to the imperial tribunals." This was intended to mean exemption from all obligations to the empire (with which the Confederation was connected hereafter simply as a friend), and to be a definitive settlement of the question. Thus by the events of 1499 and 1648 the Confederation had become an independent European state, which, by the treaty of 1516, stood as regards France in a relation of neutrality.

In 1668, in consequence of Louis XIV.'s temporary occupation of the Franche Comté, an old scheme for settling the number of men to be sent by each member of the Confederation to the joint army, and the appointment of a council of war in war time, that is, an attempt to create a common military organization, was accepted by the diet, which was to send two deputies to the council, armed with full political powers. This agreement, known as the *Defensionale*, is the only instance of joint and unanimous action in this miserable period of Swiss history, when religious divisions crippled the energy of the Confederation.

French influence, religious divisions, and rise of an aristocracy.

Throughout the 17th and 18th centuries the Confederation was practically a dependency of France. In 1614 Zurich for the first time joined in the treaty, which was renewed in 1663 with special provisions as regards the Protestant Swiss mercenaries in the king's pay and a promise of French neutrality in case of civil war in the League. The Swiss had to stand by while Louis XIV. won Alsace (1648), Franche Comté (1678), and Strasburg (1681). But, as Louis inclined more and more to an anti-Protestant policy, the Protestant members of the League favoured the Dutch military service; and it was through their influence that in 1707 the "states" of the principality of Neuchâtel, on the extinction of the Longueville line of these princes, decided in favour of the king of Prussia (representing the overlords—the house of Challon-Orange) as against the various French pretenders claiming from the Longueville dynasty by descent or by will. In 1715 the Catholic members of the League, in hopes of retrieving their defeat of 1712 (see below), agreed, while renewing the treaty and capitulations, to put France in the position of the guarantor of the League, with rights of interfering, in case of attack from within or from without, whether by counsel or arms. This last clause was simply the surrender of Swiss independence, and was strongly objected to by the Protestant members of the Confederation, so that in 1777 it was dropped, when all the Confederates made a fresh defensive alliance, wherein their sovereignty and independence were expressly set forth. Thus France had succeeded to the position of the empire with regard to the Confederation, save that her claims were practically asserted and voluntarily admitted.

Between 1648 and 1798 the Confederation was distracted by religious divisions, and feelings ran very high. A scheme to set up a central administration fell through in 1655, through jealousy of Bern and Zurich, the proposers. In 1656 a question as to certain religious refugees, who were driven from Schwyz and took refuge at Zurich, brought about the first Villmergen war, in which the Catholics were successful, and procured a clause in the treaty asserting very strongly the absolute sovereignty in religious as well as in political matters of each member of the League within its own territories. Later, the attempt of the abbot of St Gall to enforce his rights in the Toggenburg swelled into the second Villmergen war (1712), which turned out very ill for the defeated Catholics. Zurich and Bern were henceforth to hold in severalty Baden, Rapperschwyl, and part of the "common bailiwicks" of the Aargau, both towns being given a share in the government of the rest, and Bern in that of Thurgau and Rheinthal, from which as well as from that part of Aargau she had been carefully excluded in 1415 and 1460. The only thing that prospered was the principle of "religious parity," which was established by every treaty.

The diet had few powers; the Catholics had the majority there; the sovereign rights of each member of the League and the limited mandate of the envoys effectually checked all progress. Zurich, as the leader of the League, managed matters when the diet was not sitting, but could not enforce her orders. The Confederation was little more than a collection of separate atoms, and it is really marvellous that it did not break up through its own weakness.

In these same two centuries, the chief feature in domestic Swiss politics is the growth of an aristocracy: the power of voting and the power of ruling are placed in the hands of a small class. This is chiefly seen in Bern, Lucerne, Freiburg, and Solothurn, where there were not the primitive democracies of the Forest districts nor the government by guilds as at Zurich, Basel, and Schaffhausen. It was effected by refusing to admit any new burghers, a practice which dates from the middle of the 16th century, and is connected (like the similar movement in the smaller local units of the "communes" in the rural districts) with the question of poor relief after the suppression of the monasteries. Outsiders (Hintersässen or Niedgelassene) had no political rights, however long they might have resided, while the privileges of burghership were strictly hereditary. Further, within the burghers, a small class succeeded in securing the monopoly of all public offices, which was kept up by the practice of co-opting, and was known as the "patriciate." So in Bern, out of 360 burgher families, 80 (in 1776 18 only) formed the ruling oligarchy; and, though to foreigners the government seemed admirably managed, yet the last thing that could be said of it was that it was democratic. In 1749 Henzi made a fruitless attempt to overthrow this oligarchy, like Fatio at Geneva in 1707. The harsh character of Bernese rule (and the same holds good with reference to Uri and the Val Leventina) was shown in the great strictness with which Vaud was kept in hand: it was ruled as a conquered land by a benevolent despot, and we can feel no surprise that Davel in 1723 tried to free his native land, or that it was in Vaud that the principles of the French Revolution were most eagerly welcomed. Another result of this aristocratic tendency was the way in which the cities despised the neighbouring country districts, and managed gradually to deprive them of their equal political rights and to levy heavy taxes upon them. These and other grievances (the fall in the price of food after the close of the Thirty Years' War, the lowering of the value of the coin, &c.), combined with the presence of many soldiers discharged after the great war, led to the great Peasant Revolt (1653) in the territories of Bern, Solothurn, Lucerne, and Basel, interesting historically as being the first popular rising since the old days of the 13th and 14th centuries, and because reminiscences of legends connected with those times led to the appearance of the "three Tells," who greatly stirred up the people. The rising was put down at the cost of much bloodshed, but the demands of the peasants were not granted. Yet during this period of political powerlessness a Swiss literature first arises: Gessner and Tschudi in the 16th century are succeeded by Scheuchzer, Haller, Lavater, Bodmer, De Saussure, Rousseau, J. von Müller; the taste for Swiss travel is stimulated by the publication of Ebel's guide-book, based on the old *Deliciæ*; industry throve greatly. The residence of such brilliant foreign writers as Voltaire and Gibbon within or close to the territories of the Confederation helped on this remarkable intellectual revival. Political aspirations were not, however, wholly crushed, and found their centre in the Helvetic Society, founded in 1762 by Balthasar and others.

The Confederation and France had been closely connected for so long that the outbreak of the French Revolution could not fail to affect the Swiss. The Helvetian Club, founded at Paris in 1790 by several exiled Vaudois and Freiburgers, was the centre from which the new ideas were spread in the western part of the Confederation, and risings directed or stirred up. In 1790 Lower Wallis rose against the oppressive rule of the upper districts; in 1792 Porrentruy defied the prince-bishop of Basel, despite the imperial troops he summoned, declared the "Rauracian" republic, and three months later became the French department of the Mont Terrible; Geneva was only saved (1792) from France by a force sent from Zurich and Bern; and the massacre of the Swiss guard at the Tuileries on August 10, 1792, aroused intense indignation. The rulers, however, unable to enter into the new ideas, contented themselves with suppressing them by force, *e.g.*, Zurich in the case of Stäfa (1795). St Gall managed to free itself from its abbot (1795–97), but the Leagues of Rhætia so oppressed their subjects in the Valtelline that in 1797 Bonaparte (after conquering the Milanese from the Austrians) joined them to the Cisalpine republic. The diet was distracted by party struggles, and the fall of the old Confederation was not far distant. The rumours of the vast treasures stored up at Bern, and the desire of securing a bulwark against Austrian attack, specially turned the attention of the Directory towards the Confederation; and this was utilized by the heads of the reform party in the Confederation,—Ochs, the burgomaster of Basel, and La Harpe, who had left his home in Vaud through disgust at Bernese oppression, both now wishing for aid from outside in order to free their land from the rule of the oligarchy. Hence, when La Harpe, at the head of twenty-two exiles from Vaud and Freiburg, called (November 20, 1797) on the Directory to protect the liberties of Vaud, which France by the treaty of 1565 was bound to guarantee, his appeal found a ready answer. In 1798 French troops occupied Mühlhausen and Bienne (Biel), as well as those parts of the lands of the prince-bishop of Basel (St Imier and the Münsterthal) as regards which he had been since 1579 the ally of the Catholic members of the Confederation. Another army entered Vaud (February 1798), when the "Lemanic republic" was proclaimed, and the diet broke up in dismay without taking any steps to avert the coming storm. Brune and his army occupied Freiburg and Solothurn, and, after fierce fighting at Neueneck, entered (March 5) Bern, deserted by her allies, and distracted by quarrels within. With Bern, the stronghold of the aristocratic party, fell the old Confederation. The Revolution triumphed throughout the Confederation. Brune, on March 19, put forth a wonderful scheme by which the Confederation with its "associates" and "subjects" was to be split into three republics—the Tellgau (*i.e.*, the Forest districts), the Rhodanic (*i.e.*, Vaud, Wallis, the Bernese Oberland, and the Italian bailiwicks), and the Helvetic (*i.e.*, the north and east portions); but the Directory disapproved of this (March 23) and on March 29 the Helvetic republic, one and indivisible, was proclaimed. This was accepted by ten out of the thirteen members of the old Confederation, as well as the constitution drafted by Ochs. By the new scheme the territories of the Everlasting League were split up into twenty-three (later nineteen, Rhætia only coming in in 1799) administrative districts, called "cantons," a name now officially used in Switzerland for the first time, though it may be found employed by foreigners in the French treaty of 1452, in Comines and Machiavelli, and in the treaties of Westphalia (1648). A central Government was set up, with its seat at Lucerne, comprising a senate and a great council, together forming the legislature, with an executive of five directors chosen by the legislature, and having four ministers as subordinates or "chief secretaries." A supreme court of justice was set up; a status of Swiss citizenship was recognized; and absolute freedom to settle in any canton was given, the political "communes" being now composed of all residents, and not merely of the burghers. For the first time an attempt was made to organize the Confederation as a single state, but the change was too sweeping to last, for it largely ignored the local patriotism which had done so much to create the Confederation, though more recently it had made it politically powerless. The three Forest districts rose in rebellion against the invaders and the new constitutions which destroyed their ancient prerogatives; but the valiant resistance of the Schwyzers, under Alois Reding, on the heights of Morgarten (April and May), and that of the Unterwaldners (September), were put down by French armies. The proceedings of the French, however, soon turned into disgust and hatred the joyful feelings with which they had been hailed as liberators. Geneva was annexed to France (1798); Gersau, after an independent existence of over 400 years, was made a mere district of Schwyz; immense fines were levied and the treasury at Bern pillaged; the land was treated as if it had been conquered. The new republic was compelled to make a very close offensive and defensive alliance with France, and its directors were practically nominated from Paris. In 1799 Zurich, the Forest cantons, and Rhætia became the scene of the struggles of the Austrians (welcomed with joy) against the French and Russians. The manner too in which the reforms were carried out alienated many, and, soon after the Directory gave way to the Consulate in Paris (18 Brumaire or November 10, 1799), the Helvetic directory (January 1800) was replaced by an executive committee.

The Act of Mediation.

The scheme of the Helvetic republic had gone too far in the direction of centralization; but it was not easy to find the happy mean, and violent discussions went on between the "unitary" (headed by Ochs and La Harpe) and "federalist" parties. Many drafts were put forward, and one actually submitted to but rejected by a popular vote (May 20, 1802). In July 1802 the French troops were withdrawn from Switzerland by Bonaparte, ostensibly to comply with the treaty of Amiens, really to show the Swiss that their best hopes lay in appealing to him. The Helvetic Government was gradually driven back by armed force, and the federalists seemed getting the best of it, when (October 4) Bonaparte offered himself as mediator, and summoned many of the chief Swiss statesmen to Paris to discuss matters with him (the "Consulta"—December 1802). He had long taken a very special interest in Swiss matters, and in 1802 had given to the Helvetic republic the Frickthal (ceded to France in 1801 by Austria), the last Austrian possession within the borders of the Confederation. On the other hand, he had made (November 1802) Wallis into an independent republic. In the discussions he pointed out that Swiss needs required a federal constitution and a neutral position guaranteed by France. Finally (February 19, 1803) he laid before the Consulta the Act of Mediation which he had elaborated, and which they had perforce to accept—a document which formed a new departure in Swiss history, and the influence of which is visible in the present constitution.

Throughout, "Switzerland" is used for the first time as the official name of the Confederation. The thirteen members of the old Confederation before 1798 are set up again, and to them are added six new cantons,—two (St Gall and Graubünden or Grisons) having been formerly "associates," and the four others being made up of the subject lands conquered at different times,—Aargau (1415), Thurgau (1460), Ticino or Tessin (1440, 1500, 1512), and Vaud, (1536). In the diet, six cantons which had a population of more than 100,000 (viz., Bern, Zurich, Vaud, St Gall, Graubünden, and Aargau) were given two votes, the others having but one apiece, and the deputies were to vote freely within limits, though not against their instructions. Meetings of the diet were to be held alternately at Freiburg, Bern, Solothurn, Basel, Zurich, and Lucerne,—the Government of each of these cantons becoming, by virtue of the presence of the diet, the executive of the Confederation, its chief magistrate being named the "landamman of Switzerland." The "landsgemeinden," or popular assemblies, were restored in the democratic cantons, the cantonal governments in other cases being in the hands of a "great council" (legislative) and the "small council" (executive),—a property qualification being required both for voters and candidates. No canton was to form any political alliances abroad or at home. The "communes" were given larger political rights, the burghers who owned and used the common lands becoming more and more private associations. There was no Swiss burghership, as in 1798, but perfect liberty of settlement in any canton. There were to be no privileged classes or subject lands. A very close alliance with France (on the basis of that of 1516) was concluded. The whole constitution and organization were far better suited for the Swiss than the more symmetrical system of the Helvetic republic; but, as it was guaranteed by Bonaparte, and his influence was predominant, the whole fabric was closely bound up with him, and fell with him. Excellent in itself, the constitution set forth in the Act of Mediation failed by reason of its setting.

For ten years Switzerland enjoyed peace and prosperity under the new constitution. Pestalozzi and Fellenberg worked out their educational theories; K. Escher of Zurich embanked the Linth, and was thence called "von der Linth"; the central Government prepared many schemes for the common welfare. On the other hand, the mediator (who became emperor in 1804) lavishly expended his Swiss troops, the number of which could only be kept up by a regular blood tax, while the "Berlin decrees" raised the price of many articles. In 1806 the principality of Neuchâtel was given to Marshal Berthier; Tessin was occupied by French troops from 1810 to 1813, and in 1810 Wallis was made into the department of the Simplon, so as to secure that pass. At home, the liberty of moving from one canton to another (though given by the constitution) was, by the diet in 1805, restricted by requiring ten years' residence, and then not granting political rights in the canton or a right of profiting by the communal property. As soon as Napoleon's power began to wane (1812–13), the position of Switzerland became endangered. Despite the personal wishes of the czar (a pupil of La Harpe's), the Austrians, supported by the reactionary party in Switzerland, and without any real resistance on the part of the diet, as well as the Russian troops, crossed the frontier on December 21, 1813, and a few days later the diet was induced to declare the abolition of the 1803 constitution, guaranteed, like Swiss neutrality, by Napoleon. Bern headed the party which wished to restore the old state of things, but Zurich and the majority stood out for the nineteen cantons. The powers exercised great pressure to bring about a meeting of deputies from all the nineteen cantons at Zurich (April 6, 1814, "the long diet"), but party strife was so bitter that many questions had to be referred to the congress sitting at Vienna. The congress decided (March 20, 1815) that Wallis, Neuchâtel, and Geneva should be raised from the rank of "associates" to that of full members of the confederation (thus making up the familiar twenty-two), and as compensation gave Bern the town of Bienne (Biel) and all (save a small bit which went to Basel) of the territories of the prince-bishop of Basel ("the Bernese Jura"); but the Valtelline was granted to Austria, and Mühlhausen was not freed from France.

The diet accepted this decision, and on August 7, 1815, the new constitution was sworn to by all the cantons save Nidwald, the consent of which was only obtained by armed force, a delay for which she paid by seeing Engelberg and the valley above (acquired by Nidwald in 1798) given to Obwald. By the new constitution the sovereign rights of each canton were fully recognized, and a return made to the lines of the old constitution, though there were to be no subject lands, and political rights were not to be the exclusive privilege of any class of citizens. Each canton had one vote in the diet, where an absolute majority was to decide all matters save foreign affairs, when a majority of three-fourths was required. The management of current business, &c., shifted every two years between the Governments of Zurich, Bern, and Lucerne (the three "Vororte"). The monasteries were guaranteed in their rights and privileges; and no canton was to make any alliance contrary to the rights of the Confederation or of any other canton. Provision was made for a federal army. Finally the congress, on November 20, 1815, placed Switzerland and parts of North Savoy (Chablais, Faucigny, and part of the Genevois) under the guarantee of the great powers, who engaged to maintain their neutrality, thus freeing Switzerland from her 300 years' subservience to France, and compensating in some degree for the reactionary nature of the new Swiss constitution when compared with that of 1803.

Attempts at reform.

V. The cities at once secured for themselves in the cantonal great councils an overwhelming representation over the neighbouring country districts, and the agreement of 1805 as to migration from one canton to another was renewed by twelve cantons. For some time there was little talk of reforms, but in 1819 the Helvetic Society definitely became a political society, and the foundation in 1824 of the Marksmen's Association enabled men from all cantons to meet together. A few cantons (notably Tessin) were beginning to make reforms, when the influence of the July revolution (1830) in Paris and the sweeping changes in Zurich led the diet to declare (December 27) that it would not interfere with any reforms of cantonal constitutions provided they were in agreement with the pact of 1815. Hence for the next few years great activity in this direction was displayed, and most of the cantons reformed themselves, save the most conservative (*e.g.*, Uri, Glarus) and the advanced who needed no changes (*e.g.*, Geneva, Graubünden). Provision was always made for revising these constitutions at fixed intervals, for the changes were not felt to be final, and seven cantons—Zurich, Bern, Lucerne, Solothurn, St Gall, Aargau, and Thurgau—joined together to guarantee their new free constitutions (Siebener Concordat of March 17, 1832). Soon after, the question of revising the federal pact was brought forward by a large majority of cantons in the diet (July 17), whereon, by the league of Sarnen (November 14), the three Forest cantons, with Neuchâtel, the city of Basel, and Wallis, agreed to maintain the pact of 1815 and to protest against the separation of Basel in two halves (for in the reform struggle Schwyz and Basel had been split up, though the split was permanent only in the latter case). A draft constitution providing for a federal administration distinct from the cantons could not secure a majority in its favour; a reaction against reform set in, and the diet was forced to sanction (1833) the division of

Basel into the "city" and "country" divisions (each with half a vote in the diet), though fortunately in Schwyz the quarrel was healed. Religious quarrels further stirred up strife in connexion with Aargau, which was a canton where religious parity prevailed, later in others. In Zurich the extreme pretensions of the radicals and freethinkers (illustrated by offering a chair of theology in the university to Strauss because of his recent *Life of Jesus*) brought about a great reaction in 1839, when Zurich was the "Vorort." In Aargau the parties were very evenly balanced, and, when in 1840, on occasion of the revision of the constitution, the radicals had a popular majority, the aggrieved clerics stirred up a revolt (1840), which was put down, but which gave their opponents (headed by A. Keller) the excuse for carrying a vote in the great council to suppress the eight monasteries in the canton. This was flatly opposed to the pact of 1815, which the diet by a small majority decided must be upheld, though after many discussions it determined (August 31, 1843) to accept the compromise by which four only were to be suppressed, and declared that the matter was now settled. On this the seven Catholic cantons—Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Lucerne, Zug, Freiburg, and Wallis—formed (September 7, 1843) a "Sonderbund" or separate league, which (February 1844) issued a manifesto demanding the reopening of the question and the restoration of *all* the monasteries. Like the radicals in former years the Catholics went too far and too fast, for in October 1844 the clerical party in Lucerne (in the majority since 1841, and favouring the reaction in Wallis) officially invited in the Jesuits and gave them high posts, an act which created all the more sensation because Lucerne was the "Vorort." Twice (December 1844 and March 1845) parties of Free Lances tried to capture the city. In December 1845 the Sonderbund turned itself into an armed confederation, ready to appeal to war in defence of the rights of each canton. The radicals carried Zurich in 1845 and Bern in 1846, but a majority could not be secured in the diet till Geneva (October 1846) and St Gall (May 1847) were won by the same party. On July 20, 1847, the diet, by a small majority, declared that the Sonderbund was contrary to the federal pact, which on August 16 it was resolved to revise, while on September 3 it was decided to invite each canton to expel the Jesuits. Most of the great powers favoured the Sonderbund, but England took the contrary view. On October 29 the deputies of the unyielding cantons left the diet, which ordered on November 4 that its decree should be enforced by arms. The war was short (November 11–29), mainly owing to the ability of Dufour, and the loss of life trifling. One after another the rebellious cantons were forced to surrender, and, as the Paris revolution of February 1848 occupied all the attention of the great powers (who by the constitution of 1815 should have been consulted in the revision of the pact), the Swiss were enabled to settle their own affairs quietly. Schwyz and Zug abolished their "landsgemeinden," and the seven were condemned to pay the costs of the war (ultimately defrayed by subscription), which had been waged rather on religious than on strict particularist or states-rights grounds. The diet meanwhile debated the draft constitution drawn up by Kern of Thurgau and Druey of Vaud, which in the summer of 1848 was accepted by fifteen and a half cantons, the minority consisting of the three Forest cantons, Wallis, Zug, Tessin, and Appenzell (Inner Rhoden), and it was proclaimed on September 12.

The new constitution inclined rather to the Act of Mediation than to the system which prevailed before 1798. A status of "Swiss citizenship" was set up, closely joined to cantonal citizenship: a man settling in a canton not being his birthplace got cantonal citizenship after two years, but was excluded from all local rights in the "commune" where he might reside. A federal or central Government was set up, to which the cantons gave up a certain part of their sovereign rights, retaining the rest. The federal legislature (or assembly) was made up of two houses—the council of states (Stände Rath), composed of two deputies from each canton, whether small or great[1] (44 in all), and the national council (National Rath), made up of deputies (now 145 in number) elected for three years, in the proportion of one for every 20,000 souls or fraction over 10,000, the electors being all Swiss citizens. The federal council or executive (Bundesrath) consisted of seven members elected by the federal assembly; they are jointly responsible for all business, though for sake of convenience there are various departments, and their chairman is called the president of the Confederation. The federal judiciary (Bundesgericht) is made up of eleven members elected by the federal assembly for three years; its jurisdiction is chiefly confined to civil cases, in which the Confederation is a party (if a canton, the federal council may refer the case to the federal tribunal), but takes in also great political crimes,—all constitutional questions, however, being reserved for the federal assembly. A federal university and a polytechnic school were to be founded; the latter only has as yet been set up, and is fixed at Zurich. All military capitulations were forbidden in the future. Every canton must treat Swiss citizens who belong to one of the Christian confessions like their own citizens, for the right of free settlement is given to all such, though they acquired no rights in the "commune." All Christians were guaranteed the exercise of their religion, but the Jesuits and similar religious orders were not to be received in any canton. German, French, and Italian were recognized as national languages.

The constitution as a whole marked a great step forwards; though very many rights were still reserved to the cantons, yet there was a fully organized central government. Almost the first act of the federal assembly was to exercise the power given them of determining the home of the federal authorities, and on November 28, 1848, Bern was chosen, though Zurich still ranks as the first canton in the Confederation.

By this early settlement of disputes Switzerland was protected from the general revolutionary movement of 1848, and in later years her political history has been uneventful, though she has felt the weight of the great European crisis in industrial and social matters.

Events since 1848.

The position of Neuchâtel, as a member of the Confederation (as regards its government only) and as a principality ruled by the king of Prussia, whose rights had been expressly recognized by the congress of Vienna, was uncertain. She had not sent troops in 1847, and, though in 1848 there was a revolution there, the prince did not recognize the changes. Finally, a royalist conspiracy in September 1856 to undo the work of 1848 caused great excitement and anger in Switzerland, and it was only by the mediation of Napoleon III. and the other powers that the prince renounced (1857) all his rights, save his title, which his successor (the German emperor) has also dropped. Since that time Neuchâtel has been an ordinary member of the Confederation. In 1859–60 the cession of Savoy (part of it neutralized in 1815) to France aroused considerable indignation, and in 1862 the long-standing question of frontiers in the Vallée de Dappes was finally arranged with France. In 1871 many French refugees, especially Bourbaki's army, were most hospitably received and sheltered. The growth of the Old Catholics after the Vatican council (1870) caused many disturbances in western Switzerland, especially in the Bernese Jura. The attack was led by Bishop Lachat of Basel, whose see was suppressed by several cantons in 1873. The Old Catholics have been recognized by nine cantons and the see of Basel set up again, though Bern does not recognize it. The appointment by the pope of the abbé Mermillod as "apostolic vicar" of Geneva, which was separated from the diocese of Freiburg, led to Monseigneur Mermillod's banishment from Switzerland (1872), but in 1883 he was raised to the vacant see of Freiburg and allowed by the federal authorities to return, though Geneva still refuses to recognize him. Perhaps the latest event of importance to Switzerland was the opening of the St Gotthard tunnel, which was begun in 1871 and ended in 1880; by it the Forest cantons seem likely to regain the importance which was theirs in the early days of the Confederation.

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[1] The method of election and length of term of office were left to the cantonal Governments; at present (1887), in eleven cantons (or half cantons) the people, in fourteen the "great council," elect; twelve elect for one year and twelve for three, Wallis holding to the mean of two years.

From 1848 onwards the cantons continually revised their constitutions, always in a democratic sense, though after the Sonderbund War Schwyz and Zug abolished their "landsgemeinde." The chief point was the introduction of the *referendum*, by which laws made by the cantonal legislature may (facultative *referendum*) or must (obligatory *referendum*) be submitted to the people for their approval, and this has obtained such general acceptance that Freiburg alone does not possess the *referendum* in either of its two forms, Tessin having accepted it in its optional form in 1883. It was therefore only natural that attempts should be made to revise the federal constitution of 1848 in a democratic and centralizing sense, for it had been provided that the federal assembly, on its own initiative or on the written request of 50,000 Swiss electors, could submit the question of revision to a popular vote. In 1866 the restriction of certain rights (mentioned above) to Christians only was swept away; but the attempt at final revision in 1872 was defeated by a small majority, owing to the efforts of the anti-centralizing party. Finally, however, another draft was better liked, and on April 19, 1874, the new constitution was accepted by the people—14½ cantons against 7½ (those of 1848 without Tessin, but with Freiburg and Lucerne) and 340,199 votes as against 198,013. This constitution is that now in force, and is simply an improved edition of that of 1848. The federal tribunal (now of nine members only) was fixed (by federal law) at Lausanne, and its jurisdiction enlarged, especially in constitutional disputes between cantons and the federal authorities, though jurisdiction in administrative matters (*e.g.*, educational, religious, election, commercial) is given to the federal council, a division of functions which is very anomalous, and does not work well. A system of free elementary education was set up, and many regulations made on ecclesiastical matters. A man settling in another canton was, after a residence of three months only, given all cantonal and communal rights, save a share in the common property (an arrangement which as far as possible kept up the old principle that the "commune" is the true unit out of which cantons and the Confederation are built), and the membership of the "commune" carries with it cantonal and federal rights. The *referendum* was introduced in its "facultative" form; *i.e.*, all federal laws must be submitted to popular vote on the demand of 30,000 Swiss electors or of eight cantons. If the revision of the federal constitution is demanded by one of the two houses of the federal assembly or by 50,000 Swiss citizens, the question of revision must be submitted to a popular vote, as also the draft of the revised constitution,—these provisions, contained already in the constitution of 1848, forming a species of "obligatory *referendum*." It was supposed that this plan would lead to radical and sweeping changes; but as a matter of fact there have been (1874–86) about one hundred and seven federal laws and resolutions passed by the assembly, of which nineteen were by the *referendum* submitted to popular vote, thirteen being rejected, while six only were accepted,—the rest becoming law as no *referendum* was demanded. There has been a very steady opposition to all schemes aiming at increased centralization. By the constitutions of 1848 and 1874 Switzerland has ceased to be a mere union of independent states joined by a treaty, and has become a single state with a well-organized central Government, to which have been given certain of the rights of the independent cantons, but increased centralization would destroy the whole character of the Confederation, in which the cantons are not administrative divisions but living political communities. Swiss history teaches us, all the way through, that Swiss liberty has been won by a close union of many small states, and we cannot doubt that it will be best preserved by the same means, and not by obliterating all local peculiarities, nowhere so striking and nowhere so historically important as in Switzerland.

Revised constitution of 1874.

Chronological Table of Chief Events.

1291. First League of the Three Lands.
1315. Morgarten.
1353. The Eight Orte complete.
1386. Sempach.
1388. Näfels.
1394. Hapsburgs give up rights.
1444. St Jakob an der Birs.
1474. Everlasting Compact.
1476. Granson and Morat.
1481. Compact of Stanz.
1499. Practical Freedom from the Empire.
1513. The Thirteen complete.
1516. Alliance with France.
1531. Kappel.
1586. Golden League.
1648. Formal Freedom from the Empire.
1798. The Helvetic Republic.
1803. Act of Mediation—19 Cantons.
1815. Federal Pact—22 Cantons.
1847. Sonderbund War.
1848. Federal Constitution.
1874. Revised Constitution.

General Authorities.—For the early history, the works of Huber, Rilliet, and Von Wyss (see TELL) may be consulted; for general political history those of Daguet, Dändliker (large and small versions), Henne am Rhyn, Oechsli, Strickler, Vulliemin; and, for constitutional history, those of Blumer, Bluntschli, Dubs, Meyer, and Orelli. Of those named, the works of Rilliet, Dändliker (the small version), Strickler, Dubs, and Orelli are best suited for foreign readers. Books on local history and on special periods abound, and many very valuable essays are hidden in the publications of the numerous cantonal historical societies. Of modern English works relating to Switzerland the most noteworthy are G. Grote, *Seven Letters concerning the Politics of Switzerland* [the Sonderbund War of 1847] (originally published 1847, reprinted 1876), and E. A. Freeman, "Review of Kirk's 'Charles the Bold.'" in *Historical Essays*, first series, 1872, pp. 335–370, and *Historical Geography of Europe*, 1881. The great *Historisch-Geographischer Atlas der Schweiz*, by Vögelin, Meyer von Knonau, and Von Wyss (Zurich, 1870), is almost indispensable to any serious student of Swiss history. Gerster's small maps are appended to Oechsli's history, and also published separately. (W. A. B. C.)

PART III.—LITERATURE.

It can hardly be said of Switzerland that she possesses a truly national literature. She has a literature in French and a literature in German, but these literatures are not the expression of a common intellectual life, for the German and French cantons have always been to some extent dominated by different ideas and sympathies. Political union has been only in part associated with the deeper union which relates to purely ideal interests. Even the difference between the French and the German literatures of Switzerland does not give a complete conception of the diversity of thought and sentiment which exists in the country. Switzerland has also produced Italian writers and writers who use the Romansch dialect of the Grisons. The Romansch and Italian branches of her literature are not, however, sufficiently important to deserve more than passing notice.

During the struggles against the Hapsburgs the members of the Confederation were too seriously occupied in defending their political rights and in adding to their territory to be very eager for the satisfaction of intellectual needs. They produced some vigorous war songs, but in other respects they were content with such literature as

might happen to reach them from neighbouring countries. At the time of the Reformation there was much intellectual activity in Switzerland, but it related chiefly to the controversy of the Protestants with the Church of Rome; and Zwingli, Bullinger, and the other Reformers of the German cantons were not, like Luther, wise enough to write important treatises in the language of the people. They wrote chiefly in Latin, reserving the use of German for sermons and hymns. One good writer of this period whose interest was not confined to theology was François Bonnivard, who, although a native of Savoy, had, as prior of the monastery of St Victor, been associated with Geneva before the Reformation. He was one of the most resolute of those who opposed the ambition of Charles III., duke of Savoy; and it is he whose sufferings in the service of his adopted country have been immortalized by Byron in "The Prisoner of Chillon." After his release from imprisonment he became a Protestant, and wrote in French several important books, the chief of which is his *Chroniques de Genève*. This work is written in a bright and animated style, and is especially valuable for its account of events with which the author himself was connected. Another vigorous writer of the 16th century was Ægidius Tschudi, who remained loyal to the Roman Church. He devoted himself with enthusiasm to the study of history. The only result of his labours given to the world in his lifetime was *Die uralt wahrhafftig alpisch Rhätia*, but several other works have since been published, the most important being his *Chronicon Helveticum* and his *Hauptschlüssel zu verschiedenen Alterthümern*.

After the Reformation a respect for learning was maintained by the university of Basel, the Carolinum of Zurich, and various other educational institutions in the leading towns of the Confederation; but for a long time Switzerland took little part in the literary movement of Europe. Theology was still generally thought to be the only subject worthy of study by serious minds, and theologians continued to write their books in Latin (as, for example, C. Gessner of Zurich). In this respect their example was followed by men of science. In the few instances in which scholars belonging to German cantons wished to appeal to readers who were not specialists, they wrote in French, for Switzerland was so intimately associated in politics with France that the French language was spoken by the educated classes in all parts of the country. French literature was the only modern literature of which they had any real knowledge.

Early in the 18th century there were many signs of an intellectual awakening both in the German and in the French districts. The literary activity manifested in the German cantons was indirectly connected with the fact that they had been gradually acquiring a stronger sense of political independence. They had been alienated from France by the arrogance of the French Government, and had been forced to consider whether it might not be possible for Switzerland to defend her own interests without foreign patronage. Here and there scholars began to interest themselves in Swiss history, and to take pride in the achievements of the forefathers of the republic; and, in proportion as patriotic sentiment increased, thoughtful men became less inclined to take all their ideas from the country to which alone they had hitherto looked for intellectual guidance. They studied with greater earnestness the literatures of Greece and Rome, and some of them turned to English literature, with which they had not up to this time had the slightest acquaintance. These influences gave a powerful impetus to the best aspirations of the German population of Switzerland, and it was not in literature only that important results were achieved. Members of the family of Bernoulli at the university of Basel had already been doing great work in mathematics; and now the fame of Switzerland as a country favourable to the development of science was extended by many investigators, the best known of whom were Euler, Haller, Scheuchzer, and Muralt.

The writer who first gave expression to the most characteristic literary conceptions of his time in Switzerland was J. J. Bodmer, a native of Zurich. He was a good classical scholar, and in youth had made himself familiar with some of the masterpieces of English, French, and Italian literature. In 1721, in association with his friend Breitinger, a learned Protestant clergyman in Zurich, he began to issue the *Discurse der Maler*, written in imitation of the style of the English essayists. In this periodical the two friends criticized freely the works of some popular German versifiers, and they wrote with so much force and confidence that they soon exercised considerable influence not only in Switzerland but in Germany. When the value of their work was beginning to be recognized, a high place was taken among German men of letters by Gottsched, a professor at Leipsic. He was an ardent admirer of the classic drama of France, and gathered around him a number of enthusiastic disciples, known as the Saxon school. For some time he was on friendly terms with the Swiss critics, with whom he agreed in condemning the wild extravagance of Lohenstein and his imitators. But when Bodmer and Breitinger went on to praise English literature, and to call attention especially to the splendid qualities of Milton, Gottsched denounced their opinions as utterly false and misleading. The result was that a bitter controversy broke out between the Saxon and Swiss schools, Bodmer and Breitinger presenting an elaborate statement of critical doctrine, the former in *Vom Wunderbaren in der Poesie* (1740), the latter in *Kritische Dichtkunst* (1740). The controversy was followed with great interest by many readers, and, although it was by and by almost forgotten, it helped to prepare the way for the outburst of German literature begun by Klopstock, Wieland, and Lessing. The theories of all the combatants were to some extent crude and even grotesque, but Bodmer and Breitinger did excellent service by the vigour with which they protested against the notion that poetry is merely the work of the understanding acting in subjection to rigid rules, and by their enthusiastic appreciation of great English writers. Bodmer also opened fresh sources of inspiration by editing a part of the *Nibelungenlied* and some poems of the Minnesinger,—undertakings in which he anticipated the labours of the Romantic school. He wrote an epic, the *Noachide*, and several dramas, but his work as a poet is feeble and unimportant in comparison with his achievements as an editor and critic.

Haller.

A. von Haller, who made his fame chiefly as a man of science (see vol. xi. p. 396), ranked in literature also among the foremost men of his day. His poems are too directly didactic to give much pleasure to modern readers, but in some of them—especially *Die Alpen*—there are passages of striking force and beauty. Haller knew the Alps not merely from books but by having visited them, and to him belongs the credit of having revealed that they appeal powerfully to the imagination, and of having associated them with great thoughts and aspirations. He wrote several prose romances, but outside of Switzerland these works, which had many readers at the time of their publication, are now practically forgotten.

A Swiss writer of the 18th century who, as a poet, became more famous even than Haller was Solomon Gessner. At Berlin and Hamburg he came under the influence of Ramler and Hagedorn, and after his return to his native town Zurich, where he lived as an artist, he published a series of idyllic poems which excited universal