

WORK AND BREAD

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The second floor of the house is about

- where women and men in Graubünden found and find work.
- how they earned and earn their daily bread.

The individual rooms deal with the following topics:

**Agriculture; Trade and Industry; Transport;
Tourism; Emigration and Immigration**

The largest part of Graubünden's population lived by mountain farming until far into the 19th century; as much as possible according to the principles of self-subsistence. The prime source of income came from the sale of livestock. After 1900 market economy started to replace subsistence. After World War II the number of farming enterprises rapidly diminished despite state subsidy. Today agriculture in Graubünden is looking for a new identity by stressing landscape conservation and organic niche-production.

Traditional trade relied above all on local resources such as wood, stone, hydropower and ore deposits. Up until the 19th century there were not many tradespeople outside urban centres that were not also farmers at the same time. The most important exceptions were the guilds of Chur. Large industrial enterprises, except for very few, were never able to establish themselves in Graubünden. Of importance are the numerous hydropower stations. The valleys, through which the roads over the passes led, profited

from transit traffic. There was a final high point after the roads were built in the middle of the 19th century. After that the service-sector transit-traffic was replaced by the service-sector tourism.

Graubünden profited from a new enthusiasm for the Alps. General public transport replaced transit traffic. Tourism became the motor of Graubünden's economy. With the traditional exodus from agricultural regions came immigration into tourist areas.

The enormous differences between highly developed service centres and outlying valleys with mostly agriculture remain unchanged.

TRANSPORT

Since prehistoric times the people along the routes over the passes profited from transport across the Alps, whether they were mountain freight haulers, sumpters, innkeepers, craftsmen or farmers. The downside was the passage of foreign troops. After Roman times nothing changed for pedestrian and merchant transport despite various attempts from the Middle Ages up until early modern times with the exception of short road sections and brief periods.

The first continuous routes over the passes suitable for two-axle carriages were built after 1820, first over the San Bernardino and Splügen, then over the Julier and Maloja. With the opening of the Gotthard railway 1882 the era of transport traffic in Graubünden came to an end. After that Graubünden successfully developed public transport for tourism with mail coaches and the «Rhätische Bahn» (local railway). If for nothing else than because of competition automobiles remained banned in the Canton for a long time. Only after bitter disputes and ten referendums were cars finally allowed in 1925.

The opening of the San Bernardino tunnel 1967 once more brought Graubünden a modest share of international Alpine traffic along the roads. However, the constantly faster passenger and goods transport calls for less overnight- and other stops. This means that the economic benefit of transit traffic for the Alpine region has become very modest.

The local population also profited from the cross-Alpine and tourist transport infrastructure. The network of main roads was developed at high costs in the second half of the 19th century. However, for peripheral regions the era of pedestrian and sumpter transport ended much later, for instance for Schamserberg (1906) or the Samnaun (1912). After World War I the last communities got their modern roads, with the exception of Braggio and Landarenca in the Calanca valley. They were provided with cable cars in 1961 and 1962. Especially after 1950 cantonal and federal subsidies made the construction of forest roads and roads up to the «Maiensässe» (lowest part of mountain pasture) and the Alps possible.

«Saint Gallus, Luzius and Fridolin drive with steam still to Tessin»
(Banner 1858 at the arrival of the first railway train in Chur)

TRADE AND INDUSTRY

Traditional trade relied above all on local resources such as wood, stone, hydropower and ore deposits.

Prehistoric mining and the processing of metal that goes with it can be verified at the latest by the Bronze Age. Countless attempts at metal mining followed until the 20th century. However, these were usually abandoned again after only a few years because they were not profitable.

Until well into the 19th century trade in Graubünden was mostly to do with acquisitions for agriculture. The prospects for making a living as miller, blacksmith, carpenter or potter were too meagre. Migratory tradesmen were a strong competition, for example, in the construction of houses. Besides, whenever possible farmers tried to do all their work themselves. Travelling traders, grocers and markets provided the population with the rest of their needs.

The town of Chur was an exception with its five guilds, the winegrowers, shoemakers, tailors, blacksmiths and «Pfister» (bakers and grain traders). These monopoly-like corporations dominated the economic and also the political life of Chur between 1465 and 1840.

Graubünden never became an industrialized region. The frenzy for industry soon subsided after the opening of the railway line from the north in 1858. Industry was confined to the Chur Rhine valley

and some regional centres. It played and plays a moderate role within the Canton. The first electric power plant was already built in 1879 in St. Moritz. Many additional plants as well as larger and larger ones followed until around 1970. They are accordingly of great importance both politically and economically.

Contrary to the usual pattern, Graubünden accomplished the transformation from an agricultural to a service state directly. In 1920 most of the working population was still employed in agriculture and forestry. In 1930 the service sector already ranked first, in Graubünden primarily with tourism.

Mining and Metal Processing For thousands of years the manifold ore deposits of Graubünden's mountains were quarried. For the population mining meant a welcome additional income.

Slag and metal finds from Bronze Age settlement sites (starting 2000 B.C.) prove that there was mining and copper processing. As early as before Roman times iron smelting has been verified.

Mining activity lasted until far into the 19th century. There is evidence of over 85 mining and processing sites. Above all iron but also silver, lead and copper deposits were exploited. Thomas 1st von Schauenstein (1609–1628) had coins minted in local silver. The investors of the 19th century were above all interested in gold. Best-known evidence is the doubloons from the gold output «Goldene Sonne» on the Calanda. However, the yield here and elsewhere was too limited to make it worthwhile in the long run.

In the collection of the Rätische Museum there are numerous tools and products of local metal processing. The stone moulds of the Bronze Age from Savognin-Padnal served among other things for the making of jewellery pins. Intensive forging activity is verifiable in Roman settlements. Metalworking reached its golden age starting in the 15th century. Finely chiselled locks, hinges, lattices, weather vanes

etc. were crafted. In the region of today's Graubünden no less than nine minting workshops were in operation.

Craftsmen Farmers and Farmer Craftsmen Until the first half of the 19th century agriculture, transport industry and at times mercenary service were the most important sources of income. Craft, trade and later also industry were of secondary importance. Large parts of trade production served personal needs.

There is proof of a seasonally used production site dating back to around 3000 B.C. on the Petrushügel near Cazis. The large number of products indicates a commercial enterprise.

The production of dishes made of Lavez (soapstone, pietra ollare) has been a specialty of the southern valleys of Graubünden since Roman times. As of the 18th century in Disentis and surrounding areas numerous workshops were set up for the manufacture of so-called «Tavetscheröfen» (ovens from Tavetsch) made of soapstone slabs.

Until now, outside of Chur, only very few workshops from pre-modern times have been studied more closely. One of the rare archaeologically verified

examples is the bone workshop from the 18th–19th century in Gonda near Lavin.

Several small workshops tried their luck with processing local raw materials such as clay and stone. 1786 a pottery in St. Antönien in the Prättigau was set up. Tableware, oven tiles and water pipes were made there. Another pottery existed from 1834 up until 1920 in Tujetsch-Bugnei in the Bündner Oberland. With the advent of modern transport possibilities most of these workshops disappeared at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century.

Guild Town Chur 1464 Emperor Friedrich III gave the town of Chur the right to establish guilds. One year later the following corporations were founded:

- Winegrower's Guild: Owners of field-, vineyard- and meadow-land, scholars, officers, aristocrats
- Shoemaker's Guild: Butchers, tanners and shoemakers
- Tailor's Guild: Furriers, shopkeepers, rope-makers, hatters, weavers, tailors, cloth- cutters and other textile professions
- Blacksmith's Guild: Stone masons, bricklayers, carpenters, painters, glaziers, saddlers, wainwrights, coopers, wheelwrights and blacksmiths
- Baker's Guild: Millers, grain dealers, innkeepers, barbers, bathers and bakers.

The power was now in the hands of the trade associations. The citizens of Chur were now authorised to designate mayor, council members and judicial bodies without the say of the bishop, the former town dignitary. From now on a political career was only possible as a guild member. For this reason, the aristocrats also had themselves admitted into a guild, mainly as land-owners. Non-citizens, bondsmen and those born out of wedlock were excluded as members, admission of women was only very limited.

Economically the guilds held a monopoly position. The guild order regulated all economic activities such as prices, wages or opening hours. It also determined the size of businesses, how many firms of one industry branch were permitted in the town, as well as the quality of the products.

In the 19th century there were more and more demands for a greater say in political matters and freedom of trade. The guild order increasingly aroused criticism and was finally revoked in 1840.

Industry As a rule industry had a hard time surviving in the border region which is Graubünden. Of the early industrial businesses started in the course of the 18th century the majority soon closed down again. 1870 industry in Graubünden comprised 42 enterprises, from the tobacco company to the cotton mill, from the brickyard to the pasta factory, from the brewery to the engineering works. End of the 19th century there were 77 companies that employed roughly 2000 workers. Looking at economy as a whole, however, industry in Graubünden – with the exception of power production – has to this day been of lesser importance. In recent years and decades Chur especially has lost some traditional firms due to shutdown or departure.

Today many firms in Graubünden try their luck with high-tech-products. The Ems-Chemie AG with its 1200 employees is the largest private employer in Graubünden. Among other things it produces plastics, which are made into worldwide leading brands. The paper factory Landquart founded as early as 1872 is today manufacturing innovative special- and security-paper for the international market under the name of LandQart. Since 1986 the firm Cedes in Landquart has been producing sensors for doors and lifts and exports these to over 60 countries. The American company Hamilton started production in Bonaduz in 1967. As leading provider of medical high-tech instruments and syringes the company employs more than 750 workers.

AGRICULTURE

In the region of today's Graubünden the Neolithic Revolution – roughly in the 5th millennium – also brought the transition from roaming groups of hunters and gatherers to settled farmers and stockbreeders.

In the damp climate of the northern slopes of the Alps at high altitudes only stockbreeding was possible. In the valleys of the inner and southern Alps conditions for grain farming were more favourable. In the course of time Alpine topography and the short growing season made a gradual cultivation of the forage areas possible. Because of the hopeless track network the principle was «livestock goes to its food», in absolute contrast to today's centralized stalls. The processing of produce was carried out whenever possible by the farming families themselves under enormous work input and the smallest possible capital costs. This applied, for example, to the long distance from the grain fields to the bake house or from the flax fields to the winter living room for spinning and weaving.

Hard cash could mostly be earned by the sale of livestock. Up to the 19th century the large cattle markets were held on the southern slopes of the Alps. This was also where the products were bought that could not be produced locally, for example salt.

A market orientation for agriculture in Graubünden increased significantly with the advent of tourism.

Now there were local and regional buyers, for example for milk products or meat. In peripheral regions that lacked trade outlets in outside or other centres, mountain farming plunged into a severe crisis as early as the end of the 19th century. This was further accelerated after World War II. The number of farming enterprises dropped, as did that of the farming population. Specialisation, centralisation and mechanisation were the distinctive factors of further development.

As before, mountain agriculture must ensure ecological stability, sustainable production as well as diversity and singularity of the cultural landscape.

WORK AND BREAD A short chronology

2014	58% of all farms in Graubünden are organic farms
after 1960	winter tourism overtakes summer tourism
after World War II	construction of the big hydroelectric plants
1930	for the first time service sector largest industry
1925	admission of cars in Graubünden (with restrictions)
1920	agriculture and forestry largest sector for the last time
1890	opening of feeder-railway Landquart-Davos
1882	opening of Gotthard railway, end of transit transport in Graubünden
1880–1914	tourism boom, crisis of agriculture

2 nd half 19 th century	major emigration overseas
after 1850/60	begin of tourism in Graubünden
1818–23	construction of Alpine roads over Splügen and San Bernardino
19 th century	last mining-boom in Graubünden
1770–73, 1816	years of famine
1717	first cultivation of potatoes in Graubünden
1465	foundation of the five guilds in Chur
1387, 1493	expansion of the Septimer route and of the Viamala-trail
12 th /13 th century	beginning of Walser immigration
Bronze Age	mining and metal processing
5 th millennium B.C.	hunters and gatherers become sedentary (Neolithic Revolution)

Neolithic Revolution The Neolithic period (Young Stone Age) is characterized by an extraordinary event, which can be called revolutionary for the way of life of humans: Hunters, fishers and gatherers that had lived in caves or tent-like constructions became sedentary farmers. For the first time fields were cultivated, livestock bred, and dwellings, stables and storage buildings constructed. Man cultivated different sorts of grain and other plants. He domesticated sheep and goat, pig and cattle, kept dogs and later horses as domestic animals. Beside the plough, pottery is new for this period. Various vessels made the storing of supplies possible. The transition from the Mesolithic (Middle Stone Age) to the Neolithic period does not constitute a uniform and clear turning point. Numerous tools from earlier periods still found use.

On the territory of what today is the Canton Graubünden evidence of the first farmers in the 5th millennium B.C. is verified. On the area «Ackermann» in Chur stripes of discolouration were discovered bordering Neolithic settlement remains. These discolorations are without doubt traces of plough agriculture. In Castaneda-Pian del Remit in the Calanca valley, next to a Neolithic house numerous lattice-like plough traces were found.

The few known settlements of the Neolithic period are mainly in lower-lying and transit valleys. There are surely further traces of prehistoric agriculture in the Alpine valleys of Graubünden that are presently waiting to be discovered.

Self-Sufficiency and Market Up until the 19th century the population lived mainly on farming and forestry.

Remains of grain and other cultivated plants from Bronze Age settlements confirm the importance and diversity of early farming in Graubünden. Some time later special cultures became established such as wine- and fruit-growing, chestnut cultivation or the cultivation of hemp and other fibre plants.

In 1717 for the first time in the Three Leagues potatoes were planted in the castle garden of Marschlins. However, not until the years of famine 1770–1773 and 1816 did this plant gain real importance. In the course of the 19th century it finally became a staple food as substitute for the lack of grain.

Livestock breeding always held an important position. At first mainly small livestock (sheep, goat, pig) were bred. Not until the Late Middle Ages did large livestock breeding and dairy farming gain

importance. Alpine farming was often organised co-operatively. The long winter months were a time for farming people to work at home (textile- and woodwork) and for forest management.

Agriculture primarily covered personal requirements. In the early 19th century barter was still widespread. In addition export is documented since Roman times. Furthermore farmers were able to generate additional profits by selling their products on the local markets. Especially the sale of livestock, mainly in Lombardy, was an important economic factor.

Mechanization For a long time most farms in Graubünden held on to traditional forms of production. Strenuous physical labour by the whole family and work on scattered lots shaped everyday life. During the year farmers followed the feeding grounds at different altitudes from the valley floor up to the Alpine pastures. In the post war period new technical possibilities led to fundamental changes. Tractors, first mainly single-axle vehicles with trailer and cutter bar, replaced the traditional teams of draught animals (cows, oxen and horses). The motorised means of transport and the corresponding mechanical equipment made work easier and diminished the need for manpower.

Mechanization also affected animal husbandry: The feed could now be gathered with less effort and brought to the livestock. Large central stables replaced the numerous external stables, which were located far apart. Milking machines shortened work by hand to a minimum.

Land improvements with property consolidations, road building and better infrastructure made a more productive farming with rationalised operational structures possible.

The yearly cycle for the farmers was now far less determined by having to move from place to place. Improved living conditions also brought the farming families a certain degree of comfort. Modernization of agriculture requires considerable investments. Without financial support by the state mountain farming would be unthinkable.

Prospects The number of farms in Graubünden is continuing to decrease. Between 1996 and 2008 it has fallen by more than one quarter to 2'809 despite extensive state support. The farm working population has also gone back from 10'242 to 7'209, of these about 40 per cent are fully employed. Reasons for the decrease are mainly their small scale combined with excessive costs as well as the increasing competition in a liberalised world market.

Today's agriculture in Graubünden is confronted with new challenges that force the farmers to permanently continue their education and to develop innovative marketing strategies. The agricultural college «Plantahof» in Landquart, founded in 1896, promotes competitive, multifunctional, and organic farming.

With new strategies the economic competitiveness is to be improved by adapting to the changing demand. With its 1'438 organic farms Graubünden has the largest share in the whole of Switzerland. Animal husbandry is becoming more natural and diversified. The percentage of dairy cattle is decreasing. More and more farms are keeping sheep, goats and horses, as well as ancient native species or exotic animals. Then again, some farmers are seeking to improve their yield by using new techniques of bio- and genetic research.

The culinary specialties of Graubünden enjoy great popularity. Regionally, products can more and more often be bought directly from the farm.

MIGRATION

Emigration and immigration are the two sides of the same coin: Emigration for one location is like immigration for the other. The decision to emigrate arises because living conditions have become difficult or impossible. The cause can be hardship as well as political persecution. Another cause can be the extreme attraction of an emigration destination, as was the news of gold discoveries in California.

Migration can be permanent coupled with slow or fast integration at the new place; or seasonal with a periodical return home. Internal migration happens in the same area, for example within Graubünden. After World War II the phenomenon of the daily commuter increased significantly, meaning that people travel back and forth between home and the workplace.

Emigration and immigration always take place beside each other. Graubünden, as a country of poor farmers, experienced extensive emigration up until the 20th century, for example, as mercenary soldiers or as confectioners. However, worth mentioning is also the immigration of German speaking Walser as of the end of the 12th century, or of the Tyrolean miners in the 17th century.

Parts of Graubünden experienced a marked upswing after 1850 thanks to the beginning of tourism. This was reflected in a positive migratory balance, for Davos as early as 1870, soon afterwards in the Upper

Engadin. At the same time agriculturally oriented valleys lost inhabitants. Not infrequently there was internal migration: Farmers whether female or male found employment in Graubünden's tourism either seasonally or year-round.

At all times integration was only partly without conflict. The locals sometimes reacted quite nervously to economic competition as well as to the different customs of the newcomers. However, it cannot be denied that the economic upswing in Graubünden in the last 150 years would not have been possible without the influx of immigrants.

Emigration Until 1890 Graubünden was mostly a country of emigration: As a rule records show more emigrants than immigrants. Apart from mountain farming there were only very few sources of income. In addition there were crop failures, famines or armed conflicts. Key factors were actual or supposed prospects in the country of destination.

Until 1859 military emigration played an important role. Thousands of young men from Graubünden let themselves be enlisted by foreign rulers, usually for a few years and under deplorable conditions.

Trade emigration took many professionals abroad. Some did this seasonally, say as chimney sweeps or glaziers, others permanently. Main profession was that of the confectioners who first concentrated on Venice. Starting in the 18th century confectioners from Graubünden with their cafés were scattered as far away as Russia.

Women were more likely to work in the immediate vicinity, for example, as domestics in northern Italy. «Schwabengänger» (those who went to Swabia) were children and young adults who hired themselves out for puny wages to farmers in southern Germany.

Emigration overseas, above all to the USA and Australia, took place mainly in the second half of the 19th century.

With the upswing of tourism chances of earning a living improved. This led to an increase in internal migration, such as from agriculture to the hotel sector, or to the Swiss centres. In the last decades commuting has greatly increased for the purpose of education or vocational training.

Immigration For a long time Graubünden was considered a classical country of emigration. In actual fact this was not entirely true. For instance, land development in the High Middle Ages can be traced back to the growth of the local population, but was evidently also due to immigration. A well-known example for that is the German-speaking Walser from the Oberwallis. From the end of the 12th century, they occupied areas that thus far had been put to little or no use by the Romansh-speaking population. After the great fire of 1464 and during its reconstruction the city of Chur was apparently Germanized by craftsmen from the north. The numerous mines in Graubünden also needed foreign specialists.

Not to be underestimated is the role of returning emigrants who at best invested capital gained abroad in their original home country.

Italian masons have always worked in Graubünden. The large projects of the outgoing 19th century lured them in very large numbers onto the building sites of the Rhaetian Railway or the luxury hotels. In the construction of power plants it was also mainly Italian workers that were employed. Whereas many moved on after work was completed, others remained here and together with their families were integrated.

Up to the middle of the last century it was mainly men and women from Graubünden that were employed in tourism, often seasonally with intermediate return to their native village. After that came the Italians, later more and more men and women, for example, from Portugal, former Yugoslavia or Sri Lanka.

TOURISM

Tourism is a comparatively new source of income. After 1860 «Fremdenverkehr» (Tourism) began to develop in Graubünden. It now viewed the Alps not as an obstacle but as a destination. It emphasised the healing effect of the spa St. Moritz or the climatic spa Davos. The first great phase of expansion was in the Belle Époque from approx. 1880 to 1914. Crucial for this were new roads and railway connections as well as a touristic infrastructure with comfortable grand hotels. For the wealthy guests the Alps meant an alternative and dream world compared to industrialised Europe.

The interwar period with its economic slumps led tourism into a serious crisis. Numerous places and regions, in which something like a monoculture had developed, ran into serious difficulties.

After 1950 modern mass tourism set in. Ten years later the winter season surpassed the summer season for the first time. As an example for this second expansion phase, next to the big three (Davos, St. Moritz and Arosa), came Savognin or Laax. Skiing developed into a sport for the masses. Transport systems and wide ski runs became an indispensable part of the technical infrastructure.

Tourism put a stop to the exodus and created new job opportunities. Some farming villages experienced a virtual population explosion. Especially after 1960 some communities that were mostly agricultural

underwent an abrupt upheaval because of mass tourism. This led to a variety of consequences concerning traditional values and everyday experiences.

Today tourism is no longer limited to a few locations. In its direct and indirect impact it has seized the whole Canton. About half of all economic performances are created by tourism. Whereas at the end of the 19th century one still spoke of a peasant region «back there», a hundred years later the tourist office Graubünden advertised using the term «Ferienecke Schweiz» (holiday corner Switzerland).

A New View on the Alps The emergence of Alpine tourism depended on a foreign clientele perceiving the Alps and thus Graubünden as a worthwhile travel and holiday destination.

This was hardly the case until the 19th century. Foreign travellers tell mostly of the horrors of the Alpine world and its coarse inhabitants. The depictions usually show narrow and dangerous paths, crevasses, avalanches, overhanging rocks and steep mountains. For a long time the Alps had the reputation of a region to be avoided or passed through as quickly as possible. Foreigners traversed Graubünden mainly as army units, merchants or transporters, few as vacationers. It was a travel destination almost exclusively for spa visitors, from whom numerous complaints are known regarding inadequate comfort.

Starting in the 18th century, within the framework of the Enlightenment, interest in the Alps slowly started to flourish. Early natural scientists and explorers investigated the numerous peculiarities. That which originally had been seen as threatening and inhospitable, was appreciated by more and more foreigners as fascinating and sublime. But only with the improvement of the infrastructure thanks to new roads and comfortable hotels did tourism in Graubünden really gain momentum in the

second half of the 19th century. The Alpine landscape became the «Playground of Europe» (Leslie Stephen 1871). Countless advertising material, postcards and posters praised the «unspoilt» nature and the extensive services for tourists.

Guests and Workforce From the beginning Alpine leisure industry publicised an ideal counter world to the places the wealthy guests from industrial countries came from. Accordingly, many of the first tourists were from Great Britain, followed by Germans and Italians. However, there were also medical reasons for visiting the health-giving Alps, above all for combating tuberculosis. Of growing importance were sporting activities of all kinds. Last but not least, spending a holiday in an Alpine hotel also enhanced social status. Hotel owners and tourist bureaus did their best to offer their wealthy guests as many diverse attractions as possible. After World War II began the rise of «Parahotellerie» with its second homes and holiday houses. Holidays in the mountains became increasingly affordable also for low-income families.

Very soon the local labour market was not able to meet the need for personnel in a rapidly growing tourism. Employees now came from other valleys of Graubünden, as well as from additional cantons and

from abroad. Working conditions, board and lodging was by far not always up to standard. Some men and women found permanent positions. Those with seasonal employment often worked between times on their native farms. Until after World War II many chambermaids, waitresses, kitchen boys or porters came from farming villages in Graubünden. After that more and more foreigners took over these jobs.

Imprint

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