at Geneva*, 1906)

Guides produced by the Society for the Development of Lausanne (1888-1907) included 10 page sections on education that directed “English and American tourists to the various resources of the town.”<sup>929</sup> Selected public schools and the Academy were described and various educational options for foreigners, including private schools and educational tourist activities, were set forth. Advertisements for some of the “...numerous private schools with excellent reputations, to which come pupils from all over the world” were included in the back pages.<sup>930</sup>

<sup>927</sup> Association for the Interests of Geneva, *Beautiful, Intellectual, Historical Geneva* (Geneva: Soc. Anon. Des Arts Graphiques, 189?-1906).

<sup>928</sup> E.W. Viollier, *Eight Days at Geneva* (Geneva: Soc. Générale d’Imprimerie).

<sup>929</sup> The name of the individual guides varied, for example, *Guide to Lausanne Switzerland* (Lausanne: Society for the Development of Lausanne, 1888, 1890) or, *Guide to Lausanne and Ouchy: Western Switzerland* (Lausanne: Society for the Development of Lausanne, 1894, 1896, 1899, 1906 and 1907), (hereinafter “SDL, *Guide to Lausanne*”).

<sup>930</sup> SDL, *Guide to Lausanne* (1894), 6.

Neuchâtel's school commissioners published the 30 page *Neuchâtel* (1898). This guide described the public schools, special classes for foreigners, and the town itself. Sports and other tourist activities received limited attention.<sup>931</sup> The Neuchâtel and Yverdon English Church published *Education at Neuchâtel* in 1904 and 1911.<sup>932</sup> These booklets directly addressed English audiences, and included a lengthy discussion of the merits of modern language education and detailed the specific benefits of education at Neuchâtel.<sup>933</sup> The author of the 1911 guide, Gustav Adolf Bienemann, was Swiss but had been "connected with English public schools for over thirty five years."<sup>934</sup>

A few single-authored guidebooks also examined educational topics. Professor E. Doumergue of Moutauban (France)'s - *Geneva Past and Present: An Historical and Descriptive Guide for the Use of Foreign Visitors in Geneva* (1909) described Geneva's intellectual history and celebrated the city for those interested in study abroad.<sup>935</sup> Albert de Roulet's *Vevey in French Switzerland* (1903) included lengthy discussions on private schooling.<sup>936</sup> Charles Cornaz-Vulliet's *Yverdon* (1890) maintained the town's historical claim as an international centre and devoted several pages to the life and work of Pestalozzi.<sup>937</sup> Finally, some guides, such as Joyce Emmerson Muddock's *Muddock's Pocket Guide for Geneva and Chamonix* contained brief mention of education.<sup>938</sup> Ignace de Longinski's *Excursions to the Environs of Geneva* (1902) also mentioned education.<sup>939</sup>

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<sup>931</sup> The School Commissioners, *Neuchâtel, Switzerland: The Schools and Their Buildings* (Neuchâtel: The School Commissioners, 1898).

<sup>932</sup> Gustav Adolf Bienemann, *Education at Neuchâtel* (Neuchâtel: Attiger Bros, 1911).

<sup>933</sup> Other Neuchâtel guides which gave some attention to education include Auguste Bachelin, *Neuchâtel and its Environs* (Zurich: [s.n.], 1884), The Foreigner's Office, *Neuchâtel: From the Lake to the Jura and the Country of Watchmaking* (Neuchâtel: Max Diacon, [s.n.], 1896). Neuchâtel Inquiry Office, *Illustrated Guide to the Canton of Neuchâtel Switzerland* (Neuchâtel: Delachaux & Niestlé, 1903), Neuchâtel Inquiry Office, *Guide to the Canton of Neuchâtel, Switzerland* (Neuchâtel: Delachaux & Niestlé, 1907).

<sup>934</sup> The exact nature of his connection is unclear. From the text it is only possible to ascertain that he spent one semester in an unnamed English public school, whether this was in England or not is another question ("English public schools" did exist in Switzerland).

<sup>935</sup> E. Doumergue, *Geneva Past and Present: An Historical and Descriptive Guide for the Use of Foreign Visitors in Geneva* (Geneva: Atar, 1909), 7.

<sup>936</sup> A. de Roulet, *Vevey in French Switzerland* (Vevey: Sueberlin & Pfeiffer, 1903).

<sup>937</sup> C. Cornaz-Vulliet, *Yverdon* (Vevey: [s.n.], 1903).

<sup>938</sup> J. Muddock, *Muddock's Pocket Guide for Geneva and Chamonix* (London: [s.n.], 1886).

<sup>939</sup> I. de Longinski, *Excursions to the Environs of Geneva* (Geneva: Printing Office of the Tribune, 1902).

Universities also published promotional booklets. The 14 page *University of Geneva* (1893) described all levels of education and offered a lengthy historical argument attesting to the quality of education.<sup>940</sup> Although it supplied no details of the university programs, it argued all classes at the university were excellent.<sup>941</sup>

Some guides in the sample were more promotion-oriented than others.<sup>942</sup> All however, advertised. They created entirely positive visions of towns and their schools.

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<sup>940</sup> Anonymous, *University Education at Geneva* (Geneva: Julius-William Fick, 1893), 11.

<sup>941</sup> The guides described above constitute the main guides analysed in this chapter. Other guides which mentioned education will be referred to intermittently.

<sup>942</sup> Guide producers, including The Society for the Development of Lausanne made various claims of objectivity, for example, suggesting: “All information is given with the strictest impartiality.” SDL, *Guide to Lausanne* (1890), 1. Yet without exception, guides breached their own stipulated terms. The Lausanne guide, for example, stated in the subsequent sentence “The Society provides recommendations to good schools,” see SDL, *Guide to Lausanne* (1890), 3.