

historiography

identity

national label

typography

discourse

111

Neue Schweizer Schulschrift

Tracing Exchanges between Modernist Typography and Swiss Handwriting

Ueli Kaufmann

In November 1934, the *Typographische Monatsblätter (TM)* published an offprint of its leading article “Europäische Schriften aus Zweitausend Jahren.”¹ According to its author, Jan Tschichold, this richly illustrated account, thirty pages long, provided a canon that allowed the reader to develop an understanding for letterforms and layout—an idea that was to become a topos in publications authored by Swiss typographers. On the last page, Tschichold recapitulates his narrative in a genealogical diagram. [Fig. 39] Starting with Roman capitals, his main lineage leads to Carolingian handwriting and seems to conclude with the Modernist’s favored printing type, the “Grotesk-Minuskel” from 1830.² A staggered diagonal line, however, leads to a rather conspicuous detail. It reconnects the typographic sans serif with a short

side-stream of writing styles, culminating in the “Neue Schweizer Schulschrift (Hulliger)” of 1930.³

The script that Tschichold introduced to his canon under this informative, and seemingly programmatic, name had been developed by the Basel art and writing teacher Paul Hulliger, who had been lobbying for an overhaul of handwriting classes since 1919.⁴ In the early 1920s, not only did he join the commission that was appointed to organize a script reform for his canton,⁵ but it was the style and the teaching method that he developed that were chosen to be introduced into Basel schools. They were presented to the public in his programmatic publication *Die neue Schrift* in 1927.⁶ [Fig. 40] In the years thereafter, Hulliger held countless lectures and workshops all across Switzerland, and published several instructional books and articles in trade journals and daily newspapers. His script, officially called “Neue Schrift,” but commonly referred to as “Hulligerschrift” or “Baslerschrift,” gained a growing number of active supporters. In October 1927, they came together in an association called *Werkgemeinschaft für Schrifterneuerung in der Schweiz (WSS)*.⁷ This reform, however, was not accepted nationally, and heated debates about whether to adopt the Basel method continued throughout all of German-speaking Switzerland.⁸ In 1937, a council of several cantonal education directors decided that an adapted version of the script, now called “Schweizer

Schulschrift,” should be used on a national, or at least intercantonal, level.⁹ Having never been fully accepted, however, the method was progressively replaced by a new standardized script based on the old English Roundhand.¹⁰

While the inclusion of a contemporary style of handwriting for state schools in a canon of European letterforms at first seems rather odd, Tschichold had in fact written an earlier article in *TM* in which he vehemently refuted the arguments of assorted opponents of Hulliger, and concluded that his method was a clear, good, well-thought-out path to a much-needed renewal of handwriting practices. So the “canonization” of “Schweizer Schulschrift” through its inclusion in Tschichold’s later “Europäische Schriften” article should indeed be read within the context of the dispute surrounding it. Using his authority as a well-known expert typographer, and with the weight of historiography, Tschichold was clearly attempting to convince his peers of the script reform’s validity, and to do his part to sway public opinion.¹¹

Even though handwriting has been a major component of visual culture and the everyday practice of laymen and designers throughout the 20th century,¹² writing models and practices are almost entirely absent from design history—and particularly from accounts of classical Modernism and Swiss graphic design and typography. By following the narrative propagated by its protagonists, Swiss Modernist typography

is usually seen as a direct heir of the ideas and advances of the avant-garde, Bauhaus, and New Typography.¹³ Its numerous connections to contemporary discourses with their own specific ruptures and continuities are often neglected.¹⁴ In recent years, cultural and literary studies,¹⁵ modern art history,¹⁶ and even sociolinguistics¹⁷ have productively expanded their fields by analyzing writing practices.

Following Tschichold’s hint, this essay, therefore, explores the relationship between school handwriting and Modernist typography in Switzerland during the 1920s and 1930s. It traces mutual references and exchanges of ideas, and similarities and differences in concepts and arguments, thereby unearthing a discourse that addressed far wider circles than a narrow field of progressive professionals, that went far beyond superficial aspects of design, and in which both the general public and experts negotiated fundamental political and ideological issues. The present essay aims to provide not just another facet of a more varied view of the early history of Swiss graphic design, but also a new impetus for reassessing the shortcomings of past and present historiographies.

Of Tschichold and layouts

There are further indications of a connection between *Neue Schweizer Schulschrift* and Modernist graphic design and

typography. Early in 1934, presumably between the abovementioned *TM* articles by Tschichold, Hulliger published the first volume of his book *Die Methode der neuen Handschrift*.¹⁸ [Fig. 41] This in-depth manual was intended to instruct fellow teachers in the everyday use of his method. The preface, however, also reveals a personal relationship between the script-reformer and his defender.

Finally, I would like to thank my dear friend Jan Tschichold, the outstanding typographer who moved from Munich to Basel, for his valuable advice on the printing of the present work. (Endlich danke ich herzlich meinem lieben Freunde Jan Tschichold, dem hervorragenden, von München nach Basel übersiedelten Fachmann für Typographie, für seine wertvolle Beratung beim Druck der vorliegenden Arbeit.)¹⁹

A footnote in Christopher Burke's book *Active Literature: Jan Tschichold and the New Typography* from 2007 provides some further information. After fleeing from Munich due to them being prosecuted by the Nazi authorities, Tschichold, his wife Edith, and their son Peter had found refuge with Hulliger and his family in Basel in July 1933.²⁰ As a few letters between the two men reveal, Hulliger appears to have helped Tschichold in finding employment with the Allgemeine Gewerbeschule Basel—which was crucial for getting a residence permit in

Switzerland.²¹ There is, however, more than a personal angle to the connection.

In the preface to the manual mentioned above, Hulliger further explained that he hoped that the present book and the second volume that was to follow soon after would spark an enthusiasm not only for good handwriting, but also for the art of good layout, and for exemplary graphic design in general.²² By introducing his peers to the intricacies of layout, he wished to heighten the attention given to the appearance of all kinds of documents, from handwritten notes and lettering, to typescripts and everyday printed matter. His goal was to have a positive effect on visual culture as a whole. Consequently, a substantial part of the first volume of *Die Methode der neuen Handschrift* was not dedicated to writing per se, but to the appearance of handwritten documents—and to a depth that is usually found only in typographic specialist discourse. Hulliger discussed white space, gutters, margins, and line and letter spacing, and pointed out that hierarchies should be set clearly, and that only a few, decidedly different font sizes should be used. He described axial arrangements as both historically outdated and incompatible with the nature of writing, and therefore as inefficient; instead, he called for asymmetric layouts and for titles to be aligned to the left.²³ [Fig. 42]

Hulliger's definite instructions and their functionalist and economic substantiation, as well as his aim to educate a wider public,

are clearly reminiscent of Tschichold's many handbooks and their borrowings from engineers and economists such as Porstmann or Taylor.²⁴ And, not surprisingly, he closes this chapter with a quotation from the designer's handbook *Typographische Entwurfstechnik* that called for simplicity and clarity.²⁵

A few years earlier, some of Hulliger's companions had already drawn on Tschichold's works. In the September 1930 issue of *Die Schrift*, a supplement to the teachers' journal *Schweizerische Lehrerzeitung*, for example, the editor Paul von Moos wrote that the New Typography had established more efficient layout practices that should now guide students' exercise books.²⁶ The same issue further contained a very positive review of *Die neue Typographie*, which was recommended for its enlightening content and also for its appearance. The simple layout, clear hierarchies and structure, confident handling of illustrations, and the use of a plain and clean grotesque would make it a perfect example, it was claimed, for up-to-date book design.²⁷ And indeed, in the 1930s, all of the Swiss script reformers' books appear to have adhered to a Modernist model.²⁸ [Fig. 43] However, it must be recognized that this was also a general tendency. Many of the teachers' journals in which we can trace the discourse on the Swiss script reform changed to a moderately Modernist appearance; and the redesign of the Catholic teachers' journal *Schweizer Schule* in 1934 indicates

that this did not necessarily conform to a conservative/progressive dichotomy.²⁹ [Fig. 44]

But while even opponents of the Swiss script reform movement recognized the validity of some of its claims, they did not agree with the reach of these arguments. A combined review of Hulliger's *Die Methode der neuen Handschrift* and two of his articles defending himself against his critics was published in *Schweizer Schule* later in the year, and it offered compliments on the clarity of layout and structure, and the refreshing inclusion of children's drawings.³⁰ However, the unnamed reviewer argues that these positive facets of the book itself did not change anything about the method's fundamental flaws that critics had rightfully been pointing out. He explicitly addressed Hulliger's references to Tschichold, and seemed to be answering the latter's claim that psychologists and graphologists were free to deal with the results of writing, but should refrain from claims about its practice and form;³¹ the reviewer thereby questioned the validity of Tschichold's expertise.³²

Question: Is it typography that has a special authority in the deeply layered pedagogical concerns of the script reform? (Frage: Ist es die Typographie, die über die weitschichtig pädagogischen Belange der Schriftreform etwas Besonderes zu sagen hat?)³³

Handwriting in school was an educational endeavor, claimed the reviewer, and therefore had to be subordinated to the development of the individual child. Hulliger's method was painstakingly detail-oriented and had an excessive focus on visual aspects. Full of rules and regulations, he or she pointed out, it was a fatherly, typically male approach that lacked sensitivity and motherly understanding.³⁴

Hulliger's supporters, Tschichold among them, denounced this criticism as fanatically self-centered. They argued that an obedience to certain rules was simply essential to both learning and education, as well as to the functioning of society as a whole. None of the benefits of a modern welfare state could have been established without a certain number of standards and regulations, and without giving up some degree of freedom or individuality. And this was the realm, they said, within which the script reform needed to be judged.³⁵ In order to prove that the validity of these aspects was as widely understood as it was true, the WSS in 1934 published a brochure that contained a few short, programmatic essays, and around thirty excerpts of statements by experts from various spheres—school authorities, parents, and representatives from trade and industry, as well as some doctors, attorneys, and people from the cultural field. While none of them explicitly referred to the field of graphic design, many highlighted the fact that the new method fostered clarity and

readability, trained students to become more diligent and careful workers, and thereby had a considerable effect on everyday business life.³⁶

The issues of function and identity, and of the relationship between the state, the economy, and education, as well as ideas about the individual, tradition, and progress, were even more profound in the discussion of letterforms. A major point of contention was the script itself.

Of letterforms and Renner

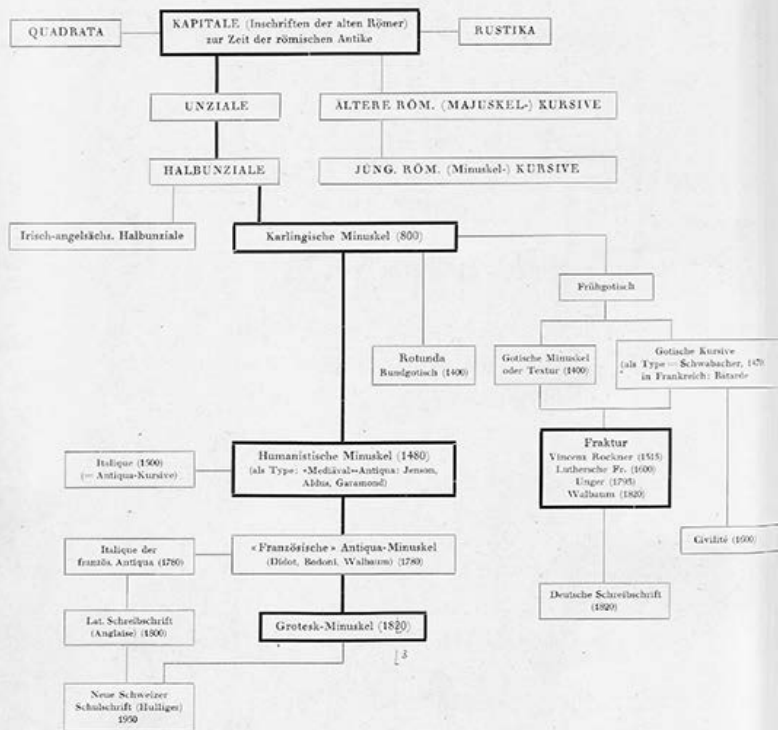
Hulliger's call for an overhaul of writing practices was by no means unusual at the time. In fact, there was a consensus across the entire German-speaking world that writing practices needed to be reformed. Various sides, from teachers to trade unions and intellectuals, lamented about a decline in the quality of handwriting, which in turn was interpreted as *Kulturzerfall* (cultural decay). Most parties agreed that the issue stemmed from less practice due to a reduction of writing lessons in school, and the introduction of typewriters to offices, and that it was aggravated by the coexistence of Antiqua and Fraktur forms.³⁷ The style, tools, and methods on which a reform should be based, however, were highly disputed. Authorities from various popular fields, such as pedagogy, medicine, psychology, and especially graphology, along with representatives of business and trade associations,

ter dem Einfluß der Lithographie viele verzierte Schriften, die zur Auszeichnung dienten. Das Ornament kommt wieder auf. Eine letzte Nachblüte des klassischen Satzes ist bis etwa 1840 zu erkennen; dann gleitet die Entwicklung allmählich, aber unrettbar in den Stilwirr-

warr der 80er Jahre ab. Die englische Reformationsbewegung mit ihrer Ausbreitung in Mitteleuropa, die nach dem Weltkrieg durch ganz andere Strömungen abgelöst wurden, sind nicht mehr Gegenstand dieser Übersicht.

Zur besseren Übersicht über die Entwicklung seit der Zeit der alten Römer bringen wir noch einen schematisierten Stammbaum der europäischen Schriften. Er zeigt, dass die eigentliche Entwicklung von der Majuskel-Schrift der Römer allmählich zum Minuskel führt, die schließlich ihre einfachste Form vor etwa 100 Jahren in der Grotesk erhielt. Die Fraktur ist der Antiqua-Minuskel nicht gleich-, sondern unterzuordnen, da sie nur ein Seitenstück eben der Minuskel ist. Es wäre natürlich falsch, aus diesem Verwandtschaftsverhältnis ein ästhetisches Werturteil abzuleiten; wohl aber ist zu erkennen, daß die eigentliche Entwicklung — sollten wir eine *achte* überhaupt noch zu

gewärtigen haben — nur weiter auf der Linie Mediäval-Antiqua-Grotesk laufen wird. Es ist sogar fraglich, ob die Grotesk eine echte Entwicklungstufe ist, was jedoch nichts über ihre Brauchbarkeit aussagt. Da uns jedoch Antiqua- und Mediäval-Schriften, vielen auch Frakturschriften, nicht unbedingt «veraltet» vorkommen und dies Schriften heute nebeneinander verwendet werden, daneben die Grotesk alle wichtigen Ansprüche an eine moderne Schrift erfüllt, besteht nur wenig Anlaß, sich über die Weiterentwicklung den Kopf zu zerbrechen. Einzig möglich und aus einigen Gründen auch «nötig» sind vorsichtige *Variationen*.



Der Text der Schriftproben Seite 20 ist dem 7. Kapitel des 8. Buches in «Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre» von Goethe entnommen.

Die typographisch nicht vollständig befriedigende Form dieses Aufsatzes erklärt sich daraus, daß wir eine große Zahl von geliehenen Klischees mit unbilliger Hochbenutzung mußten. Die gedrängte Fülle wurde einer splendorischen Aufmachung, welche günstiger gewirkt hätte, vorgezogen.

Von diesem Aufsatz erschien ein Sonderabdruck auf Kunstdruckpapier, der zum Preise von Fr. 2.50 von Gebr. Fretz AG., Abt. Typ. Monatsblätter, zu beziehen ist.

Fig. 39



Fig. 40

Fig. 39
Tschichold's account of the development of "European letterforms," including Hülliger's new handwriting style.

Fig. 40
The cover of Hülliger's programmatic *Die neue Schrift* that introduced the Basel script reform to a wider audience.

Fig. 41
The cover of Hülliger's instructive *Die Methode der neuen Handschrift*.

Fig. 42
A spread of *Die Methode der neuen Handschrift* showing Hülliger's detailed layout instructions.

Fig. 41



Fig. 42



Fig. 43
The clearly Modernist cover
of *Die Hülligerschrift*.

Fig. 44
A spread of the freshly
redesigned Catholic teach-
ers' journal *Schweizer Schule*
showing a wider adoption
of Modernist principles at
the time.

Fig. 45
Hulliger's illustration of the
"Urformen der Schrift,"
the basic letterforms of the
Latin alphabet.

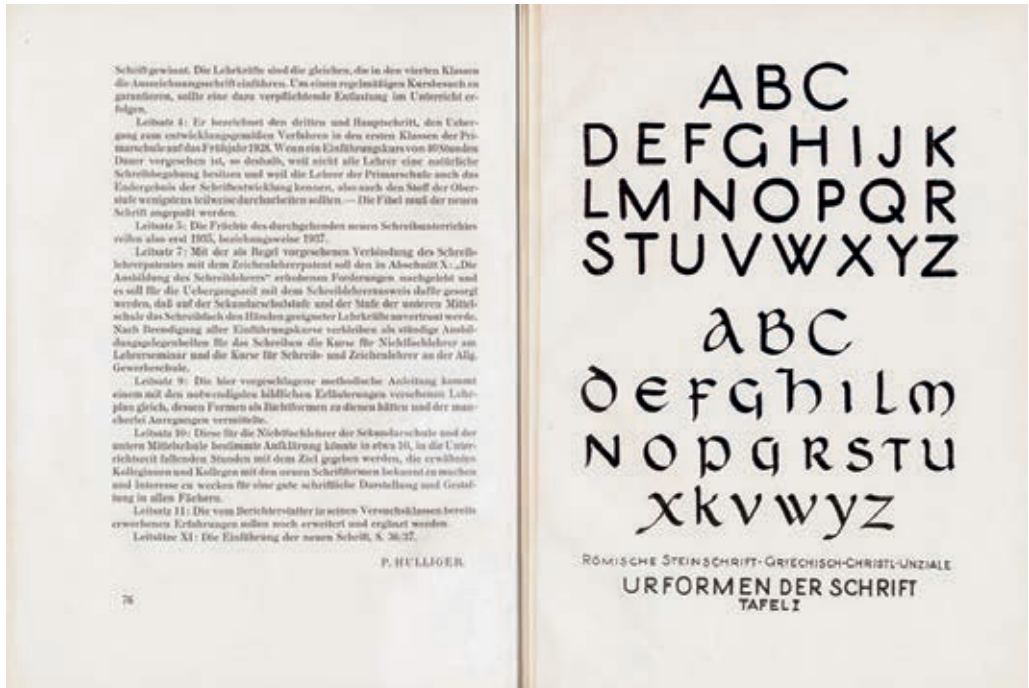
Fig. 44





Fig. 43

Fig. 45



voiced their diverse arguments for more personal, national, international, or universal scripts based on either Gothic or Roman forms.³⁸

In an article in the April 1932 edition of the German magazine *Schrift und Schreiben*, Hulliger recounted the success story of his own approach. Although he explicitly described it as “die Schriftreform der Schweiz” (the script reform of Switzerland), he made it clear that he had no intention of creating a national style. Instead, he aimed for a truly contemporary script determined only by its dual function of enabling both writing and reading. And like all important modern developments in art and culture, he argued that this needed to be an “europäisch-amerikanische Angelegenheit,” a European-American, or simply international affair. Based on these claims, and referring to Paul Renner and New Typography, Hulliger heavily criticized contemporaneous proposals from Germany and Austria for their reluctance to let go of their blackletter heritage.³⁹

Paul Renner in Munich, the creator of Futura, this truly European typeface of our time, has quite rightly compared Fraktur with the waning of old folk costumes. By clinging to the German handwriting that corresponds to Fraktur, I believe that both the German and the Austrian script reforms have reached a dead end in their thinking and design, in which this once strong

movement is gradually drying up under the corrosive influences of graphology. The Swiss script reform received a strong impetus from the new typography that came to us from Germany with Futura, which was first adopted at the trade schools of Basel and Zurich (Ex. 2), where these impulses were immediately put into practice. (Paul Renner in München, der Schöpfer der Futura, dieser wahrhaft europäischen Schrift unserer Zeit, hat mit vollem Recht die Fraktur mit den absterbenden alten Kleidertrachten verglichen. Mit dem Festhalten an der der Fraktur entsprechenden Deutschrift ist nach meinem Dafürhalten sowohl die deutsche wie die österreichische Schriftreform in eine Sackgasse des Denkens und Gestaltens geraten, in der unter den zersetzenden Einflüssen der Graphologie die einst starke Bewegung nach und nach versandet. Die Schweizer Schriftreform hat von der mit der Futura aus Deutschland zu uns gekommenen, an den Gewerbeschulen von Basel und Zürich zuerst aufgenommenen neuen Typographie starke Anregungen empfangen (Bsp. 2) und hat diese Anregungen sofort in die Praxis umgesetzt.)⁴⁰

In contrast to his contemporaries, Hulliger claimed that his new writing style was deliberately neither Roman nor blackletter, not cluttered by symbolic relics of the past,

but a truly contemporary style based on the most legible Roman and Carolingian models.⁴¹ [Fig. 45] Hulliger's account of his adoption of German avant-garde ideas through the mediation of Renner's typeface Futura and the Basel and Zurich trade schools fits perfectly into the established graphic design histories. The above quotation, however, also shows that he strategically used this story of origin to substantiate his own claims of universality. His way reconciled handwriting with modernity. These ideas were perfectly in line with the contemporaneous program of the Schweizer Werkbund and he not only enjoyed the early support of some of its more prominent members,⁴² but also joined the association himself in 1924.⁴³ However, there appear to be barely any references to the association in Hulliger's work.

In Germany, both the reform and the above narrative found fertile ground. The October 1932 issue of the WSS-edited *Die Schrift* contained an article in which Hulliger reviewed Renner's book *Mechanisierte Graphik* that had appeared two years earlier. After once more introducing the author as the creator of Futura and reiterating the typeface's importance in the design of his recent publications,⁴⁴ he praised the book as being deeply penetrating, rich, and captivating. In a seemingly incidental manner, he then remarked on a surprising fact: in the text of the book, the influential Renner called for the adoption of Hulliger's writing style and methods in

Germany.⁴⁵ In the chapter "Deutsche Schrift und Rechtschreibung," Renner indeed praises the excellence of Hulliger's method, emphasizing their shared concern with function and legibility and their common historical models, and he closes by encouraging his fellow citizens to implement Hulliger's reform.⁴⁶

Various articles in Swiss and German journals and newspapers show that only two months later, on November 16, 1932, Hulliger spoke before a Munich audience.⁴⁷ The Münchner Bund and the Arbeitsgemeinschaft für buchgewerbliche Fortbildung in München had organized an exhibition on the Swiss script reform, and invited the public to his photo lecture and an ensuing evening of discussions. A couple of the press reviews prove that the issue was not taken lightly. The attendees included the *Ministerialrat* responsible for education in the state of Bavaria with his staff, the Munich *Oberstadtschuldirektor*, the city's entire board of education, and the *Oberstudiendirektor* of the Graphische Berufsschule, Paul Renner himself.⁴⁸ Another report on Hulliger's Munich presentation by the design theorist Hans Eckstein, published in the Swiss journal *Das Werk* a few months later, made it clear that there was a political sense of urgency to the matter. Right-wing ideologues had successfully connected letterforms to "romantic-nationalist" ideas, and blackletter was on its way back into everyday life. At the same time, Bavarian schools were about to

introduce the so-called Sütterlin-Schrift, which was of Prussian origin.⁴⁹ To progressive Germans, Hulliger might have appeared as a beacon of light, offering much-desired support from outside. And even though Renner's earlier reference to Hulliger did not display the same urgency, it seems to have been an indication of similar sentiments.

In Switzerland, however, some perceived Hulliger's rationalist, universal claims and the detailed method he provided as a threat. Using a terminology commonly ascribed to the radical ends of the political spectrum, they accused his reform of attempting a *Gleichschaltung* of Switzerland and its people (this "enforced conformity" was a phrase associated with Nazi politics), of trying to eradicate both personal and regional identities, and denounced Hulliger himself as a "Kulturbolschewist," a "cultural Bolshevik."⁵⁰ When faced with similar accusations, Renner wrote a vigorous defense of Modernism and a critique of Nazi cultural policies entitled *Kulturbolschewismus?* which, owing to the circumstances of the time, had to be published in Switzerland.⁵¹ This link to major movements in design and architecture had major political implications. It is important to note, however, that various articles in teachers' journals reveal that such accusations were also leveled at other parts of the school reform movement that were not concerned with design at all.

Leaving aside the formal and symbolic aspects of scripts and their political

relevance at the time, it is fitting that a focus on education should reveal further underlying connections between Hulliger's reform and Modernist graphic design and typography. These went beyond the direct references and interactions of its main protagonists in the early 1930s, and beyond the shared ideas of a "new age" and its implications for layouts and letterforms. In an article published in the German magazine *Die Form* in February 1929,⁵² Renner addressed the question as to why he still saw the need to teach handwriting at art schools. In line with ideas that Hulliger had been disseminating since his first publication in 1919,⁵³ Renner argued that practical work had value which theoretical knowledge could not replicate. The hands-on experience of writing, he argued, provided students with unparalleled opportunities for embodied knowledge and for self-awareness, which he saw as fundamental to the individual's development and to society as a whole. In their activities as writing teachers, both men referred not only to the canonized script reformers and designers Edward Johnston and Rudolf von Larisch,⁵⁴ but also on a more fundamental level to the theories of the Munich school reformer Georg Kerschensteiner.⁵⁵ These practical, pedagogical aspects left their mark on education in the German-speaking world, but with its tendency to perceive Modernist design as a merely visual, somewhat isolated phenomenon, design history has barely paid any attention to this yet.

Conclusion

This essay has shown how the two discourses of school handwriting and Modernist typography had fundamental overlaps. Even though Hulliger's script reform efforts left many traces in newspapers, magazines, books, and particularly in teachers' journals, they have not received any attention from design history yet. A close reading of these sources, however, shows that protagonists from both fields explicitly referred to each other, and that they shared and adapted each other's ideas, concepts, and arguments. These overlaps of the Swiss script reform and Modernist typography went far beyond visual aspects of design. A general audience and experts from various fields negotiated fundamental political and ideological aspects of what they conceived as a modern society. They fought over personal, professional, and national identities, and over the relationship between the individual, the state, and the economy. Looking to gain an upper hand in this highly charged discourse, Hulliger and his companions, as well as Renner, Tschichold, and their peers, simultaneously bolstered and exploited each other's reputation. Design history, however, has thus far ignored this wealth of sources simply because they do not conform to the established borders of the discipline. According to the above analysis, it has ignored the importance of an educational component to which the protagonists at the time themselves explicitly referred.

However, it is imperative that a history of Swiss graphic design, indeed of any design, should now pay due attention to these social aspects.

- 1 Tschichold 1934.
- 2 Tschichold 1934: n.p. last page. The lowercase sans serif letters were originally dated 1820. A corrigendum in the December issue, however, revises it to 1830. *TM* 1934: 402.
- 3 This loosely translates to "new Swiss handwriting for public schools (Hulliger)." The new style is portrayed as crowning a development starting with the "Italique der französ. Antiqua (1780)" or French Old Face Italic, leading to the "Lat. Schreibschrift (Anglaise) (1800)" or English Roundhand.
- 4 Hulliger 1932a: 97.
- 5 In Switzerland, education is largely the domain of the individual cantons rather than the federal government, and therefore rather diverse. Handwriting instruction is not unified to this day.
- 6 Hulliger 1927. Even though *Die neue Schrift* has generally been attributed to Hulliger, this publication contains several contributions by other members of the commission. Two years earlier, a shortened version of the book had been presented to the council for education. It was descriptively titled *Die Neugestaltung des Schriftunterrichts an den Basel-Städtischen Schulen: Bericht und Anträge vom Erziehungsrat des Kantons Basel-Stadt gewählten Studienkommission an die Erziehungsbehörden* (The reform of the teaching of

historiography	identity	national label	typography	discourse	124
	handwriting at schools in Basel-City: Report and proposals to the educational authorities by the commission elected by the Education Council of the Canton of Basel-City) and already announced the release of the full version for the general public. See Hulliger 1925: 35.	11	Tschichold 1933a: 436. The same article also appeared in the December 1933 issue of <i>Die Schrift</i> , a WSS-edited supplement to the teachers' journal <i>Schweizerische Lehrerzeitung</i> . See Tschichold 1933b.		
7	The declared goal of the WSS was a reform of handwriting practices at Swiss primary and secondary schools. In order to engage with a wider public, it organized workshops and courses, lectures on writing and its reform, competitions among its members, and exhibitions; it also issued publications, collected calligraphic examples, established a library of works on writing, organized propaganda in newspapers, magazines, and other popular media, and lobbied with authorities and corporations. See von Moos 1927: 369; von Moos 1930: 5. By 1934, the association had over 600 members organized in eight regional divisions. WSS 1934: n.p.	12	It was a large part of basic education, and left traces on all sorts of artifacts, from private and business correspondence to notes, manuscripts, many other documents, designers' and artists' sketches, and even finished works.	16	Susanne Strätling's <i>Die Hand am Werk: Poetik der Poesis in der russischen Avantgarde</i> from 2017 provides an in-depth discussion of handwriting practices within the Russian avant-garde. See Strätling 2017.
8	The discussions can be followed best in the journals of teachers' associations, e.g. <i>Berner Schulblatt</i> , <i>Schweizer Schule</i> , <i>Schweizerische Lehrerinnenzeitung</i> , <i>Schweizer Lehrerzeitung</i> . <i>Archiv für das Schweizerische Unterrichtswesen</i> , <i>Jahresbericht des Bänderischen Lehrervereins</i> , etc. Mentions in regional and national newspapers, such as the prestigious <i>NZZ</i> , prove that there was wide interest in the dispute. For an account with a slight anti-Hulliger bent, see Greuter 1945.	13	This mono-linear narrative is pervasive in Swiss practitioner-historians' publications, such as in Josef Müller-Brockmann's <i>A History of Visual Communication</i> of 1971, Roger Chatelain's <i>La Typographie Suisse: Du Bauhaus à Paris</i> of 2008, and to a certain extent even in Richard Hollis's <i>Swiss Graphic Design</i> of 2006. It was established by the new typographers, most prominently Jan Tschichold, and later affirmed by academics. Meer 2015: 9–23. See Hollis 2006; Chatelain 2008; Müller-Brockmann 1971; Tschichold 1987 (1928).	17	While sociolinguistics had long neglected the function of graphic elements of scripts, the past decade appears to show that this is now a growing field. Sebba 2009: 35; Spitzmüller 2012: 255–257.
9	Müller 1937: 44–49.	14	Based on an analysis of trade journals, design historian Julia Meer has recently argued that the modernization of advertising and typography had not started with the avant-garde, but several decades earlier, and that the New Typography had an array of sources and parallels. Meer 2015: 273–275.	18	Hulliger 1934. The preface is dated February 1934, and a review of the book was published in June of the same year. See <i>Schweizer Schule</i> 1934.
10	Greuter 1945: 14.	15	A number of essays by scholars from various fields related to the topic can be found, for example, in two works edited by Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht and K. Ludwig Pfeiffer, <i>Materialität der</i>	19	Hulliger 1934: 2.
				20	Burke 2007: 259.
				21	Bibliothek für Gestaltung Basel BGB: PH11.18.
				22	Hulliger 1934: 2.
				23	Hulliger 1934: 19–25.
				24	See Grütter 2019.
				25	Hulliger 1934: 24–25. For the original context, see Tschichold 1932: 11.
				26	von Moos 1930: 17–18.
				27	Brunner 1930: 20.
				28	See Reinhart & Hulliger 1932; Hulliger 1934; WSS 1934; Hulliger 1936.
				29	The editorial of the newly redesigned <i>Schweizer Schule</i> explains that it was indeed an adaptation to the expectations of the readership. See Muff 1934: 1.
				30	The article is simply signed with the abbreviation "lb.". See <i>Schweizer Schule</i> 1934: 550. A likely author appears to be the Bern teacher Jakob Huber, one of the

historiography	identity	national label	typography	discourse	125
	authors explicitly addressed in Tschichold's defense of Hulliger's reform. Interestingly, the December 1933 issue of <i>Die Schrift</i> that contained a reprint of the <i>TM</i> article also featured two open letters in which Huber and WSS member Adolf Rüegg exchanged criticism. Tschichold 1933a: 435; Tschichold 1933b: 63; Huber 1933a; Huber 1933b; Rüegg 1933.				
31	See Tschichold 1933a: 435.	40	Hulliger 1932a: 99.	49	Eckstein 1933: xli. By the time the article was finally published, the Nazi party had already seized power.
32	<i>Schweizer Schule</i> 1934: 546–547.	41	Hulliger 1932a: 99. For a brief illustrated account on the development of Hulliger's handwriting style and his teaching method, see "Handwriting Instructions," in the volume <i>Visual Arguments</i> .	50	For an explicit reference to such accusations and a defense of Hulliger and other reformers, see <i>Berner Schulblatt</i> 1931: 201–203.
33	<i>Schweizer Schule</i> 1934: 547.			51	Renner 1932. For an explicit explanation of the relationship between Hulliger's script reform and school reform, see Hulliger 1930.
34	See, for example, Tschichold 1933a: 434–435; <i>Berner Schulblatt</i> 1931: 201–202.	42	Herrmann Kienzle, for example, led the cantonal script reform commission. See <i>Kommission für die Neugestaltung des Schreibunterrichtes</i> 1925: 5.	52	Renner 1929.
35	See Rüegg 1933b: 49; WSS 1934; and particularly Tschichold 1933a: 434–435; Tschichold 1933b: 61.	43	Bignens 2008: 110.	53	Hulliger 1919.
36	WSS 1934: 27–42.	44	He referred to his own <i>Grosser technischer Lehrgang</i> from 1931, and to the second and third parts of the new Basel primer <i>Z'Basel an mym Rhy</i> that he designed. See Hulliger 1931; Graf 1931. The Basel primer received a fair amount of positive attention for its design, such as in an article in the German journal <i>Die Form</i> and in a report on Hulliger's Munich lecture by the German design theorist Hans Eckstein in <i>Das Werk</i> . See <i>Die Form</i> 1933: 286; Eckstein 1933: xli.	54	See Burke 1998: 21; Hulliger 1932a: 97.
37	For an analysis of this phenomenon of German "biglyphism," see Spitzmüller & Bunčić 2016.			55	See Burke 1998: 56. For Hulliger's own explanation of the relationship between script reform, school reform, and society, see Hulliger 1925; 1930. For a discussion of Kerschensteiner and his theories, see Gonon 2002: 121–155. For insights into the complex nature of the school reform movement in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, see Herrmann & Oelkers 1994: 541–547.
38	The best sources to follow various positions on different reform methods within Switzerland, once more, appear to be the array of teachers' journals such as <i>Berner Schulblatt</i> , <i>Schweizer Schule</i> , <i>Schweizerische Lehrerinnenzeitung</i> , <i>Schweizer Lehrerzeitung</i> , and <i>Archiv für das Schweizerische Unterrichtswesen, Jahresbericht des Bündnerischen Lehrervereins</i> .	45	Hulliger 1932b: 26.		
39	Hulliger 1932a: 97–99. It seems worth noting that, around the turn of the century, blackletter type and related writing styles were commonly called "Deutsche Schrift." While this <i>völkisch</i> or pan-German connotation made it a favorite among nationalists in Germany, the relationship between script and national identity in Switzerland was more	46	Renner 1930: 64–68.		
		47	Bibliothek für Gestaltung Basel: PHI3.09.h.		
		48	Newspaper clippings, Bibliothek für Gestaltung Basel: PHI3.09.h.1. A short comment in Hulliger's review of <i>Die neue Typographie</i> published in <i>Die Schrift</i> in October 1933 reveals that it was on this occasion that Hulliger first met Tschichold. Hulliger 1933: 51.		