

the best authorities on the condition of the country, that never was the spirit of patriotism stronger than it is now. An attack by whatever neighbour would assuredly cause the cantons to lay aside all local jealousies and rivalries and combine for the common security. While there is "a sturdy sentiment of cantonal rights, engendered especially by a long period of self-government, there is also, whenever occasion requires, as manifested in patriotic gatherings, and in a firm attitude towards the outer world, that aggregate sentiment of nationality without which the confederation would separate into its several parts and cease to exist as a whole."¹ The Italians or the Germans or the French of the different cantons have had no aspirations whatever towards political connection with the great nations speaking the same languages. Switzerland is now the land around which all their hopes, affections and ambitions centre. The force of a national sentiment, and the ability of a federal state to fight for union, were shown in the ever memorable civil war in the American republic. Slavery became a subsidiary question as the struggle proceeded, and the preservation of the union was essentially the great motive power that gave strength to the north and west. Even in our own history we have seen the celerity with which a federal government can grapple with a nascent rebellion, and assert the authority of the federal state. While every section or state of a federation must have such attributes of power as are necessary to purely local self-government, there must always be placed in the central authority full control over the peace, order, and security of the people as a whole. This power is as necessary to a federal nation like the United States as it is to a strongly unified state like England. An acute thinker has on this point stated the respective powers and responsibilities of a federal state very clearly. "Stated broadly, so as to acquire somewhat the force of a universal proposition," says

¹ See Adams, "Swiss Confederation," p. 27. "Under very peculiar circumstances," says the well informed and able writer in the 'Edinburgh Review,' before referred to, "Swiss statesmanship has solved problems which perplex most European states. In Switzerland national defence is secured (as far as any small state can secure it) by the maintenance of a large, a cheap, and an effective force, which displays much of the discipline, and brings on the country none of the evils of a standing army; every citizen is a soldier, and every soldier is a citizen. National finances are prosperous and the country is not overburdened by a national debt; education has permeated every class, and Zürich has achieved results which may excite the envy of Birmingham or of Boston (and let me add of Toronto, where the art and technical schools are still inferior). Among a people traditionally disposed to lawlessness complete liberty has been made compatible with order, and theological animosities, which for centuries have been the special bane of the confederacy, have been assuaged or removed by the healing influence of religious freedom and equality.... Small and often hostile states have been fused into a nation.... Swiss democracy has, then, met and triumphed over all the obstacles to national unity arising from differences of race, from religious discord, from historical animosities, and from the difficulty inherent in federalism of reconciling national authority with state rights.... Her present peace and unity are due, as far as national prosperity is ever in reality caused by forms of government, to the Swiss constitution, which has achieved all that the best framed of polities can achieve—namely, the giving free scope to the energy and ability of the nation." And Freeman asserts that "the Swiss people, Teutonic and Romance, Catholic and Protestant, undoubtedly forms a nation, although artificially put together out of fragments of three elder nations." See p. 388 of his essay on "Practical Bearings of European History." And I may add the testimony of another thoughtful student of Swiss institutions, that of Professor Moses: "They (the cantons) are representatives of a large class of political organizations which became conspicuous in the later centuries of the middle ages. The fact that has given them special significance is their union and the development among them of social and political ties, which have established the essential conditions of national life and growth. This revolution, effected by the peaceful processes of constitutional amendment and legislation, has placed the events of Swiss history during the last fifty years in line with the movements towards unity which have been carried on in Italy and Germany, and by binding the several cantons so firmly under a central power as to remove the liability of disintegration, has justified the emphasis here given to the establishment of federal institutions as the most important achievement in the political history of Switzerland."