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SOCIAL FACTORS IN GERMAN-  
SWISS LITERATURE SINCE 1850.

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SOCIAL FACTORS IN GERMAN-SWISS LITERATURE SINCE 1850.

Ph.D. Thesis

presented by

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..... an author, gifted with sympathy and insight, becomes in some sort the mouthpiece of a body of opinion. He represents the unity which resists uniformity. He can use his insight to visualize what is in many people's thoughts, and put something into his special illustrations which satisfies all. He explains his readers' sentiments first of all to themselves and afterwards to posterity. ....his fancies and fictions generally reveal the direction in which men's thoughts are leading them; sometimes the direction which public sentiment has already taken, though the official doctrines and policies still lag far behind.

H. V. Routh, M.A., D.Litt.

("Money, Morals and Manners as Revealed in Modern Literature", London, 1935, p. 18.)

## INTRODUCTION

There is a trend in modern research on German literature to relate every piece of art to one common denominator. In the days of triumphant naturalism it was thought (1) that the economic position in which a writer found himself predestined his work and influenced every author's moral, social and aesthetic outlook. With the growth of historic materialism among the intellectuals this tendency became more and more marked, till the upheaval of the Great War and its effect on art upset rigid systems allowing other theories to develop, such as Nadler's well-known scheme of regional and tribal classification. The effect of this new diversity is evident today. Investigations into the dependence of art on economic factors are being conducted in a more cautious manner (2). Scholars are more inclined to restrict the effect of economic influences on the author and to stress his free will. Intuition is coming into its own again, and although the dependence of the poet's imaginings on social life is not overlooked, the idea that an author writes as he does simply because he is a bourgeois or a proletarian is losing ground.

In this thesis it is intended to view a certain section of literature in the German language from as unbiased a stand-

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(1) Leo Berg "Die sozialen Kämpfe im Spiegel der Poesie", Berlin, 1889 and others.

(2) Good examples are: L.W. Kahn "Social Ideals in German Literature", New York, Columbia Univ. Press, 1938 and E. Kohn-Bremstedt "Aristocracy and the Middle Classes in Germany 1830-1900", London, King, 1937.

point as possible. Neither Marxist dialectics nor Nadler's theories are to be applied rigidly, which does not mean that the present writer objects to either or both. If the aim of this study were to give a history of the class struggle in Switzerland as evident in literature, or to present a Swiss literary history, both sets of theories would have to be resorted to. The subject chosen is, however, wider than the first and narrower than the second. Thus it has been possible to include problems not obviously connected with that social phenomenon which we know as the class struggle, and on the other hand no attempt has been made to aim at that degree of completeness to which a full history of literature must attain.

This means that topics like religion, and the (non-political) antagonism between town and country have been considered as problems of social significance and consequently an effort has been made to ascertain the reactions of German-Swiss authors towards them; but on the other hand only about fifty authors are being dealt with, although the current histories of literature (3) deem about 150 authors worthy of treatment. Writers who show no interest in social problems are often omitted, others who are obviously not original are hardly mentioned, whereas a good third of the 150 possible writers have been studied. Even so the

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(3) Both Ermatinger ("Dichtung und Geistesleben der Deutschen Schweiz", Muenchen 1933) and Nadler ("Literaturgeschichte der deutschen Schweiz" Leipzig 1932), compilers of the most comprehensive literary histories, include about 150 authors of the period from 1850 to the present day.

observations made are not exhaustive. Often, especially in cases where 10 to 15 books by the same author are available, that book which shows most originality, most ingenuity, the greatest amount of topical value, the deepest concern for a social problem, had to be set aside for consideration.

In dealing with "social factors" it is impossible to submit organised society to microscopic treatment. Certain institutions which society has devised, certain social habits which have grown up, certain views which the community has evolved have been singled out, either because they are of particular importance or because sections of the community hold antagonistic views about them. The classes or strata in Swiss society, their function, character, peculiarities and distinctive views are therefore outlined, after a short description has been given of the historical ground on which these various masses move.

The aim is to portray the political, sociological and psychological aspects of Swiss society. The ideas of Swiss authors on other communities can only be utilised in so far as they reflect the authors' views on their own, that is as seen by the writers of the German speaking part of Switzerland. Historians and scholars who reproduce the outcome of intensive study on sociological problems, are not taken into account; their findings belong to the realm of history and sociology. The writer's task is to look at the picture presented by the imaginative

writer and to compare it where necessary with the more objective, but less inspired drawing depicted by the scholar. How the artist sees society is therefore more important than whether he understands it correctly. If he sees it inaccurately, it will be all the more interesting to the enquirer, for the source of his mistakes will lead to considerations of social bias, prejudice, superiority and inferiority complexes in authors. In addition, the imaginative author is more articulate and certainly more widely read than the sociological research worker. Consequently the artists' views on the social world are of much greater influence on the ordinary reading public, on other authors and on society in general than the scholar can hope to attain. Society may be influenced by the author's image of it; indeed in many cases the sole object of writing has been the desire to change the world. Some of the authors included are ignored by literary historians, but they are of importance because of the popularity they enjoyed. Notorious books by fanatics are thus dealt with as fully, as famous works by first-rate authors.

Works written in dialect presented another difficulty. While there is general agreement amongst Swiss and German literary historians that the literature of German speaking Switzerland "can only be considered in terms of German literature as a whole" (4), social life in Switzerland differs widely from German

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(4) E.G. Schmid "Cultural Trends in German Switzerland today", German Life and Letters, vol. III, No. 4, p.266, Oxford, 1939.

conditions. The German-Swiss author where he deals with Swiss types and Swiss social life should be judged as a Swiss citizen, even though he writes in the German language. If he chooses the vernacular, he merits as much consideration as Otto Reuter whom no literary historian would omit. It is not the dialect which prevents the inclusion of such works in this thesis, but the fact that writers in the vernacular deal with subjects outside our consideration. O. von Greyerz (5) is isolated in his assertion that German-Swiss dialect literature is making a valuable contribution to the airing of social problems. A writer of Cockney dialect sketches is not expected to solve national problems, and authors who use the Berne or Zurich idiom do not generally attempt more than to entertain the reader. There are one or two (6) exceptions to this rule, and as exceptions they have been included, but the bulk justify Faesi's (7) and Bosshart's (8) views that dialect works present nothing that cannot be found in literature written in the German language. They only appeal to small groups of readers, dwell too much on detail and avoid tackling problems. In consequence, most of the works dealt with

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(5) "Heimatkunst", Schweizerische Monatshefte fuer Politik und Kultur, vol. III, 1921/4, pp. 31 ff.

(6) e.g. J. Buchrer "Das Volk der Hirten".

(7) Robert Faesi "Gestalten und Wandlungen schweizerischer Dichtung", Wien 1922, pp. 46, 49 and 55.

(8) As quoted in O. v. Greyerz' article mentioned above.

are written in the language of German literature.

The question whether to include poetry or not is readily solved, when one reads one or two volumes of verse out of every decade since 1850. Even a superficial perusal makes it certain that most lyric poetry is useless for the purpose of this thesis (9). Much of the work of those five or six poets who justify intensive study can only be regarded as corroborative evidence because of the peculiarly subjective form in which lyrical feeling is often expressed. The drama is neglected by modern Swiss authors as an unsuitable medium (10), so the Swiss novel proves the most fruitful type of literature for the purpose of this study. Its preponderance among the books reviewed is thus due not only to the fact that the novel is most suitable for the expression of views on social life, but that the German-Swiss have a natural aptitude for narrative and description.

One more difficulty which arose in the preparatory work is purely technical. As the method of presenting subjects and their treatment by various authors was preferred to the old practice of introducing one author after another together with his or her views, the problem arose of how to deal with authors who changed their views several times (11). The solution resorted to is to add the date when the different attitudes existed. Some-

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(9) Apart from occasional lines which throw light on some particular social problem. These have, of course, been given their due place in the following chapters.

(10) cf. the whole tenor of Paul Lang "Buehne und Drama der deutschen Schweiz", Buerich 1924.

(11) e.g. Keller and Schaffner.

times an explanation is given in the text or in a footnote which makes the changed outlook plausible. In other cases references are given to books dealing with the change. Any other method would have entailed a breaking up of each chapter with biographies which would have made the thesis both unwieldy and unpalatable.

A bibliography follows which details only those books which have been found useful. Many books were consulted but have been omitted because they are scientific rather than imaginative, or have no bearing on the subject at all.

### THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND.

The first generation of authors belonging to the period under consideration personally experienced the Revolution of 1848. Therefore the importance of this date has to be determined first.

Important as 1848 may be as an historical landmark, it would be confusing cause and effect, were one to attribute the new way of thinking, noticeable in Swiss literature after that year of European revolutions, to the Swiss Revolution itself. The new constitution is not the beginning, but the culmination of a development which had commenced round about 1830. Social life had altered since 1830 and a new constitutional form had to be given to it. It is thus only natural that authors should treat the events of 1848 as advanced stages of a long process rather than as unpredicted eruptions. 1848 was not for Switzerland, what 1789 had been for France, indeed the date is only rarely mentioned. Whether authors welcome or abuse the new constitution they address themselves to the whole period between 1830 and 1850.

Before one considers its legal recognition, it is imperative to review the situation in the 'thirties and 'forties. A new Swiss spirit of democratic growth was evolved during those years which for the rest of Europe meant the last flaring up of despotism under the name of "Restoration". The writer of the programmatic work on aristocratic reaction, Karl Ludwig von

Haller (12), himself a Swiss Junker, had to leave his home and spent the rest of his life in self-imposed exile. There was no longer any room for thinkers of his type, and the representatives of a new age moved in -- Democratic Germans who saw that their ideal was nearer realisation in the group of Swiss Republics than under German Princes. Their number is extraordinary. Zschokke, the German novelist (born in Magdeburg), was not essentially a Democrat, but he may be mentioned first since he was responsible for some undertakings such as an association for patriotic culture and a bourgeois teaching institute, early signs of new bourgeois corporate responsibility. H.R. Sauerlaender (coming from Frankfurt/Main) influenced the Swiss publishing business, the Burschenschaftler Wolfgang Menzel spread the idea of physical training as a useful pastime for patriots, Josef Goerres found in Switzerland a refuge where he could write undisturbed, A.A. Follen (from Hesse), E.L. Hochholz (from Ansbach) taught literary criticism. The philologist L. Doederlein (from Jena), the historian J.F. Kortuem (from Mecklenburg), the physiologist H. Mohl (Stuttgart), the zoologist Berty (Ansbach), the theologian M. Schneckenberger (Wuerttemberg), the political theorists L. and W. Snell (from Nassau) worked at the "Berner Hochschule". W. Wackernagel (Berlin)

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(12) "Die Restauration der Staatswissenschaft oder Theorie des natuerlichen geselligen Zustandes, der Chimaeere des kuenstlich buergerlichen entgegengesetzt", 1816-1854.

lectured on German Literature at Bale, L. Ettmueller (Lausitz) at Zuerich, Julius Froebel (Thuringia) settled in Zuerich and together with A.A. Follen edited the works of G. Herwegh, A. Ruge, Hoffmann von Fallersleben and Ferdinand Freiligrath who sheltered in Zuerich and Winterthur.

Quite apart from the contributions made by all these guests and refugees Germany imparted some of her best thought to Swiss students who came to German Universities, and who returned to practice openly that teaching which in Germany was being spread in an almost surreptitious fashion. Not only professional teachers and artists came to Switzerland, but, as international travel increased, foreigners from Germany and elsewhere widened Swiss outlook. They more than filled the gap in experience created by the gradual lapse of the institution of "Reislaufen" (military service abroad) which the emergency of a patriotic bourgeois consciousness had undermined. The tourist traffic was infinitely more profitable for Switzerland than "Reislaufen"; new ideas and money were brought into the country. There was a tendency, too, for emigration to enrich the country rather than impoverish it as had previously been the case. Military service abroad was superseded by emigration to America. If such emigrants returned, they did not come back penniless like most soldiers, but rich, and accompanied by wives who increased the variety of the national characteristics.

That variety was also stimulated by internal causes. The new rights of political equality, freedom of movement, the breaking down <sup>of the rigid division between the estates which</sup> spread from one canton to another, ~~of the rigidly separated estates~~, officials who moved from one place to another -- all helped to diffuse new ideas and to create a new consciousness and a feeling of national unity.

Apart from the tourist traffic and emigration, two economic factors are of importance when reviewing the period up to 1848; the introduction into Switzerland of new means of transport, and the establishment of factories.

In 1847 the last obstacle to that unity which the new Swiss spirit sought to achieve, was removed by the outcome of the "Sonderbundskrieg". This was a struggle between the "Sonderbund" (the cantons of Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug, Freiburg and Wallis) with a conservative, Roman-Catholic and particularist outlook, and the other Swiss cantons who represented Liberalism, freedom from Church domination, and the desire for a strong, central government. From this it was established that the new Switzerland would be Liberal, united, strong, capitalistic and anti-clerical or at least anti-Jesuit. The rise of the capitalist régime had led to fierce debates, violent abuse, mutual distrust, coups d'état, petty wars and "Putsche" in almost every city and canton of Switzerland between roughly 1840 and 1848. It had resulted in a triumph for Liberalism, Protestantism and Centralisation. Undoubtedly this was the form which suited the new society

best. If Switzerland was to compete successfully with other industrial and exporting nations -- and Switzerland was by 1848 the most highly industrialised country in Europe -- the autonomy of the cantons had to give way to a systematically organised central government; the class barriers which the aristocracy of Switzerland had erected, had to disappear; privileges had to be abolished; the influence of the Churches, especially that of the Roman-Catholic Church on education had to be removed; the farming population which had become semi-industrial and had come to consider farming as a secondary occupation, had to be given equal rights with the townspeople.

The situation is to us today so obvious, that one is not amazed at the small dimensions of the war and the extremely small number of casualties. Yet to the people who lived in 1850 the trend which public affairs were taking was not at all clear, and there were many who regretted the loss of power by the cantons, the aristocracy and the Church, some were even ready to call in foreign armies to suppress the new régime. Indeed, the foreign governments were so alarmed at this new Jacobinism, anti-clericalism and "Communism" that the foreign armies would almost have entered Switzerland uninvited. Only the general unrest in Europe prevented armed intervention by the encircling reactionary powers. Under the circumstances, the new "Bundestag" (the name adopted by the new administration) was allowed scope to determine its shape and its future. On the 12th of September, 1848, a plebiscite was held and

the new constitution was approved. The "Tagsatzung" gave way to the "Bundesversammlung" which met for the first time in November. In the same month the first executive, the "Bundesrat", was elected and Berne chosen as the capital of the new united centralised Switzerland. By 1850, at the beginning of this survey, important laws had been enacted dealing with the customs (1848) and postal matters (1849). In 1850 the new Republic continued its work of peaceful construction by laws on currency, the abolition of cantonal import duties, and the expropriation of land for the laying of railways. In the following year the central authority took over the post and telegraph system of the country and fixed the scale of import duties.

These laws were the outcome of the desire for unity and centralisation; others showed the liberal spirit which animated the greater part of the country. Such a law was that concerning "Heimatlosigkeit" (1850) which removed the misery of those unfortunate people who had been practically without legal protection due to marriage into another canton, through vagrancy or other circumstances. Another humanitarian law allowed mixed marriages (1850). The partial emancipation of the Jews (1866) belongs to this category. By all these legislative innovations Switzerland entered the ranks of the modern, efficiently governed and enlightened States.

The strength of the constitution of 1848 was so great that it has not been fundamentally altered from its origin to today, and was not touched at all until 1874. This strength lay in the fact

that the creators of that document, the victorious Liberals, could only rely on the support of all their partisans if they made allowances for the different components of their party. The Liberal party of 1848 found its adherents amongst both radically progressive, centralistic and anti-clerical elements, and those who were conservative in their belief in religion and the importance of cantonal liberties. The "Sonderbund" had caused these semi-conservatives to separate themselves from the reactionary, particularist and ultra-montanist Conservative party and had thrown them into the arms of the Liberal party. When the constitution was framed, the views of these semi-conservatives had to be respected just as much as the wishes of the radical Liberals. The old loose federal system had to disappear, but the cantons must not be deprived of all power, if the support of all was to be won for the envisaged reforms.

It testifies to the tact of the responsible leaders, and to the strength of the new capitalist ruling class that the aim of creating a new united Switzerland which could compete in the world market, and be proud of its cultural achievements was realised without antagonising too many people. Another factor also proved helpful. The parties contained most diverse elements and had no clearly defined programmes. These various groups were apt to differ widely on individual points and it often happened that Liberals and Conservatives did not vote by parties, but industrialists with industrialists, and farmers with farmers. Class

consciousness cut across barriers erected by party programmes, and reforms which benefited the new ruling class were adopted by both Liberals and Conservatives when their desirability seemed obvious.

At the end of the work of reconstruction, the Swiss citizen was in full possession of all those democratic rights, which were considered essential in the middle of the nineteenth century. Every male adult had the power to vote for a candidate for the "Nationalrat", the first chamber of the Swiss Parliament and for the Diet of his canton. All citizens possessed equal rights before the law, liberty to express themselves in speech, print or picture without political restrictions, freedom to move from one place to another, to enter with others into associations and to petition Parliament. All privileges of residence, birth, family or person were abolished. There was, however, no freedom of religion guaranteed by the central authorities. The cantonal administration decided which religious practices and which sects were to be allowed within their jurisdiction. In the light of past experience Jesuits were banned from the whole of Switzerland, and clergymen could not become candidates for Parliament.

It was only natural that political life should be active now that all these rights had been won. There were two parties and almost every Swiss citizen prided himself on membership in one of them. The Liberals were mostly industrialists who stood for

progress, central authority, a vast railway building programme, and an extensive system of education. As regards religion they were mainly indifferent with an anti-clerical tinge. With them sided the bulk of the intellectuals, more radical in their democratic beliefs, more anti-clerical and often atheistic. This group drew a good deal of inspiration from the German democrats who lived in exile in Switzerland, teachers being some of its most vociferous members. Although a certain amount of idealism was present in all political associations of that time, they were the most outspokenly idealistic, believing as they did that humanity could be freed in a short time from all ignorance, inhumanity, class distinctions, war, poverty and inequality. Their aggressive attitude towards foreign "despots" and their harbouring of refugees were a source of serious embarrassment to the Swiss Republic.

Industrialists and intellectuals alone could never lead Liberalism to victory without the majority of the farmers, who adopted the Liberal programme. In order to rid themselves of domination by the towns, the country population united with the Liberals in the towns, and through this union was achieved that numerical superiority over the Conservative elements, which was needed to bring about the revolution. This joining of hands between farming population and intellectuals, who had very little in common where questions of the mind and spirit were concerned, benefited the young State. The farmers were not ready to adopt atheistic principles or to allow school masters to bring up the

boys and girls of their villages in contempt of all religion and tradition. Consequently the educational and Church policy of the Liberal majority was less radical than the intellectuals desired it to be. Nor were the farmers prepared to embrace ideologies which went as far as the emancipation of Swiss women and the deliverance of the oppressed nations from their princes.

The Conservative party consisted of aristocrats who had lost their privileges, and those townspeople who held that Switzerland had been governed better by the experienced noble families in the towns. Their followers in the countryside were mostly Catholics and the non-industrial strata of the upper middle classes, who feared that the masses, now equipped with a vote, would impose high taxation of a progressively rising type which would bring about the end of private property. They objected to the new "disintegrating" principles of equality, and emancipation from the Church, which in their eyes entailed the destruction of morality and sound tradition. Many of them had no sympathy with the aristocracy, and merely voted with the latter because they wished to oppose the principles of Liberalism. They objected obstinately to the building of railways, to the founding of communal banks and credit institutes, to the formation of professional associations for the purpose of corporate bargaining, and to the establishment of seminaries for teachers, because they feared an increase in the number of radical schoolmasters.

For two decades Liberalism ruled supreme and every step

that could benefit the new rulers was taken; railways were built everywhere, industry was protected by import duties, banks were formed, "Genossenschaften" which represented professional interests arose, seminaries and a University (Zuerich) were instituted, and everything was directed towards the achievement of one end: capitalistic prosperity. It is significant that the plan to build State railways was defeated in favour of schemes providing for private ownership. Children were employed in factories (15). The prices of land soared without any safeguards being imposed for the small agricultural owner. A noisy, self-satisfied nationalistic patriotism, suitable to a young aggressive capitalist régime, wiped out all cosmopolitan yearnings of the radical wing of the Liberal party. Refugees who enjoyed the protection of Swiss Liberals were expelled as soon as they dared preach Socialist doctrines.

More by luck than by good judgment, and once or twice by a deplorable breaking of principles, Switzerland succeeded in averting war, which would have endangered prosperity. Thus capitalism was free to develop. The number of looms in the silk industry rose from 6,600 in 1834 to 25,290 in 1865, spindles in the cotton industries increased from 400,000 to 1,500,000 within thirty years. Gradually an industrial proletariat began to emerge, but the community as a whole had not yet adjusted its thinking to this new phenomenon, and a feeling of responsibility for these new armies of exploited citizens was slow to develop.

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(15) See Robert Grimm "Geschichte der Schweiz in ihren Klassenkämpfen", Bern 1920, pp. 392 ff.

This is not very surprising when one realises that the administration did not set/good example as regards social responsibility. The Liberal element which might have been expected to lead in the right direction, was either industrialist and thus too busy making profit to think of social welfare, or they were farmers and so not acquainted with proletarian conditions of the worst type. One must not forget that only 6.4% of Switzerland's 2,395,000 inhabitants (1850) lived in towns of over 10,000 souls.

The Liberal era which had begun with the defeat of the "Sonderbund" continued with unabated strength for about 15 years (14), i.e. about 12 years of the period under consideration. Opposition to Liberalism did not disappear, but by the beginning of the 'sixties no major body seriously wished to undo the constitutional work accomplished since 1848. In those cantons where Conservatives ruled in the Diet or "Grossrat", no attempt was made at re-introducing aristocratic rule, privileges or anything else reminiscent of the pre-Liberal era. The Conservatives endorsed bit by bit what they had opposed twenty years before as being anarchistic, un-Christian and immoral. Any disturbance of the peaceful political life would have to come from the left wing, which sooner or later was bound to ask for more rights for the people. The cantonal constitutions, which were attacked, were Liberal and allowed for what was termed at the time "government

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(14) See Eduard Fueter "Die Schweiz seit 1848", Zuerich 1928, p.91.

"for the people". This was deemed insufficient by more radical spirits who wanted representative government to be replaced by strictly democratic rule, indirect elections by direct elections, and the appointment of high officials to be in the hands of the electorate, and not in the hands of the cantonal Diet or its Cabinet. The veto or -- as it was called later on -- the referendum was advocated to make it possible to veto bills and to depose representatives of the people before their term of office had elapsed. Social reforms were to be introduced, and communal institutions, such as cantonal banking institutes were to be formed. It is obvious from this short résumé that economic questions lay at the root of this desire to replace government for the people by government by the people. The Liberals who ruled supreme, particularly in Zuerich, where Alfred Escher epitomised the spirit of 1848, had become bourgeois aristocrats with the help of profits made in capitalist enterprises, which were too closely connected with the State. The people discovered that laws on financial matters, railways or banks, were only sure of being passed, if the new aristocracy benefited by them. The common weal no longer stood in the centre of their thoughts. As they represented the most intellectual and most enterprising section of the bourgeoisie, they had by now found everything that could satisfy their ambitions. The very achievement of their aims brought about the isolation which led to their downfall. Those inhabitants who were not yet citizens

in the political sense, together with the dissatisfied Conservatives and all the members of the middle classes who had evolved some sense of social responsibility which they wanted to see applied in education, factory legislation, communal enterprises, united to demand reforms. Their achievements show the trend of the age. The Liberals were replaced by Democrats, but the Democrats never succeeded in wielding the same influence as the Liberals (who from now on are called "Alt-Liberale") had done. There was undoubtedly some truth in the assertion of the Liberals that the extension of the suffrage would not necessarily mean an increase in progressive laws. The masses are more Conservative than the left-wing idealist is inclined to admit, and although they profit most by education and the establishment of cultural institutions, they are slow to apportion money for these things. Income tax was increased, it is true, but the new "sovereign", the majority, refused to accept death duties, because the investigation necessary for the levying of the tax would curtail the freedom of the individual. Certain reforms regarding education were accepted, but compulsory university training for elementary school teachers was refused. That happened in the canton of Zuerich; elsewhere the development followed similar lines. The people, vested with new powers, proved fickle, selfish and increasingly materialistic. On the other hand, absolute rule by party ceased, as the increased electorate abandoned the practice of choosing its officials from

the ranks of the majority party only, with the good result that competent men of all shades of opinion became eligible. It was unfortunate that sometimes considerations of the moment obscured principles in these appointments, giving Swiss legislators the appearance of opportunists.

A few years after the democratic victory in the cantons, the Swiss nation decided to fill in the gaps left in the constitutional work of 1848. There was first the problem of the rights of the Jews. The Liberals and Conservatives who had framed the constitution had agreed on leaving the Jews without political rights. For over 15 years Switzerland persisted in this attitude and made substantial sacrifices for it, even refusing to conclude advantageous trade agreements with Holland and the United States because their fulfilment was made conditional upon the granting of political rights to foreign (and consequently also Swiss) Jews. Both the representatives of the Christian Churches and the left-wing Liberals, who represented the petty bourgeoisie clung to this view, the first out of religious intolerance, the latter, because they feared the bad influence of foreign Jews on Swiss business life. But when France demanded the right for French Jews to settle in Switzerland as equal citizens, if the trade agreement between the two countries was to be ratified, the central authorities yielded to the temptation, and all foreign as well as Swiss Jews received what had been owing to them for a long time. The powers which the "Bundesbehoerden" had assumed in this case were

really extra-constitutional and a sign that the document of 1848 needed enlarging or revising.

Next came the army. The Franco-Prussian War had acquainted the country with military problems and questions of defence and of the preservation of neutrality had come to occupy the minds of a majority. It was maintained that the army had to be centralised, i.e. put under the control of the authorities at Berne, in order to cope with its greatly increased tasks. This meant an enlargement in the power of the central authority with a corresponding decline in the importance of the cantonal governments. It also revived the conflict between centralism and federalism, at a moment when the advocates of increased central power in the German speaking cantons had shown themselves as over-friendly to the cause of the Prussians in the Franco-Prussian War, a fact which made the French speaking cantons particularly conscious of their position as a minority. A further difficulty arose due to the conviction among Protestants that Prussia had been so surprisingly strong in the war of 1870/71 because she was Protestant and thus superior to her Catholic opponent who had neglected education and stifled cultural life. Even Liberal Catholics admitted that Napoleon III's reactionary Catholic policy had contributed to his defeat. The debates on army reforms thus led to debates on Protestantism and Catholicism, as well as discussions on centralism and federalism.

Two more series of events had their influence upon the framing of the new constitution: the developments in the cantons which had led to the abandonment of representative government in favour of democratic rule with referendum, and the demand of the Holy See upon Catholics as to their attitude towards democratic government. The former resulted in the bringing into line of the system of central government with the practice adopted in the cantons, the latter led to a violent struggle between Berne and Rome which ended in the Papal Nuncio being handed his passport by the Swiss Government in 1873. For nearly fifty years the Vatican remained without a diplomatic representative in Switzerland. The most important point in the programme of revision, and one on which all groups agreed, was the creation of a new code of law relating to traffic and commerce. Private enterprise clamoured for this new code, and the country was sufficiently conscious of its capitalist character to recognise the urgency of a settlement, regardless of whether it entailed an increase in power for the central authority or not.

After an unsuccessful attempt at formulating a new constitution in 1872, a majority was found for a second draft in 1874. This time care was taken not to estrange the Liberal federalists in the "Suisse Romande" by too radical proposals regarding the centralisation of power at Berne, as their support was needed for the passing of articles against the Holy See.

Protestant sympathy was gained in the same way, and again a compromise resulted, as in 1848.

The army was centralised only as far as legislation was concerned; administration and appointment of officers was left to cantons. The unified law code on traffic and commerce was restricted to a minimum. The plebiscite was not introduced, but the referendum found favour. As regards the Church, the cantons were empowered to curb at their discretion the activities of religious bodies, if they endangered civil rights; religious orders were banned, new monasteries could no longer be founded, and the registration of births, marriages and deaths and the legislation concerning them were entrusted to the cantonal governments.

The immediate effect of the new constitution on social life is comparable to that of the previous one. The strictly religious and the Conservative sections of the public were disgruntled; the particularists raged against the curtailment of income of the cantons, since the latter had to pay for the newly enforced elementary education. Financial cautiousness, one of the pillars of Liberal capitalism, disappeared. Instead, the practice of issuing loans for defence purposes became part of the modern financial outlook which was soon to lead to carelessness, profiteering and defraudation in the business world. The increase in public expenditure modified Swiss capitalism as a whole by causing the government to abandon free trade (1878).

As a result the cost of living rose, thus creating one more stimulus to anti-social profiteering. Since freedom of trade ("Handels- und Gewerbefreiheit") released employers from all restrictions, Switzerland was heading fast for a state of ruthless competition on a basis of unmitigated capitalist exploitation. Nevertheless, there are one or two examples of State control over private enterprise in the form of laws on afforestation, deer hunting and fishing. The State also received the right to legislate on matters concerning the railways.

The referendum improved the position of the minorities, it even fostered the "democratisation of the Catholics" (15), but had its disadvantages. Once the referendum had been introduced, governments began to consider their work as of a provisional nature only, and no longer felt responsible for the laws which they had created. Laws were often specially framed and worded so as to make them acceptable to the masses because the government feared a demand for a referendum. Agreements between party-leaders conditional on mutual support (log-rolling, as Americans call it) became impossible, since the people did not feel themselves bound by such agreements. On the other hand anybody could show his dissatisfaction with the government by voting against any or every bill. The anti-clerical aspect of Liberalism which was beginning to turn into a frankly materialistic conception of life had secured an

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(15) See E. Fueter, p. 137.

undeniable victory in the secularisation of public life, marriage and education. Legislation based on Christian ethics gave way to "humanitarian" laws. The civil marriage became compulsory, divorce was expressly permitted by the law of 1875 which defined the paragraph on marriage in the constitution. By chance (16) the law was passed and at one blow the Churches lost most of their former privileges, which they have never regained. The decision of the people was really fortuitous because the majority were still Christian, as the fate of the laws on education soon revealed. Catholics and Protestants united in their efforts to rescue their children from an education based on indifference to religion. The State had to content itself with having achieved compulsory elementary education. It goes without saying that the accomplishment of this most cherished wish of every Liberal had far-reaching repercussions on Swiss national life. (17) The civil service profited by the higher intellectual level evident in newcomers to the service. Manual labour was no longer the only employment open to vast numbers of the population with the result that unskilled labour had to be imported.

The points mentioned so far represent demands handed down from the Liberal stage of Capitalism ("Manchester School"),

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(16) The vote was: 215,000 for, 205,000 against acceptance of the bill.

(17) The question as to whether the introduction of compulsory elementary education was really the most important social factor of the second half of the nineteenth century, as is sometimes maintained, will be considered in a later chapter.

with the exception perhaps of compulsory education which breathes a more democratic spirit. Other innovations reveal the presence of petty-bourgeois claims supported by the more advanced left-wing section of the intelligentsia. These new points were of a distinctly revolutionary type in so far as they entailed protection for the less fortunate classes to whom the Liberal programme of "Freie Bahn dem Tuechtigen" did not apply. The bourgeoisie had aimed at liberation from restraint only for the capable (and often ruthless) men of enterprise; now assistance was desired for those who were the victims of that system. The proletariat was to be considered and protected for the first time. No Socialist Party could raise claims, because the proletariat, the majority of which were foreign, was not politically organised. Socialism, as far as it was embraced, in the "Gruetli Verein" and elsewhere, was still, as in 1850, restricted to the artisan class. The lower strata of the bourgeoisie, together with radical intellectuals took up the cause of the fourth estate, and even some Conservatives gave their support out of humanitarian considerations. Yet it was only with extreme difficulty that the paragraph of the constitution of 1874 which gave the State the right to legislate on employment in factories could be made law. It is true that some cantons were exemplary in fixing a 12-hour-day, forbidding Sunday and night work and barring children under fourteen from employment in factories (18), but this was exceptional, and in

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(18) Canton of Glarus (1864), Canton of Basel-Stadt (1869).

Zurich, the highly industrial canton, a bill similar to that passed by the canton of Glarus was rejected. The workers themselves opposed factory legislation. Their reasons cast an interesting light on the mercenary spirit which pervaded all classes during the 'seventies and 'eighties of last century. They feared that they would not earn enough, that unskilled workmen might be dismissed, and that industries where cheap child labour was essential, might leave Switzerland altogether. When Switzerland did adopt a factory law (1877), all these fears were realised and another important change in the social structure was the result. Workers who had spent part of their time in factories and the rest on the land, chose either factory work or agriculture after 1877. A modern landless proletariat arose. The industrialists did not lose by the factory law which had been designed to protect the workers.

The political and social changes enumerated so far came out of Switzerland's effort to capture a good share of world trade. Swiss agriculture became an industry. owing to this effort, which was in part caused and facilitated by the development of the railway network. The production of cereals fell; whilst exports of milk (19), cheese (20), chocolate and dairy cattle rose. Farmers had to produce for export or emigrate (21).

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(19) In 1860 the method of condensing milk for export was invented, in 1868 the famous firm of Nestlé was started.

(20) Cheese exports rose from 60,000 metzentner in 1860 to 207,000 metzentner in 1871.

(21) Emigration to the United States amounted to 4,600 between 1840 and 1850, and to 28,300 between 1870 and 1880.

Their holdings increased in value, but the number of farmers decreased (22). The type of small holder who filled his spare time with work in or for a factory disappeared (23). The conflict between agriculture and industrialism dates back to those years when farming became so specialised and so bound up with considerations of export as to make profitable farming impossible for the small holder.

In industry, too, a change took place. The number of people engaged in it rose, but the percentage of workers coming from the country who entered factories did not increase. Foreign labour filled the gap (24). Most of these were German skilled artisans. They were employed, with their Swiss colleagues, in the production of textiles (cotton and silk) machinery, engines, shoes, dies, drugs and watches, to name the most outstanding industries only. Many articles, like the watches, embroidery, locomotives for mountain railways and other heavy machinery, were world famous for their quality, others, like shoes, cotton products, and articles made of straw, soon came to be mass produced. Advantageous trade agreements were concluded with European powers and countries overseas to safeguard the purchase of raw materials and the sale of finished products. Switzerland's share in world trade

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(22) 46% of the population were farmers in 1860, 41% in 1880.

(23) The figures given here and below have been gleaned from Hans Schneider "Geschichte des Schweizerischen Bundesstaates", Stuttgart, 1921; Eduard Fictor, "Die Schweiz seit 1848", Zuerich, 1928; Robert Grimm "Geschichte der Schweiz in ihren Klassenkämpfen", Bern, 1920 and other

rose by 300% within 20 years (1850-1870).

There can be no doubt that the ease with which wealth was being amassed in those years, particularly between 1860 and 1880, is responsible for the air of well-being and repletion which characterises the Swiss of that period. Everybody had employment, plenty of food; peace reigned; under its shelter every capable man could "forge his own happiness". Art was being "enjoyed", and the well-to-do citizen was quite prepared to pay handsomely for it; just as he contributed to the advancement of science. Characteristically enough no encouragement was extended to the lyric writer or the independent thinker. The bourgeoisie was too busy to devote much time to quiet lyrical feeling, and too comfortable to wish to be disturbed by revolutionary outcries in literature. On the contrary, the bourgeois with aristocratic ambitions and the petty-bourgeois artisan alike, preferred patriotic plays which were noisy, colourful, sentimental and delightfully remote from the present. They encouraged idealistic enthusiasm and mass enjoyment without necessitating emulation of the heroes of the past. Huge sums were accordingly spent on "Festspiele".

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historical works mentioned in the bibliography. They may appear too detailed, but in a country which still today regards economic prosperity as of foremost importance, they are of interest.

(24) In 1850 there were 71,570 foreigners in Switzerland, in 1880: 211,035 i.e. 74 per 1,000 inhabitants.

The twentieth century brought success to Switzerland in her struggle with other European countries for financial power and material prosperity. The export of condensed milk (25), of chocolate (26), of cheese, baby food and aniline dyes (27) rose to gigantic proportions. Tourists and foreign invalids brought steadily increasing sums of money to Switzerland (28), and hotels began to reap the profits. Mountain railways were built everywhere (29).

This progress was all the smoother, since nothing revolutionary happened until the outbreak of the Great War. Expansion in agriculture, industry and commerce proceeded unchecked, each professional section becoming more detached in the process until townspeople no longer had links with those who produced part of their food (30), and formed associations for the protection of the interests of townspeople (1910). The proportion of town-dwellers increased from 14% in 1888 to 28% in 1910, and this in spite of the fact that Switzerland's population increased steadily owing to a decrease in mortality of 40% within 40 years. Foreign unskilled labour (Italian bricklayers and navvies in particular) entered the country steadily and created a problem for the future,

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- (25) The value of the exported condensed milk amounted to 13.5 million francs in 1885, to 54 million francs in 1902.
- (26) In 1873 chocolate to the value of merely 302,000 francs was exported. Then, after Peter's invention of making chocolate with condensed milk, exports rose to 20 million francs in 1902 and 58 million francs in 1913.
- (27) Aniline dyes proved increasingly profitable to Switzerland, partly because Swiss manufacturers were exempted from the payment of patent rights. Exports amounted to over 6 million francs in 1885, over 15 million francs in 1900, nearly 22 million francs in 1906 and 29 million francs in 1913.

if only by increasing the danger of unemployment for Swiss citizens. The improved health services and the cheapness of food and rent up to 1900 had already led to some unemployment, since elderly people began to reach a higher age and <sup>Fewer</sup> less children died.

When one considers how prosperous the country had become -- it has been estimated that at this time it was the wealthiest country per head of the population in the whole of Europe -- one cannot be satisfied with the amount of social legislation passed up to 1914. Quite a number of reforms did not find favour with the electorate because they would have entailed increased officialdom, which the country disliked, and a growth of State control to which the capitalist spirit of that period objected. Yet this cannot be taken as an altogether satisfactory explanation, although serious historians put it forward (31). The absence of an organised class conscious indigenous proletariat, and the aversion of the farming class to purely humanitarian measures, account in part for the scarcity of laws which benefited the poorer classes. As late as 1900 the "Lex Forrer" which wanted to make health and accident insurance compulsory, was rejected; a bill concerning police

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- (28) In 1880 Swiss hotels possessed 44,000 beds and capital invested in the hotel trade amounted to 320 million francs. In 1912 there were 169,000 beds and the capital invested had risen to 1,136 million francs.
- (29) The first railway of that type was built in 1871.
- (30) The import of food stuffs had increased astonishingly since farming had become an export industry. In 1888 imports of food stuffs per head amounted to 285 kg. in 1900 to 305 kg. in 1910 to 412 kg.
- (31) Fueter, p. 247.

supervision for trades (a sort of factory inspectorate) met with the same fate in 1894; even laws which aimed at healthier conditions benefiting the whole community were rejected (52) by a short-sighted electorate which wanted liberty and profits, but mainly liberty to make profits. Education alone received better support from the country as a whole, and one or two cultural institutes (a national library at Berne, 1894, and a national museum at Zuerich, 1896) were founded with public money, but the Universities had to continue without national support.

The Great War of 1914-18 altered Switzerland more profoundly than anything since the abolition of aristocratic rule. Although the country observed an attitude of strict neutrality during the entire war, it was almost as much affected by the European conflict as England and France. The disturbance of the economic life of the nation was just as extensive as that of its spiritual existence. Certain branches of the flourishing export trade came to an abrupt end, and others had to undergo a great change, if they wanted to continue to exist. It is true that chocolate, condensed milk and watches are needed in wartime just as much as in times of peace, but in the engineering section a complete change-over to munition making had to be effected, whilst other sources of income (tourist traffic) dried up almost

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(52) A bill to nationalise the manufacture of matches thereby abolishing the production of phosphorus matches was defeated in 1895.

completely. Yet profits amounting to millions were made by unscrupulous business men and crafty profiteers. Pre-war business life had been objectionable enough in the eyes of people who judged life by moral rather than material standards; but during the war, capitalism showed its face unmasked, and the result was a complete disillusionment to those who had believed in the Liberal slogans. Progress, profits, prosperity ceased to matter, once people had realised the wickedness of the economic system which was, at least partly, responsible for the catastrophe of the war. Two direct results of this new knowledge were the growth of Socialist ideas (85) and the decline in power of the Liberal wing of the bourgeoisie which had represented capitalism so faithfully, and was responsible for the glamour by which capitalism and its philosophy had been surrounded. The introduction of proportional representation was soon to end the Liberal regime which -- in various forms -- had lasted from 1848 till 1918.

A new economic and spiritual atmosphere arose in Switzerland during those four years that the country was mobilised in self defence. At home she was threatened by starvation, and at the same time hailed by idealists and cheap flatterers as the only refuge of peace in Europe. Abroad she was suffered by her mighty neighbours as a convenient obstacle to the advance of the enemy and as a producer and supplier of war material. Neutrality has always been the only possible attitude for the Swiss, but now

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(85) cf. Ermatinger "Dichtung und Geistesleben der Deutschen Schweiz", p.718: "Vielleicht darf man sagen, dass damals jeder anstaendige Mensch sich als Sozialist fuehlte."

those Swiss people who were interested in more than their own security, suffered under an imposed inertia during a struggle which they knew would be decisive for Switzerland. In the meantime anti-militarism grew and was supported by responsible citizens. It grew more rapidly as the cleavage became greater between rich and poor, profiteers and exploited, egotists and democrats. Shortly before the war a gradual drift away from the cruder notions of materialism could be observed among young people and intellectuals of all ages; during the war the return to a spiritual conception of the world became increasingly pronounced. The cruelty of life evoked an opposition to realism which showed itself in the adoption of mystical religions, interest in Indian cults and other manifestations of increased sensitivity. The established religion profited also, and in politics these groups gained support which aimed at the building of a new world where politics would be divorced from money, where equality would not be restricted to equal treatment only in a ballot and before a judge, where national barriers would cease to exist and the peoples be united in brotherhood and real equality. As soon as the Communist Revolution in Russia began its work of reconstruction, Swiss idealists, bourgeois as well as proletarian, watched developments there with great attention. Socialism and Communism changed from the gospels of cranks and foreigners into the creeds of thousands. It is not astonishing therefore to see in those years of turmoil the re-emergence of the idea that strong measures should be used (even if they entailed brute force), in

order to prevent the proletariat from assuming power by a majority at the polls. It is significant that in the German speaking part of Switzerland a German victory in the Great War was ardently hoped for by the well-to-do and the orthodox Christians, as well as the outspokenly militaristic sections of the public who longed to approximate Swiss social life to German conditions. When Germany was eventually defeated, the Swiss Social-Democratic Party proclaimed a general strike with the object of dealing a death blow to capitalist society and of building a new social order. Seen in retrospect, the attempt was hopeless, but when the strike took place (November 11 to 14, 1918), public life was so unstable as to make almost any change appear possible. The Government was, however, complete master of the situation, and even if this had not been the case, the farming population would have ended any rule by the proletarian population in the towns very quickly. There are no big estates in Switzerland, the splitting up of which might have made Socialism palatable to the small farmers. The men on the land were too attached to their private property to lend a friendly ear, not to speak of a helping hand, to Socialistic aspirations. Indeed the farmers still persist in their hostility to social legislation of a humanitarian character. Not only the farmers prevented the birth of a Socialist State, but middle class citizens in the towns opposed it also. Their hopes concerning a German victory had not been realised; consequently their ardour to put down that which they considered a rebellion by the mob was all the greater. Many young people were stirred for the first time and learned to act as

responsible citizens. They played a rôle comparable to that of students during the English general strike of 1926. After the collapse of the general strike, conditions returned to normal. The war was over. When orderly life had been re-established, it was found that Switzerland had not really changed, and that her neutrality however much it might have influenced intellectual life could not lead to fundamental changes such as the war had produced in some of the belligerent countries.

Since 1919 Switzerland has been trying to recapture the proud position which she occupied in 1913. This development is not yet complete and one cannot form any judgment on history so recent. One or two points, however, should be mentioned.

Swiss social life, like that of all western European countries, has become increasingly complicated. Politically, the number of parties has increased and many groups are in existence today which later historians will condemn as superfluous and a sign of the decadence of Swiss democratic life. A certain amount of decadence is undeniable and some of the country's best writers have shown their concern for the danger, by publishing stimulating political treatises and theoretical essays, which unfortunately lie outside the scope of this thesis. A return to aristocratic rule has been suggested (24) and the present form of Swiss democracy has

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(24) Gonzague de Reynold "La Democratie et la Suisse", 1929.

been denounced as "ochlocracy", rule by the plebs. This particular attack is hardly justified when one considers that the proletariat is still unable to express itself adequately and women do not even possess a vote. It is true, however, that social wisdom and political practice are further apart today than ever. The wisest thinkers stand aside, contemptuous of modern political procedure. Competent leaders are lacking and the masses often run after charlatans. Political indifference was on the increase till powerful foreign ideologies (German National-Socialism, Italian Fascism and international Communism) began to threaten Switzerland's existence.

Economically, the country can hardly hope to export as much as she did before 1914. International competition has grown, customs barriers are becoming insurmountable, and every shock sustained by world trade leaves its mark upon Switzerland in the form of industrial crises. Tourist traffic still enriches the country, and certain exports continue, but every penny has to be fought for and the almost nonchalant attitude of the Swiss business man of 1890 to 1914 has disappeared. Internally, through demands by the fourth estate, externally, through constantly recurring depressions and crises, there are dangers which make life less easy-going and profits more doubtful for the capitalist. The devaluation of the once safe Swiss franc (1936) illustrates the dangerous position of Swiss capitalism better than any figures of production and exports. Social peace, based on social justice and a right valuation of work,

is absent. There is no leadership in industry capable of reforming the present capitalist system.

In her relations towards her neighbours the country has maintained her historically conditioned position of neutrality. After the war, when she was a member of the League of Nations, when peace seemed assured and several more small democracies had emerged, Switzerland felt safer than for a long time before. When international relations deteriorated, Swiss anxieties grew again. Violent expressions of sympathy with Fascism or with Communism by some of her younger citizens embarrassed the government, placed as it was in proximity to two totalitarian States. With the disappearance of one small nation after another from the map, Swiss feeling of unity has increased. Concern for the existence of the nation is again visible as in the fifties of last century.

At the time of writing Switzerland is again mobilised and guarding her frontiers to protect her neutrality. There is a distinct repetition of the situation of 1914. Again Switzerland feels that European powers are deciding her fate as well as their own by war. Again Switzerland is ready to mitigate suffering, and her competence in fulfilling humanitarian duties adequately is generally recognised. Once more her industries will be disorganised, her food supplies affected, her neutrality will be praised abroad, and criticised at home. One thing is certain, however, that Switzerland's social life will be altered more fundamentally by this war, if it should last long, than by the last, since her internal social position as a democratic capitalist country is appreciably weaker

today than it was in 1914. One can only hope that the unique character of the Swiss State which comprises four nationalities, languages and cultures, may not be lost in the process of reconstructing Europe, but may on the contrary serve as a pattern for a new world.

THE CHANGING APPROACH TO SOCIAL FACTORS (AN OUTLINE OF EMPHASIS).

a) 1850 - 1880.

Gotthelf did not introduce an innovation into German-Swiss literature when, in 1850, he published his novel "Die Kaeserei in der Vehfreude" in which entire chapters were devoted to Swiss agriculture, cheese production and export, and their effects on social life. Albrecht Haller in his famous poetic work "Die Alpen" (1728) described the art of cheese making at length, when he dealt with the customs of Swiss farmers. Oskar F. Walzel (35) traces Haller's realism to that trait in the Swiss character which he calls "Wirklichkeitsfreude". He discovers it as far back as the Minnesang which evoked some particularly naturalistic contributions from its Swiss representatives (Steinmar, Hadlaub) and in the Swiss popular drama which was very realistic, if not coarse. Walzel mentions the "physiocrats" as a second influence tending to present the farmer's everyday life, and social questions in general. This second root of realism in Swiss literature is much more important than the first, because it is part of a more comprehensive movement, viz. the bourgeois conception of art (36). At the beginning of the period under discussion, however, both influences co-operated, but this does not

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(35) Oskar F. Walzel "Die Wirklichkeitsfreude der neueren schweizer Dichtung", Stuttgart, 1908.

(36) Walzel, strangely enough, does not connect the influence of the physiocrats with the new bourgeois consciousness.

mean that they were of equal intensity at any time, since 1850. When the bourgeois world began to be assailed by the artist, realism went by the board as though it were merely part and parcel of the capitalist system. It is therefore obvious that this "realism" was an outcome of social, rather than racial or geographical conditions. Gotthelf, the first "realist" (37) thus appears as belonging to the middle classes. The fact that in the last years of his life he attacked the form which bourgeois ideology was assuming does not constitute a proof for claims that he stood above all classes (38). As a young man he stood for liberty, equality and fraternity, for patriotism and self-determination -- the political ideals of the "Burgertum", and in his last years he embraced those beliefs of the burgher relating to personal conduct. He wrote his novels as a politically conscious bourgeois, and later as an upholder of Christian virtues adapted to suit the middle classes. His spasms of moralising, his continuous desire to educate as well as to entertain, mark him as a petty-bourgeois in a clerical collar. His delight in calling a spade a spade rules him out as an aristocrat.

Keller became his pupil in this realistic style. He preached less and gave fewer lectures, but as a fervent believer in

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(37) Walzel, p. 38 and Friedrich Kummer "Deutsche Literaturgeschichte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts", Dresden, 1808, p. 358: "... er war Deutschlands erster Naturalist und Deutschlands erster sozialer Schriftsteller."

(38) Alice Zimmermann "Die schweizerische Demokratie in den Werken Jeremias Gotthelfs und Gottfried Kellers", Basel 1907, in preface, p. 7 and elsewhere.

the new democratic world he willingly adopted Gotthelf's outlook, in so far as it was suited to the new bourgeois consciousness. Again things are called by their names with frankness, precision, conviction and no more hypocritical touches than the middle class outlook demanded. Where there are failings, they are common ones. Gotthelf's fanatical and absurd hatred for anything Liberal (39) for which Keller upbraids him (40), is balanced by Keller's intolerance of anything Conservative (41). Both, however, are conscious citizens and ally their duties of authorship with those of citizenship. In the preface to "Zeitgeist- Bernergeist" (42) Gotthelf states that he feels compelled to write political books, and Keller maintains (43) that authors can no longer stand aside from social problems.

With the exception of a few lyric writers who wrote in the late Anacreontic style which befits authors who identify themselves with the nobility, or who were aristocrats by birth, all Swiss authors of the middle 19th century who in any way attracted attention through poetic genius or original thought, gave some attention to social matters, especially to questions affecting groups of people or the community as a whole. It goes without saying that they all revealed their attitude towards that new face

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(39) "Zeitgeist- Bernergeist", 1851, most distinctly in preface, p. VII.

(40) "Gottfried Kellers Nachgelassene Schriften und Dichtungen", edit. Prof. Baechtold, 5th edition, Berlin 1898, p. 126.

(41) "Frau Regel Amrein und ihr Juengster", approx. 1856, p. 18.

(42) pp. I and VIII.

(43) cf. Kriesi, p. 87.

which Switzerland was showing to the world, that confident, almost defiant sense of national strength, that new air of prosperity and that worldly pride in newly gained rights, unity and competence to enter the world market as a successful business-man. Of the books which appeared then, the following are of social importance:

Gotthelf's "Die Käserei in der Vehfreude", 1850, "Zeitgeist-Bern-erggeist", 1851, "Erlebnisse eines Schuldenbauers", 1853, giving the Conservative reaction towards the new Liberal world; Keller's "Der grüne Heinrich" first version 1854/5, "Die Leute von Seldwyla", first part 1856, "Das Fähnlein der sieben Aufrechten" 1877, but belonging to the 'fifties, and his poems, constituting the Liberal enthusiasm over the recent achievements. As well as these more generally known authors, four others should be noted on account of their remarks on social life, although they are of little importance as far as literary quality is concerned, Gotthelf Jr. (Samuel Haberstich) (44), a Radical, who -- even by his name -- sets himself up in judgment on the Conservative writer; Arthur Bitter (45), a more moderately Liberal, but nevertheless fully conscious bourgeois; Alfred Hartmann (46), a Con-

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(44) Gotthelf Jr. is not even mentioned in histories of literature as a writer of political pamphlets, Haberstich occurs in Ermatinger, but no connection with the pamphletist is mentioned. Schneider, the historian, gives Gotthelf Jr. as the pseudonym of S. Haberstich. I am indebted to that reference which enabled me to include this completely forgotten, yet important author.

(45) Ermatinger maintains that Arthur Bitter was only another name for Samuel Haberstich. I cannot go into the question of authorship beyond saying that Bitter is moderate whereas Haberstich is a fanatic in politics. I have treated the two writers separately throughout, basing my remarks about Haberstich on "Der Patrizierspiegel", Historische Novelle aus der jüngsten Zeit", Basel, 1853 and those about Bitter on "Geschichten aus dem Emmenthal", Langnau, 1857.

(46) "Kiltabendgeschichten", 1852/4.

servative who stands about half-way between the two Gotthelfs; Jakob Frey (47), the "popular" author of the period whose popularity with the less sophisticated public makes him particularly important. They all tell of the petty-bourgeois (small farmer, inn keeper, shop keeper and skilled craftsman) and of the educated bourgeois (doctor, parson, civil servant), the majority and the cream of the new ruling class. With pride or with only thinly disguised satisfaction they mention the unimportant place which the aristocracy occupied after 1848, and, according to their temperament they deal with those outside their system -- such as soldiers in foreign service, vagrants, emigrants, and proletarians. Their views on life are definite. Their belief in progress, education, or personal initiative is never put forward in hesitating fashion (48). Accordingly they know neither "Weltschmerz" nor the feeling that, as inspired men, they are standing outside society. Indeed there was no need for either of these attitudes to develop. Life was still quiet enough to allow for contemplation and for a place to be allotted to the artist. Nor would any ostracizing of the authors have been justified, since they were so very "respectable", "sensible", level-headed, instructive and entertaining.

When going over the novels and poems written between

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(47) Jakob Frey "Ausgewählte Erzählungen", Nationalbibliothek III,1.

(48) Gotthelf has to be excepted, of course, in all these general statements.

1850-1860 approximately, one is struck by their inward and outward cleanliness. Gotthelf may be too fond sometimes of a rather coarse description, but he remains morally strict; Keller introduces symbols and one or two dream pictures which are less obvious, but he is still clear; all the others are respectable heads of families, who have not yet discovered deep spiritual chasms, or the cleavages which exist between spirit and matter, self and the community, destructive impulses and moral laws. They know no lust after wickedness, pleasure at destruction, acid-like sarcasm, self-abasement, corroding analysis or the struggle of varying personalities within one individual. They live in their period and enjoy it sufficiently to give it their undivided attention with a conspicuous absence of hankering after the past or of longing for the coming of a new world. Their professions -- they are journalists, civil servants, pastors or small business men -- are honourable and staid. Their favourite air is a smile (again Gotthelf excepted), a proud one for the recent past, a hopeful one for the immediate future, and their habitat is as simple as their dress (49). It is significant that Keller's drama "Therese" which portrayed the ruin of a bourgeois home was never finished, and the drama as a genre did not flourish since it deals with conflict.

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(49) This is borne out by one glance at the portrait of a very third-rate author (Schlosser Wiedmer) frontispiece to A. Bitter's "Geschichten aus dem Emmenthal". It has great similarity to Adalbert Stifter's best known portrait and is altogether "Biedermeier".

There is a striking connection between the quiet Swiss social life and the calm atmosphere in Swiss literature during the ten years mentioned. The development which the most outstanding author of the period, Gottfried Keller, showed is symbolic: he wrote from roughly 1840 to 1848 out of anger concerning social conditions, from 1850 onwards he calmed down, satisfied with what had been achieved.

Obviously, the statements made so far, apply only to authors who took an interest in matters of social import. As bourgeois writers, they felt responsible for the well-being of the bourgeois society which had grown up. Aristocrats like Burckhardt and Bachofen stood aloof in disgust at the new world. No mention is made of the world in which they had to live -- in anything which they produced, legal or historical treatises, essays or poetry (50). All that we know of their opinions, is gleaned from letters and posthumous works, from critical reviews rather than imaginative literature. Idealists of the time, who were in a similar position, were not pronouncedly aristocratic but sufficiently opposed to the sober view of life taken by the new rulers of Switzerland to take refuge outside the Swiss bourgeois state. They did this physically by living in Italy and Germany (Leuthold) or in Brazil (Dranmor) and poetically by choosing sub-

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(50) Jakob Burckhardt (1818-97) wrote: "Die Zeit Konstantins des Grossen", 1855, "Der Cicerone" (1855), "Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien" (1860) and in 1855 he published a collection of dialect poems under the title "E Haempfel Lieder". - J.J. Bachofen (1815-87) published his researches under the titles "Gräbersymbolik der Alten" (1859) and "Das Mutterrecht" (1861).

jects, sentiments and treatments from past ages, by dealing with ancient Greeks rather than with Swiss philistines (51). If Dranner and Leuthold had stayed in Switzerland and lived in an atmosphere of bourgeois victories and had yet written in a spirit alien to their age, they would present a problem which it would be our duty to solve. It would have been necessary to discover whence the strength came which enabled them to pit their idealism against an overwhelmingly strong ideological position such as the then virile and hopeful middle classes held. As things are, no enquiry into this particular aspect of their works is necessary (52). Both roamed about in the world, led irregular lives and suffered shipwreck materially as well as spiritually. The ideas which they propounded came to them from outside Switzerland where conditions existed which were diametrically opposed to those in Switzerland. Leuthold's economic position -- he lived on royal and aristocratic patronage a good deal of his life, at a time when Swiss authors, conscious of their middle class independence, were beginning to organise themselves professionally (53) -- illustrates this as such as Dranner's financial bankruptcy. It is easy therefore, to account for the absence of interest concerning social conditions in the publications of the "Swiss"

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(51) cf. the poem "Unsere Zeitrichtung", p. 70 of Heinrich Leuthold "Lyrische Dichtungen", in the reprint of 1922.

(52) Matters connected with this outlook are dealt with in later chapters.

(53) cf. Erwatinger, p. 643.

idealists of the first ten years of the period under consideration.

As time went on those who held themselves aloof from social problems were no longer as isolated as they had been in the 'fifties. From about 1860 onwards imaginative literature shows little interest in social themes. Even Gottfried Keller passed through a period of silence which can only partly be attributed to personal reasons (54). No new ideas seemed to present themselves to authors, and their materialistic minds were no longer sustained by spiritual values of the past which had, during the first few years, provided themes and inspiration for the all-too-sober bourgeois writers. Life ran so smoothly until 1865 that no comment seemed necessary, and political controversy from 1863 onwards was so objectionable that no thinker could possibly see the necessity for interfering on anybody's behalf. Sordid pamphlets containing personal attacks on the moral conduct of political leaders (55) were the only outcome of a period which from the point of view of economics can only be classed as a period of prosperity and success. One can therefore say that the growth of material well-being coupled with a political atmosphere of social peace interspersed by party quarrels, (which did not affect the fundamental structure of society), were harmful to the development of a literature concerned with social problems. The

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(54) cf. Ermatinger, p. 627.

(55) Dr. Friedrich Locher "Die Freiherrn von Regensburg", 1866, followed by a similar pamphlet by the same author, "Die Freiherrn vor Gericht und die Grossen der Krone Zuerichs", 1866.

authors publishing in those years, and in the decade which followed, avoided contemporary history altogether.

"Realism" does not come in at all in this connection. C.F. Meyer, the greatest artist of them all, strove after a realistic grasp of the problems of life, and undertook extensive journeys for the sole purpose of exploring the places and environments which he wanted to introduce into his Novellen (56). Nevertheless he did not deal with his own time nor the merely political aspects of other ages. A sensitive personality, full of religious doubts, a decadent aristocrat and a citizen indifferent to current affairs which merely hurt him when they came to his notice, he was too un-bourgeois to trouble even to define his position in a world he disliked. The story of Meyer's life, especially of his inherited weaknesses and of his education which began with stories of the ancient Greeks and Romans and their aristocratic virtues absolves the uninspired and uninspiring period from the blame of having brought about the author's indifference to public affairs. In the cases of the lesser lights, however, the spirit of the age cannot be so easily acquitted. The smaller the poetic genius, the greater the dependence on subjects which are the fashion of the period. As the public was not interested in literature of a serious nature, literary production was restricted to trifling stories, insignificant poems, and descriptions of bourgeois still-life.

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(56) cf. C.F. Meyer "Sämtliche Werke", Introduction by Robert Faasi, vol. II, p. 281.

Of Hartmann (died 1897) we possess nothing of importance written after 1858, of Jakob Frey (died 1875) nothing worth mentioning after 1859, of Bitter (died 1872) nothing after 1857. Krutter died in 1875 without having published anything of note since 1845, A. Corrodi (died 1885), J.J. Romang (died 1884) and E. Doessekel (died 1890) bravely put forward some poetic efforts which were harmless and unreal enough. Even so they were hardly appreciated. E. Doessekel complained in 1872 (57) that the poet alone among all the professions in Switzerland was excluded from sympathy and encouragement and from earning a living. This accusation of the materialism of the time is only partly justified (58). Keller's influence was growing at the same time as other authors were resigning themselves to their failure to evoke the interest of the public. For want of inspiration to produce the works which might stir the bourgeoisie out of its obsession with business matters, they were either prepared to adjust their output to the current demand or to be silent altogether. On the other hand one must admit that even Keller made some concessions to the narrow-minded attitude of the philistines who governed public morality (59), and if a great artist of his calibre could not escape from the influences of the "Zeitgeist", how can one expect

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(57) in the preface to the second edition of his poems -- twenty years after the first.

(58) cf. Ermatinger, p. 681.

(59) Some of the alterations in the second version of "Der gruene Heinrich" belong to this category.

new talent to come forward with ideas which they are sure will shock society.

b) 1880 - 1905.

Only the first generation of authors, i.e. those who wrote roughly between 1850 - 1880 can be easily surveyed. After 1880, the year from which one can date the beginning of the period of most intensive capitalism for Switzerland, literary life becomes more complicated, and the simple division which applied to the first generation -- Conservatives, Liberals, idealists and writers who stand aloof from social problems -- finds no parallel in the next period which one might term the age of growing capitalism and a replete bourgeoisie.

As has been mentioned in the historical survey of the previous chapter, the party system lost its strength after the introduction of "democratic" (as opposed to representative) government in the Cantons. Thus the division into Liberals and Conservatives is disposed of in literature as well. Instead we find authors evolving two types of bourgeois ethics which for the time being, may be termed "individualist" and "collectivist" according to the amount of liberty they grant the individual in relation to the community (80). Sociologically it is quite natural that there should be a different division, quite apart from the change in the public's attitude towards party politics which

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(80) This differentiation which is not to be met with in current histories of literature will be explained thoroughly in a later chapter. It may be said, however, at this point, that, for the purpose of this thesis that distinction is as important as the classification Liberals - Conservatives was for the first generation.

was dependent on economic developments. The first generation had been faced with a new society into which they had to fit themselves. Political parties defending or attacking the new State were the natural expression of this desire. The second generation had to deal, not with a State in process of construction, but with a finished political order, accepted in essence by both political parties. They were thus impelled to define the attitude of the individual towards that completed structure or at least to record the partly unconscious reactions of various groups of society towards the whole.

The changed situation is so marked that even Keller who alone belonged to both generations (61) now approaches social life from a misanthropic standpoint (62) which makes him forget at times the party bias which characterises his earlier works. J. V. Widmann (63), once a theologian and a teacher and later a journalist, appears as the representative of an altogether new trend: the problem of man's attitude towards animals. Although this testimony to over-sensitiveness, which is soon to become general, can be of little interest to us, other works by Widmann introduce us to the new division of bourgeois thinkers into individualists and collectivists. Widmann held that the individual must be kept in check for the well-being of society. His friend Spitteler, the third great Swiss writer of the period (64), vented his contempt of bourgeois society in a passionate advocacy of the rights of the individual.

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(61) J.V. Widmann, it is true, had published a good deal before 1880, too, but all the works which require comment belong to the second period.

For the rest the State continues to be neglected as a literary subject; yet one cannot speak of indifference to social matters among these authors as one could when reviewing the period from 1860-1880. The efforts made by the early Liberals to spread education were bearing fruit now and a reading public had arisen which was simple and unsophisticated, but accessible to writers who were ready to present events rather than thoughts, an idealised world rather than disagreeable facts. This is the time when "popular" authors appear in the field and give to their mainly petty-bourgeois public what the first rate authors cannot and will not produce: "respectable" literature for the middle classes in which the wicked are punished, the good rewarded, the bourgeois virtues extolled and bourgeois weaknesses leniently criticized. The prototype of these "popular" authors in Switzerland is J.C. Hear. He will be treated in the succeeding chapters as the spokesman of the uncritical sections of the second generation and a parallel to Jakob Frey in the first generation.

All the other authors of the period -- they can be counted on the fingers of two hands (65) belong to roughly two groups as far as attitude towards questions which affect society are concerned. Some of them -- Frey, Ott, Marti, Zahn -- are Liberals, i.e. still full of confidence, progress-ridden, proud of

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(62) "Martin Salander".

(63) Although Widmann was of Austrian origin, literary historians agree in calling him a Swiss author, and his latest biographer, Maria Waser, does not even question his Swiss character.

(64) Recognition was given to his achievements in form of the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1919.

(65) They are W. Siegfried, A. Frey, E. Zahn, A. Voegtlin, H. Lienert, A. Ott, F. Marti and A. Huggenberger.

their rather shallow humanitarian ethics, ready to praise success, initiative, and the self-made man. Liberalism is by now utterly respectable, weaker in calibre and more prone to the failings which had characterised the first generation. The subjects of a social character which attract them are patriotism, capitalism, progress in the field of education and in the domain of science. As regards patriotism, they live in too selfish a period to wish to portray contemporary Swiss life, hence the innumerable "festival plays" (Festspiele) which go back to the virile and heroic days of the early Republic. Capitalism still meets with their approval, and technical progress has not yet revealed its ugly side to them.

Those authors who do not fit into this general survey are none the less true sons of the period. A. Voegtlin for example reviews religious problems in the light of relativity, which was then becoming fashionable, yet he makes no attempt to offer a new contribution to the constantly fresh problem of man's attitude towards God. E. Zahn dwells on the relationship of the sexes and of families, without introducing the position of the State regarding the family, marriage, illegitimate children or any problem outside the sphere of purely individual reactions. Lienert resembles him in this, avoiding general problems still more obviously. Siegfried alone successfully introduces something new into Swiss literature in the realm of the psychology of the individual, producing novels in which the individual aims at the adjustment of his life to the needs of the community (66). What he writes is not new and

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(66) Siegfried "Um der Heimat willen".

certainly not in contrast to the trend of public thought. Still he occupies an isolated position because he does not share the popular misconception of the period that some "idealism" should be found in every book, which meant that the deeper problems of social existence could not be introduced into imaginative literature.

c) 1905 - 1918.

1905 does not mark a turning point in Swiss social, political or economic life, yet that date is as suitable for making a division as 1850 and 1880 were. By 1905 a new generation had grown up which had been born after 1848 and knew of the period of early Swiss Liberalism only from hearsay and history books. Their youth had been spent in the age which witnessed the triumphs of materialism, technical progress and bourgeois respectability. As they come of age, they react against these, cautiously at first and with signs of being subject to one or two influences of the very civilisation they attack, then with an increasing fervour which aims at a rejection in toto of those values which had been devised between 1850 and 1880 and overstressed between 1880 and 1905.

Several new features characterise this third generation. They were more youthful than the authors of previous periods who began writing when they had reached middle age (67). This is indic-

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(67) Gotthelf was about forty when he published his first book, Keller 38, C.F. Meyer 39, Hartmann 38, Doessel 41, whereas among the writers of the third generation Steffan was 23 when his first novel appeared and many others were under thirty when their first publications saw the light: Ganz was 23, Stamm 23, Faasi 25, Weilenmann 25, Moeschlin, Walser and Pulver 27.

ative of an earlier independence and characteristic of an age in which maturity, experience and traditional values mattered less than knowledge, initiative and a spirit of enterprise (68).

Another surprise is provided by the appearance of women (Wenger, Waser, Waldstetter) who acquit themselves well. They share the concern of the younger generation for the righting of social wrongs though they are more conservative in outlook, choice of subject and style. This concern constitutes the outstanding quality of the works published between 1905 and 1918. Whereas before the year 1905 works with a predominant interest in social matters had been exceptional, they now begin to form a substantial percentage of the literary output, although the central problem of all sociological argument, the State and its rights, is still treated only incidentally. As a compensation for this neglect we find keen interest in other questions of social import, e.g. the validity of bourgeois morality, the doubtfulness of the blessings brought by technical progress and the extension of education. Another subject which looms large in the novels of that generation is the conflict between town and country. The generations begin to struggle against each other and the father-son conflict makes its appearance. The Church is considered from all angles, and questions appertaining to religion or religious life, are aired.

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(68) I put forward these reasons rather than the spread of education, since most of the authors under consideration came from middle class homes where a good education was not an innovation.

There is in short a transformation of the author's approach to questions of life in organised society which could not easily be foreseen. After the formulation of the code which governed the bourgeois world and the subsequent lack of interest in that code one might have expected hints on a new social system or portrayals of a completely new world either on an aristocratic or socialistic basis. As it is, the State as such is left severely alone, and only the spirit which animates its ruling class is attacked. The bourgeoisie is unmasked, but no other estate is to take its place, an obvious result of the special structure of Swiss society. Since the proletariat was not articulate, one could not expect to see its interests represented. The middle class character of the Swiss Republic shows itself in the way in which authors, who have a sensitive social conscience and are concerned about the position of the lower working classes, prefer to suggest religious or individual solutions rather than advocate Socialism. Hence the literary output of the years 1905-14 is on the whole anti-bourgeois, but pro-capitalist, anti-materialist, but not fond of orthodox religion. Indeed there is nothing orthodox about the books by R. Walser, L. Wenger, P. Ilg, A. Steffen, J. Schaffner, F. Moeschlin, R. Waldstetter and M. Saser to cite the new names which make their first appearance between 1905 and 1907. They cannot be orthodox because they often deal with uncertain, intangible, irrational phenomena and are little concerned with the world of unquestioned reality. They are no longer sure of themselves as the authors between 1850 and 1860 were, no longer self-satisfied, proud,

convinced that progress will continue to be made in all fields, and that the material well-being of mankind will increase and spread. On the contrary, they have grave doubts of the value of the blessings which "progress" and "enlightenment" bring to humanity. They fear the standardisation of mankind, the lack of respect for human values -- both brought about by the rule of machine over man. The increase in ruthless profiteering, superficiality of thought and stifling respectability was not overlooked by the new generation, and the opposition to these common vices coloured their works with the result that they tended to show up their authors as over-sensitive, cryptic and unconcerned about traditional morality. They are not husbands, fathers, parsons, teachers, i.e. men of some experience and social standing but men with adventurous careers like Schaffner, graduates who have only just left the university, where they studied, not theology or medicine like the first generation, but economics and philosophy.

When war broke out, the capitalist system was blamed and opposition to it grew rapidly. Liberalism which had associated itself with capitalism throughout the nineteenth century became equally discredited. J. Buchrer became the mouthpiece of the proletariat, after P. Ilg had introduced Socialist lines of thought in at least one of his novels, and Moeschlin as well as Weilenmann approached the problem of the State again, after it had been neglected for decades. One cannot say that new values were discovered in these agitated days of watch on the frontiers and profit

hunting in the cities, especially since both Moeschlin and Weilemann deal with the State as it exists in war-time or in periods of unrest. Yet the fact that authors were again accessible to thought which dealt with the State as the centre of creative life is a good sign. A re-emergence of Swiss lyric poetry and of a drama which was not merely a "Festspiel" illustrated in the world of style that a disturbance bordering on a revolution was proceeding in the Swiss spirit.

The early representatives of this third generation (Waser, Moeschlin and Walser) had shown in their criticism of the bourgeois world that Swiss authors were beginning to line up with European movements. The war perfected this trend and expressionism in its various forms (activism, anti-militarism, social radicalism etc.) seized some Swiss authors who forged links with other countries and lost their national characteristics in the process. In those years the type of Swiss writer who concentrated on life in his own Canton, as Gotthelf had concentrated on Berne, and Keller on Zuerich, disappeared altogether. If anything, the author is now "Swiss", although he is prouder when he is acclaimed as a European.

d) 1918 - 1938.

This youngest generation is the most complicated of all as regards psychological make-up and interests. Its approach to social problems includes every possible way of dealing with complex modern life. There are Socialists and Communists who want to replace the bourgeois system by social structures of their own choice (Vuilleumier and Buehrer), reformers on a bourgeois basis (Kuhn), advocates

of continued capitalism (Burg), writers on education (Hanselmann), on marriage (Thommen), on the industrialisation of Swiss life (Inglin) -- people of all types, men and women, young students and elderly men. It is obvious that social conditions are in a state of flux and that the variety instead of indicating strength and vitality is a sign of weakness, and of the war which is being waged between the advocates of reform or even revolution and those who have abandoned hope of ever setting the world in order or who refuse to waste any effort on the achievement of collective happiness. One group, which was the most usual in the first and second generations, is missing altogether: that which believed in contentment with existing conditions, liberal hopefulness, bourgeois self-satisfaction and glorification of technical progress. One has to descend to the lowest depths of belletristic "literature" to find cheap optimism concerning the present capitalist world.

Among all the various approaches to problems of social import (68), one or two stand out as new and illuminating. Writers

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(69) The variety of approaches which can be met with today is illustrated by a recent publication "Dichtung und Erlebnis, Dichter erzählen von ihrem Leben und Schaffen", Zuerich 1934, in which twelve authors speak of the connection between their personal experiences and the influence they have upon their literary output. According to these confessions which are only summarized here, (later on they will be dealt with under the appropriate headings) only four out of the twelve authors (Zahn, Huma, Schibli and Lang) admit that problems of social life attract them. The remainder do not purposely exclude controversial subjects regarding social ethics, but they approach art from an angle which has nothing to do with man's communal existence. Fankhauser writes that he is primarily interested in astrology and aims at portraying man as propelled by astral powers, Vogel wants to find the childhood approach, Zollinger says that every (!) author is attracted

come from all strata of society now. There is even a murderer who has brought out a book on his many years in jail(70). It is impossible to imagine an ex-convict publishing books at any time during the nineteenth century.

A second trend is of importance: writers go to great lengths to obtain true information regarding the sensations they wish to describe. Vuilleumier spent many weeks in prison treated as a common criminal, mainly in order to be able to describe solitary confinement and its influence on the mentality of a prisoner. Formerly authors travelled for inspiration (71), now they undergo hardships not for inspiration -- of that they possess enough -- but for exactitude of description and, in the case of Vuilleumier, in order to be able to improve conditions for victims of the social system, under the assumption that the imagination of the ordinary reading public has to be stimulated by true accounts.

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by the past and the future whereas the present causes him mainly suffering. Marti, Waser and Hiltbrunner see man as part of nature rather than part of society. Loos depicts what she calls "plays of fancy, intuition and dreaming". Huggenberger openly confesses that he wishes to describe farming life as a farmer without any ulterior motive.

Eight authors who are by no means the "lesser lights" among modern Swiss writers thus make it clear that all remarks on social life which one finds in their works are incidental and do not form the most important part of their publications. The four writers who do admit to an interest in social questions vary widely amongst themselves as regards their pre-occupations. Zahn tries to depict the common humanity of all his characters and finds the tensions and attractions between man and woman, young and old particularly fascinating. Hummel deals with the hostility of the individual to society, Schibli writes as a proletarian intent on exposing the human misery caused by man, and Lang reveals himself as the most

A third phenomenon calls for comment: Some writers of this fourth generation since 1850 seem less concerned about protecting the State from undue self-assertion by the individual than about defending the individual against the claims of society. This leads to an a-social, sometimes even an anti-social treatment of some problems of life which would have been considered as definitely belonging to the sphere of social life by earlier authors. For example, the relationship between the sexes, largely governed by convention and social laws in the past, is being considered as a matter entirely for the individual and his partner -- when it becomes asocial, or even solely one person's business -- when it can only be termed anti-social.

When one recalls that only one author - Carl Spitteler - had been definitely anti-social in all the three previous generations, the appearance of several writers hostile to society is in keeping with the prevailing unsettled state which has failed so far to produce either a representative novel on bourgeois life, or a manifesto of working class aspirations (70). Even desires for a

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typically "Swiss" author by concentrating on the small bourgeois who has made Switzerland what she is today. This is, indeed, the oddest collection of any decade since 1850, yet one must not attach too much importance to what they say about themselves, as authors are notoriously their own worst critics.

- (70) Alfred Birsthler "Mea Culpa", Schweizerspiegel-Verlag, Zuerich, 1933 (3rd edit).  
(71) Keller wrote scathingly of travelling "authors" and derided them in "Die missbrauchten Liebesbriefe".  
(72) cf. K.G. Schmid "Cultural Trends in German Switzerland today", German Life and Letters, vol. III, No. 4, pp. 256ff, July 1939.

return to some form of aristocratic rule, which had been put forward in essays and sociological treatises, have not found expression in any book which might be classed as imaginative literature. The will to find new ways is certainly greater than at any time during the period beginning in 1860, but real constructive strength is missing and the best authors today (Inglin and Vuilleumier) restrict themselves to condemnations of Liberalism, capitalism, bourgeois outlook and nineteenth century morality without succeeding in replacing discarded values with virile forces.

## INDIVIDUAL VERSUS COMMUNITY.

"Jeder Mensch steht in einem Missverhaeltnis zur Welt - aber er kommt darueber hinweg. Der Dichter ist der Mensch, der nicht darueber hinwegkommen kann, der diesem Missverhaeltnis nachgehen muss, weil es ihn beschaeftigt, weil es ihn quaelt." R.J. Hume, a Swiss author, wrote this in 1934 (73). It is not "Weltschmerz" which makes him philosophise thus, but the realisation that the individual is not at home in the community which he himself helps to constitute. Man is not merely a "social animal", he is also by nature profoundly unsocial, desirous of asserting himself and eager to leave an imprint on society. He is continually torn between his herd instinct and his urge towards self-expression. One of Hume's characters may serve as an illustration:

The chief character in his novel "Die Inseln" (74) whom he calls "Er" feels a victim of the world of reality. He tries to change reality in order to make future suffering impossible: "Er wollte, dass es den Menschen nicht mehr moeglich gemacht sei, sich abzusondern, sich auszunehmen. Er wollte, dass der Mensch sich den Menschen goenne. Er wollte auch, dass es gleichgueltig werde, ob einer im Norden oder im Sueden geboren wurde." (75). After some time he notices, however, that his Socialist activities are only

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(73) "Dichtung und Erlebnis", p. 153.

(74) "Die Inseln" Zuerich 1936.

(75) "Die Inseln", p. 104.

possible as long as he refrains from "looking into his own self". He cannot continue to ignore his soul, and during a speech at a political meeting his soul contradicts him, audibly to himself. The soul always contradicts: "Die Seele ist das Verneinende Element des Menschen. Jede Handlung, die man in der Aussenwelt vornimmt, zeichnet in der Seele eine Gegenhandlung ab, ein Nein. Die Seele ist die Reaktion auf die Aktion. Darum ist sie reaktion-aer." (76)

Humm is not exceptional among modern Swiss authors, on the contrary: the frequent appearance of various forms of the trend of thought mentioned above make it a dominating feature of Swiss literature of the last fifteen years. Hanselmann called his story of a youth "Jakob, sein Er und sein Ich" (77). As the title indicates, we are introduced to a boy who consciously splits his self into two parts, one, known to everybody which is obedient, friendly and an asset to society, and the other which represents the boy's most intimate self known not even to his parents (78). In the end, the adolescent takes leave of his secret self - activity and responsibility mediating in the hostility between individual and society. Another author, Edwin Arnet, does not find a mediator; his individuals perish as martyrs (79) or are

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(76) *ibid.*, p. 105.

(77) Heinrich Hanselmann "Jakob, Sein Er und sein Ich", Brlenbach-Zuerich 1931.

(78) *ibid.*, p. 118.

(79) Edwin Arnet "Emanuel", Zuerich 1926.

lost to society through their own irresponsible tendencies (80).

The reasons for this anti-social attitude and the struggle of anti-social forces within an individual against his social impulses are well-known to the sociologist and poet today. The attempt of modern man to live consciously through his mind instead of unconsciously through his emotions has created conditions in which the author feels compelled to show the chaos of the modern world, the breakdown of established values and the helplessness of man. Sociological explanations of the present situation do not concern us here, (81) nevertheless we have to discover by what route modern Swiss literature journeyed before it found itself in the present cul-de-sac. As Liberalism is undoubtedly to be blamed (or praised) for almost everything that has fashioned public opinion during the last hundred years, one has to go back to the pre-Liberal authors if one wishes to trace the development to its inception.

As far as Gotthelf is concerned, the difficulties of Humm, Hanselmann or Arnet do not exist. His characters accept the world as it is; to do otherwise would have been madness to them, and their author would have labelled such an attitude, "Weltanschmerz" caused by "Aufklärung". Scientific curiosity, analysis and experiment, the aims and tools of man in the age of enlightenment led to the present difficulties. Gotthelf saw no need for any of

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(80) Edwin Arnet "Die Scheuen", Wien 1935.

(81) H.V. Routh, Philip Henderson and A. Guerard "Literature and Society", Boston 1935.

the three. He believed in stability through acceptance of that authority and faith which looked at the world of nature, society and the individual as God-given (82). Hence his model characters strike us as incredibly simple, naive in the best sense of the term (83). His only regret is that men no longer believe in God, but in money. Acknowledging that money brings the wrong people to the top, he appears as a pessimist, but such a "pessimism" is composed of grumbles rather than of fundamental discontent with the world. Huggenberger today depicts the same type of men and women (84), but they have become curiosities whom one studies as relics of a past age. Gotthelf's ideal individuals have survived only in the remotest mountain villages and in unreal literature.

Keller was the first among the authors of the period under consideration to look at the individual with the eyes of a Liberal who rejected both stability and unquestioning faith. The result foreshadows later developments. "Der grüne Heinrich" is sentenced to death by Keller for being incapable of fulfilling his duties towards the community (85), Sali and Vrenchen also have to leave this world because they fall short -- through no fault of their own -- of the standards set by society (86). That was

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(82) cf. preface to "Zeitgeist-Bernergeist".

(83) "Zeitgeist-Bernergeist", Benz's meditations on p. 202.

(84) cf. "Die Bauern von Steig" etc.

(85) Keller's own words on the tragic ending of the first version.

(86) "Romeo und Julia auf dem Dorfe".

"collectivist" Liberalism, the philosophy which allowed self-assertion in business (87) and in politics, but refused to recognise it in the domain of social ethics. The individual is free to play the fool, to exploit his fellow beings, to fight and possibly kill his friends in a duel, but he must not neglect his family or his duty to the State. Above all, he must accept the morality of his class as his own. The inconsistencies of such a philosophy, combining as it does, ruthlessness with Biedermeier restraint are evident, its dangers only too plain. Class morality is created by accumulated individual points of view based on considerations of expediency, utility, reasonableness and selfishness. They are thus subject to change. The individual has no guide but the reactions of his fellow citizens to his actions. If he pretends to conform in order to be classed as moral and respectable, he is rewarded. In this way hypocrisy is bred. Having rejected religion, he submits to no judge other than his class. One recalls the Statthalter in "Der grüne Heinrich" who defends selfishness in public affairs although he secretly holds the opposite view (88). This same person is also an example of another phenomenon of the "enlightened" era: he is so specialised in his professional knowledge that he is not in a position to give up his post as a civil servant because he would starve (89). Specialisa-

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(87) "Der grüne Heinrich", first version, pp. 401 and 752.

(88) *ibid.* p. 406.

(89) *ibid.* p. 407.

tion has put man at the mercy of the community.

The writer who saw this most clearly was Jakob Burckhardt. Specialisation and organisation kill the individual (90), democracy destroys personal freedom. Gotthelf had sensed the dangers arising from man's desire to improve God's world for the benefit of the individual. He misunderstood the development in that he thought that the Liberals of his period were upsetting the equilibrium of society and that a political defeat of the Liberals could arrest the development. Burckhardt, on the other hand, saw that Liberalism was only one more weapon which the individual had forged in the fight for material achievements, which had begun when in Italy the veil "woven from faith, shyness and illusion" was pierced. "... es erwacht eine objektive Betrachtung und Behandlung des Staates und der saemtlichen Dinge dieser Welt ueberhaupt; daneben aber erhebt sich mit voller Macht das Subjektive; der Mensch wird geistiges Individuum und erkennt sich als solches." (91) At that point the dangerous development began; in the middle of the 19th century its climax was reached, as far as Switzerland was concerned. The State is no longer a traditional unquestioned institution but a democratic instrument of power. The individual, more conscious of his personality than ever, realises his position as a victim. Burckhardt's contemporary Bachofen voiced the feelings of the violated individual: "Es gibt einen Zeitpunkt, wo das oeffentliche Leben der Staaten und

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(90) This was the time when, in England, Disraeli wrote with as much justification: "Individuality is dead; there is a want of inward and personal energy in man..." ("Tancred", vol. 2, ch. 14, 1847).

(91) J. Burckhardt "Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien", p. 88.

Voelker dem Fatalismus verfaellt. Da stehen wir. Jeder fuehit es, dass man es jetzt muss gehen lassen, wie's Gott gefaellt." (92). Burckhardt went as far as to say that a society which contained both beggars and really free individuals was better than a democratic community where neither paupers nor independent personalities could be found (93). Here lies the origin of pessimism in Swiss literature. Gotthelf used to be condemned as a pessimist by the Liberals (94), but he certainly did not suffer from the knowledge that the individual is helpless, a cog in a useless machine. He was too passionately Christian to ponder over supposed flaws in God's creation. He showed that the world, where man had meddled with it by organisation, was entirely wicked, yet right always triumphed in the end (in his political novels), a contradiction which modern Gotthelf disciples never point out. His faith prevented him from becoming fatalistic. Burckhardt, thundering against materialism, had no faith in a wise metaphysical government of this world. It was unavoidable that he and his followers, Spitteler in particular, should become pessimists. The irony of the situation is, that anti-Liberals became sufficiently affected by the lack of faith which characterised the period as to fall victims to the typically Liberal "Weltschmerz", the *maladie du siecle*.

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- (92) J.J. Bachofen in his autobiographical notes written for Savigny.  
 (93) cf. H. Baechtold "Der Geist des modernen Wirtschaftslebens im Urteil J. Burckhardts", Schweizerische Monatshefte 1923, No. 3, pp. 321ff.  
 (94) e.g. in Bitter's preface to his own short stories.

This applies also to Dranmor. He could not subordinate himself to the claims of the community. Even the nation had no attraction binding enough to make him abandon his cosmopolitan outlook (95). Tradition meant nothing to him -- he forsook it by emigrating -- faith did not satisfy him (96). After having suffered shipwreck in business and in marriage, his carefully constructed independence collapsed and morbidity set in.

Here then are the constituents which appear again and again from about 1870 onwards: (1) Gotthelf's lament at the disappearance of tradition and faith (vague and still hopeful); (2) Keller's conscious departure from enforced stability and orthodox religion, setting the individual free in everything except class-membership and citizenship (individualism plus restricted collective duties); (3) Burckhardt's pessimism caused by the loss of freedom of the individual and the irresistibility of progress aimed merely at physical improvements (anti-democratic, fatalistic); (4) Dranmor's disappointment at the inferior character of Liberal doctrines once they have been tested by the enthusiast (subjective pessimism).

~~Of all these, Burckhardt's outlook has proved strongest~~

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- (95) He spoke of his Swiss home in bombastic eulogies (cf. p.44. of "Gedichte"); on other occasions he praised his "German fatherland"; whilst elsewhere (p.82 of "Gedichte") he wanted to live as a coloniser far away both from Switzerland and Germany.
- (96) cf. his words to Christ in "Requies", part V, p. 72 of "Gedichte".

~~as far as imaginative writers of rank are concerned.~~

Of all these, Burckhardt's outlook has proved strongest as far as imaginative writers of rank are concerned. Leuthold, Widmann and Spitteler were affected. It is true that Widmann eventually freed himself from pessimistic influences, but at what price? His idyllic output does not satisfy the critical reader. It is an unreal island amidst a hazardous passage.

In this respect C.F. Meyer was much more honest. He openly admitted that the values of his age were no values in his eyes, and so he fled into the past -- from the democratic present to absolutist centuries, from republican Switzerland to monarchist Italy, England and France. Social life was taking a course of which he could not approve, so he refused to deal with it. His individuals thus do not fight against society, but for truth and justice. Even that struggle is not pursued to its very end, because the author found that ultimately we can only resign ourselves to an acceptance of divine legislation. Pessimism was in this way averted by faith. Pascal saved C.F. Meyer, as his biographers have conclusively shown (97).

After having followed Burckhardt's influence thus far, i.e. to the end of the 19th century, the conclusion can be drawn that the 20th century author who is concerned about the individual and his place in society cannot fail to arrive at a pessimism

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(97) cf. Faesi's introduction to C.F. Meyer's works.

more profound even than Burckhardt's. Since that philosopher's death Liberal culture has led to wars and revolutions, over-production and starvation (98). Psycho-analysis has given us more exact knowledge of ourselves and thus very largely destroyed the ideas which the public had had of inspiration, revelation and poetic genius. The gulf between the poet's view of the world and that of the majority of readers has widened. The exploitation of art by newspapers and other instruments for the multitudes provide a semi-educated public with "intelligible" literature only. The majority today does not like what a minority judges as excellent.

Hence the double root of pessimism in modern literature: the helplessness of the individual when faced by the community with which he is connected often against his will, combines with the helplessness of the author who is being deprived of his influence by science (machine and psycho-analysis) and education (cultural levelling).

Of course, it is only natural that other modern authors should not share this belief that continuous tension must exist between the individual (inspired or not) and society. One must not forget that Burckhardt's approach was only one of four, mirroring the unhappiness of the aristocrat by birth and/or predilection who saw no place for himself in bourgeois society. The bourgeoisie could choose between the traditional petty-bourgeois "Erlaubt ist,

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(98) cf. Humm "Die Inseln", Fankhauser "Die Brueder der Flamme", Schibli's poetry and Wirz "Prophet Mueller-Zwo".

was sich ziemt" and feel happy within the restrictions imposed by class tradition and orthodox or "reformed" Christian ethics, or the Liberal utilitarian view of freedom which permitted everything which did not harm the prestige of the middle classes and the safety of the State. Both entail resignation though of a kind which is opposed to Burckhardt's, who idealizes the sage who retires from the world after having comprehended its vanity. Independence of physical influences, contempt for indulgence in luxury, development of spiritual freedom without concern for political liberties are the features which lead to that kind of resignation which characterizes Burckhardt's ideal man(99). Keller, however, allowed desires for the improvement of material conditions, demanded political liberties and asked the individual to give his services to the community whilst resigning himself to the impossibility of developing the more extreme urges towards personal freedom (100). Widmann, after having overcome pessimism, preached resignation for the same ethical and utilitarian reasons: the individual is happier when refraining from un-

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(99) When dealing with Diogenes, Burckhardt expressed this most clearly. He praised his "praktische Verachtung der Welt, die Freiheit von Staat, Menschen, Beduerfnissen und namentlich Meinungen ... Er ist der rechte heitere Pessimist, der auf die unermesslich grossere Quote des Lebens, welche von Elend und Verlust bedroht ist, verzichtet, um mit dem Rest auszukommen, mit Maessigkeit, Gesundheit und Freiheit.." ("Griechische Kulturgeschichte").

(100) "Der gruene Heinrich", first version, p. 409: "Erst spaeter ward es mir klar, dass er das schwerste geloest habe: eine gezwungene Stellung ganz so auszufuellen, als ob er dazu allein gemacht waere, ohne muerrisch oder gar gemein zu werden."

limited self-assertion (101) and the community gains by the possession of members who know how to restrain themselves (102). The unsatisfactory nature of such a solution, as far as the individual is concerned, was quickly pointed out by Carl Spitteler who attacked tradition, faith and resignation (of Keller's and Widmann's type) for the sake of the individual. When he condemns Epimetheus (103) for having chosen conscience as his guide, he strikes at the root of all three characteristics of both upper middle classes and petty bourgeoisie. However much those two layers might differ in their philosophies, they agreed by the end of the nineteenth century in believing in tradition, faith and resignation. Tradition by that time meant the same to both of them, since the Liberals had now acquired a past of which they intended to be proud; faith meant to the lower strata: orthodox or reformed Christianity, and to the upper middle classes: belief in progress, education and the efficacy of humanitarian ethics largely coloured by Christian principles; resignation rested on religious foundations for the petty bourgeois (although a suspicion of "sour grapes" can be detected) and on a utilitarian basis as far as the more enlightened upper strata were concerned. The bourgeois conscience acted as a compass in every case.

The generation of 1905 alone does not experience any difficulties as far as the individual in his position towards

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(101) "Jenseits von Gut und Boese", Stuttgart 1895, p. 77.

(102) *ibidem*, p. 152.

(103) "Prometheus und Epimetheus", 1861.

society is concerned. Resignation is hardly mentioned, instead the authors advocate self-sacrifice which goes much further and is not dependent on frustration, as resignation frequently is. Suffering, even if caused by society, must not diminish the desire of the individual to efface his personality for the sake of helping mankind; on the contrary: suffering has to be welcomed as it trains the afflicted person towards rendering more effective assistance by sharpening his powers of perception and his sensitiveness (104). The individual is only frustrated, if he does not succeed in being so completely altruistic as to purify himself in the process of self-humiliation, with the object of overcoming evil. ~~evil~~. The origins of such unusual pronouncements are European. Capitalism had demonstrated that selfishness paid in business, but was beneficial neither to the individual soul nor to the community. When following capitalist ideologies too consistently, society as a whole had lost idealism and the individual had abandoned the dream of personal perfection. By imaginative self-discovery the younger generation, not only in Switzerland, but all over Europe (105), hoped to retrieve the lost values.

Although this attitude is highly religious and mystical, it finds a parallel only in the Marxist's outlook on the individ-

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(104) cf. Steffen "Ott, Alois und Werelische", pp. 151/2 on suffering.

(105) Impressionism and expressionism in Germany, Oscar Wilde in England etc.

ual and the community. The Marxist overcomes the wickedness of the bourgeois world by recognising its class character and spending his energies in the creation of a classless society which will abolish the tension between individual and society. When Buehrer, Vuilleumier and others draw encouraging pictures of their Communist heroes (106), they do so in the conviction that the individual who strives for the classless society cannot be unhappy because he knows the laws of nature. These laws demand association which makes a rule over nature possible, and a consciousness of man's motives and their necessity. To the Marxist, if something is necessary and recognised as such, there is no choice for the sane man and therefore no suffering -- he is not "free", but on the other hand he is not subject to suffering from frustration or compulsion.

For those authors who neither accept the mystical solution nor like being deprived of their free will by tricks of Marxist dialectics, there are still the different variations of bourgeois thought.

Maria Waser for instance, a woman author of distinction, a doctor of philosophy and a fine biographer cannot be dismissed as insignificant. She shares the general disappointment in the value of Liberalism, yet speaks as an individualist bourgeois on the attitude of the individual towards society (107). In her

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(106) Vera in Buehrer's "Man kann nicht" and Cantor in Vuilleumier's "Cantor im Kaleidoskop".

(107) "Wir Narren von gestern", Stuttgart 1922, p.225: "Was, andern helfen! Euch selber helfen sollt Ihr ..."

writings the middle class character of most contemporary Swiss literature becomes as evident as the Conservative leanings of most women authors. Lisa Wenger, the "amoral moralist" (108) reveals an aptitude for unusual approaches to social questions in "Der Vogel im Kasfig" (109). In spite of her anti-bourgeois convictions, she takes up the position of an individualist who acknowledges but few restrictions. She allows her heroine to forsake her blind husband merely because she made a sacrifice in marrying him and is therefore entitled to expect a sacrifice from him (110). A variant of the same problem is put forward by Odermatt (111) who describes a mutuality of sacrifice as a just state between individuals, although he argues from the Conservative point of view which does not allow personal liberty to be divested of moral checks and class considerations. Kurt Guggenheim rebels against obligations binding on the individual and shows in a novel (112) how impossible it is to combine people in associations (113) and how natural is their desire to break unions such as marriage (114). C.I. Loos wishes to free the individual by what might be called "religious Socialism" but in so doing subjects him to domination by another master. (115). As the stress lies, however, on the word "religious"

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- (108) As Waser calls her (p. 181 of her Widmann biography, Frauenfeld 1927).  
 (109) "Der Vogel im Kasfig", Leipzig 1922.  
 (110) p. 322.  
 (111) Franz Odermatt "Bruder und Schwester", Zuerich 1924.  
 (112) Kurt Guggenheim "Entfesselung", Zuerich 1935.  
 (113) "Der Mensch ist ein beziehungsloses Wesen...", p. 31.  
 (114) p. 77 etc.  
 (115) C.I. Loos "Matka Boska", Stuttgart 1929, p. 342.

she believes in a social conscience which will effect the change and enable the individual to bear the loss of personal liberty with patience and cheerfulness. On a bourgeois basis Anna Burg attempts a similar solution. The individual is to be as free as Keller would have permitted him to be, and the improvement of social conditions is to be left to the gradual advancement of society under the guidance of religion (116).

I have quoted outstanding authors like Waser, Wenger and Loos in the same paragraph as inferior writers like Guggenheim and third-rate authors such as Burg and Odermatt. When dealing with this century -- all the writers mentioned belong to the last forty years, the artistic expression of which they help to formulate -- one has to make allowance for the fact that art has become increasingly proletarianised, and the less profundity and general awareness an artist shows, the more readily he satisfies the appetencies of the less critical sections of society, and the more certain is his influence on the community. Anna Burg's utterly naive story "Das Gras verdorret" is far more characteristic of modern Swiss thought and is more likely to play an important rôle in bourgeois society than Maria Waser's valuable novel "Wir Herren von gestern" (117).

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(116) Anna Burg "Das Gras verdorret", Zuerich (undated, internal evidence points to the 'twenties).

(117) Modern English criticism has elaborated this point and dealt at length with the influence of third-rate literature on society; cf. Philip Henderson "The Poet and Society", London 1939 and Caudwell "Illusion and Reality".

If one is asked what unites these six authors, one can only point to their concern for the individual. They are all genuinely disturbed about the position of the individual in relation to his fellow men. Their fears, however, are entirely different: Guggenheim, Odermatt and Wenger are anxious lest bourgeois morality should deny the individual his rights, yet their motives are not the same. Guggenheim takes an Anarchist point of view by choosing as his hero a man, who is unwilling to shoulder any responsibilities; Odermatt judges as a Conservative, who is critical of the Liberal conception of personal freedom; Lisa Wenger continues the Liberal tradition of demanding liberty plus safeguards against anarchy -- in short: Spitteler, Gotthelf and Keller re-appear in diluted editions.

Maria Waser and Anna Burg fear for the future of a civilisation in which the individual is free to preach revolution and not free to develop his personality (118). Variations in judgments are attributable -- apart from qualities not subject to social influences -- to the fact that M. Waser speaks as a member of the professional middle classes whereas A. Burg sides with the petty bourgeoisie. Both prefer the past to the present (119). In this they differ from G.I. Lócs who looks courageously ahead

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(118) cf. in particular M. Waser "Sir Narren von gestern", p. 128 on radicalism and property.

(119) M. Waser agrees with Adam Smith, as far as one can see, since she believes that enlightened self-interest leads to the welfare of the community; thus she goes back a good hundred years.

visualising a society in which social justice will reign and money will be deprived of its power (120). As she is doubtful, however, of the capabilities of the working class (121), one is not quite sure with whose help the enlightened and sensitive individual will build the new world. Her hopes can only be shared by truly religious personalities who embrace Socialism in spite of its atheistic outlook.

Kuhn alone, who will be mentioned again on account of his original and sound valuation of the peasant class, avoids all casuistic definitions of the respective orbits of the individual and of society, by restricting himself to the only class which can lead a comparatively detached existence. The modern farmer can be a Socialist in his social outlook and a bourgeois in his economic status (122). He alone can make the best of both worlds. Unfortunately, this solution of the question as to whether a collectivist ideal is to replace the individualistic conception of the recent past, only benefits a minority. Besides, it is possible that Kuhn's desire to see effective farmers' unions established (123) -- Gotthelf had objected most strongly to co-operative efforts in villages (124) -- may lead eventually to a sharpening of the conflict between the individual and the community.

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(120) "Matka Boska", p. 343, 347.

(121) *ibidem* p. 339.

(122) It is surprising how unconcerned most Swiss authors are about this aspect of the farmer's position; Lienert and Ruggenberger avoid "problematic" farmers altogether, whereas Renker ("Der sterbende Hof") resorts to the blood-soil-race slogans which characterize the most recent German novels on the farmer.

(123) Rudolf Kuhn "Die Jostensippe", Erlenbach 1934, p. 394.

(124) "Die Kaeserei in der Vohfreude", p. 13 etc.

It is not the selfishness of the individual, but dissatisfaction with existing social conditions which makes it difficult for the modern author to advocate resignation, the only attitude which might be capable of reconciling the one with the many (125). It rarely happens, that a middle class author raises resignation to a higher level by linking it up with social service, thus outgrowing the limitations of his own class. Ernst Zahn succeeded in the noteworthy novel "Die Frauen von Tannò" (126) which explains how that writer could become one of the most representative bourgeois authors and at the same time an extremely "popular" writer.

The story deals with the village of Tannò which is stricken by haemophilia. The terrible disease which, though passed on by women, only carries off the men, takes its annual toll and paralyses the whole village with fear. Into this village comes a young teacher. He is an idealist with a deep sense of social responsibility. The task of teaching in this hard-hit community appeals to his ambition. He sees a field for constructive activity in that village. On the first day he witnesses a tragic death caused by an accident insignificant in itself, but fatal to a haemophiliac. With zeal and determination the teacher Daniel Piants sets to work at once. The outcome of his efforts is a pact

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(125) Schaffner has now arrived at that conclusion after long experiments with the subject, but at the same time he advocates a strong State which crushes individuality altogether.

(126) "Die Frauen von Tannò", Stuttgart 1911.

concluded between all the members of the village not to marry or not to marry again, as the case may be.

This is the first stage of the social problem. One person with a sense of social responsibility causes an action to be taken which will influence the social life of an entire village (127). It is important to note that not an organization such as State or Church accomplishes this feat. The State is never mentioned. The next stage of the development is marked by Pianta's own signature to the agreement. He has not inherited the disease, nor is he in any danger, yet he identifies himself with the village and its suffering.

Having deprived the women of very important and absorbing interests, Pianta and his helpers, among whom Anna Julia, the daughter of the late village doctor, stands out, organize social evenings for the women folk. A new community spirit is born, mockery and incredulity from the outside world only serving to make the bond stronger and the pledge more sacred. Then Anna Julia and Daniel Pianta fall in love with each other; if they marry, the new community which is to save the village from its curse will break. There are already signs that some elements are beginning to have a destructive effect: a girl, whose blood is too wild to be tamed by any pledge; a child that is born, begotten before the date of the

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(127) There is nothing new in that. J.C. Heer had gone thus far in "An heiligen Wassern", Ivalde Kaiser had dealt with the subject in "Der wandernde See" and Walter Siegfried in "Um der Heimat willen". If Zahn did not go further, the book would not give any indication of the change that has taken place in bourgeois thought.

pledge, and now deprived of its "honest name" and a father; the fact that one boy who had to have a tooth extracted was saved by skilful surgeons although he suffered from haemophilia, -- all these circumstances weaken the union. The leaders must not break away. Anna Julia crushes her love for Pianta and the latter makes a similar sacrifice.

Anna Julia is supposed to be a carrier of the disease. Consequently she resigns herself to her exceptional position partly for her own future's sake and only partly because she feels responsible as the leader of the women. Her sacrifice is great, but not complete. Pianta's renunciation is the higher: he is not a haemophiliac, does not belong <sup>to</sup> the village, and yet condemns himself to celibacy. At the deathbed of her sister, the first victim of the pledge, Anna Julia learns that her father died a natural death and that she is perfectly healthy, <sup>but</sup> she follows Pianta's example and the future of the village is assured. Zahn has thus succeeded in constructing the entire pyramid of social virtues, as the Swiss middle classes understand them, beginning with personal initiative, the watchword of the elder Liberals, ascending to personal and collective responsibility which the second generation of Liberals had proclaimed, and culminating in voluntary sacrifice for the good of the community, the theme of the third generation. The bewildered fourth generation who refuse to be associated with their ancestors have not yet made up their minds whether or not the final bourgeois solution applies to their anti-bourgeois world.

### THE STATE.

Gotthelf's position in German-Swiss literature is unique from several points of view. This singularity has led to high appreciation of that author by modern critics. Their praise of his quality of style, his knowledge of the people and other outstanding characteristics is entirely justified, but where Gotthelf's political wisdom is concerned, recent publications have adopted an attitude of which one cannot easily approve. The view has gained ground that every author who resisted the growth of Liberalism in the last century is not only infinitely superior to the advocate of Liberal capitalism, but that his opinions on social life are entirely divorced from the spirit of his period, representing eternal values rather than ephemeral ideas (128). This sort of literary criticism is in itself evidence of the influence of social conditions on literature as well as philology. When Switzerland was passing through a Liberal era, critics abused Gotthelf as the mouthpiece of wicked Conservatism (129); now that the world has come to doubt the blessedness of Liberalism, critics

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(128) W. Muschg "Gotthelf. Die Geheimnisse des Erzählers", Muenchen 1931 is inclined to attribute social wisdom to Gotthelf which the latter could never have derived from his period. Alice Zimmermann in the latest publication on Gotthelf, the dissertation "Die schweizerische Demokratie in den Werken Jeremias Gotthelfs und Gottfried Kellers", Basel 1937, is so overwhelmed by the profundity she discovers in Gotthelf's pronouncements, which she likes to contrast with Keller's views, that she does not stop for one moment to consider Gotthelf's upbringing and development, his professional bias and his status as a husband and father. It seems as though she were quite prepared to believe that Gotthelf invented all his words of wisdom without any reference to actual conditions.

are eager to isolate Gotthelf entirely from social influences. Such short cuts which attribute to genius whatever is not quite obvious, cannot be used in research (129) which aims at showing the interdependence between social influences on an author and his pronouncements on social life.

Gotthelf was as representative of his age as Keller, whom everybody is prepared to label as "typical of his period". Where he appears different, the reason for his divergence from current thought can be found, if one examines his social background as well as other factors of social significance. These influences affected not only his attitude towards the State, but to all other social questions on which he wrote from 1850 onward.

In 1850 when his last (political) novels began to appear which Maschg (131) characterises as polemical rather than constructive, Gotthelf was fifty-three years of age and a minister of religion who could look back on twenty years of work in a responsible position. This means that his last works were

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- (129) e.g. Keller in his articles on Gotthelf, reprinted in "Nachgelassene Schriften und Dichtungen", edit. Prof. Baechtold, Berlin 1898, even Bianca Hoethlisberger "Das Kind in der neueren erzählenden Literatur der deutschen Schweiz", Bern 1919, p. 79.
- (130) cf. W.H. Bruford's apt words: "Social influences are no more intangible than the personality of an author or the literary value of a work, and perhaps no less worthy of study." ("Germany in the Eighteenth Century." Cambridge 1935, p. 291.)
- (131) "Gotthelf. Die Geheimnisse des Erzählers", München 1931.

written when the consolidation of the power of the bourgeoisie had reached a stage sufficiently advanced to allow a man who had been a fervent Liberal in his youth (132) to form some idea of the possible further development of Liberalism. What he gathered, did not satisfy him. He belonged to the older generation now, and we must presume that what might have suited him when he was thirty could no longer meet with his approval, when at the age of 53 he had such political experience and a good knowledge of human nature to judge by. The first influence then, is his age, tentatively admitted even by W. Muschg (133). The fact that one or two other authors who in the 'thirties had begun as Liberals ended as Conservatives round about the same time (134) makes this explanation permissible and plausible.

His profession must be taken into account next. The increasing anti-clericalism of the Liberal leaders was the logical outcome of an ideology which aimed at the liberation of the individual from all shackles, including those of the church. Gotthelf who possessed sufficient strength of character and integrity to protest against the prostitution of his calling by making concessions to anti-clericals (135) quite naturally drifted from the

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(132) Muschg gives the fullest details.

(133) Muschg, p. 388.

(134) *ibidem*.

(135) Muschg (p.401) mentions that at one time Gotthelf may have considered a separation of State and Church as the best solution of the antagonism between spiritual and temporal power.

Liberal to the Conservative camp which represented the orthodox Christian sections of the bourgeoisie. His Conservatism, far from being unconnected with social influences, can thus easily be accounted for as an attitude which might suitably be taken up by an elderly parson.

His idea of the State is that of the Christian who aims primarily at the establishment of a régime in which Christian ethics are respected, striven after and introduced into legislation. In the pre-capitalist age, Christian morality had -- if only imperfectly -- dominated private and public life. Consequently, Gotthelf put forward demands which struck his Liberal contemporaries as out of date as mediaeval horrors. Indeed, of all Swiss authors who have published anything of importance since 1850 Gotthelf is the only one, who in his desire to see a truly Christian State established, is not afraid of negating bourgeois principles when they clash with Christian ethics. It is true that the lower strata of the bourgeoisie (small business men, skilled craftsmen, lower grades of civil servants, small farmers, etc.) never quite lost the link which united them with the middle ages (136) viz. a common religious background and a common theory on prices and wages, but gradually the bourgeoisie adopted the outlook which had been evolved by its consistently capitalist section. Gotthelf was clear.

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(136) This is elaborated, from the point of view of the Swiss sociologist, in Fritz Marbach "Gewerkschaft, Mittelstand, Fronten", Bern 1933, p. 45.

sighted enough to realise that deep cleavage within the bourgeoisie. He threw in his lot with that portion of the middle classes, which, under the name of "Conservatives" participated cautiously in the emancipation of the third estate -- at the same time clinging to Christian ideals taken over from an age when the third estate was still humble and partially oppressed.

It is his Christian faith, not his social position as a bourgeois, which makes him see the State in the light in which it had appeared to Montesquieu, Lessing and Humboldt, viz. as a necessary evil, not an end in itself as the Hegelian conception implied (137). As he accords little power to the State, he also cannot expect much from it, yet in his demands (138), small as they may appear to him he asks for something which only the bourgeois State to which he is so hostile, is prepared to give: equality. On this point of equality, arising as it does out of a democratic way of reasoning, Gotthelf is most inconsistent. One cannot demand equal treatment for every member of the commun-

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(137) Gotthelf "Dursli": "Wer weiss, ob nicht in Meere von Blut die Vernachlaessigung des einzelnen ueber die Ueberhebung des Staates als eine weltgeschichtliche Torheit eingegraben wird und zwar bald?". Cf. Muschg, p. 394.

(138) Preface to "Schuldenbauer" (1853): "Wir fordern wenig vom Staat, wir fordern bloss, er solle dafuer sorgen, dass die Institute und Aemter zur Sicherung der Personen und des Eigentums errichtet, besoldet, patentiert, ihren Zweck erfuellen und nicht das Gegenteil desselben, dass, wer zum Beispiel zum Recht verhelfen soll, nicht Teilnehmer am Unrecht oder Fehler desselben sei, dass Rechtsfinden leichter sei als Unrecht verdecken, dass ehrlicher Erwerb wenigstens ebenso sicher sei als Diebsgut, Erwerben so beguengt sei als Verschleudern, dass ueber dem Volke ein klar Recht sei, einfach, aehnlich Gottes Wort, verstaendlich auch den Unmuendigen, und eine wackere Hand es verwalte, allen sichtbar, allen fuehlbar."

ity and reproach the State at the same time, as he does (139) for making universities accessible to all classes. One cannot logically reconcile his hostility to any extension of the State's impotence (140). He maintains (141) that "politisches Leben" is a disease, as irreconcilable with healthy social life as fever is with a healthy human body, that it was artificially created at the beginning of the capitalist era and is being artificially maintained by Liberals who use the resulting turmoil for their selfish ends (142). This is ridiculous when coming from a person who ever since 1836 had been stirring up the public with the (very unselfish, justifiable and praiseworthy) intention of bringing about social reforms. It is all the more strange when it comes from an author who wrote the very novel in which this accusation can be found (143) with the expressed aim of bringing about a victory for his political party. If Gotthelf were honest,

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(139) cf. Muschg, p. 395.

(140) "Schuldenbauer": "... mit Gesetzen kann man nicht helfen.. der Staat ist ueberhaupt viel armer, viel huelfloser, als man zu sagen wagt, das Einwirken des Staates ins Volksleben ist weit oeffters ein schaedliches, hemmendes als ein gutes, foerderndes."

(141) Preface "Zeitgeist-Bernergeist".

(142) "Zeitgeist-Bernergeist": "Alles Leben wollt ihr toeten bis an das politische Leben, und das ist fuer sich alleine das oedeste aller Leben, eine Wolke ohne Regen. Es ist an sich nichts, nichts als der Mist, in welchem das Ungeziefer entsteht... es ist der Mord der eigentlichen Menschheit, man verruet sie ans Tierreich, man wirft sie den Bestien zum Frasse vor."

(143) "Zeitgeist-Bernergeist" written for the Conservatives.

he would admit that it is not the "political life" which is evil but that the kind of political life which emerges does not suit his purpose.

There is so much venom in his accusations against the Liberal State -- Liberals in authority and the State are often synonymous to him -- that one can hardly cut a path through the thicket of just and unjust outbursts. One thing, however, becomes clear: only by stringing together those passages which suit the critics and by interpreting Gotthelf in the light of our modern outlook (which is partly prejudiced against the Liberal innovations of the last century), is it possible to arrive at unqualified admiration for Gotthelf's views on political theory. If one concentrates on the purely social problems in Gotthelf's works, one comes to the conclusion that Gotthelf marred the essential soundness of his views on the Christian State by inexactitudes and contradictions on the problem of the State as such.

One example (144) may serve to illustrate this. Gotthelf, during all his publicist activities, dealt on the question of poverty which he bravely attempted to solve. Yet he cannot be credited with even having defined the attitude of the State towards poverty. He accused the Liberals of making the State omnipotent.

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(144) Under different headings others will be given later.

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He also reproached them for the levelling tendencies which showed themselves in their advocacy of a progressively rising income-tax (145). Surely he might have welcomed this measure as necessary to the abolition of poverty. He did not do so, and, more strangely still, he charged the State with having increased poverty: "Arme wird es immer geben, so will es Gott; aber diese Natur der Armen, die ist nicht von Gott, die ist vom Menschen. Jetzt wie damals ist der Verfasser der Ansicht, dass an dieser Natur die hoehern Staende und die Regierungen die grosse Schuld tragen." (146) It is hardly permissible to deprive the State of all power, to challenge its right to tax the rich and introduce poor-laws and then to accuse it of having caused poverty.

In summarising one might say that his distrust of the State and his desire to see the functions of the State limited are the outcome of the victory of his consciousness as a Christian minister over his former entirely bourgeois aspirations. Where he contradicts himself he merely reveals that the old Liberal in him (147) still expects the State to be more than an instrument for the safeguarding of order, more than a policeman. In his disappointment at the kind of State which emerged under the leadership of his former friends he becomes hysterically abusive. He accuses

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(145) In many places in "Zeitgeist-Bernergeist" he attacks this "Communism" which in the same novel he characterises as the new radical bourgeois spirit.

(146) Preface to the edition of 1850 of "Die Armennot".

(147) In the 'thirties he preached, as a chaplain, to the troops sent to intervene in a struggle between Basel-town and Basel-country, on the strong State, which must be "the dam on which hostile passions break". In 1835 he asked his colleagues in the ministry to join forces with Liberalism,

the State of pursuing a wrong policy regarding education (148), the Church (149), the civil service (150); blames it for allowing itself to be considered as a milchcow (151), calls it a thief (152), a wasteful employer (153), a bad dispenser of justice (154), treacherous (155), greedy for the money of stupid people (156).

At one point he uses the expression "the Christian State" and contrasts it with the "Rechtsstaat" which modern Switzerland had become (157). On that occasion he elaborates his reasons for re-

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and in 1854 at a conference of school teachers at Berne, he called the celebrations which commemorate the democratic constitution of 1831 "a feast of victory of the great Christian (sic!) ideas of the rights of man and of brotherhood over mediaeval customs and abuses which had found their way into society". More details are given in Musong, p. 370.

(148) "Zeitgeist", p. 120.

(149) "Zeitgeist", p. 122.

(150) "Kaeserei", p. 288.

(151) "Zeitgeist", p. 387.

(152) "Zeitgeist", p. 314.

(153) "Zeitgeist", p. 172.

(154) "Kaeserei", p. 290 and "Zeitgeist", pp. 386/8. Gotthelf calls it wicked and detrimental to justice when mitigating circumstances are taken into consideration by the judge. Obviously he must have observed that this new clemency was being misused resulting in Liberal defendants going scot-free when before a Liberal judge. Yet the new and more merciful approach to the finding of justice proved very beneficial, after abuses had been discouraged.

(155) "Kaeserei", p. 327, where Gotthelf maintains that the law forbidding military service abroad was only a sham measure designed to create the impression that Switzerland was intent on preserving her neutrality. He asserts that when the storm would have blown over, Swiss soldiers would again serve abroad. In this he was utterly mistaken. The measure was not merely of temporary value; it expressed the new feeling of national consciousness and was absolutely sincere. Details on the laws in question are given by Schneider, vol. 1.

(156) "Kaeserei", p. 379.

(157) "Zeitgeist", p. 100.

garding the Liberal State as a wicked instrument of selfish interests: where Christian principles no longer rule public and private life, there can be no right nor justice. "Rechtsstaaten", according to him, generally appear only when the Christian faith has been discarded. In former Switzerland is still Christian since her officials still take a religious oath when they assume office; the task of all rightminded people must be to make it a Christian State in essence, too. (188) The State cannot be God since it represents selfishness. The culture ("Bildung") it brings does not improve public morality, nor will mankind progress in any other positive way with the assistance of the State alone.

During those years when Gotthelf advocated a return to the Christian State, Keller although just as interested in politics as Gotthelf, did not theorise such about the State itself. There was no need to do so. Neither he nor any of his Liberal contemporaries who were awake to the importance of social questions felt attracted by theory in those days. To begin with, they belonged to a different class from Gotthelf's. They were bourgeois citizens unconnected with a strong religious faith which might have modified their bourgeois outlook. The victory of the "Buergertum" in 1848 was their victory, the new State was theirs. Comment seemed superfluous to them. Any observations they made

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(188) In a conversation between a magistrate and a pastor, both Conservatives, the minister who obviously represents Gotthelf's own attitude is quite willing to accord the right to the State to free itself from the despotism of the Church, but denies the State's right to set itself up as a God and to meddle with private consciences. In this passage which is unique on account of its levelheadedness Gotthelf admits,

concerning social matters dealt either with problems, which the State, as such, could not solve, or if they did mention the State, they praised its new form. Keller, their chief representative, called his feelings for the State in the 'fifties, i.e. after the years of battle and bitterness, "satisfaction" and "joy of possession" (159). But even if one did not know his political record in the years before the Revolution, it would be surprising to see him in the ranks of the opposition. He belonged to the middle classes par excellence. His father had been a business man and small employer, a house owner, a good family man, a bourgeois through and through. Besides, the father had lived in the country before he came to town to learn a trade (160). Both as a farmer's son and as an artisan he wished for the liberation of the farming population from town despotism, and of the town burgher from aristocratic rule. The son could thus be expected to show understanding for Liberal doctrine (161). He ran true to type and enthusiastically associated himself with his father's class, since he had none of his own, not even a professional bias, when he entered political life. At the time that he was converted to inter-

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too, that the responsible leaders are not as bad as the minor officials who hold extreme views. ("Zeitgeist", pp. 122-125.)

(159) Autobiographical notes, "Nachlass", p. 5.

(160) cf. Kriesi, p. 2.

(161) He admitted in the second version of "Der gruene Heinrich", vol. I, p. 115: "Haette mein Vater, der zu diesen gehoerte, noch gelebt, so waere ich ohne Zweifel ein ganz liberales Maennlein gewesen."

est in political literature in 1843, he was still a student without any future. He realized that the appeal which came to him was "der Ruf der lebendigen Zeit" (162) -- the sociologist would express it less poetically: he had found his feet in his class. He connected poetry at once with social life: "Besonders aber muss sich nun der Dichter mit den grossen Welt-Fort- oder Rueckschritten beschaeftigen, mit den ernstesten Lebensfragen, die die Menschheit bewegen." Accordingly he entered the fight against despots in the wake of Herwegh, Boerne, Anastasius Gruen (163) and the other representatives of a new Liberal intellectual élite. Gruen had had to overcome his aristocratic education before he could put himself at the disposal of the bourgeoisie -- his disciple Keller had no such difficulties.

To Gotthelf political life had been an artificial creation invented by demagogues; Keller demanded interest in public affairs as a moral duty (164) for everybody who wanted to prevent dictatorship by a minority (165). "Nein, es darf keine Privatleute mehr geben!" (166).

At the beginning of the period under discussion Keller was satisfied with the results of awakened political conscious-

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(162) Autobiographical notes in "Nachlass".

(163) who had inspired him to take an interest in politics, just as he had filled the young Stifter with enthusiasm.

(164) This bourgeois slogan disappeared at the end of the Liberal era and was only raised again in totalitarian countries.

(165) cf. Kriesi, p. 101.

(166) "Trausbuch", entry dated 2.-3.V.1848.

ness. He called Switzerland in the first version of "Der gruene Heinrich" (167): "den sicheren Schoss eines aufgeweckten und vergnueglichen buergerlichen Lebens". Every adjective is of importance in that sentence: "sicher", because the country was at peace and would be for a long time, as no tyrant could manoeuvre it into war, since -- sharing Kant's belief in the necessity of a Republican constitution for every country which wishes to build eternal peace (168) -- a majority of people interested in pacific progress could enforce inner tranquillity; "aufgeweckt" hints at the State's interest in education, in the dissemination of knowledge, particularly scientific knowledge, also at the fact that the Church had been deprived of her hold over the people; "vergnueglich" relates to the optimistic outlook which dominated bourgeois philosophy in the middle of the nineteenth century; "Buergerlich" is the word which counts most, it is the clue to all the others. Aristocracy and proletariat felt neither "sicher" nor "vergnueglich". This statement proves the utter disregard for any other class of society beside the "Buerger". The class character of the new State is not even glossed over, nor is there any fear yet that the praised attributes of the modern State, its "Sicherheit, Aufgewecktheit,

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(167) p. 45.

(168) Kant "Zum ewigen Frieden", p. 24: "Erster Definitivartikel zum ewigen Frieden."

Vergnueglichkeit, Buergerlichkeit" contained potential dangers. The increased liveliness of the inhabitants, their greater freedom of movement is welcomed (169); no exception is taken to the increasing power of the State in the field of education whether at school or in the army -- although, oddly enough, the State has no right to expel a pupil from school and thus handicap his future (170). The State is left all the more scope -- on condition, of course that it grants liberty and equality in return -- since nationality and State are treated as different things. The State is the people; (171) it is also a mechanism created and set in motion by the collective will of the electorate without which it would not exist. Nationality is the materialisation of an idea dependent on uncontrollable factors such as geographical position and climate (172). It is surprising to see that Keller did not draw the parallel and call the State a materialisation of economic exigencies in the realms of political organisation. He did not do so, but in "Das Faehnelin der sieben Aufrechten" he showed the men who had built the democratic State of 1848, and he fetes them as heroes. Their make-up shows us the character of his State.

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- (169) "Der gruene Heinrich", first version, pp.201/2, kept in later editions.  
 (170) *ibidem*, p. 198.  
 (171) "Frau Regel Aarain und ihr Juengster", p. 141: "Sie, ihr wolt einen freien Staat vorstellen . . . ."  
 (172) "Der gruene Heinrich", first version, p. 45: "So kann man wohl sagen, nicht die Nationalitaet gibt uns Ideen, sondern eine unsichtbare, in diesen Bergen schwebende Idee, hat sich diese eigentuemliche Nationalitaet zu ihrer Verkoerperung geschaffen."

The first characteristic of the men who are to constitute the State, in their collective presence and activity as electors, and to be qualified to become its leaders, as democratically chosen representatives of the electorate, is their well-ordered way of living (173). He formulates that in "Der gruene Heinrich" (174): "Wer die Welt will verbessern helfen, kehre erst vor seiner Tuere." In the first edition, Heinrich is condemned to an infamous death because he is incapable of fulfilling his duties as a citizen both at home and in public affairs (175). The middle class citizens in "Das Faehnelein" are all competent to regulate their family life in propriety and harmony; they do not neglect their business, the education of their children, the training of their own minds -- they are the ideal citizens, they represent the State. Most of their other characteristics need not detain us at present as we shall meet them again when Liberalism is discussed as a philosophy rather than a form of government; one other feature, however, has to be mentioned here:

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- (173) It is interesting to note that Keller's parallels in the Austria of 1850, Stifter, Grillparzer, von Feuchtersleben, have the same conception of the new "Staatsbuerger" without possessing any knowledge of Keller's writings -- another proof of the common aims of Liberalism in Europe, whether it manifested itself in a monarchy or in an old-established Republic.
- (174) vol. 5, p. 271.
- (175) Letter to Vieweg (dated 26.4.1850): "Die Moral meines Buches ist: Dass derjenige, dem es nicht gelingt, die Verhaeltnisse seiner Person und seiner Familie in sicherer Ordnung zu erhalten, auch unbefahigt ist, im buergerlichen Leben seine wirksame Stellung einzunehmen."

their sobriety. This cool and levelheaded outlook, according to Keller, has the effect of making the Swiss burghers immune from monarchism which needs symbols, signs and forms to enforce respect. The fully emancipated citizen does not require physical aids to give him a consciousness of the importance of public affairs. As he is part of the State, coats of arms and other emblems of authority appear to him as "unwuerdiger Spass" and "blauer Dunst" (176).

As long as the citizen has liberty, freedom to speak, to print whatever he wishes to express, to take up whatever trade he likes, to settle wherever he pleases, to embrace any religion, Keller is satisfied. Feudal privileges and interference by the Church have disappeared -- now the door is opened wide for the man of enterprise, the "captain of industry", the new economic, rational farmer, the enlightened educationalist. Keller could afford to rejoice.

It would be most unjust to pass from the youthful Keller to other authors, giving the impression that Keller at that period merely represented the Liberal middle classes and was not capable of any judgment which ran counter to the views of his environment. Even before he threw some of the tenets of the more consistent wing of the Liberals (the "Manchester School") overboard, he had expressed his dissatisfaction with a number of postulates to which his class clung most tenaciously. Liberty, the condition to which the middle classes aspired and -- in some measure -- achieved,

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(176) "Der gruene Heinrich", first version, p. 45, not mentioned in later edition.

appeared to him as of doubtful value (although still preferable to anything else), since it meant nothing to those who had no earthly possessions which they might enjoy and increase "at liberty" (177). Liberty cannot fill an empty stomach. Keller did not say what the new bourgeois State could do towards satisfying the unemployed artisan or proletarian, the unsuccessful artist, the "unskilled" civil servant (178), yet he alone of all the "bourgeois" authors of the period noticed that there were strata of society unaffected by the new achievements which benefited the bourgeoisie.

A second fallacious idea widely held at the time was connected with the supposed harmony within the State, between democratically elected leaders, and the electorate. Keller did not share this belief. He noticed the tyranny which is acquired by holding office even if held by virtue of free elections (179). Gotthelf, it might be said, realised this too and attacked officialdom. Yet there is an important difference. Gotthelf attacked Liberal officials and defended those with Conservative convictions. If Liberal officials were tyrannous, unprincipled and wasteful, it cast a reflection on the inherent wickedness of Liberalism, according to Gotthelf. This constitutes an over-

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(177) "Der grüne Heinrich", first version, p. 409: "... da ich einzusehen begann, dass fuer alles dies ruestige Volk die Freiheit erst ein Gut war, wenn es sich seines Brotes versichert hatte, und ich fuehlte vor den langen, nun leeren Tischreihen, dass selbst dieses Fest bei hungrigem Magen und leerem Beutel ein sehr trueseliges gewesen waere."

(178) *ibidem*, p. 408, he speaks of the peculiar position of the civil servant who becomes a beggar as soon as a change of régime terminates his office.

(179) *ibidem*, p. 407.

simplification of social life, which may be useful for propaganda purposes, but eventually defeats its own ends (180). Keller, on the other hand, realised that men -- whether Liberals or Conservatives -- can and frequently do acquire new characteristics when a popular vote turns them into officials. The democratic State, he teaches, by implication depends not only on constitutions, but also on human nature.

The other authors who welcome the new State have the same bourgeois consciousness, but not an ounce of Keller's political and psychological insight. They see the surface value of the new achievements and delight in it, because they are middle class people first and last, whether they happen to be civil servants, doctors, teachers, farmers' sons or small business men. The most articulate among them, Samuel Haberstich, who is fiercest in his advocacy of unrestricted emancipation for the bourgeoisie, is also the most shallow thinker and the most careless writer of them all. Others, like Hartmann and Bitter are less radical, but their aims are those of Keller and of S. Haberstich, although they hope to arrive at them after a longer run at a slower pace. They tell their stories to a middle class audience (181) and their hero is the middle class self-made man who rises from humble surroundings to a comfortable existence as a good husband and father, a kind employer and a popular leader

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(180) Eglihanes in "Kaeserei" is supposed to have been a very successful Liberal civil servant because of all his vices, but later the author has to state that Eglihanes was dismissed when bad elements in the service were removed.

(181) Arthur Bitter "Geschichten aus dem Emmenthal", Langnau 1857 starts in a very typically bourgeois circle of a person, a doctor, a civil servant and their wives.

(182). The State suits them best as it is.

After the 'fifties, the State ceased to be a "topical" subject. Public affairs were no longer in the state of flux which stimulated literary production with a political bias. With the consolidation of Liberal power comes time to think, and the theory develops that art must deal with beauty, not with hideous reality. This is parallel to the Biedermeier where authors restricted themselves to "harmless" writings (nature, love, resignation, cult of the achievements of classical antiquity), because politics were a dangerous subject. Thus for the second time within twenty years central Europe experienced a spasm of bourgeois quietism -- in 1840 Austrian and German authors of bourgeois extraction forswore politics under pressure, in 1860 Swiss middle class writers banned political subjects because the bourgeoisie was satisfied and wanted a rest.

Keller alone, devoted his constant attention to political events. The modern idealist school of critics (185) is quickly prepared to attribute his continued interest in political matters to his genius and nothing else, but his professional position should not be overlooked. Keller was an active politician. There was peace among the electorate (by 1860 Liberals and Conservatives had realized that they both stood for bourgeois ideals), but in legislature, in administration and among the executive officers of

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(182) One of the stories in Ritter's above-mentioned book deals with such a type -- "Schlosser Wiedner", pp. 185ff.

(183) e.g. Alice Zimmermann.

the State, Canton or Bund, the fight continued. Keller could not be silent whilst the State was being changed through the unwholesome intervention of undesirable people who succeeded by libellous publications, to incite the masses and to win them for reforms of a questionable character (184). At least that is how Keller saw the "democratic movement", as the agitation for a new democratic instead of a representative republic has been called since. His judgment revealed the narrow confines of his democratic faith. A man of his intellectual calibre ought to have realised that such bloodless revolutions, especially when they are successful, do not spring from ordinary discontent over a few personages, but are rooted in the economic and spiritual dissatisfaction of a class which has not yet arrived at the complete fulfilment of all its wishes. Since he participated in the government himself, he had come to identify himself with the very people whom the "democratic movement" wanted to depose. This is not the place to go into details which have not so long ago been set out by Dr. H.W. Kriesi (185), but it is necessary on account of the different approach of this thesis, to state the connection between the author's social background and his social outlook. Keller's opposition to the extension of democratic rights (the veto, re-organisation of the Church, social legislation, the establishment

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(184) cf. Keller "Das verlorene Lachen".

(185) "Gottfried Keller als Politiker", Frauenfeld 1918.

of a Cantonal bank) cannot be attributed to Alfred Escher's influence over his friend Keller, although Keller's political friends who joined the new movement accused Zuerich's intellectual and financial despot of bribing the author (186). Keller was getting older and growing tired of reforms and revisions of the constitution. Enough had been achieved, he thought (187). The cautious attitude of the elderly men, who fears that in fresh upsets previously gained positions may be lost, united with his desire for consolidation rather than extension of the structure of the Liberal State (188). If there is any bribery distinguishable in such an attitude, it is the bribe of advancing age, caution for the sake of comfort.

One more point has to be considered. He lost sight of the economic condition of the lower classes. As he rose to the rank of a leader among the intellectual élite, only cultural problems seemed to be of importance. He was not blind to hardship, but the idea of social legislation which would radically better the lot of the lower middle classes -- not to speak of the proletariat -- found no favour with him. On the contrary, we may assume that he was impressed by the argument, put forward by the

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(186) cf. Kriesi, p. 170.

(187) He formulated it in his autobiographical notes ("Nachlass"); "Fuer seine Person waere er friedlich und genuegsam; er beduerfte nicht so vieler Aenderungen um mit seinen Nebemenschen auszukommen, und so sehr er Freiheit und Recht liebt, so wenig liegt ihm an einem bisschen mehr oder weniger Detail .."

(188) "Martin Salander", p. 111.

upper middle classes, who opposed the extension of democratic rights, that the cause of education would be served more faithfully by the considered judgment of a small circle of leaders like Escher, than by the people as a whole. The "quietism" of the upper bourgeoisie in the sixties is thus reflected, even though dimly, in the only author who still, at least, mentioned politics in his writings.

"Martin Salander" marks a new period in Gottfried Keller's existence. To most critics of the social content of Keller's works (189) the author who wrote the famous "Martin Salander" is not essentially different from the man who gave us "Die Leute von Seldwyla". Indeed, Keller had not changed in the sense of having arrived at a new stage in the development of his character. The community as a whole was passing through a new phase, and Keller's utterances are merely the adjustment to these new conditions. This time Keller did not restrict himself to humorous hints about the deterioration of the Swiss "Staatsbuergers" moral stamina (190), but he held it to be his duty to show the serious decline in moral calibre in all sections of the public (191). The State was heading for disaster through the fault of its component parts, not because of mistakes in its constitution.

It has been indicated in the historical survey that round about 1880 Switzerland entered upon a new stage. The gen-

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(189) including Kriesli.

(190) The second part of "Die Leute von Seldwyla" contained many of these hints.

(191) "Martin Salander", p. 54.

eration which had built orthodox Liberalism had passed away. The humble artisans and farmers who had watched over the citizen's liberty had gone, as well as the industrialists and intellectuals of vision who had been so bitterly attacked by the "democratic movement". A greater amount of democracy had been won, but the result of increased political rights for everybody was not encouraging. The simple artisan was a thing of the past -- his son aimed at becoming a capitalist; the capitalist élite of the 'fifties had disappeared, their sons still influenced public opinion through the press and the party, but they were incompetent compared with their elders. A fever had come over the nation. Its symptoms were ambition and a longing for a share in the world's wealth. Among the consequences moral and financial bankruptcies became prominent. The State was in danger. "Martin Salander" was Keller's reply. The novel could not stop the development. Its appeal for a return to honesty (192), a healthy family life (193), modesty and moderation passed unheeded by a system which had begun to dominate the State, business and private life; Capitalism had overcome the petty bourgeois moral outlook and replaced it by its own. Only now was the break with the middle ages made final. Keller noticed that something valuable had disappeared (though he would not have called it mediæval in origin), but he had no means in his possession to retrieve it. What he suggested ran counter

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(192) *ibidem* p. 124.

(193) *ibidem* p. 114.

to the interests of the man of enterprise, the new hero who was beginning to enslave the world and be enslaved himself by the machine. One remembers with a sad smile what he had written some thirty years before: "Gluecklicherweise gibt es bei uns keine ungeheuer reichen Leute, der Wohlstand ist ziemlich verteilt; lass aber einmal Kerle mit vielen Millionen entstehen, die politische Herrschsucht besitzen, und du wirst sehen, was die fuer Unfug treiben.." (194) Those "Kerle" had arrived, and the masses idolised them. Capital, profit, prosperity, exports, new villas, new mistresses became the dream of thousands whose fathers had aimed at an honest life in modest comfort.

The new wind which blew over Swiss towns and villages affected literature profoundly. J.C. Heer provided a mass-producing public with novels which opened a window into a new world. The key note of his attitude towards the State was satisfaction. The description of a Landammann -- the highest authority in some of the Swiss Cantons -- may serve as an example of his respect for the bourgeois State: "Wie schweres und doch helles Erz klang die Stimme des hoch und breit gewachsenen alten Herrn, der mir wie einer jener Helden erschien, von denen uns Schulmeister Kaspar aus Krieg und Schlacht erzahlt hatte. Kein Wunder, dass das der erste war im Land! Er aber streifte mich mit einem wohlwollenden Blick seiner starken, ruhigen Augen vom Kopf bis zu den

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(194) Keller "Das Faehnlein", p. 136.

Fuessen. "Kernholz aus dem Bergwald unseres Volkes," laechelte er leutselig. Mich aber, den Weltunkundigen, verwirrte es, wie ein Mann, dessen Erscheinung mich zur Ehrerbietung zwang, so freundlich schauen und sprechen konnte." (195) All these are hollow phrases, and what the Landammann says is cheap cliché, but Heer here as elsewhere cannot refrain from bowing to authority. Just as Keller could not help pointing to responsible servants of the State when he voiced his fears concerning the future of the community, Heer, if he wanted to reproduce the general optimism concerning the course which public affairs were taking, felt obliged to express his satisfaction with the representatives of the State, including modern priests and the big industrialists of a democratic stamp. Quite naturally he praised the "democratic movement" in "Felix Notvest" (196) which thus forms a valuable counterpart to Keller's "Das verlorene Lachen".

To Heer, capitalism is not vicious, but beneficial. In consequence the capitalist State, as long as it remains a democratic State, suits Switzerland best. Here is the road sign at which Keller and Heer part company. Keller had held that the ideal State is that in which the soundest members do not aim at riches but at integrity. He was wise enough to realise that wealth and

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(195) Heer "Der Wetterwart", p. 108.

(196) "Felix Notvest", novel, 1901.

moral integrity could not easily be won at the same time, a relic of his petty bourgeois thinking. Heer, without expressly saying so, intimates (197) that he takes the opposite point of view. The State which gives every member the opportunity of becoming wealthy, powerful and respectable, even if he should be born in the "humblest cottage", is most suited to win popular approval and deserves it, too. "Knowledge is power" ("Wissen ist Macht") is his slogan -- the State which provides education and later on protection for the man of success has served its purpose best. No wonder that Heer soon became a "popular" author, indeed nobody, not even the mass-producing Jakob Frey of the 'fifties who was widely read, had ever achieved such popularity before. The State could only be pleased with Heer's books, the ruling classes had no reason to complain if their achievements were held up as exemplary, the lower classes could edify themselves by the visions of all the possibilities which lay in front of them. Never before and never since has there been such unanimity of outlook between State, author and the majority of the reading public. It testifies to the capitalist character of the Swiss Confederation that even today authors go back to Heer's recipe if they wish to be read widely -- that is by the masses of unsophisticated middle class readers. For the rest, Heer's views which were quite "revolutionary" when he first wrote are now the last straw to which Conservative authors cling.

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(197) particularly in the figure of Karl Wehrli in "Felix Neivest".

Nothing has yet been said about the reaction which the new Liberal State evoked from the aristocracy. The explanation lies in the complete silence which members of the patrician families observed after 1850. Burckhardt alone grumbled audibly, but knowledge of his views was restricted to a small circle of scholars and writers and whatever he wrote about the democratic bourgeois State and the "democratic" capitalist State (198) was not published till much later (199).

As a patrician, conscious of his aristocratic superiority he could only look at the State in which the bourgeoisie had installed itself so comfortably, with a feeling of revulsion. He expressed what most thinking patricians who wished to remain faithful to their class must have felt (200): The bourgeois State is a hopeless creation. On the one hand it is too powerful since it has acquired the right to meddle with the affairs of private individuals; on the other hand it is impotent since it cannot shape policy independent of the foolish and selfishly materialistic wishes of the lower classes (201). This appeal to

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- (198) Although literary histories do not distinguish between these two, modern sociology does, and Burckhardt had more than an inkling of the difference.
- (199) "Weltgeschichtliche Betrachtungen" which I used for the observations which follow was only published after his death.
- (200) Bachofen, the only other "vocal" aristocrat, had similar views: "Das ist der Fluch der Demokratie, dass sie ihre Verwuestung in alle Gebiete des Lebens hineintraeagt, Kirche, Haus und Familie gerade am schwersten ergreift, und fuer jede, auch die kleinste Frage, den wahren Standpunkt ver-rueckt. Weil ich die Freiheit liebe, hasse ich die Demokratie." (Biographical letter to Savigny.)
- (201) cf. Baechtold "Der Geist des modernen Wirtschaftslebens im Urteil J. Burckhardts".

the State from below produces a policy which is devoid of political wisdom, respect for tradition or for spiritual values. The State has become the instrument of people who believe in nothing but progress, science, profit (202), patriotism and the abolition of poverty (203). There is a good deal to be said in favour of these points raised by a philosopher who could speak freely as he had no responsibility in the creation of the bourgeois State. Burckhardt, however, had no vision. He knew of no substitute for the bourgeois State. He admitted that there could be no question of a return to aristocratic rule; he was afraid of Socialism; he preferred mediaeval feudalism to capitalism, but did not seriously advocate a return to mediaeval conditions. Worst of all, he had no social conscience (204). Like his class, he forfeits consideration through his inability to shape a new State even in theory. He stood in his period like a lonely rock. There was nobody at that time to surpass him in wisdom and learning, and no one has since arisen who might be termed his equal. No other

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(202) He objected, particularly, to the modern credit system which even the State propagated.

(203) "Neuere gehen bei Taxierung des Wertes der einzelnen Zivilisationen etwa von "Fortschritten" und Erfindungen aus... Was jene Fortschritte betrifft, so ist darüber zweierlei zu sagen: Erstlich ist die Ansicht erweislich falsch, dass sich mit der materiellen Bereicherung und Verfeinerung des Lebens auch der geistige Fortschritt einstelle, indem erst mit der Armut auch die Rohheit verschwinde..."

(204) Baechtold agrees on that point.

author during the whole period from 1850 to 1940 has arrived at his conclusion, that not only the bourgeois-capitalist State is unsatisfactory -- on that Gotthelf agreed and many Socialists have argued similarly since -- but that the State is a wicked institution as it denotes power. Power is detrimental to the individual as well as to the community. Liberty is the highest good, yet this highest good is continually menaced by the State, by the capitalist one as much as by any other. Society transmits culture, the State leads to "Unkultur". The age which wastes its energies in making the State strong is decadent, over-civilized, doomed to destruction. Burckhardt belonged to it, and shared its blessings such as increased education and new knowledge. His pessimism, like Ibsen's and Nietzsche's is nothing but a reaction to the ties which bind him to his period.

The author who was most profoundly influenced by Jakob Burckhardt was Carl Spitteler. The fact that he was open to the reasoning of an elderly man from a different class has few parallels in modern social history. There are several reasons for this (205). Spitteler grew up during the period in which the upper strata of the middle classes in Switzerland began to

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(205) It should be pointed out that the remarks which follow would hardly be shared by the orthodox Spitteler followers who try to appraise him without considering his social environment; nor does Edith Landmann-Kalischer, who differs from them, suggest by her estimate of Spitteler's position that she would agree.

adopt aristocratic standards. Their power, affluence and ambitions their feeling of superiority towards the less successful competitor in the race for wealth had created a fertile soil for the emergence of view points which would effectively separate them from the rest of the bourgeoisie. These viewpoints resulted in the imitation of the aristocratic rules of conduct and savoir-vivre. A code of honour arose, in which duels -- aristocratic in origin -- were adopted by them. Exclusiveness, snobbery, contempt for the simple things of life and for ordinary people, slavish subjection to an etiquette which distinguished those who observed it from the rest began to form part of the new bourgeois nobleman's make-up. "International" marriages, a blasé attitude towards simple amusements, playful occupation with religious speculation, pleasure in the unhealthy and the over-sophisticated, indulgence in costly gambling and assumed or genuine indifference to material losses revealed that most of the attributes of the nobleman which had been adopted were his vices. The bourgeois imitators had only known the aristocracy when it was decadent. The more discerning minds among the bourgeoisie who aspired to aristocratic standards must have realised this, and in consequence turned their attention to valuable members of the "Patriot". In this way Spitteler may have arrived at the point where he saw in Burckhardt an aristocrat of the best fibre. He would, however, never have been accessible to Burckhardt's teachings, if his own home influence had not given him an aversion to the petty bourgeois morality from which the "aristocratic" bourgeoisie tried

to escape. In his revolt against the strict, "hausbacken", philistine atmosphere in his father's home Spitteler chose the philosophy of his father's spiritual enemies. Burckhardt's outlook was thus taken over by an infinitely more aggressive writer who added to the hatred of capitalism that of petty bourgeois morality. The result is interesting from the literary and psychological standpoint, but sociologically grotesque. He attacks the three main strata of democratic Switzerland, the old-fashioned bourgeoisie, the capitalist class and the proletariat. One grew out of the other, and Spitteler abuses all three (206). His pessimism draws a picture of the State in which one finds nothing but rebellious individuals and stupid masses. His aim is an aristocracy. So far his trend of thought is understandable. The position becomes bizarre when one analyses his works (207) and finds that his philosophy is really nothing but that same Liberalism which was the gospel of the "aristocratic" capitalists. Burckhardt had shown his wisdom by not singling out one ideal class (although he was an aristocrat, he did not present the aristocracy as a model class) and by acknowledging some of the virtues which the lower middle classes had rescued from the break-up of feudalism. In this way Burckhardt remained logical, though unhelpful. Spitteler wanted to go further, and produced

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(206) cf. "Imago".

(207) Edith Landsmann-Kalischer did this most satisfactorily in the case of "Der olympische Fruhling" (Schweizer Monatshefte fuer Politik und Kultur, 1923).

a farcical picture of society in which nothing but the superman (208) is convincingly drawn. Thus Spitteler marks the end of the Liberal century, not the beginning of a new era.

The law of thesis and antithesis which had operated in Spitteler's case by turning his imposed petty bourgeois outlook into a violent hatred of everything bourgeois and manifesting itself in the strongest individualism, can also be traced in his friend J.V. Widmann. The development is reversed: Widmann was the son of an Austrian monk who had found refuge in Switzerland. The boy's life thus started with a revolt against bourgeois morality, and his upbringing was the opposite of Spitteler's as far as liberal outlook and appreciation of beauty divorced from morality were concerned. When Nietzsche proclaimed the right of the individual to assert himself in the face of society, Widmann opposed this doctrine most forcibly in the drama "Jenseits von Gut und Böse". Society and the State, he argues in strictly bourgeois fashion, have claims superior to those of the individual. He proves to the satisfaction of all law-abiding citizens who keep their contracts and believe in respectability, that immoral self assertion does not pay; what argument could be more convincing than that?

This materialism was to receive destructive blows with almost every new book that appeared from 1905 onward, the year when Widmann's last book "Der Heilige und die Tiere" was published.

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(208) cf. "Prometheus und Epimetheus".

If one looks at the new output, one is so amazed at the new type of writing that at first one feels powerless to deal adequately with the novels and dramas one has to review. One begins to wonder whether one will ever succeed in doing justice to all the subject matter presented, and the task of arriving at conclusions on the authors' views about an abstractus like the State seems at first sight impossible. Apart from the new language (sentences without verbs, but more than sufficient question and exclamation marks, newly coined words, symbols and metaphors) and the unorthodox style (imaginary dialogues between two different souls within one person; dreams, visions and hallucinations; rhapsodic effusions) the reader has to struggle with entirely cryptic passages and psychological analyses which do not allow for clear-cut explanations. Last but not least, the authors cease to consider themselves as the heralds of public opinion and forego their desire to educate. They are not moved to express the spirit of their period, as authors from Gotthelf and Keller down to Spitteler and Widmann had done, they are satisfied if they have "expressed themselves". In other words: in the past, writers were content with presenting in intelligible language what certain sections of society felt, but could not express; now they consider their work as unartistic unless they express what can only be presumed to exist in the minds of the most sensitive individuals. The exceptional wins the day.

One may rightly ask why these remarks are made <sup>at</sup> this

point. They might have been included in any of the later chapters, but social life as it exists in an organised form in the State is dependent to a large extent on the direction which the public receives from the creative artist. The State cannot be indifferent to art, and if authors arise who are disinterested in the State, a serious position ensues. The fact that authors renounced any claim to reflecting public opinion (as they did from about 1905 onwards, when they wrote books which were obviously above the understanding of a large section of the public) is therefore important when the part which the State plays in literature is being considered. One cannot maintain that Keller was a greater author than Wirz simply because everybody can comprehend Keller's writings whereas Wirz's works remain partially obscure even to well-educated people. On the other hand, however, it must be stressed -- since no history of modern Swiss literature renders justice to that phenomenon -- that the new language and the new style are only symbols of a new outlook which has connections of far-reaching importance with the authors' social position and their views on society.

Not all the authors one meets from 1905 onwards were revolutionaries. A good number of "orthodox" books can still be found and even at the climax of the impressionist and expressionist "neue Geistigkeit", poems, novels and dramas appeared which were straightforward and lucid. Yet these "orthodox" books are not usually the finest creations of the best minds. In those

publications which demand most attention, obviousness is shunned and familiarity with the reader is avoided. Nineteenth century authors chatted with their readers, the modern author delights in baffling his public. The sociological explanation is that modern literary culture has become a minority culture.

The general indifference to the State is outstanding, whilst interest in other social problems becomes stronger than it had been for half a century. This new development has many roots in the soil of social life. The extraordinary contrast between the output of the first and second generations since 1850 on one hand and the third and fourth on the other cannot be explained without reference to historical events.

The Liberal State had promised liberty and, at least a certain amount of, equality to the citizen. The first generation of writers had witnessed a fulfilment of the first promise. Liberty had been granted, and the individual freed from all hindrances had found cause for rejoicings. That was the time when even Leuthold, who was not a Liberal, welcomed liberty and praised his country for having won it. Soon, however, the stronger and more fortunate individuals had profited unduly by their freedom, and equality was destroyed in consequence. The idealism which had actuated the early Liberals disappeared, when the new unhindered spirit of enterprise pervaded Swiss social life and placed utility, success and power on a pedestal. The middle classes became divided into the successful men of initiative who tended to

use their wealth in a way detrimental to the community (209) and the lower middle classes who wished to be protected by the State against the new aristocracy (210). We have seen how J.V. Widsmann championed the cause of the petty bourgeois section and attacked the new superman (211) in whom Spittler placed all his hopes. The third generation thus could not help realising that the State was unable to grant the promised liberty without creating dangers for the lower classes. There can be no liberty within the State since the wealthier classes through superior training and influence can shape public opinion and persuade the electorate that the policy of capitalism benefits the whole community. There must be no freedom from the control of the State or the lower classes would be entirely without protection. In short, the State is powerless, though indispensable.

One cannot find these arguments in any product of imaginative literature (perhaps authors were still too much part of the development to take a detached view), but the conclusion to the argument can be found: "Das das Staatswohl das hoechste Gut sei und um jeden Preis erstrebt werden muesse, ist ein Unsin. Der Staat ist ein Schema, dem man sich nicht opfern darf.

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(209) e.g. Fuerst in Heer's novel "Felix Notvest".

(210) cf. Keller's article on the cotton mill owners threatening State intervention, should the reduction of the working hours for children be resisted by them (reprinted in Kriesi).

(211) There is no indication whatsoever that Widsmann was conscious of the split which had divided the bourgeoisie. He attacked Nietzsche rather than the big industrialists, and it is doubtful whether he would have admitted that in attacking the German philosopher he was assisting the lower middle classes in their struggle against the mentality of ruthless capitalists.

Er ist freilich einstweilen unentbehrlich, aber daraus folgt nicht, dass er etwas Grosses sei." (212) There is no enthusiasm comparable to Keller's, no hatred like Burckhardt's -- merely an attitude of tolerance towards a necessary evil.

Nevertheless, the new generation wanted to influence social life. They realised that they were in advance of the majority as far as enlightenment, perspicacity and vision were concerned. Men with such advantages have -- in a democracy at any rate -- the right and the duty to present their findings to the public. This they do, and feeling their superiority they tend to show it. Their findings were: The State as such is not important; only the spirit of its components damns or exalts a State. The individual must be reformed first and every spiritual being must concentrate on the development of the individual, in particular on the awakening of his sense of social responsibility. The contribution of these authors towards the welfare of the State is their creation of individuals in fiction who train themselves to serve the community.

This appears to be the clue to a series of books which begins with Steffen's "Ott, Alois und Werelsche" (213) where three young men eventually discover their urge towards service and devote themselves to it. The State is not mentioned. The author is very young, about fifteen years younger than Gotthelf

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(212) J. Bosshart, one of the third generation.

(213) Albert Steffen "Ott, Alois und Werelsche", Berlin 1907.

or Keller when they first stepped before their public. He belongs to the middle classes. He hates materialism in philosophy, profit in business, luxury and cold-heartedness. His heroes are partly hyper-sensitive partly over-sophisticated, but sincere "saviours" who hope to lead mankind to a new collectivism, more precious than the State.

Here is something new in Swiss literature. All of a sudden, it is religious experience alone which decides a man's fate, and love which ultimately represents the highest value in this world. If man makes himself accessible to metaphysical revelations, and enters into the community of spiritual beings, he will be taught to love and to overcome evil by love, and he will achieve within his orbit the realisation of a new collectivism which is not hostile to the State, but capable of infusing the cold mechanism of the State with constructive thought. The new State will no longer be a class tyranny, it will become an organisation which has abandoned its class-consciousness for the sake of a life in the spirit. One cannot help noticing the danger to the State from such teachings. If Steffen and his followers were to tear existing institutions to shreds, the State would be less threatened than it is by these teachings which touch on fundamental ethics. Steffen's ideas, when they are related to specific problems such as property, defence or respectability and their bourgeois interpretations, contain more political dynamite than the Communist Manifesto, which after all, is more concerned with a transfer of ownership than with complete

abolition of settled institutions. If Steffen had preached about the Christian State, (as he might have done since the basis of his outlook is Christian in spite of all anthroposophical frills) the ruling classes would have dealt with him, as they dealt with Gotthelf when they read his books but did as they pleased.

Steffen, however, does not speak of the bourgeois present, he proclaims the things which will be, when the spirit rules over matter, and essence over semblance.

As far as this subject is concerned other newcomers of the third generation are less important than Steffen. There are those who experienced a "Sturm und Drang" and rejected all ties for the sake of man's free soul, like Schaffner's "Konrad Pilater" (214) who felt suffocated by bourgeois morality and rebelled against society. One can pass him over without comment because he knew no substitute for the rejected bourgeois State. Then there were those who agreed with the main structure of the State, but wished to make minor repairs, e.g. Ernst Zahn. A few democrats with a social conscience proclaimed the necessity for collective responsibility and worked for the establishment of a "social democracy" without necessarily being Socialists, e.g. Paul Ilg and Felix Moeschlin. All agree in their hatred of the most highly developed forms of capitalism, of materialism and of all kinds of selfishness. In their aggregate they fostered a new collective feeling, by which the State might have benefited if the Great War of 1914-18 had not disturbed the quiet develop-

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(214) Jakob Schaffner "Konrad Pilater", Berlin 1910.

ment.

The literary output of the four war years seemed to hasten the growth of interest in social matters. Even Faesi, a sound critic, was deceived by it as late as 1923 (215) and hopeful that the high pitch of this concern might be maintained. A few years after that the relapse into indifference and chaos had become evident and one looked back on the days of armed neutrality and external danger as a promising period which did not honour all its promises (216).

The astonishing depth and soundness of war-time Swiss literature was entirely dependent on the convulsions which shook the European social fabric. For Switzerland to stay neutral in order to preserve the Swiss State, the author, still more than the politician, must find out why the Confederation should continue to exist. If people in the belligerent countries were able to make unforeseen sacrifices, why should not the Swiss democrat also be roused to unexpected action? Could not the vast energies which were utilised outside Switzerland for destructive ends, be found within Switzerland, too, and directed towards laying the foundations of a new world? Lastly, the war exposed weaknesses and selfishness everywhere; if anti-social factors could be eliminated elsewhere for the sake of greater efficiency, why should not Switzerland expose the faults of her State and the weaknesses of her citizens for the sake of a better way of life?

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(215) Robert Faesi "Gestalten und Wandlungen Schweizerischer Dichtung", p. 281.

(216) K.G. Schmid "Cultural Trends in German Switzerland today", p. 256.

These questions could be asked and the fact that they were ventilated in Swiss literature shows that, for a few years at least, some authors took their calling and its social implications very seriously. The first result was that "the State" no longer meant the Cantonal unit, but the whole of Switzerland. When Gotthelf had mentioned "the State", he had thought of the Canton of Berne; Keller had meant the Canton of Zuerich. A title like "Das Schweizerkreuz" (by Schaffner) indicates the new view taken. Whilst the criticism of materialism and selfish profit-hunting continued (217), valuable additions were made to this rather negative interest in social affairs. Moeschlin (218) demanded a new conception of national service -- social instead of military -- Ilg dealt with class codes of honour and behaviour such as students and army officers establish (219), Bosshart wrote his novel "Ein Rufer in der Wueste" (220) in which a new Socialist individualism is outlined. Weilenmann went furthest in his defence of the State's claims against those of the individual, in the best book of the war (221). Here the democratic State of liberty and equality is accepted by the individualist after a long struggle which ends with self-conquest and his acknowledgment of the value of the State. In the meantime, others

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- (217) eg. Schaffner "Das Schweizerkreuz", J. Buehrer "Das Volk der Hirten", Paul Siegfried "Das brennende Herz" etc.  
 (218) F. Moeschlin "Wachtmeister Voegeli".  
 (219) P. Ilg "Der starke Mann".  
 (220) J. Bosshart's last novel goes back to pre-war days in its story as well as in literary associations, e.g. it contains a "saviour"-type like Steffen's books.  
 (221) Hermann Weilenmann "Der Befreier".

proclaimed the model State of the future which they wanted Switzerland to be. Gustav Gamper may be quoted as typical (222):

"Vorschreitend zur Voelker-Eidgenossenschaft, mein Volk,  
Dich selber in edle Formen giessend,  
Dich selber freudig verkuendend!  
Liebend die erworbene Heimat,  
Kommend aus engem Bezirk in jedwelches Land:  
Wahrlich, so lebst du,  
Uebst die eingeborene Kraft,  
Atmest im All!"

Switzerland must produce the new man who will overcome evil with love, the new State which refuses to resort to force even for defence (223). Here the bourgeois State is definitely threatened, since it is based on force which Steffen, Moeschlin, Ganz and others reject. It is significant of the strength of pacifist emotion in the community -- "emotion" seems preferable to the use of "conviction" in this case -- that no author, apart from Weilenmann who stands between militarism and pacifism, arose to defend power, force or militarism.

After the war both pacifism and socialism -- both of them collectivist in essence -- lingered on for some time, but the enthusiasm gradually died away. Weilenmann's warm-hearted confession of allegiance to the State found no echo at all. One may assume that the war experience had only temporarily overlaid the class struggle and that the unconditional allegiance to the State, whatever its character, was superficial, although it had inspired the poets (224). After the war authors saw the State

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(222) Gustav Gamper "Bruecke Europas".

(223) e.g. F. Moeschlin "Die Revolution des Herzens", Steffen "Sybilla Mariana", Hans Ganz "Der Morgen" etc.

(224) Baenninger "General" is perhaps the best example.

again as a class product and since their knowledge had increased immeasurably, their new class consciousness created a new situation in literature.

If there is indifference today among authors regarding the central problem of social life, the State, the reasons for that lack of interest cannot be traced to superficiality or a desire to please a public which wants to be entertained rather than stimulated in its thinking. The economic situation, the authors' mentality and the predilections of the readers have changed since the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Economically, Switzerland though still highly capitalistic is no longer confident about the unassailable strength of her economic structure. Authors have been quick to perceive this inner weakness and, stimulated by a new inquisitiveness on the part of readers, they have started again to ponder on the State, its function, powers, duties, limitations and future. What they learned in the course of their searchings is highly unsatisfactory to a State which expects authors to identify themselves with the aims of the State. The majority of writers today refuse to be mouthpieces of the State's will. In contrast to the middle of last century when every author of bourgeois origin (225) felt himself a "Staatsbuerger" (226), authors today consider themselves as outside the State and called to defend the inalien-

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(225) with the exception of orthodox Christians (Gottlieb) and of pseudo-classicists (Leuthold) who resented the union between Spirit and organisation.

(226) cf. Nadler (p. 361): "Der eidgenoessische Staat von 1848 hatte sein ebenmaessiges geistiges Antlitz erhalten. Das bisher Unerhoerte war geschehen. Dichter und Buerger sind in diesem Gemeinwesen eins geworden."

able rights of the individual. This does not mean that modern writers are necessarily irresponsible -- on the contrary: they find that the State has become such a senseless mechanism that it destroys individual responsibility. The growing opposition of men of artistic and spiritual qualities to the modern State is illustrated by objection to military service voiced by quite a number of authors. There is also a growing interest in books which portray the individual in search of an ideal community within the State, be it a political party, a class association, or a religious denomination. Such an individual generally fails. Kuhn's Joerg (227), Bosshart's Reinhart Stapfer (228), Inglin's Peter Sigwart (229) and Vogel's Gottlieb Stucki (230) are four valuable men, yet they find the access to the State much more difficult than Keller's "Sieben Aufrechte" who knew that they were supporters of a State which they had created, and which was in need of their co-operation for its continued existence. The four main characters of the modern novels mentioned look at the State in quite a different way. Although they are part of it, through no fault of their own, they know it to be an organisation based on money, prestige, majorities and power. They have come to discard these factors of social life as inferior to strength of character, brotherhood, wisdom and justice. They are bourgeois by birth and upbringing, but unable to submit to the bourgeois State, which feeds them, without voicing their protests.

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- (227) Rudolf Kuhn "Die Jostensippe", Erlenbach 1934.  
(228) Jakob Bosshart "Ein Rufer in der Wueste", Leipzig 1921.  
(229) Meinrad Inglin "Grand Hotel Excelsior", Zuerich 1928.  
(230) Traugott Vogel "Unsereiner", Zuerich 1924.

It is important to separate these characters drawn by Kuhn, Bosshart, Inglin and Vogel from the seekers after a new State, or after a life devoid of all social ties. In Buehrer's and Vuilleumier's novels the central figures, though hostile to the bourgeois State, work for the Socialist State of the future. They are satisfied at the end of their search that their labour has not been in vain: they know the goal towards which society must move, in contrast to Kuhn's, Bosshart's, Inglin's and Vogel's heroes who "merely" find out towards which goal they themselves must progress.

A third section of modern authors is less fortunate. They present asocial or even anti-social types with whom they identify themselves. Arnet's Emmanuel (231), Guggenheim's Quirin (232) and Schaffner's Mensch Krone (233) belong to this category. They are killed either by a mob or the police or they run away, and their end is justified both artistically and from the point of view of social ethics. All along they feel themselves the victims of a collective will opposed to their own, a power which cripples them (234). They are not unkind or aggressive towards their fellow beings -- this separates them from Spitteler's anti-social supermen -- nor irresponsible like the questionable "hero" of Max Pulver's "Himmelfortgasse" (235). On

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(231) Edwin Arnet "Emmanuel", Zuerich, 1926.

(232) Kurt Guggenheim "Entfesselung", Zuerich 1935.

(233) Jakob Schaffner "Der Mensch Krone", Stuttgart 1928.

(234) ibidem p. 9.

(235) Max Pulver "Himmelfortgasse", Muenchen 1927.

the contrary, they feel crushed beneath the weight of the duties imposed by the State, or ground to pieces between the millstones of authority and the masses (236).

Sociologically, most of the representatives of all three groups belong to the middle classes, only a few, like Buehrer, grew out of the proletariat. Yet there is -- strangely enough -- no need to distinguish between the authors of bourgeois origin and those of proletarian descent. In times when the entire structure of the State is considered problematic, authors from different strata of society may arrive at identical conclusions. In the 'fifties when the political atmosphere was still troubled by the echoes of the revolution both Leuthold, the son of a pauper, and Burckhardt, the offspring of a patrician family, agreed in their attitude towards the State; today the proletarian Buehrer is no more radical in his Socialism than the lawyer Vuilleumier who should write in defence of bourgeois principles to remain faithful to his class.

The similarity of the present position to that of eighty years ago is also borne out by the existence today of very decided reactionaries like Maria Waser and F. Odermatt. Their realistic Conservatism holds no defence for the present system, but many warm references to the "good old days". They want to return to the past instead of participating in the shaping of a new world, forgetting altogether that it is the

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(236) cf. Arnet "Emanuel" and "Die Scheuen".

ideology of their much-praised past, which made the present chaos unavoidable.

Less significant are the "popular" authors of today who still view the State through Heer's spectacles. They believe that the present State, democratic in constitution, bourgeois in character and capitalist in its economic structure, should continue. It is difficult to ascertain how many authors share this view since to many who do not ventilate social problems in their books at all, or who deal only with one or two questions in which they are most interested, the present State may be an accepted institution which requires no comment. Only a few authors, however, -- and that is significant enough -- feel sufficiently interested in the continuance of the present régime to defend it. Anna Burg is one of those who have the courage or the ignorance about real conditions, outspokenly to defend a system which to most intellectuals appears altogether bad. Her basis (237) of a Conservative Christian faith makes her condone everything that is being enacted in the name of the State. Her sympathy lies with the rich, enterprising, cultured classes rather than with the poorer sections of the community or the contemplative thinkers of the intelligentsia. Her outlook reveals that only people who profited by the continuance of conditions which emerged in the last quarter of the past century, and who condemn everything that has been suggested since, approve of the State in its

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(237) Anna Burg "Das Gras verdorret".

present form. This in itself, of course, is not startling, but Anna Burg should be mentioned as she is obviously the mouth-piece of a great number of people who cling to worn-out institutions, if only out of disapproval of the proposed alterations. Vested interests are not the only groups who dislike the idea of change, Clerical workers who refuse to become proletarians, and small business people, who fear both Socialism and Fascism, would rather help to prolong the life of the present State than contribute to its downfall. Their State is thus based on class interest, even though it is not the expression of their collective will. Their views on the State -- summed up by A. Burg -- are simple: the State must remain as it is. To achieve their end they willingly lend their support to its shaking edifice (238).

The breakdown of Liberal values (which are rejected as 19th century errors responsible for the present aimlessness in political and social life) is best illustrated by the fact that some of Gotthelf's most powerful ideas have lately found their way into Swiss literature again. Once more it is the middle class, and in it, that type which views man as under the influence of supernatural powers, which proves to be the best soil for the growth of the doctrine of the Christian State. Fankhauser, the astrologist, has recently written on the period, during which mankind stood at the parting of the ways, free to choose the

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(238) In later chapters in which A. Burg will be mentioned again, the effects of this agreement on social life will be examined.

Christian community or the class governed State. In "Die Brueder der Flamme" the hero is made aware of danger threatening mankind from the adoption of progress without the safeguard of submission to God. The lightning conductor is taken as the symbol of the approaching age of technical achievements. Fankhauser's hero is ready to welcome it, if God is not forgotten in the exuberance of new invention. In the end he is defeated in his attempts at serving both reasonable progress and God. The State, ignorant about true religion, destroys his movement and he dies after having seen in a vision what will result from a worship of such doubtful blessings. What Gotthelf saw as a prophet -- greed, lust, selfishness, struggle for power, revolution and war as outcomes of a turning away from God -- Fankhauser describes in retrospect. During three quarters of a century the idea of the Christian State had lain dormant. Now the seeker turns to that which was contemptuously thrown aside when the bourgeoisie, freed by Liberalism from aristocratic rule, found itself cast into worse bondage. One feels that Fankhauser will not be solitary long. In the meantime, however, other difficulties have arisen. The dangerous position in which Switzerland finds herself since the emergence of another totalitarian State on her frontiers, has not produced any work of imaginative literature yet, which could serve as an effective reply to those who look upon the Swiss Confederation as nothing but a product of liberalistic business considerations and bourgeois stodginess. So far nobody has pointed

out Switzerland's special mission, although many Swiss citizens -- acquainted with that special mission through works of a scientific character -- are waiting for the novel, drama or poem which will express it. It has not appeared, because, to most authors, defence of the present Swiss State would mean a defence of Liberalism. That same Liberalism which made modern Swiss capitalism possible. No author of rank feels drawn to that task. The majority are still convinced that the Swiss democracy is better than any other, or at least as good as is becoming to the Swiss; they are equally certain that the solution of the problem of nationalities and minorities which Switzerland has achieved is exemplary. Yet they feel that everything could be improved if the present system were changed. They refuse to praise Switzerland as though the change had already been effected. In the latest publication of importance (239) the author portrays the decline of a Liberal family, but has no message for today or for the future. That is typical and regrettable at the same time. The present war may bring, however, what the last war promised to produce.

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(239) Meinrad Inglin "Schweizerspiegel", Leipzig 1939.

## CLASSES AND CLASS-CONSCIOUSNESS.

Kahn, in his survey of German literature from 1770-1830 (240) knows only of aristocratic authors and writers belonging to the rising middle classes. Kohn-Bramstedt, dealing with German literature from 1830-1900 (241), concentrates on the struggle between the nobleman and the bourgeois as the outstanding conflict of the period. Whilst in Germany the proletariat was not at all articulate between 1770 and 1850 and only sparsely represented in literature from 1850-1900, Routh in a similar book on English literature from ca. 1820-1935 (242) has to take aristocracy, bourgeoisie and proletariat into consideration. German Switzerland, culturally dependent on Germany to a large extent, but related to England in her form of government, presents a picture of the class struggle which is altogether different from that in either Germany or England. The main historical facts which have a bearing on this situation are: the defeat of the aristocracy before the period which is under review begins, the bourgeois character of the country and the late appearance of a Swiss-born, organised proletariat.

Though it is only to be expected that in consequence of Switzerland's bourgeois character the bulk of Swiss literature presupposes a middle class outlook, the question has still to be answered why the minority -- whether aristocratic or plebeian --

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- (240) Ludwig W. Kahn "Social ideals in German literature", Columbia Univ. Press, 1938.
- (241) Ernst Kohn-Bramstedt "Aristocracy and the middle-classes in Germany, Social types in German literature", London 1937.
- (242) H.V. Routh "Money, morals and manners as revealed in modern literature", London 1935.

did not defend its views more forcibly. The answer lies in the power of the bourgeois grip over public life and in the fact that the middle classes are not and never were a closed body such as the aristocracy. Every successful proletarian (e.g. Leuthold) could rise to the status of a bourgeois. The more dependent on money the middle classes tended to become, the more surely an author of the lower classes would join the ranks of the bourgeoisie once his financial position and his education had lifted him outside his class of origin (243). Besides, an author needs sales. Either he lives on writing alone -- an extremely rare occurrence in Switzerland -- in which case he has to win popularity or notoriety in order to be read, or he has to take up some employment in order to make a living. In the first case, if he chooses popularity, he runs the danger of writing to please his public, if he chooses notoriety, he misjudges the Swiss reader and his temperament. Ermatinger only mentions one detective story produced by a Swiss author. That is significant. Judging by the average literary output, the Swiss public neither wants to be shocked nor to be thrilled, but to be

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(243) I can, however, not fully agree with Routh's general statement (p. 36): "Literary men, then as always, belonged to the middle class." This does not apply in the case of Switzerland. Burckhardt and Bachofen did not belong to the middle classes, but to an aristocracy of both birth and money. Proletarian authors are unfortunate beings between two classes. Men like Buehrer or Schibli denounce the middle classes and exclude themselves of their own free will from all ideological contact with them, yet the average proletarian is still disinclined to welcome a proletarian author as his comrade and equal. It is generally the proletariat who erects the barrier, not the author.

taught, entertained or stimulated in its thinking. Again the middle class outlook wins. It has been strong enough to cripple the Swiss drama for decades (244). One can sympathise with the writer who takes the way of least resistance by avoiding to give offence to his customers.

If, on the other hand, an author assures himself of a fixed income by entering or staying in professional life, his choice is restricted. Many choose journalism (J. Frey, Widmann, Marti, Heer, Federer), others are teachers, civil servants, ministers of religion. Of late, some authors have found a livelihood in rather unusual intellectual pursuits (graphology -- Pulver, astrology -- Fankhauser). Thus, most authors have a second bourgeois existence grafted on to them with the unavoidable consequences upon their outlook.

A writer does not only write for the sake of self-expression. He needs sympathy. If a characteristic of the artist is his "capacity for projecting himself into the lives of other people" (245), he must make contact with his fellow beings. This means that the Swiss author during the greater part of our period has had to attune himself to the bourgeois outside world.

Lastly: we are considering the period in which mass production arose, in literature as well as in factories. A democracy may theoretically, by the inclusion of all strata of society in gov-

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(244) cf. Paul Lang "Buehne und Drama", Zuerich 1924.

(245) Routh, p. 17.

ernment, allow for knowledge of all its members. Actually, life had become so specialised that the public, like the pure intellectual or the craftsman, restricts its interests in life to one section alone. Even the rival schools of thought catering for their particular public become standardised. The reader, baffled by the multiplicity of philosophies presented to him, chooses the one nearest to his generally accepted conception of life. In practise this means that the Swiss bourgeois wants bourgeois books and sees that he gets them. Newspaper reviews, representing capitalist or petty bourgeois interests, may also have contributed their share in gradually fixing the taste of the public.

Who are the readers? In the nineteenth century the reading public was recruited almost exclusively from the upper strata of society and the idealistic Liberal bourgeoisie in the towns. Keller quite rightly remarked in his observations on Gotthelf (246) that the price of Gotthelf's books exceeded anything that the man of the lower middle classes -- not to mention the proletarian -- could afford. If one adds to these financial considerations the fact that in Gotthelf's and still in Keller's time the lower sections of the Swiss farming population were either incapable of reading or disinclined to waste their time with literature (247), one begins to realise how wrong it is to imagine that authors at any time during the 19th century put on paper what their inspiration had produced, re-

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(246) Keller "Nachlass " (edit. Baechtold).

(247) Gotthelf quite approves of their dislike of reading anything but the Bible ("Kaeserei").

gardless of all social considerations.

Some details about Gotthelf's position take us in medias res. If Gotthelf had been as independent of social factors as is today maintained, the main theme of his work, i.e. the struggle of the religious individual against the Liberal outlook, would have to be without parallels in other literatures, or at least his arguments would differ from those put forward elsewhere. A simple comparison can explode this theory which, understandably enough, has found a great number of followers in contemporary Germany.

Gotthelf wrote as a Christian. It is best, therefore, to look at English literature in which Christian standards still predominated at Gotthelf's time. (248) Tennyson, Carlyle, Froude, Dickens and Newman can very well be compared with Gotthelf. Tennyson's "Maud" (1855) is just as bitter in its denunciation of the Liberal idea of progress as Gotthelf's "Zeitgeist-Bernergeist" (1853). Newman's attacks on the decline of spiritual life in England in "Apologia pro vita sua" (1864) remind one of Gotthelf's works written between 1850-54 with the added parallel that Newman started, like Gotthelf, as an optimist and ended, like him, by abusing modern civilisation in most violent terms (249). Carlyle poured out all his fury over the advocates of "enlightened self-interest" (250) in the same year in which Gotthelf attacked "enlightenment" ("Aufklaerung") and self-interest ("krassester Egois-

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(248) The justification for a comparison with English literature is provided by Routh's judgment on that particular decade (p. 57).

(249) cf. Routh, p. 33.

(250) "Latter-day pamphlets", 1850, VII.

mus") as characteristics of the Liberal bourgeoisie. Even in their sympathy for the shamelessly exploited proletariat, the two authors, both of country stock, strictly Christian, sanguine of temperament and voluble in expression, agreed (251). Froude wrote in 1870: "Where money is the measure of worth, the wrong persons are always uppermost" (252). This could serve as a motto for all the novels of Gotthelf's second period. Also, these two authors were equally disillusioned about human nature (253). Lastly Dickens can be added since he shared with Gotthelf what Carlyle, Froude, Tennyson and Newman lacked, viz. the tendency to string gloomy pictures of social life together interspersed with humorous episodes and descriptions of social types which strike the reader as caricatures in their "exuberant and uproarious ferocity". Indeed, when all is considered, Gotthelf is so closely related to the general anti-Liberal movement in Western Europe that he, far from being independent, appears as more dependent on the general social atmosphere than is commonly realised. Thus he also shared the shortcomings of the religiously orthodox, socially disillusioned and politically Conservative writers of the middle of the 19th century. To oppose the ideals of a new class by Christian doctrines, without adapting the latter to the changed conditions of social life, is too cheap a procedure. It produced nothing but a glib feeling of righteousness

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- (251) Gotthelf's "Armennot" and on Carlyle; Routh, pp. 41/2.  
(252) "Reciprocal duties of Church and State", Fraser, March 1870.  
(253) This disillusionment can also be found in Ruskin, Morris and Arnold -- a further proof of the general existence of such an outlook in democratic and Christian countries comparable to Switzerland.

in the reader, who -- if he was a bourgeois -- was bound to arrive at the conclusion that his way of life was correct, if he grafted regular visits to Church, the giving of alms and sympathy for the lower classes on to his mercantilistic outlook. Gotthelf's strength lies accordingly in his condemnation of rising capitalism, not in his suggested alternative which over-simplified the issue. It is due to this over-simplification that Gotthelf had no sympathy for Socialism (254) which attempts to rectify the social order without resort to religion. For this reason he named Liberals and Socialists often in one breath as though the atheistic outlook which united both was more important than the difference in their economic status.

It is most important to distinguish between this opposition to Socialism and that voiced by class-conscious capitalists. Gotthelf's social views lose their meaning unless one realises how he mixed petty bourgeois principles with capitalist axioms. His conception of wealth as a sort of reward for industriousness and a religious life (255) illustrates the mixture. His contempt for the aristocracy is the petty-bourgeois Christian feeling of superiority towards a class which no longer believes in industriousness or a religious life. On the other hand he held that the poor are willed so by God, they are "God's poor." In Tawney's well-known publica-

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(254) cf. "Zeitgeist", pp. 171-6, details on G. and Socialism in Muschg, p. 583.

(255) All his novels reveal that attitude; examples can be found in the first half of "Kaeserei", where stories are told of how God punished (materially!) those who acted against His commandments.

tion (256) the contrast between such a faith and the capitalist mentality has been made abundantly clear. It is the capitalist, not the petty bourgeois who explains poverty by a sinful life.

One notices of how many different components Gotthelf's view of the world is made up. When one reads his novels, his Christian Conservatism sounds logical and consistent; at closer inspection it crumbles into petty bourgeois hatred of un-Christian people (capitalists as well as Socialists), petty bourgeois contempt for the aristocracy mingled with a capitalist feeling of superiority over the non-productive and therefore decadent aristocrat, petty bourgeois (mediaeval) conception of poverty plus occasional lapses into the capitalist notion that the State must be made responsible for the organisation of social life.

In contrast, Keller represents a clear-cut type. He is the "Radical" or "Liberal" or "Freisinnige" bourgeois who wages a life and death struggle against despotism by privileged classes and the Church. While there is no need to characterise the Liberal bourgeois in general (257), it is necessary to relate Keller to the various incarnations of that type which appeared in the course of the centuries. Men as different as the Italian Alberti, the Englishman Defoe, the American Franklin and the German Gustav Freytag can be classed as Liberal bourgeois writ-

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(256) "Religion and the rise of capitalism".

(257) This has been done by Sombart "Der Bourgeois", Muenchen 1913.

ers, yet it is obvious that they should vary in their judgments according to the structure of society in which they grew up and the historical moment at which they wrote. The earlier members of the Liberal bourgeoisie might oppose the unreasonable amount of power wielded by the Church, yet they were religious; the German members of the same class might preach liberty, economic as well as political, yet they had to school themselves to political inaction. Keller had the advantage of experiencing the complete emancipation of his class from oppression by nobility (Patriziat) and Church and the disadvantage of being a member of the victorious bourgeoisie, at a time when in countries where that liberty had been won previously (e.g. England) authors were beginning to realise that the artist and the idealistic thinker could no longer associate themselves whole-heartedly with a class which was using its emancipation to stifle not only other classes, but art and life itself. This means that in Keller's case it is difficult to find German or English parallels. The optimism with which he viewed the future of bourgeois society -- he always added "buergerlich" when he spoke of society -- could be shared neither by his contemporary Ruskin, who was in a position to judge how detrimental unfettered capitalism could be, nor by Freytag who had two "enemies" at least to contend with (258): the aristocrat and the Jew. Keller knows of no such adversaries nor has he -- as a young man -- any fear concerning a domination of his country by wealth and the machine. In

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(258) cf. Kohn-Bramstedt, p. 109.

consequence his faith in the bourgeois, as long as he keeps himself untainted by Christian "prejudices", is unlimited. He prefers the small man as far as literature is concerned and depicts him with a loving pen (259). Where he deals with the hypocrisy of the rich, he is unsparing in his sarcasm (260). This honesty is most refreshing compared with the juggling between mediaeval theories of wealth and capitalist doctrines to be found in Gotthelf. If we add to this his bourgeois contempt for the decadent aristocracy (261) and his hatred of Conservatism (262), remembering what has been previously stated about the young Keller's attitude towards the State, the picture of Keller's class consciousness is rounded off.

Only true artists and clever interpreters can be expected to reflect faithfully the aspirations, achievements and dislikes of the particular class which they represent and guide at the same time. The young Gotthelf in his Liberal days had been such an artist, so was Keller in the 'forties and 'fifties. Before we reach the failures among the writers, the clever interpreter of the bourgeoisie should be mentioned. Samuel Haberstick (Gotthelf Jr.) wrote as a Bernese citizen at a time when the Liberal régime in that Canton had suffered a severe setback and the final victory of

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(259) the best examples can be found in "Das Faehnlein.."

(260) e.g. Adam Litumlei in "Der Schmied seines Glueckes"; the rich hypocrite in poem "Feueridyll" (No. IV).

(261) cf. first chapter of "Der gruene Heinrich" on life in the manse.

(262) in "Frau Regel" he even goes as far as to say that Conservatism is unmanly, as well as being timid and borné.

the Radical bourgeoisie was not at all certain. If, in spite of this, he surpassed Keller, (who was in an advantageous position as a citizen of the progressive Canton of Zuerich) in optimism, faith in his class and its unavoidable victory, hatred of aristocrats and their allies in the pulpits, one can only attribute that strength of conviction and clarity of judgment to Haberstich's success in identifying himself unrestrainedly with his class. Just because he lacked the most rudimentary qualities of the artist, he was all the more capable of voicing with conviction, unchecked by scruples, all the demands, hopes and fears of the petty bourgeoisie on the road to capitalism. No more lurid pictures have ever been drawn of the licentious aristocrat, the wicked clergyman, the rich selfish farmer or the stupid Conservative than his in "Patrizierspiegel". By contrast, the small farmer, the main representative of the petty bourgeoisie apart from the small business man, is virtue personified. Only the victory of the opinions Haberstich held, makes him important to the critic.

The *di minorum gentium*, Bitter, Hartmann and Frey were not artistically gifted like Gotthelf or Keller, but they were not so uncritical as Haberstich. They thought it necessary to issue their class views trimmed with idealistic frills. At least, that is the only explanation one can suggest for their views which are influenced by their class consciousness, yet do not correspond closely to the aims of their class. The inconsistencies in their works are, however, not unconnected with social factors. The emancipation of the bourgeoisie was of such recent date, and the

recollection of the time when the petty bourgeoisie was utterly dependent on privileged classes, was still so strong, that these writers who could theoretically be expected to associate themselves whole-heartedly with the now liberated middle classes, in practice, harked back continually to an outlook which accepted restrictions merely because they were "moral" or pertained to the world of "ideals". Thus they combine their approval of the new bourgeois society (263) and a feeling of moral superiority towards the aristocracy (264) with an unrealistic attitude founded on the desire to keep literature free from the sordidness of life (265). If man is not altogether as he should be, they deem it the poet's mission to invent stories or dwell on incidents which show man's better and kinder side. In their view it would be un-poetic ("poesielos") to describe how base man can be. Thus they saw, within the frame of bourgeois society, only harmony, where the genuine artists beheld a life-and-death struggle for selfish ends (266). If they chose a sentimental subject -- they were exceedingly fond of the theme of the lovers separated by their parents -- they removed it from the world of reality to one of fiction by

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(263) J. Frey's cliché tales in particular describe unhappiness created by the existence of privileges by birth with an air of superiority as though he wanted to say: how much have we progressed since!

(264) Bitter relates the defeat of the aristocrats in their struggle against the French with such gusto that one can easily deduce that he would be ready to call in foreign help even, if aristocratic rule could not be broken without it ("Geschichten aus dem Emmenthal", 1857). Hartmann ("Kiltabendgeschichten", vol. II, p. 42) amuses himself and his readers by introducing a foreign nobleman to members of the Swiss aristocracy: farmhands and stable maids who still bear the names of their noble ancestors.

(265) cf. Bitter's preface to his tales.

(266) cf. Keller's "Feueridyll", No. IV etc.

preceding the story with an introduction (267) which made it clear that the story was invented. This artificial separation belongs to petty bourgeois art like the "Gemuetlichkeit" which reigns in the "frame-work". Bitter produced the best examples of this kind. He introduces us to a cosy room where the pillars of society in a village entertain each other with harmless tales in an atmosphere of peace and comfort. There is a slightly erotic scent in the air which transmits itself to the anecdote told later on, but the decorum is preserved. Revolution is far from their minds. They agree with parents who will not let their children marry beneath their social position (268). Their anger at the haughtiness of the rich is restrained (269); the poor have their sympathy, but little else (270). They admire the self-made men and the popular citizen; they condemn the drunkard (271) and the scoundrel who cheats widows and orphans of the money he holds in trust for them; they like the army, welcome prosperity -- but everything in moderation. Even if they uphold tradition (272), they avoid giving the impression that they are averse to progress. If they ridicule tradition (273) they still want progress to be careful and all change to be peaceful. Tolerance suits them and they advocate it.

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- (267) The significance of the frame-work has been elaborated by Bennet "The German Novelle".  
(268) e.g. Bitter in "Der Hans-Joggeli auf der stotzigen Alp", pp. 69ff.  
(269) cf. Hartmann, vol. I, p. 196 on the snobbery of the rich.  
(270) ibidem.  
(271) Hartmann "Der Erdaepfelteufel".  
(272) cf. J. Frey "Der Alpenwald" and "Das Vaterhaus".  
(273) cf. Bitter "Der Hans-Joggeli auf der stotzigen Alp".

These and other traits to be mentioned in later chapters brand them as unimaginative, but so was their public. Frey could produce plots and use them again and again, merely changing names and places: the aristocrat who wants to marry a peasant girl against the will of his father is altered into an artist desiring to marry a bourgeois girl against the wishes of her father. The readers never grew tired of it; they enjoyed their doses of thwarted love with sentimental moonlit scenery and tragic ending. Frey who needed money desperately gave them as much as they wanted.

This Biedermeier, so unreal for Switzerland, which had just won one of the greatest political battles of the century, and was still extending its economic power, could not last long. The time when petty bourgeois readers were satisfied with petty bourgeois themes soon passed. When the "economic man" appeared, even the lowest strata of society asked for more exciting fare. But there were still the "minorities" who have to be fitted into the class system before one can advance (274) to the second generation.

The social minorities were represented by Heinrich

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(274) I hope I shall be forgiven for having dwelt on these six authors in three consecutive chapters at the risk of repeating some of the arguments. This appeared unavoidable. They all of them had to be treated extensively, because the majority of authors writing between 1880 and 1940 are still bourgeois in outlook and as middle class authors writing for a bourgeois public they build on the foundations laid by Gotthelf, Keller and their humbler contemporaries. The fact that certain arguments had to be repeated in several chapters testifies to the simple make-up of the authors in question. The men who follow in their footsteps lived more complicated lives in a social atmosphere less clearly defined. That is why the references to them allowed for more variety and stricter assignment to particular chapters.

Leuthold, Dranmor, and Jakob Burckhardt. The only aspect of social life on which they were agreed: was their hatred of an existence based on utilitarian considerations. Gotthelf in spite of all his opposition to materialism revealed his bourgeois origin by wanting men to be hardworking useful citizens. Children were not allowed to indulge in games (275), and a work-shy man or woman commended no respect in his eyes. The young Keller, in keeping with his upbringing, was equally strict in his denunciations of incompetence and failure. The lesser lights made utility a fetish; even the vagrant was to be reclaimed for society with the object of making him "useful" (276). The heretics of bourgeois Switzerland rebelled against this sober view of man's functions.

Leuthold was not a bourgeois by birth and never became one by adoption. Having grown up in a world of misery, he found in beauty what others sought in usefulness: the aim of life and art. His quest for beauty led him to studies of aesthetics on which he did not set the seal of examination, an omission of which a real bourgeois would have been incapable. Passionate love for a woman in the highest society, the choice of Italy as a domicile, as well as later association with authors of aristocratic birth or outlook, testify to the same disregard for middle class values. Narrow conceptions of marriage, patriotism and democratic duties mean nothing

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(275) cf. B. Roethlisberger "Das Kind in der neueren erzählenden Literatur der deutschen Schweiz", p. 45.

(276) cf. Hartmann "Der Heimatlose".

to him (277) -- it would have been a miracle if he had praised the new Switzerland. Where he does welcome a feature of Swiss social life, e.g. political liberty (278), the explanation is simple. Liberty is the only bourgeois ideal with which a rebel against the bourgeoisie can agree. Even so, he does not condemn bourgeois ideals although he has no praise for them. Moderate Liberalism is not offensive to him, only exaggerations make him raise his voice (279). When carried away by enthusiasm, he shows himself so much in the grip of 19th century ideas (enlightenment, peace, liberty) that one understands that he had to tread carefully in his refutation of strictly bourgeois dogmas (280). One has a feeling that often he voiced his hatred of materialism and sobriety (281) only because he thought it his duty, as a poet, to proclaim ideals. This suspicion is strengthened by his narrow conception of the scope which art commands, when he dwells on the possibilities of art immortalising the past (282), without even hinting at its opportunities of shaping the present. As a voluntary social outcast,

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(277) His end, too, is significant. After having undermined his health by excessive indulgence in alcohol, he died in an asylum. In passing, one may refer to the fact that the bourgeois authors, disciplined in diet and thought were generally fit and healthy, whereas the greater artists who rebelled against the bourgeois world like Leuthold and C.F. Meyer ended in madness.

(278) cf. Leuthold "Lyrische Dichtungen", p. 14.

(279) *ibid.* p. 70.

(280) *ibid.* p. 102 where he praises "Wahrheitsliebe", "Tatkraft", "Bildung", "Frieden", "Freiheit".

(281) *ibidem* pp. 26, 62, 75.

(282) *ibid.* p. 84.

who believed in a standard which was independent of social conflicts, viz. beauty, he never succeeded in getting beyond a contempt for the real world (283) and an advocacy of a flight into the past (284). One might say that he did not even represent a minority, but that he was homeless.

Dranmor was also homeless (Ludwig Ferdinand Schmid). When he was twenty years of age, love of adventure including a very material desire for riches drove the banker's son oversea. He began (!) by directing export firms. After the collapse of one at Santos, he continued in another business at Rio de Janeiro preoccupied with a "Ringeln mit den goldnen Ziffern". He grew rich quickly and obtained one of the posts most coveted by the bourgeois when, in 1852, he became Consul General in Brazil for a leading European power. From him then, one should expect bourgeois sentiments par excellence, the creed of "the economic man"; yet only his religious faith reveals his bourgeois existence in any distinct form. For the rest he wavered. He believed in liberty and a life of action (285), but so did Leuthold without becoming a typical or contented bourgeois. He rejected contemplation (286), giving the reader the impression that he wanted man to conquer the world rather than understand it. He had a capacity for feeling pity towards all suffering humanity (287) without sensing the need for

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- (283) The aristocrat fared no better than the bourgeois (cf. p.61).  
(284) *ibid.* p. 70.  
(285) *Requiem*, Poems p. 82.  
(286) *ibid.* p. 43.  
(287) *ibid.* p. 76.

social justice. At times he thought that he was happy about his century and his place in it (288), but irresistibly he was drawn to pessimism. He became the first Swiss author who was tormented by "Weltschmerz" (289).

Gotthelf occasionally classed Liberals and "Weltschmerz" -- pessimists together (290). At first sight this seems absurd. The Liberals so far discussed, from Keller to J. Frey, were optimists of the first water; yet Weltschmerz in its modern form entered literature when the middle classes became articulate, even though the aristocrat Byron is technically responsible for its inception. Heine, Lenau, Hamerling experienced it, Leuthold was affected by it. In Dranmor it is not offset by bourgeois confidence regarding the value of action. Only a sure faith in the strength of spiritual powers might have prevented his fall into pessimism. As it was, he believed in the material world, and thus could not fail to sustain innumerable disappointments (291).

Burckhardt received his gloomy outlook from Schopenhauer -- not from Heine. That is important. Whereas one suspects that Dranmor might have been cheerful, if his initial success in business had lasted, Burckhardt was a thinker who would not change his views because of personal misfortune. The

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(288) *ibid.* p. 39.

(289) *ibid.* p. 43.

(290) both in "Kaeserei" and "Zeitgeist".

(291) *Poems*, p. 70.

downfall of his class may have influenced his anti-bourgeois outlook, but he expected little of his own class. He spoke for all those who objected to bourgeois narrowmindedness, materialism, progress mania and utilitarianism, but his listeners did not form a class. He, too, stood outside class-conscious society.

Detachment became a fashion. C.F. Meyer, also an aristocrat, one who had inherited an extreme sensitiveness, revealing the decadence of his class, (292) went even further than Burckhardt, and withdrew altogether from contact with unsettled issues of social life. When he mentions modern technical achievements with some approval (293), he has aesthetic rather than ethical considerations in mind. In his work, the individual, so sorely neglected by the Liberal individualist who had restricted individualism to the commercial and political sphere, comes into his own again.

Keller had also begun to realise that the class-conscious Liberalism of his early works needed revising. In the preface to the second part of "Die Leute von Seldwyl" he noted that the inhabitants of Seldwyl had discarded politics as irksome and dangerous to their economic pursuits. Later on he went still further and subjected this very liberty in the sphere of economics to closer inspection. When the cotton-industrialists refused to reduce child labour by one hour per day, Keller passed a strict censure on them

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(292) Faesi, vol. II, p. 276.

(293) cf. "Hohe Station", "Saemtliche Werke", vol. I, p. 71.

(294). The Liberal who had wanted freedom, whatever the cost, suddenly threatened that the State might make use of its rights (sic!) to curb the anti-social spirit of the mill-owners. Gotthelf was proved correct in his prophesy that the Liberal State might become a "despot". The aged Keller emerged as the first (chronologically) social reformer in Swiss literature who began to doubt whether the class, whose triumphs he had helped to bring about was equal to its new opportunities, or whether it had lost its way amid the temptations of commercialism. He did not turn away from his class, but for the preservation of middle class values he changed his carefree optimism into a warning and accusing attitude (295). Progress is not always desirable (296). The evident maladjustments of rapid development had taught him that. He discovered bad business ethics (297), disrespect for law and justice (298), boastfulness (299), weakness for luxury

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(294) cf. his article "Randglossen", reprinted in Kriesi, p.270.

(295) The alterations in "Der gruene Heinrich" are most significant. Passages with a social content in the first version were left out entirely in the second in many cases. The most important of them are; attack on Conservatism (p. 55) is no longer so fierce in second version; abuse of teachers (p. 189) is left out; ideal of becoming a "Volksmann" (p. 213) is abandoned; exaggerated education (p. 355) is no longer condoned; attacks on Christian faith and people (pp. 355 and 367) are much milder in second version; disobedience to parents (p. 507) is no longer mentioned; objections of the unemployed to the State (p. 524) left out; demand for unceasing progress (p. 668) is dropped; belief in wisdom of majority (p. 861) abandoned.

(296) "Martin Salander", p. 111.

(297) *ibid.* p. 183.

(298) *ibid.* p. 158.

(299) *ibid.* pp. 169, 236.

and ostentation (300), snobbery (301), an increase in defraudations (302) and bankruptcies of a criminal nature (303). The public house has replaced the home (304). By piling on the shortcomings of his class he showed how horrified he was about its deterioration. Nor was this decline in moral calibre restricted to the economic side of life or the "economic man". The stratum to which he belonged intellectually was going through similar stages of progressive deterioration. The writer's profession is attracting business men who think that literature might serve to increase their income (306) with the result that authors without moral strength are becoming famous (305). Commercial travellers write idylls between calls on very prosaic customers. In business, the small man is pushed to the wall by the big capitalist (307), in art the valuable writer is surpassed in popularity by the third-rate scribbler -- a majority in the State and among the readers approve of both phenomena. No wonder that the conquest of a majority ("das edle Wild der Mehrheit") sketched as a healthy struggle in the first version of "Der gruene Heinrich" no longer appears in the second. In "Martin Salander" the democratisation of art by clumsy amateur performances where the highest is attempted and shamefully murdered, is condemned (308). Democracy is still super-

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(300) *ibid.* p. 169.

(301) *ibid.* pp. 107, 173.

(302) *ibid.* p. 188.

(303) *ibid.* p. 188.

(304) *ibid.* pp. 97, 186.

(305) "Die Leute von Seldwyla", II, p. 244.

(306) *ibid.* p. 292.

(307) "Martin Salander", p. 145.

(308) *ibid.* p. 119.

ior to any other form of government, although in some instances it has lowered the value of the individual instead of raising it (309); the bourgeoisie is still the only class capable of governing Switzerland, and it is still tragic for a man or woman to be refused admittance to bourgeois society (310). But ~~still~~ the questions arise: what form is democracy to take and which type of bourgeois is to be bred? The first question is not answered positively. We are only told what democracy must not be like (311) and that a pause is necessary to consolidate recent achievements into real values by making them permanent possessions (312). As to the type of bourgeois considered desirable, the bourgeois's "Lebensform" as Keyserling calls the character type created by each period and class, Keller seems to offer us two varieties.

There is first the good steadfast, loyal Buerger who fulfils his duties towards the State by voting, allowing himself to be elected, and, once elected to an official position, administers it competently, honestly, modestly (313) and economically (314). He is progressive, although he must not play the fool by wasting his time on impractical schemes (315), an able business man (316), proud of being a bourgeois (317), and generous, so that he may amass wealth without any feeling of doing wrong (318). It

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(309) cf. his article on Swiss defensive strength, reprinted in "Nachlass".

(310) "Romeo und Julia auf dem Dorfe".

(311) "Martin Salander", p. 111.

(312) ibidem.

(313) see Salander's fury at a Swiss political "Maulheld"; cf. "M. Salander", p. 54.

(314) cf. Keller's description of wastefulness in the two young lawyers ("M. Salander".)

(315) Salander's dreams; cf. p. 145 etc.

goes without saying that he loves his home life and that he likes it well organised, i.e. planned for his comfort (319). Propriety, physical wellbeing and "Gemuetlichkeit" provide a suitable atmosphere for this type. We recognise in him the hero of Frey's, Bitter's or Hartmann's stories raised a little higher culturally into a sphere of genial broadmindedness, and transferred into the world of business. Even Gotthelf would not have objected to this petty-bourgeois prototype.

There is, however, another model whose existence is as dependent on the older bourgeois just sketched, as a son is dependent on his father. Martin Salander's son Arnold represents a new type in Swiss literature, and, if we understand the novel rightly he is intended to be accepted as a new ideal. One might call him the Swiss variety of the Victorian "gentleman". The "gentleman" of bourgeois origin arose in English literature when the middle classes added to the art of making money with which they had become astonishingly familiar, that of spending it. The offspring always profits. Arnold can travel abroad after a good education at home. He is not pressed to take up a post at once. He can discover his true leanings. So far there is no difference between Arnold Salander and the product of Biedermeier education (320) of some thirty years previous. Only at the end of the

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(316) Martin Salander (and his wife!)

(317) Frau Salander addressing Wohlwend with "Ihr" as he ought to be outside bourgeois society; cf. p. 43.

(318) Salander's generosity.

(319) cf. the episode with the "Stiefelknecht", p. 31.

(320) e.g. Stifter's "Nachsommer".

educational curriculum we come to the cross roads where the Swiss Liberal Republican parts company with the Austrian Biedermeier Monarchist. Stifter's youths have been taught wisdom in order to practise resignation in social life, progress in commerce, industry and the sciences. Arnold Salander, on the other hand, aims at the consolidation of political achievements and their protection against Socialism (321) without any defeatist resignation. Commerce, industry and the sciences hardly attract him. He does not want his father's business to grow into a monster enterprise (322) and for his own hobby he chooses historical research. He is kind, but cool, sociable, but reserved, sure of himself, but tolerant.

Compared with the orthodox type of bourgeois (Martin Salander) the gentleman (Arnold) represents an advance, yet just as Arnold could not have arrived at his new philosophy without his bourgeois father's money, the gentleman would not have appeared in literature unless the bourgeoisie had first put public life under its control (323). Arnold could not have come into being without the shortcomings of bourgeois culture; mistakes in democratic government, vices among business leaders, ignorance among lower classes, the spreading of unshakable faith in money. In spite of all Liberal optimism regarding the advance of culture, in spite of

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(321) "Martin Salander", p. 238.

(322) *ibidem*.

(323) the same applies to English literature, as Routh (p. 141) has shown.

the extension of elementary education, the world had become vulgar, narrow-minded, civilised but uncultured, rich, but poor in imagination concerning the way in which money might be converted into real values. The son turns away, and in so doing stands out as a new type, the man of good education and sufficient means, who can say with <sup>Charles Kingsley's</sup> ~~Walter Scott's~~ Tregarva (324): "Let the rich be as rich as they will -- I, and those like me, covet not money, but manners."

Whenever a class is so sated that its best authors show a refined, passive tolerant, scholarly type as its ideal, its decay as a ruling class is imminent. The final crash may be slow in coming, but it is unavoidable unless new spiritual discoveries are made which may serve to rally the prostrate forces. This is illustrated by the fact that one of the latest important books published in Switzerland, a novel of distinction (325) leaves the reader faced with two "positive" characters who are held up as models. A scholar who lives a retired life on the fruits gathered in by his industrious parents, and a petty bourgeois head-porter with a sterling character, who gives up his post in order to start a new life on a farm. Fifty years of bourgeois rule since "Martin Salander" have obviously not brought the bourgeois or Switzerland any nearer to a new form of self-expression. The honest middle class citizen and the gentleman are still supposed to be the finest specimens of mankind.

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(324) "Yeast", Chapter XV.

(325) Meinrad Inglin "Grand-Hotel Excelsior".

Having thus peeped into the most recent period of Swiss literature we may treat everything that intervenes as vain, though frequently heroic attempts to change a society which stubbornly refused to be changed. The reason why Inglin does not attain to anything higher than Keller's conclusions does not come into this chapter on class consciousness, but will be dealt with at a later stage.

The worst curse which lay on Swiss social life during the last quarter of the nineteenth century was the lack of direction resulting from the generous grant of all sorts of liberties. The country was drifting towards spiritual anarchy because old values and traditions had been discarded by the responsible leaders. Everybody was thrown upon his own resources, which meant in effect that he was free to follow his selfish impulses, and to imitate whomever he thought it profitable to imitate. The writers were caught by this trend and swept along in it unless they had ideas of their own and strength to use them. J.V. Widmann belonged to those who supplemented their own gifts with the spirit of their class and period. His genius need not be considered here (326), but the impact of bourgeois thought on Widmann's personal views is of interest.

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(326) It has been done, successfully, but perhaps too enthusiastically, by Maria Waser in a detailed biography. I cannot agree with M. Waser altogether, as she is too intent on showing Widmann's uniqueness at the expense of those facts which might prove his connections with his environment.

It has been mentioned before that Widmann's father had been a monk who broke the vow of celibacy because he held that it crippled man (327). No doubt this rebellion was the equivalent in the religious field to the emancipation of the Liberal in politics and trade. Freedom in all its forms characterised the first twenty years of the poet's life. The manse was a home of culture with choice books, and good music, where guests were welcome and all the windows stood open to let in the fresh breeze from the militant Republican town of Liestal where Widmann, the father, had become a minister. The congregation loved its rebellious parson, who moved with the times and honoured in his first sermon the Liestal Liberals who had fallen in a battle against Jesuitism. The bourgeois Liberal Widmann derived his philosophy from that manse and the township. Freedom and democracy, propriety and cheerfulness (328) thus form components which can easily be explained. When he refused to make his works the vehicle for far-reaching social reforms (329) or when he called his art "a play of fancy" ("Spiel der Phantasie"), he was as typical of petty bourgeois self-sufficiency as Bitter. Pastoral idylls (330) lined up with his likings for a comfortable and peaceful existence. Occasional "heroic" outbursts (331), the appearance of unsophisti-

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- (327) His parting greeting to the monastery was: "Superstitioni Romanae omnibusque inde hauriendis commodis et honoribus feliciter valedixit." (Waser, p.13).
- (328) cf. Maria Waser, "J.V. Widmann", p. 22.
- (329) ibidem p. 25.
- (330) e.g. "Mose und Zepora", "An den Menschen ein Wohlgefallen".
- (331) more frequent in his youth -- "Wach auf, Germania!" -- but noticeable also later on, e.g. in his defence of Britain in the Boer War.

cated charming young girls in almost every book (332), pity for the "underdog" whether man or beast (334) and his continued resistance to the current pessimism of the upper classes, which his teacher Burckhardt proclaimed, and his best friend, Spitteler, expressed in his books -- all these symptoms show the incurable bourgeois, however fierce his inward struggle against optimism, materialism, nationalism and orthodoxy in religion may have been. Wherever we see him adopt a resigned attitude (335), his renunciation is not the impotence of the pre-revolutionary Biedermeier or the pessimism of the aristocracy and the upper middle classes, but a refined enjoyment for his epicurean palate -- ". . . dass er geradezu nach Unglueck begehrt, um sein glueckliches Dasein pikanter zu empfinden." (336). With petty bourgeois idealism he refused to admit that hereditary handicaps might thwart all efforts at self-control (337). This denial of scientific truths is particularly interesting, because Widmann did not share Burckhardt's hostility to modern technical triumphs. He welcomed science when it suited him (338), and Darwin's teachings had as big an influence on him as on Spitteler and Heer whether he cared to admit it or not.

Still, one can agree with his biographer that Widmann did at points break through the narrow confines of his class, even

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- (332) cf. Maria Waser, p. 148.  
 (333) Schopenhauer's and Darwin's influence is noticeable and should not be dismissed lightly as Waser does (p. 165).  
 (334) cf. Waser, p. 155.  
 (335) "Wir koennen nichts besitzen als im Herzen." cf. Waser, p. 144.  
 (336) Widmann "Bin, der Schwaermer".  
 (337) "Die Muse des Aretin".  
 (338) He warmly approved of the construction of mountain railways.

though Maria Waser spoils her case by attributing to the author -- quite in keeping with the current trend of German and Swiss "idealistic" criticism -- more courage and independence than can actually be found in his works. A short study of his publications makes it clear that Widmann was sufficiently awake to the faults of both the petty bourgeoisie and the new aristocracy of wealth, to preach freedom from all dogma. He saw that the lower middle classes were either without enthusiasm or fanatical, and that the upper strata began to turn into snobs who relied on their superior intellect and greater financial strength, rather than on any moral superiority they might have acquired. This refuting of every and any dogma is, however -- here M. Waser has to be contradicted again -- a symptom of the period which produced the "gentleman". Socialist dogmas were as alien to him as the bourgeois varieties (339). One might conclude from this that he stood above all classes, and there is no doubt that he would have liked to see this conclusion drawn; such independence demands courage however, and this Widmann lacked. He did not like to see animals killed, could not kill them himself, but was grateful to the butchers for doing it for him (340). A strange mixture of intended independence and pitiful defeat through love of comfort! Nothing but "laissez-faire" could result, and indeed one is forced to state that Widmann never overcame or replaced this Liberal solution (341). His case

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(339) He condemned exploitation, but objected to Marxism and dialectic materialism.

(340) cf. Ermatinger, p. 684.

(341) He still thought it his duty to separate life and its image in art, and he made frequent use of the "frame-work" -- technique which stresses this distinction.

thus serves as the first answer to the question why modern authors have not yet reached a point of vantage superior to Keller's.

Widmann's friend, Carl Spitteler, can be dealt with much more summarily, partly because his attitude towards the State and the individual's place in society have already had our consideration, and partly because he presents a clearer picture to the world, which makes any lengthy discussion superfluous. He stands at the culminating point of a development, sharply defined like the outline of a mountain against a clear sky. It seems incredible that he should have been valued so differently in the past, more unbelievable still that the class whose ultima ratio he embodied should have persecuted him. He was the most thorough-going individualist that the emancipated middle class produced. What the most ruthless and selfish employer did in his factory, he did in his books, i.e. he asserted himself against the claims of everybody else. The crudest type of laissez-faire is there translated into social relationships, but to the indifference towards others is added a contempt for everybody who believes in ties and obligations. He attacked the petty bourgeois (342), the capitalist (343), the old nobility (344), the scholar (345), the educationalist (346), the democrat (347), the priest (348), the obedient wife (349) as much as the suffragette (350) and, more fiercely

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(342) Spitteler "Imago", pp. 67, 70.

(343) *ibid.* p. 96.

(344) *ibid.* p. 73.

(345) *ibid.* p. 12.

(346) *ibid.* p. 10.

(347) *ibid.* p. 144.

(348) *ibid.* p. 154.

(349) *ibid.* p. 37.

(350) *ibid.* p. 98.

than all the others, the man who follows his conscience (351). All know loyalty to somebody or something outside themselves -- their class, their ideals or their God. Spitteler despised them for any altruism they might practise, any consideration they might show. His ideal man is the rebel who knows no respect except that for his soul and the truth his soul has discovered (352). What use is liberation from the dictatorship of privileged classes and from the tyranny of the Church, if new shackles are to be forged for man in the form of unselfishness which is expected of him? Clearly this is a unique type of social philosophy; one idea, individual freedom, is picked out from the variety of aims aspired to by a class, the bourgeoisie, and carried to extreme lengths (353). The result is anarchism (354). One cannot combine Keller's anti-clericalism and contempt for patrician families and Burckhardt's hatred of capitalism and democracy without arriving at a negation of bourgeois society. It is ironic that a man of Gotthelf's stamp, Spitteler's strict, petty bourgeois, religiously orthodox father, helped to make Spitteler what he was.

Whilst Burckhardt's philosophy, Nietzsche's anti-bourgeois ideas, and Ibsen's gospel of liberation from middle class morality, were thus entering Swiss imaginative literature of distinction, the petty bourgeois writers began to temper their

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(351) "Prometheus und Epimetheus".

(352) Heracles in "Der olympische Fruehling" demands that of the man who is to be "saved" by the Gods. The significant passage runs: "Und rief, nicht eher geb ich den auf Erden los,  
 Bis dass er immer ohne Zaudern zweifellos  
 Die Wahrheit wider die gesamte damnte Welt,  
 Und Mond und Stern und Gott und Geier aufrecht  
 haelt."

enthusiasm concerning the achievements of their class by introducing an idealistic note, which was intended to overcome the materialistic side of capitalism without destroying capitalism itself. Exponents of this movement are Heer and Zahn.

J.G. Heer was the son of an ambitious father and a religious mother. Initiative, success, power and sobriety made up his father's credo, and no sympathy for his idealistic and artistically minded son's difficulties could be expected from him. A hard struggle, first at school and in the home, then abroad and in his work as a teacher, freed the young man from the pressure of his father's domination to whom art was an expensive luxury and an artistic son a blot on the family honour. If there is a good deal of pity to be found in Heer's writings and in his attitude towards his schoolchildren, it has little or no connection with Widmann's aesthetic compassion based on literary influences. Widmann lived through many happy years at home and in his later successful professional life as a headmaster and a powerful newspaper editor. Heer showed pity because he had suffered unduly himself. Indeed, a fair number of his novels reproduce personal experiences. When he describes the adventures of a journey in a balloon (355), he relates what he felt himself when he travelled in that novel way --

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(353) How much of his philosophy is truly Liberal in origin has been worked out by Edith Landmann-Kalischer.

(354) E. Landmann-Kalischer goes further and calls it nihilism.

(355) "Der Wetterwart".

in contrast to Jean Paul or A. Stifter who had to invent im-  
pressions. The time had come when authors undertook enterprises  
merely for the sake of inspiration. It is symptomatic that, in  
1914, Heer intended to travel round the world for this very pur-  
pose. A comparison between his own story of a balloon flight and  
Jean Paul's or Stifter's narrative could have taught him that ex-  
perience may count in science, but is of little value in art.  
Heer did not compare as far as one can judge. He believed in  
science (356). In his first novel "An heiligen Wassern" he proved  
how beneficial technical innovations could be, and this admiration  
for the utilitarian value of science continued for many years.  
Trade, commerce and the profit which accompanies private enter-  
prise were accepted as an integral part of social life, requiring  
no reform. If a capitalist pushes his selfishness too far, he  
merely harms himself (357). Public opinion which, fortunately,  
has legislative power in Switzerland, can effectively prevent him  
from harming the community (358). Factory legislation is welcomed  
and the employer who raises the standard of living among his work-  
men of his own free will is held up as an example (359). A hint of  
how profitable such an attitude is to business can clearly be det-  
ected, and we are never allowed to forget that Heer wanted to be

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(356) His later turning away from the idea of progress, reported  
by his biographer G.H. Heer (p. 31), has not found its way  
into his works. The example of Felix Notvest to which he  
alludes is not admissible. Karl Wehrli in the same novel  
("Felix Notvest") is placed extremely highly for his pro-  
gressive inventions.

(357) cf. the Swiss merchant in Hamburg in "Der Wetterwart" and  
the president in "An heiligen Wassern".

(358) cf. "Felix Notvest".

(359) cf. Karl Wehrli in "Felix Notvest".

read by the masses of small people who looked up to the man of enterprise, and believed in kindness and other unspectacular virtues at the same time. Heer realised the complication of his position as an author writing in a democracy which contained masses of people who had only lately joined the ranks of the reading public. He said: "Wir Schriftsteller sind nicht nur dazu da, unsere Leser moeglichst angenehm zu unterhalten; wir muessen ihnen Wege zu Guete und Schoenheit weisen." (36). It would be unfair, however, to attribute the false notes, the bombastic phraseology and the cheap sentimentality of some of Heer's passages to his desire to cater for the lower classes, nor would it be fair, remembering the statement just quoted, to blame the petty bourgeoisie for having asked for no better fare. Heer's biographer records with pride (361) that the German Emperor William II and other personages of royal blood enjoyed reading Heer's novels. No wonder that the author was fond of thinking of the time, thirty years after his death, when his books would be cheaply produced for the masses. The conceit is typical. Heer did not introduce anything new to art, nor did he present his readers with a new social ideal. As a mass-producing author he fitted a world in which superficiality could always count on an extensive market.

A good deal about Heer is pathetic. He believed in the peace and comfort of the petty bourgeois, but did not find them in

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(360) G.H. Heer "Jakob Christoph Heer", p. 49.

(361) *ibid.* p. 52.

his life. In his novels he portrayed with sympathy and a certain amount of longing, the hectic existence of the "Gruenderzeit" when the rush for wealth, luxury and excitement was at its worst. He shared the capitalist respect for money in his novels, but was hopelessly sentimental and ignorant about money matters where his private existence was concerned. He loved to feel a "man of the world" with the grand geste whilst hundreds of details in his works nail him down as the hide-bound Buerger who is easily impressed and yet tenacious in his prejudices. The step from Spitteler to his contemporary Heer is that from the sublime to the ridiculous. Spitteler destroyed or jeered at almost everything that Heer and the majority believed in.

In Heer's works the uncritical attitude of both the prosperous and the hopefully striving strata was most clearly expressed, but other writers whom one is accustomed to treat with more respect than Heer, reveal a similarly low level of social thought. The early Zahn accepted the standards of an unthinking majority with few reservations and even less idealism, though also less sentimentally, than Heer. He showed the bourgeois world, first in the country, later on in the towns, as a believer in the individual and his worth. Progress is healthy (362); democracy is an efficient form of government (363); the aristocracy interests him aesthetically, but no power is postulated for it (364);

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(362) cf. "Heergottsfaeden" where he ridicules farmers who object to the building of railways.

(363) cf. his treatment of the petty tyranny of village despots in many novels.

(364) cf. "Nacht".

education is viewed from the petty bourgeois angle; private property, home, family life and patriotism are good and desirable.

A. Voegtlin stressed the "enlightened" character of the middle classes. He shows great reverence for science which leads him to adopt a materialist philosophy in which everything is relative, and a tolerant view towards all manner of people (365). W. Siegfried, mainly interested in psychological problems of the individual, entirely detached from the surrounding world, produced one Novelle which deserves mention. "Um der Heimat willen" crowns an engineer with the same halo which Heer bestowed on the hero of his first novel "An heiligen Wassern". The damming of a river and the construction of a water supply system save a town from destruction and disease, a theme which could only attract one who was blind to the dangers of technical progress and material perfection. Similar faith in Liberal achievements was present in A. Ott and Adolf Frey both of whom satisfied the demand of the patriotic bourgeois of the last twenty-five years of the century for "Festspiele" (366). In F. Marti, realism in its latest form, naturalism, which was then entering Switzerland found its most outspoken representative. In his class-biassed views, uncritical, individualistic, conservative, he resembled Heer whose post as literary editor of the "Neue Zuercher Zeitung" he took over when Heer left for Germany.

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(365) "Heilige Menschen".

(366) F. Lang has shown the origin, weakness and class character of these plays in his "Buehne und Drama der deutschen Schweiz".

J. Bosshart, who like Zahn will re-appear with changed views among the pre- and post-war writers of importance, surpassed all these lesser lights by his well-trained talent and refreshing seriousness. What the others felt dimly and expressed vaguely, he could clothe in appropriate terms and present in dramatic action. What they -- Zahn excepted -- persevered in as long as they lived, he accepted only until he had grown to a richer knowledge. In his first period which alone allows of a comparison with Heer, Siegfried, Voegtlin, Marti, Ott, A. Frey and the young Zahn, he summed up what the enlightened, yet uncritical, educated yet biassed, selfish, yet strangely idealist leaders of the middle classes believed in.

Like Heer he was born in the country as the child of a farmer who tried to escape from poverty by hard work. Like Heer he travelled abroad before he became a teacher. In his first Novellen he attempted to reconcile the scientific spirit with his individualist faith. He alone among the authors mentioned realised that a philistine could be a believer in the latest findings of the scientists and an individualist at the same time, but that a thinking and feeling artist could not reconcile science (which declared everything to be relative, dependent on heredity and factors outside human control), with individualistic idealism which demanded of man that he should be master of his destiny. Thus in his first publication "Im Nebel" people perish because fate or nature in the shape of heredity wills it. He was conscious at the same time, however, that this contradicted his idealism (367) and (367) cf. his diary entry (1893/4): "Der naturwissenschaftliche/

in "Professor Wendelin" he made his hero kill his offspring and himself because of a wrong contracted when Wendelin chose an unsuitable partner. This self-chosen death is to show Wendelin's control over his destiny, yet this idealist self-assertion is deprived of all its value to the critical reader when he finds that Wendelin commits suicide because his children are stupid through hereditary influences! (368) Another story, "Die Barettiltochter", also does not solve the problem and contains the words: "Multa non sunt in manu nostra". Comparable with Keller's unfinished drama "Therese", where fate destroys the security in which a well-to-do and well-controlled family trusted (369) suggests itself. Obviously, the rational Liberals -- whether first, second or third generation -- could not reconcile liberty and biological determinism.

In three preceding chapters the significance of the year 1905 has been mentioned. Here the question remains to be considered which classes or social groups participated in that change and whence the latter came.

We have seen that political leaders and authors alike had made it their task to free the individual. Even aristocrats and devout Christians, both opposed to this aim, had been affected by

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Standpunkt kann nicht der praktische und allgemeine werden." (B. Huber-Bindschedler "Jakob Bosshart", p. 13).

(368) Bosshart's biographer, Huber-Bindschedler, strangely enough does not refer to this inconsistency at all.

(369) cf. the words of the engineer in "Therese": "Es ist unmöglich, dass wir so elend werden. Dazu sind wir -- wie soll ich sagen -- zu ordentliche, zu artige Leute mit klarem Blicke und gesundem Herzen."

the movement. The result had been atheism and materialism through complete emancipation from religious authority, ruthless competition in business life due to the abolition of mediaeval safeguards, bourgeois despotism owing to the emergency of a proletariat directly dependent on the economic and political successes of the bourgeoisie, instability through the abandonment of traditional values, and luxury brought about by the rapid acquisition of money, which had to be invested in something benefiting the self-indulgent individual. There had been no scarcity of warning voices, and we have seen how types from Gotthelf's conservative Christian down to Keller's "gentleman" and Spitteler's "superman" were rectifications of an individualism which was missing its mark even in the eyes of true individualists. Thus when an entirely new generation of men arose who had been born during the period of opening prosperity and had spent the first twenty-five years of their lives in a world in which the individual reigned supreme over everything except himself, they formulated new tasks. The public felt a need for them, authors arose who expressed them.

One may ask why the movement began between 1905 and 1910 instead of some other decade. What I suggest as an answer is closely bound up with the earlier sketch of historical events. Switzerland had entered the world market to a most impressive extent round about 1880. Goods were exported in enormous quantities, but there were also imports in the shape of ideas. When the 20th century began, these newly acquired ideas had penetrated deeply enough to stir something within the Swiss. Nor were the Swiss the

only people who at that time demanded a new type of literature taking account of international trends of thought. H.V. Routh (370) writes that in England a new reading public and new author catering for it appeared in ca. 1903. It is surely not a coincidence that Routh should mention that year particularly, as we cannot help noticing the importance of 1905 for Swiss literature. 1903 and 1905 as literary milestones show, each in their own way, that neither England nor Switzerland could overlook the great French, Russian, Scandinavian and German writers. Siegfried had been profoundly impressed by the Goncourts and the Russian painter Marie Bashkirtseff (371), Widmann and Spitteler were influenced by Nietzsche, Widmann passed censure on Ibsen (372) -- after 1905 the whole world was open to the young seekers who wanted to reform mankind. In their eagerness to get away from the idea that literature meant production for the masses, if not mass-production, they undoubtedly imported stimuli which could meet with little response from the Swiss public, as when they delved so deeply into psychological problems as to equip their heroes with everything except sanity. Reaction against the habit of imitating authors who had produced models like Keller's citizens of Seldwyla made them turn away, perhaps too much, from understandable types which could evoke sympathy. In their effort to escape from the "multitu-

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(370) p. 192.

(371) cf. Ermatinger, p. 691.

(372) cf. Waser, p. 149.

dinousness of life" they definitely over-simplified it. Yet the gain to literature as seen from the angle of the social critic is extraordinary. They penetrated into the terra incognita of the mind of the individual. Writing as reformers, they turned to the individual, reminding him that as a democratic citizen he helped to shape his society, and asked him to adjust his relations towards others in the light of new principles, the foremost of which was love (373). They realised that culture and civilisation had become forces hostile to each other and that the first outbreak of hostilities had already occurred (374). Their greatest virtue was that they assumed responsibility for everything, not only as authors, but also as young idealists (375). They refused to follow science any longer, wishing to rely on the healing power of nature instead (376), hoping that nature would teach them, and later on their readers, more about simplicity, humility, harmony and quiet enjoyments. They tried to approach human relationships with unbiased minds, and their urge to practise philanthropy was no longer based on pity, as we had found in the Liberal authors, but on careful thought and religious conviction. Class distinctions, professional snobbery and superiority feelings ought to

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(373) cf. Steffen and Moeschlin.

(374) Moeschlin "Der Amerika-Johann" and Steffen "Ott, Alois und Werelsche". In the former a business man exploits the old culture of a village (showing its dresses etc. to foreigners) and then exploits the villagers by means of civilisation (hotels, limited companies) till he is killed by the enraged population; in the second book we hear of professional diseases and other curses of modern capitalism.

(375) Ott, Alois and Werelsche go through the world devising means to help mankind and they only find peace when they have/

disappear, because they meant "Abkapselungen", distortions and limitations.

What is their class, where is their class-consciousness? In origin, they are middle class writers — sons of professional men or of farmers, but their works can hardly be termed "bourgeois" unless one gives a more elastic meaning to that word. Nor are they Socialists. They are humanists, lovers of mankind, full of sympathy with the lower classes, anti-capitalistic, anti-patriotic, but the term "Socialism" does not occur in any novel of import published between 1905-10. They want to save the world, not only the "working-class".

Without doubt, the tendency among a majority of modern Swiss authors to owe allegiance to no class whatever began in 1905 (377). Dostojewski's grip and Tolstoi's gentle but firm hold are still visible in the very latest Swiss books (378). Bourgeois authors who had not hidden their class feelings in the 'nineties were deeply affected. Zahn (379) and, still more whole-heartedly, Bosshart (380) joined the class-less humanitarians and preachers

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have taken up humble work in the service of their fellow men.

- (376) cf. Moeschlin "Die Koenigschmieds", p. 162: "Auf die Erde bist du gefallen. Tiefer kannst du nicht mehr fallen. Das ist ein Halt, den dir niemand mehr rauben kann, ein Besitz, der dir bleibt, so lange du lebst."
- (377) Although one can see the approach of that tendency in Widmann and Spitteler, they were both -- partly unconsciously -- followers of the bourgeois ideology.
- (378) cf. Inglin "Grand Hotel Excelsior".
- (379) "Die Frauen von Tanno".
- (380) "Ein Rufer in der Wueste".

of a new community based on love and co-operation. Traugott Vogel is one of its latest representatives.

Not only classlessness, through opposition to a class-divided world, originated in the first decade of the 20th century. Strict class-bias dropped into the background even among authors who were not interested in redeeming the world by love. Schaffner may serve as an example. His social background was about the same as Keller's: petty bourgeois with some rural connections. His upbringing was like Keller's: he had a scrappy education and trained himself more than he was taught by others. Keller became a class-conscious bourgeois, Schaffner became everything and nothing. This judgment may sound disparaging and one may say that a writer who has changed his views frequently is not entitled to careful consideration because, whatever opinion he may be expressing at the moment, nothing can be accepted as final. Yet Schaffner is a writer of merit whom many rank as the best modern author of Swiss origin. Consistency is not necessarily a virtue, and Schaffner, sensitive to new trends and capable of putting himself into the place of almost everybody, illustrates by the variety of convictions he has held how insecure the foundations of the present social structure are. The various trades and professions in which he tried to make a living form an impressive list (381). It is understandable that, endowed with so much experience, Schaffner should show more tolerance than the bourgeois writers of the first

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(381) cf. Faesi, p. 175.

generation did, who spent all their lives in sheltered homes and secure positions. Even Keller had an uneventful career compared with Schaffner.

His early works reveal very little about the author (382). "Konrad Pilater" shows his escape from the narrowness of sober, well-regulated, but depressing middle class life (383). At the end of that outstanding novel, the hero leaves his fiancée whom he likes and who loves him, because he feels suffocated by an existence where everybody is in debt to somebody else, lives like everybody else, and is content to die after some seventy years of nothing but eating and drinking (to excess), loving and praying (in moderation). He says that he will leave his trade as a shoemaker and enter the steel works as a factory hand. Schaffner does so himself and in the novels which follow immediately after this, the proletarian speaks. He hates the nobility ("Schmarotzer"), who have caused poverty and ignorance to be perpetuated (384). He wants to build a new world and believes that this can be done because of the numerical superiority of the proletariat ("denn man

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(382) e.g. "Die Erlhoeferin" portrays the petty bourgeois and bourgeois world at the beginning of the new century and shows how modern capitalism destroys good tradition, as well as archaic despotism.

(383) "Konrad Pilater", pp. 286/9.

(384) "Der eiserne Goetze".

"habe die Uebermacht"). Aristocracy, army, capital, the Church, even Parliament ("ein Hundert-Kilo-Klub") must disappear. All this is understandable, although it is the first and still crude expression of Socialist ferment. After all the attacks on Socialism by Gotthelf, Keller, Widmann and Spitteler and the indifference of the individualists of the 1905 - generation to specific claims of the proletariat, it is interesting to find that the first Socialist in modern Swiss literature is not a proletarian nor an intellectual from the professional classes, but a skilled shoemaker who had tried first to lead the life which in due course, after his wanderings as a journey-man (385) would have made him an independent bourgeois. Schaffner prefers proletarian wage-slavery to the freedom of a class which has nothing but material security to offer. He chooses life in the lower stratum. This voluntariness produces a different Socialism to that of the born proletarian. In "Die Eschersche" the proletarian actually praises the machine which enslaves him (386) and the workman who is driven insane by the monster is not a hero or a martyr, but a weakling who is not equal to the demands of a new age (387). This

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(385) described in "Konrad Pilater" without any trace of Socialist

(386) "Es war unseeglich wild und schoen. Es war /ideology. fuerchterlicher als der beruehmteste Krieg. Es war glaenzender als die glaenzendste Religion. Und es war tausendmal bedeutender und gedankenschwerer als alles, was in der Menschheit vorher gewesen war."

(387) cf. the end of the novel: "Es war nur, dass wieder eine alte Seele vor einem neuen Geist in ihre Nacht zuruecksank."

is the only time that a major Swiss author views the technical achievements of the present day with unqualified approval, extols the life of a factory worker and judges a man's value by the measure of his capacity to adjust himself to the machine age.

This phase could not be expected to last long. The intellectualism evident in "Die Eschersche" soon claims Schaffner as its victim. "Victim" is the only adequate expression because the author is led to hasty constructions and faulty conclusions. The self-taught man in all his deficiencies speaks in "Hans Himmelhoch" and makes materialism his gospel (388). Technical progress is more important than philosophy, Haeckel preferable to Homer. Established morality is valueless; the individual and his will shape the world and are entitled to make their own laws (389).

Schaffner soon cures himself of this intoxication. Profundity begins to replace brilliancy, and enthusiasm for science and its hold over modern life disappear. A new Schaffner arises during the Great War -- the social critic. Switzerland is too well off and too complacent; he feels that his country must be warned. Faesi (390) has collected a list of aims put forward by Schaffner in those years. It includes: popular universities, a national church, nationalisation of the soil, proportional representation, special "Parliaments" based on professional divisions, the vote

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(388) cf.: "Wir wissen nichts von Pietät. Wir kennen nur Zweck: Organisation..."

(389) cf. "Hans Himmelhoch".

(390) p. 185.

for women, protection for illegitimate children and their mothers, legislation on alcohol and penal reform. Political life is subordinate to social institutions, he says with emphasis (391). Sovereignty of the people is a great gift of which one has to show oneself worthy (392). This stage -- preaching social reform -- is the highest Schaffner has reached. He has since turned away from that optimism which alone enables a writer to outline reforms enthusiastically. He now regrets the whole development of society since the middle ages (emergence of towns, capitalism, Liberalism, Socialism) and writes against class warfare (393). At that stage, where he is partially in agreement with Franz Oppenheimer's attitude towards the middle ages and Oswald Spengler's pessimism regarding modern civilisation, one can still class him as a Swiss writer. Today Schaffner is a German National Socialist and permanently resident in Germany. That is a loss to Swiss letters. It seems significant that at the moment when something like class-consciousness enters his writings, he steps outside the confines of Swiss literature.

Steffen, Moeschlin and their followers had been "classless" as spiritual beings concerned with the whole of humanity, Schaffner cannot be counted as a class prophet because he was too

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(391) "Nicht Parteigrundsätze tun uns not, sondern Einrichtungen, die die Höhe, Bosheit und Unvernunft des Lebens mildern und wegräumen."

(392) cf. "Das Schweizerkreuz: "Ich las heute ein Firmenschild: Kummerlich und Frey. Das gab mir zu denken."

(393) "Die Erloesung vom Klassenkampf."

versatile and open to external influences. They are not exceptions, but a large class apart. Their messages, however, could only appeal to certain types of readers. The religious person, the man or woman who wanted to penetrate to truths which lie beyond class views and class aims, the bewildered seeker who felt in need of a new message -- they turned to Steffen, Moeschlin, later on to Otto Wirz and Traugott Vogel; yet the same sort of food cannot be dished up again and again. Schaffner did not repeat himself -- on the contrary, he was prepared to contradict himself consciously and continuously. Such an author cannot form a school. But who else could?

The answer was provided by many authors who continued to produce literature which revealed membership of a class, a professional group or a political party. One section was newly represented. The fourth estate became articulate when Jakob Buehrer appeared on the scene. He is a Socialist son of the proletariat who began writing at a time when strikes and lock-outs were making their first regular appearance in Swiss history, and Socialist thought was entering public life and winning recruits even (394) among State officials. Buehrer began with satirical attacks on the bourgeoisie. It did not occur to him then to be hostile towards the idea of democracy (395). After the war he became more and more inclined to apply historic materialism in his works, e.g. when he re-wrote the Tell-story as an example of the class struggle at the

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(394) cf. P. Lang, p. 171.

(395) cf. Buehrer "Der Anarchist", a great defence of democracy.

beginning of the bourgeois era (396). Of late he has abandoned all hope of achieving social justice in a democratic way (397). Vuilleumier, a lawyer, is less narrow in his social philosophy (398) but he looks at the community with the eyes of a militant Socialist, sufficiently biased to paint all Conservatives black and to clothe all proletarians, Socialists and rebels against capitalism in the white of innocence and virtue (399). He is not a proletarian himself, but has studied social life, and his concern cannot be questioned. He lived in jail as a voluntary "convict" insisting on being treated as a criminal, merely in order to know prison life well enough to suggest improvements in his books.

The third estate is well represented by numerous authors with a lower and upper middle class outlook. The lower middle classes still favour gradual reforms, peaceful change, a sound equilibrium between State control and personal initiative, collectivism and private property (400). The upper middle classes and lately also some members of the lower strata stress their Conservatism and undisguised abhorrence of most things which have occurred since 1848 (401). Understanding is shown for those who resisted Liberalism at its inception. The "despotism" of the State is

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(396) cf. "Ein neues Tellenspiel", to be considered later.

(397) "Man kann nicht".

(398) comparable in its idealism to Anna Richli's "Im Vorraum der Zukunft", where Socialist and Roman-Catholic thought are welded together.

(399) "Cantor im Kaleidoskop" and "Sie irren, Herr Staatsanwalt".

(400) e.g. Anna Burg.

(401) Odermatt, Waser etc.

pointed out (402) and the individual is re-asserting himself everywhere (403). It is unmistakably clear that a good deal of the argument against a strong State is not directed against the present bourgeois constitution of society (it would be strange if Conservatives objected to the State of their making), but prompted by fear of change to a Socialist régime in which the individual would be deprived of a good deal of private initiative and private profit. Other middle class authors like C.I. Loos (404) see the solution of most problems in a religious Socialism, which entered Swiss imaginative literature after Professor Ragaz had advocated it in sociological works (405). Yet there is little Marxist thought -- except for Buehrer, Vuilleumier and Schibli, most progressive authors shrink back from it. Bosshart's main character in "Ein Rufer in der Wueste" tries Socialism after having tasted everything else, from anarchism down to "free money" of the Douglas credit type, only to turn away in disgust at the deficiencies not so much of the Socialist doctrine as of the fanatical leaders and their selfish followers. The "gentle hand" of love, not the "sharp claw" of Marxism must heal the world. Otto Wirz, the portrayer of obsessed saints, comes to similar conclusions (406) and Humm shows a Socialist re-absorbed by capitalism by force of circumstance (407). The

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- (402) Waser "Wir Narren von gestern" and Pulver "Himmelpfortgasse".  
(403) Guggenheim and Hanselmann.  
(404) "Matka Boska".  
(405) L. Ragaz "Die neue Schweiz".  
(406) "Gewalten eines Toren" and "Prophet Mueller-Zwo".  
(407) "Die Inseln".

central figure in Humm's strange novel, does at least struggle against his bourgeois father, for whose philosophy of life he has no sympathy or respect, but other writers like Arnet (408) and Cecile Lauber (409) do not even advise or attempt rebellion. Arnet shows man crushed by society, no matter which class is in power, and knows only pity for the helplessly cornered, martyred individual, and respect for honest petty bourgeois women, whereas Lauber, after a most pathetic picture of love and poverty in a village (410), consoles the proletarian for his exploited existence by pointing to the reward which labour brings, in the feeling of communion with ever-exploited, ever-active nature (411).

All these often confusing and inconsistent outpourings, when collected and compared with each other, prove beyond doubt that the modern author is largely without class-backing and in search of a public in the name of which he or she might speak. Instead of being leaders of classes or mouthpieces of groups of people, for good and for evil -- not in itself an ideal artistic existence, but certainly the position of the past -- artists are today experimenting, re-valuing the past, explaining the decay of bourgeois civilisation, yet proving that Socialism in its present form is unacceptable. And all the time the public is groping in the dark. Only one

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- (408) "Emanuel" and "Die Scheuen".  
(409) "Der Gang in die Natur".  
(410) "Die Versuendung an den Kindern".  
(411) "Der Gang in die Natur".

part of society has found worthy advocates: the farming population. Alfred Huggenberger, the first farmer who did not give up agriculture after having become a successful author, has for the past 50 years, but particularly from 1907 onward when his "Verse eines Bauern" appeared, been acting as an entertainer, teacher, moralist and advocate of the farmer. He can be compared to Gotthelf, since he is Conservative, straight-laced, a preacher of industriousness and simplicity, a defender of the home and of tradition, but he does not seem to be particularly interested in the Christian religion. In addition, he is much more tolerant than Gotthelf and cheerful at all times. To him, the farmer is the salt of earth; that may be narrow, but it is sincerely held and well expressed. His counterpart in many ways is Kuhn, a newcomer who has not even gained admission to the standard histories of literature yet. His novel "Die Jostensippe", referred to previously, sees the farmer in a new light. Prof. Marbach has stated (412) that Swiss farmers are neither petty-bourgeois nor capitalists, but representatives of a kind of secondary Socialism. Kuhn seems to confirm this. He succeeds in showing in a work of imaginative writing what Marbach -- probably quite unknown to Kuhn -- develops in his sociological treatise. Young people in the country are depicted as hostile both to the farmer who tries to become a capitalist -- in this case Jost, the father -- and to petty bourgeois narrowness. Their hearts beat in unison with those of their fellows in the factories. Yet they cannot help the

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(412) F. Marbach "Gewerkschaft, Mittelstand, Fronten", Bern 1933, pp. 61ff.

proletariat (413). When they discover their true purpose in life, they return to the earth, reclaiming waste land without exploiting farm hands, serving their neighbours and their God. At least one author has found a class worth defending and the ideal man in it.

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(413) cf. inactivity during general strike described in "Die Jostensippe".

FAITH (SOCIAL JUSTICE AND TOLERATION). (414)

In the previous chapters particular attention has been paid to social influences upon the author's outlook. The phenomena one considers from that point of view are, however, often merely the ponderables of social life. Every artist of worth aims at detaching himself not only from his class, but from the community as a whole. There is something a-social in the man of genius, making him discontented with the aspirations even of his own social group, and dissatisfied with the achievements of his class. It causes him to search and to question where the ordinary citizen is satisfied. He tries to be in touch with the imponderables whose significance escapes the general public and the writer who merely reproduces facts without transforming them by means of his artistic gifts. This is the chief reason why, what Marx has called "the intellectual superstructure" is often different in character from the common class outlook, although the author's additions or corrections to the ideology of his class are not completely arbitrary as a rule, but follow certain lines. It has been made clear that it is quite usual for an author to adopt certain views belonging to the class below him or that out of a feeling of inferiority he aims at identifying himself with the class above. Many middle class writers show a concern for the proletariat and attack their own class and

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(414) Faith, apart from its value for its owner, has manifold repercussions on social life. Although not only social justice and toleration in a community are affected by the faith of its writers, these two subjects stand out as particularly important.

its economic structure, out of a desire to create social justice. Leuthold, the proletarian, on the other hand believes in aristocratic values; Heer, the petty bourgeois, envies the upper middle classes. Such examples of the divergence of authors from their own class outlook could be multiplied indefinitely. It is, however, important to realise that authors may differ from their environment out of sheer reaction to the weaknesses of this environment, a reaction which is in itself a social factor and part of the structure of every society. Or again the disagreement with existing conditions in which they were brought up, may arise out of religious faith. This does not mean that faith or any form of religious belief is not related to economic factors. We have seen that the Conservatives of 1850 were orthodox Christians (Gotthelf) whereas their Liberal rivals were "liberal" Christians (Bitter, Haberstich, Hartmann) or freethinkers (Keller). The authors who did not fit into bourgeois society (Leuthold) or had suffered shipwreck in it (Dranmor) were more inclined towards a worship of ancient Greece, towards Pantheism and pessimism. The second generation also had certain lines of spiritual development mapped out for them through economic and other social factors. The upper middle classes were either atheists or "liberal" Christians (415), the lower middle classes took to sectarian beliefs or to orthodox Christianity. The aristocracy wrestled with Schopenhauer and Nietzsche (Burckhardt) or delved into the past (C.F. Meyer). There is thus a connection between Meyer's interest in historical subjects and

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(415) cf. Keller's "Das verlorene Lachen".

his religious struggles with Calvin and Pascal. The next generation was no longer attracted by orthodox Christianity, because its organisation had been seriously affected when certain reforms, such as the law which gave congregations the right to elect and to dismiss their ministers, were introduced. So the upper classes of the third generation turned to pietism and the sects, whereas the middle and lower middle classes evolved a new faith based on the individual's readiness to apply Christ's social message, to sacrifice himself for the community in a belief that mankind can be redeemed by love, and that the perfectibility of society cannot be denied. The War disturbed religious faith as much as economic life and political thought, and after the War there was nothing left to thinking people but to return to the beliefs of the past. Young people again began to place hopes in the Church; the religion of service and sacrifice embraced by the pre-war generation grew into deeper mysticism and atheism disappeared, along with the Liberal economic outlook which had helped to propagate it.

An author's convictions are, however, too fluid, elastic and comprehensive to be defined in such a summary way, and even where two authors of the same social stratum and the same period may appear to be propounding identical beliefs, they disagree on individual points. Sometimes they add fierce doubts and convictions which belong neither to their class outlook nor to the religion they seem to embrace. It is these unaccountable convictions which are the author's most personal contribution to the solution of social problems. An example may illustrate this:

Keller was a class-conscious bourgeois. He believed in a well-ordered life as the best guarantee of a secure existence and the well-being of the State. Yet he wrote an unfinished drama "Therese", in which sheltered and secure existences are broken up by passion, and the "responsibilities" which accrue to the middle classes are shown to wreck human happiness. Here Keller obviously leaves the frame and points to dangers in the very outlook on life which he advocates. There are other traps for the reviewer, of a still more complicated nature, views which deal with social factors but baffle the sociologist because they belong in the sphere of pathology. Spitteler provides an example: His was a pessimistic philosophy bound up with an opposition to Liberal values. When, however, he makes Victor in "Imago" a pathological type who hopes for a future generation of aristocrats without admitting that such a generation cannot arise out of the bourgeoisie, if it is as decadent as he makes it appear in his mania of exaggeration and hybris, Spitteler goes beyond anything that could be expected of him, if we only take economic and social factors into account.

In problems of social justice and toleration which cannot be settled without recourse to a definite faith or philosophy, authors are particularly apt to go further than the demands dictated to them by their environment and current trends of religious thought. It happens very frequently that the artist knowing that his emotions are class-conditioned turns away and forces himself to think independently. Such independence regarding the problems of social justice and toleration, is only partly a function of the character

of society.

Swiss authors were assisted in any wish they might have for independence by the absence of stirring occurrences in public life and the comparative scarcity of big cities. Wordsworth might say with regret (416): ". . . . a multitude of causes, unknown to former times, are now acting with a combined force to blunt the discriminating powers of the mind, and unfitting for all voluntary exertion, to reduce it to a state of almost savage torpor. The most effective of these causes are the great national events which are daily taking place, and the increasing accumulation of men in cities, where the uniformity of their occupations produces a craving for extraordinary incident, which the rapid communication of intelligence hourly gratifies." In Switzerland public life still moves at a slower pace and authors whose works are full of "extraordinary incident" spent a good many years abroad in the course of which they lost touch with the demands of the Swiss public (417).

Gotthelf was clear-sighted enough to notice the danger which lay in the unnatural interest taken by the general public in questions of "high policy", especially foreign affairs. Faith, he

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(416) In the preface to "Lyrical Ballads", 1800.

(417) Heer's descriptions of magnificence and luxury, of haste and superficiality belong to his German period; Schaffner is full of international influences alien to Switzerland; Pulver's "Himmelfortgasse" with its cocaine addicts and criminal underworld types has to take the reader to Vienna, Berlin, Amsterdam and Budapest simply because Zuerich and Berne would be unsuitable, and Vuilleumier's orgies (in "Cantor im Kaleidoskop") though taking place in Switzerland are organised by foreigners.

believed, could solve more than reason. Although his faith was the orthodox Christian religion preached by Conservative ministers round about 1850, he thought that his answers to social problems were sufficient for any new situation which arose or might arise in the future. This was, of course, a mistake. His faith shows everywhere the imprint of one -- exceedingly narrow -- contemporary belief, and all that he says about social justice and toleration is utterly out of touch with the requirements of his age. Poverty, for instance, is intended by God; the inequality of employer and employed, men and women, is part of God's world; charity alone -- not social justice -- prompts man to give aid to others. Gotthelf thus becomes one of the best examples of Philip Henderson's statement (418) "..... the spiritual world is always notoriously reactionary in political matters, and mysticism and the supernatural, whatever form they take, and however they are approached, seldom lead devotees to anything like social justice." (419).

It was Matthew Arnold who stated most clearly (420) that the 19th century failed in creating the culture it needed because bourgeois writers based "everything exclusively on Hebrew piety or

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(418) "The Poet and Society", London 1929, p. 151.

(419) Nevertheless it should be mentioned that Henderson's statement applies only to orthodox Christianity. The Free Churches in England, in particular Quakers, and the mystic beliefs which sprang into life in Switzerland in opposition to orthodox Christianity devoted a good deal of interest to the problem of social justice.

(420) Routh thinks that he got the idea from Heine's "Shakespeare's Maedshen und Frauen", 1838. Cf. Routh, p. 121.

on Hellenic reasonableness". If Gotthelf represents Hebrew piety, his Liberal opponents were equally strongly devoted to Hellenic reasonableness. Social justice and toleration become their demands, simply because they appeal to their reason. They are convinced that this world, whether created by God or brought into existence without a personal creator, is reasonably constructed and governed, and that man has to use that portion of reason which is allotted to him for the betterment of social conditions. Thus, the concern felt for vagrants reflects not only their sense of order and propriety, but a very genuine sympathy for homeless people (421). Allied to this is their criticism of lawyers, which is just as severe as Gotthelf's attack on that profession (422). If they were merely voicing class feelings, they would have had to be lenient with lawyers who belonged to the advance guard of Liberalism.

Since they believed in sharing responsibilities they acknowledged that poor relief is a democratic duty. Gotthelf was entirely wrong when he attributed to Liberalism as such, a desire to rid the individual of all collective responsibility. He argued narrow-mindedly that only Christianity teaches concern for others, and that Liberals, since they were anti-clerical, were bound to neglect their duties. Liberalism at this early stage, however, did not reject the idea of corporate responsibility. It

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(421) cf. Keller "Der gruene Heinrich", p. 269, and Hartmann "Der Heimatlose".

(422) cf. Haberstich "Der Patrizierspiegel" and Keller "Nachlass" p. 111 referring particularly to Gotthelf with whom Keller is in agreement on this point.

was left to later Liberals, epitomised by Spitteler, to deny that a man was in any sense "his brother's keeper". There is no evidence that early Liberal authors deserved the abuse poured out by Gotthelf. Keller, Bitter and Haberstich wrote in defence of poor relief and almsgiving, of the vicious effects of alcohol on society; Keller took an interest in lunatic asylums (423), and when it comes to the question of toleration, the Liberal authors are more tolerant towards the Jews than Gotthelf. Christianity may be a religion of love -- although Keller objected emphatically (424) to the claim that there was no love in this world before Christianity came into being -- but Gotthelf is capable of very profuse hatred, petty feelings, and senseless rage, and when he speaks of Jews (425), he takes over all the current prejudices without making allowances for the evil treatment accorded to Jews in the past which created some of their objectionable traits. Keller finds Christians who bait Jews very objectionable (426), and he satirises third-rate writers who are anti-Semites merely because they think anti-Semitism the mark of the intellectual (427).

Although one cannot deal here with Keller's faith as far as it concerned the individual only, mention has to be made of its basic principles, in order to explain why Keller was more tolerant

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- (423) Keller "Nachlass", pp. 75/6.  
(424) Keller "Der gruene Heinrich", p. 351.  
(425) Gotthelf "Kaeserei", p. 206.  
(426) Keller "Der gruene Heinrich", pp. 99-101.  
(427) Keller "Die missbrauchten Liebesbriefe", Seldwyla II, p.284.

than his Christian contemporaries and more alive to the multifarious needs of mankind. His religion, as Jukundus (428) expresses it, can be summarised in six points. It consists of: respect for fate and life, hope for moral progress, a feeling that humanity is inseparably united, responsibility for one's actions and readiness to allow to everyone his own religion. When he compares the social value of other religions with that of his own, he shows that spirit of tolerance which is a tenet of his faith and becomes at the same time the first social critic of the period who values religion for the effect it has on society. This type of appreciation reveals the utilitarian tinge of his age, but it is nevertheless superior to Gotthelf's orthodox position which excludes social responsibility from any but the orthodox Christian life. It is at the same time an advance on both the radical Liberals who merely wished to break the hold of the Church over the masses without a thought to a substitute for those in need of some philosophy of life, and the Biedermeier attitude which had placed religion in the centre of life with art as one of its satellites (429). Keller expressly stated that art is independent, and as far as religion is concerned he widened the general Liberal outlook by denying that religion is the individual's private affair, even though everybody must be allowed to cultivate his own faith. Conservative orthodoxy, he maintains (430), can no longer serve human-

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(428) "Das verlorene Lachen", Seldwyla II, p. 416.

(429) e.g. Adalbert Stifter.

(430) "Das verlorene Lachen", p. 421.

ity since it denies any interest in social problems, "reformed" Christianity on the other hand has capitulated to science (431). By giving up the belief in a personal God and in immortality the new theology has deprived itself of its essence; it hides its emptiness in poetic quotations, in sermons, and elaborate ornaments in architecture (432). Both brands restrict freedom by their aggressiveness and intolerance. The sects are equally narrow (433), but their members live good lives. Their theology may be weak -- Keller dismisses it in one sentence -- but they live humbly and honestly, spending their energies in good works, carrying their loving spirit to the extreme of tendering the other cheek (434). The admiration with which Keller, the free-thinker, described devout sectarians is the most conclusive proof that the Liberal age, in spite of its anti-clericalism, was capable of appreciating the truly Christian way of life, when it saw it demonstrated.

It would be creating a wrong impression of Keller's virtues and shortcomings if the discussion of his social conscience broke off at this point. Keller's toleration (435) excluded Jesuits, and on some questions he altered his views only as he grew older. In the first version of "Der grüne Heinrich"

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(431) *ibid.* p. 422.

(432) *ibid.*

(433) *ibid.* p. 459.

(434) *ibid.* pp. 450/4/5, 465/6.

(435) There is a parallel to this in English literature of the 17th century when there were pleas for religious toleration for all except Roman-Catholics.

he had maintained that one of the reasons for the existence of the Church was the protection of property (436) and he had rashly confounded anti-clericalism with atheism. In the second version he altered these passages completely, but his contempt for the Church and the bigoted among its supporters remained as fierce (437) as it had been in his early poems (438) and in the first version.

Keller's faith which has had a far-reaching influence on later authors can safely be labelled as Liberal humanism of the best type. More than any other writer of his period he investigated human relationships with a concern which went far beyond that dictated by his environment. He did not dismiss demands for the participation of the proletariat in government as "a trick to cheat the poor" (439) as Gotthelf had done, but studied the question carefully. Socialism did not appeal to him -- he was too much rooted in the bourgeoisie to take a step which might have separated him entirely from his class -- but, as though he wanted to compensate for this, he did not spare the middle classes. The "nouveau riche" and the commercial traveller, to pick out two conspicuous members of the bourgeoisie, were ridiculed (440), the financial gamblings of parsons of the "reformed" Church were ex-

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(436) cf. "Der gruene Heinrich", first version, p. 243.

(437) Good examples are provided by passages from p. 355 of first version onwards which were not altered.

(438) cf. "Feueridylle IV".

(439) Gotthelf "Zeitgeist" p. 361.

(440) Seldwyla II, p. 266 ("Schmied seines Glueckes") and p. 285 ("Die missbrauchten Liebesbriefe").

posed as a new class weakness (441), the lack of social sense in wealthy ladies who deprive poor women of their only source of income by doing embroidery (442) evoked as fierce protests from him as the shortsightedness of a community which destroys all beauty in its district (443). In this respect Keller has no equal throughout the period; one might even go as far as calling him the only author who was always constructive whilst being critical and who expressed his views without overlooking the objections to them. This becomes all the more obvious when one compares his writings with those of his greatest aristocratic contemporaries, J. Burckhardt and C.F. Meyer. Their virtues, undeniable though they may be are entirely blotted out when their attitude towards contemporary social life or towards the shaping of a new world (444) is taken into consideration. Burckhardt's philosophy does not include social responsibility, his intolerance is deplorable and his class bias at times repulsive. Like all 19th century pessimists, Spitteler in particular, he wrote for the individual and his ideal individual, though he may attract the philosopher, and fill the aesthete with enthusiasm, is a danger to society. C.F. Meyer, on the other hand, realising that he could not agree with the trends of his age, refused even to criticise it except by implication -- a silence which may be

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(441) "Das verlorene Lachen".

(442) *ibidem*.

(443) *ibidem*.

(444) Keller when calling mediaeval aristocracy deficient in social responsibility ("Der gruene Heinrich", carnival scene) must have thought of his own century rather than the middle ages.

called tolerance, if one likes to do so. One poem (445) allows us to draw the conclusion that he wished the Church to refrain from the use of force. This is the only sign one can detect of his approval of a larger measure of toleration, yet it speaks also of that fear which possessed the individual at that time lest the Church relapse into methods of compulsion to which the State was now ready to resort. It is not the power of a sovereign that C.F. Meyer and J. Burckhardt object to -- both had a weakness for the autocratic ruler -- they disliked the people as a whole being vested with sovereign power. In Spitteler this intolerant attitude towards a share of the lower classes in government assumed pathological dimensions. The social faith of both aristocrats and individualist Liberals became nihilism. Thus it was that Widmann (446) and Spitteler (447) at times wasted more sympathy on animals than on human beings. The "small" man had sunk below the level of the animal. This may sound extraordinary, but there is a distinct line of development from the contempt for servants, including civil servants, mentioned by Bitter in the 'fifties, the feeling of superiority of the business man however insignificant his business over the employee (448) down to Burckhardt and Spitteler who do not know the idea of service at all as applied to themselves and consequently look down on "servants". It was re-

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(445) p. 163.

(446) "Der Heilige und die Tiere".

(447) "Prometheus und Epimetheus".

(448) "Das Faehnlein der sieben Aufrechten".

served for the "popular" authors, Heer and Zahn among others, to attack social distinctions, prejudices and snobbery. Their faith was democracy, and everything was to be subordinated to democratic requirements. This led to the climax at which it had to be decided whether the Church or democratic ideology had to yield a point in favour of the other. Heer (449) and Zahn (450) decided that democracy was more important. Heer, superficial as always, thought only of organisational problems and found no higher solution than the subordination of the minister to a majority vote of his congregation. Zahn went further: All men are equal before God and equally responsible to Him for their actions. The prayer of one presumed to be in closer touch with God is of no avail; every individual must settle his own accounts with his maker (451). Sacrilege and hybris, Gotthelf would have exclaimed.

As far as toleration, e.g. towards the Jews was concerned, Voegtlin applied his Liberal optimism to the smoothing out of prejudices (452). In the sphere of social justice, democracy as interpreted by the petty bourgeois began to influence literature. The proletariat was allowed to voice its claims (453); excessive wealth was looked upon with distrust (454); the provocation which wealth constitutes to the needy was condemned (455). A more equit-

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(449) "Felix Notvest".

(450) "Die Gerechtigkeit der Marianne Denier".

(451) *ibidem*.

(452) "Heilige Menschen".

(453) Zahn "Der Apotheker von Klein-Weltwyl" and Heer "Felix Notvest".

(454) Widmann "Der Gorilla" etc.

(455) Zahn "Der Apotheker von Klein-Weltwyl" and Ilg "Lebensdrang".

able distribution of national resources seemed inevitable if one judged the trend of public opinion by popular literature.

When, from 1905 onward, a new generation came forward, who went even further than propagating toleration, and a sense of social responsibility, the situation looked even more promising for true equality, democratic progress and general enlightenment. Appearances were deceptive. The new ideal man whose religion comprised self-sacrifice, service and tolerance to the degree of refusing to resist evil, was not interested in sordid money matters. Anti-bourgeois in make-up, but opposed also to Socialism, the new generation wanted to help everybody by a change of heart without mentioning a redistribution of wealth or similar material problems. They wanted to take the edge off the class struggle by making everyone his brother's keeper, and thought it unnecessary in this connection to abolish the different classes. Love was to weld mankind together -- charity, instead of social justice was the inevitable result.

The respect for organised religion sank to a low level in the years between 1890 and 1914, both among petty bourgeois writers and the young intellectuals whatever their origin. The inadequacy of preached Christianity became apparent to everybody, but this time Christian principles were not rejected, although the well-to-do classes had adopted Christian ethics as a respectable cloak for their shameless exploitation or as an escape from the ruthlessness of business life (456). It was recognised at last that the anti-

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(456) There is proof that bourgeois authors realised how much business had become dependent on the use of graft, dishonesty and,

Christian freethinkers in their humanistic morality had merely dished up Christian ethics without realising or admitting the sources from which their convictions had been drawn. The new generation, aware of this and not burdened by the memory of their fathers who had seen the Church among the most fanatical opponents of Liberalism, were ready to build on Christian foundations without submitting to the dictates of the Church. Thus the spread of the idea of toleration was accelerated in a period which in other respects, particularly in economic life, was far from progressive. This is not astonishing when one considers that those years saw the Swiss bourgeois in his most sated condition. He was thus not accessible to revolutionary innovations -- demands for a radical change in outlook towards social justice would not have found favour and were in consequence not put forward -- but toleration appealed to him as an ideal, especially since he could afford to hold it. In other countries, Germany for instance, this idyll of bourgeois prosperity between 1890 and 1914 was disturbed by Socialist agitation among the masses. Switzerland was spared this, because Swiss proletarian masses scarcely existed. What Socialism there was, and it certainly was a live issue in the towns, among young intellectuals and in workshops all over the country, was allowed to grow. The trade union movement far from being attacked by the known writers was not even mentioned in a criticising tone, indeed one hardly finds the word "Gewerk-

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ruthlessness. Keller devoted some attention, though little constructive criticism, to it in "Das verlorene Lachen", pp. 419 and 432.

schaft" used anywhere in pre-war literature (457). Yet in spite of this agreement between bourgeois authors and bourgeois reading public on the issue of toleration some writers went further in their attempt at teaching generosity and a readiness to forgive than their class was prepared to go. The fate of ex-criminals had not been a concern of any 19th century author. Now writers felt called to plead for fair treatment to be accorded to those who had served their sentence. Zahn devoted a whole novel to the description of all the efforts an ex-convict has to make if he wishes to be re-admitted into society (458). In a similar way he asked for sympathy with those who go through life with a stigma -- sons of murderers for example (459). Federer pleaded for understanding between village priest and temporal authority (460), between orthodox and reformed theology (461) and tried very ably to mediate wherever he found antagonisms. Fanaticism had become bad form as far as the middle classes were concerned.

Petty prejudices can, of course, still be detected, even in the third generation. The aristocracy is still unpopular (462) mainly because, in its snobbish intransigence it refuses to mix with the bourgeoisie, the sects are ridiculed (463), hermits despised (464), the man who accepts military service abroad is pitied

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(457) Schaffner dealt with trade unions during his short spasm of proletarian enthusiasm ("Der eiserne Goetze"), but the novel in question is a curiosity more than anything else.

(458) Ernst Zahn "Das zweite Leben", Stuttgart 1918.

(459) Ernst Zahn "Die Saegle von Mariels", Stuttgart 1908.

(460) Heinrich Federer "Papst und Kaiser im Dorf", Berlin 1924.

(461) Heinrich Federer "Jungfer Therese", Berlin 1913.

(462) cf. Zahn "Ein kleiner Fruhling", R.J. Lang "Das Kindlein", p. 53, J. Bosshart "Ein Rufer in der Wueste" etc.

(463) A. Voegtlin "Sein grosser Freund".

(464) Heer "An heiligen Wassern" etc.

in a very superior way (465), milliners are looked down upon as morally frivolous (466), but one notices everywhere how education has helped to make life smoother by enlightening everybody about his fellow citizen's work and value. All that remain are insignificant prejudices connected with laziness, impropriety, unsteadiness, waste and anti-social behaviour which the bourgeois loathes by virtue of being a bourgeois. Even those last relics disappeared one by one when science descended to the masses and taught them the relativity of outlook (467), the influence of environment, the force of circumstance, the laws of heredity and other phenomena which made more lenient judgments upon one's neighbours possible. It is symptomatic that, instead of despising or hating schoolmasters and lawyers as Gotthelf and his farmers had done, Lienert's farmers some fifty years later pity or laugh at those very same professions (468).

The Great War brought people still nearer to each other. "Social Justice" became as constant a demand as "education" had been in the 'fifties. Ilg and Weilenmann (469) asked for it, Schaffner put forward an entire programme of social reconstruction (470); the creation of a sense of social responsibility became the aim of Steffen's and Moeschlin's writings (471). If anything, the

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(465) Moeschlin, Huggenberger introduce returned mercenaries in that way. Emil Scherer "Soeldner" is the report of one of these and is based on the actual experiences of the author. It is suitable to create a better understanding for the "Soeldner".

(466) Zahn "Verena Stadler".

(467) Widmann "Herr Bertram", the story of a buyer of women's hair, belongs in this category.

(468) Meinrad Lienert "Der doppelte Matthias und seine Tochter".

(469) P. Ilg "Der starke Mann" and Weilenmann "Der Befreier".

rush towards the achievement of an ideal society was too impetuous. In political life it led to a premature attempt at introducing Socialist government by force, in literature it was responsible for the emergence of a more cautious attitude towards social justice and toleration as soon as the first enthusiasm had died down. Not only authors like Schaffner were prepared to try new solutions to the problems of social life, but also less versatile writers looked back over the development of the first quarter of the 20th century and wondered whether the social services were not too highly organised, too powerful a weapon in the hands of the State and too apt to approximate all lives to a low standard by equalising and leveling in the wrong direction. Odermatt began to show understanding for those who dreaded "humanism" (472), Maria Waser wanted more love for the rich who enjoy less than the poor (473), Pulver wrote violently against the State and its hold over the people through social services (474), Anna Burg deplored the crippling of private initiative (475) and C.I. Loos deprecated eulogies on the proletarian as though he were the saviour of mankind (476). Clearly, the bourgeoisie, no longer able to afford consideration for others since capitalism was going through one crisis after another

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- (470) "Das Schweizerkreuz", "Schweizerreise" and pamphlets.  
 (471) Steffen "Das Viergetier" and Moeschlin "Die Revolution des Herzens".  
 (472) F. Odermatt "Bruder und Schwester." Zuerich 1924, p. 145.  
 (473) M. Waser "Wir Narren von gestern", Stuttgart 1922, p. 176.  
 (474) M. Pulver "Himmelpfortgasse", Muenchen 1927, p. 12.  
 (475) "Das Gras verdorret".  
 (476) "Matka Boska", p. 338.

regretted its former tolerance. Besides, the bourgeois writers were disappointed, and the "swing of the pendulum" operated as visibly as it had done in Gotthelf's case and, to some extent, in Keller's.

Socialists and pacifists replied to this reaction with renewed demands for a classless society. Vogel wanted the State to play the part of a "hospital nurse" (477). More social injustices were discovered and decried. E. Thommen pleaded for easier divorces (478), Vuilleumier and Knittel for penal reform (479).

Political antagonism is on the increase today. Buehrer (480), Falke (481), Schibli (482) and Richli (483) deal as intolerantly with the bourgeois as Gotthelf dealt with the Liberal and a writer as enlightened as Vuilleumier depicts his political opponents as criminals and perverts (484). In spite of strong pleas by Otto Wirz and Steffen the age of humanism is over. The class struggle dominates social life, and toleration as well as social justice are forgotten whilst "Reactionaries" and "Reds" are rallying their forces for a battle which each side hopes will be decisive. There can be no doubt that the violence of the present struggle, as far as its echo in contemporary literature is concerned, will preclude toleration and true justice.

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(477) T. Vogel "Der blinde Seher", Zuerich 1930, p. 369.

(478) E. Thommen "Lydia Vonaesch".

(479) Vuilleumier "Cantor im Kaleidoskop" and Knittel "Therese Etienne".

(480) "Man kann nicht".

(481) "Dramatische Werke", vols. III and IV.

(482) Emil Schibli's poem "Harte Jugend", reprinted in "Dichtung und Erlebnis", p. 141, is a good example.

(483) Anna Richli "Im Vorraum der Zukunft".

(484) particularly in "Cantor im Kaleidoskop".

## THE NATION.

### a) Nationalism, Cosmopolitanism and Pacifism.

Switzerland as a nation is in an exceptional position. Small nations are usually liable to become extremely chauvinistic -- but can a country which embodies three nationalities possibly extol its "national" superiority over its neighbours, when the components of the Swiss national character have been taken over from these very neighbours? Young democracies, or for that matter, any "liberated" nation may feel the urge to help "enslaved" neighbours in shaking off their bonds (France after 1789 and modern Russia), but the Swiss bourgeoisie was too sober to succumb to such intoxicating ideas. These facts help to explain why Switzerland was never at any time during the period which is under review, aggressively nationalist. In addition the peculiar social structure of the country was such that no specifically petty bourgeois views on foreign affairs could arise in opposition to a special upper middle class outlook. Gotthelf illustrates this best. To judge by his Conservative political convictions and his orthodox Christian faith, his bourgeois morality and his reactionary temper one would expect him to be a nationalist of the Conservative type, an isolationist perhaps, in opposition to fanatical Liberals who wanted to interfere in the domestic development of other countries, but certainly a militarist. Yet he was a pacifist, the first objector to war during the period. That human

beings should be killed "like sparrows" (485) simply because their political views did not correspond with those of a majority enraged him more than any other writer of the revolutionary period. No end justifies means such as murder, and "national unity" and prosperity certainly did not appeal to Gotthelf as justifiable causes for bloodshed. The nation as such was no ideal to him; its defence did not constitute a Christian duty. Switzerland was a country like any other, of such a nature "dass man darin des Teufels oder ein Kind Gottes werden kann, je nachdem die Geister sind, unter die man faellt" (486). Authorities do not possess the right or the duty to maintain troops under any circumstances. Gotthelf is entirely pre-Liberal when he says, with that emphasis peculiar to his political judgments, that a government which spends money on an army without having first paid for all necessities of life is like a husband who wastes his money on prostitutes. This seems to suggest that armies are a luxury in his eyes. Indeed, he is far from looking with pride at a soldier. Most scoundrels and fools wear some sort of uniform he says (487) and in "Zeitgeist-Bernergeist" (488) he writes with customary exaggeration that men in the armed forces have not only the right, but the duty to be lazy, to sit about in public houses and to spend much money "for the salvation of the country". When undergoing military training,

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(485) as he wrote with reference to the Sonderbund in January 1845, cf. Muschg, p. 387.

(486) "Jakob", cf. Muschg, p. 395.

(487) cf. Muschg, p. 395.

(488) "Zeitgeist", p. 228.

young men spend more than they can call their own, impair their health and learn to lead wicked lives (489). Their officers attend Liberal Party meetings and "Schuetzenfeste" which Gotthelf abhors (490). Evidently, the country, if invaded, could expect little help from Gotthelf.

Liberals looked at defence and the question of peace and war with different eyes. They had built the new State and, knowing the hostility of the monarchs who denounced the Confederation as a hotbed of revolutionaries, they meant to defend it. Keller and Bitter, to name only two Liberal writers of the period, leave no possibility of doubt on this issue. They approve of conscription (491) and think it dishonourable to contemplate submission to foreign domination (492). Keller writes enthusiastically about the cadets, youngsters in their early 'teens who are instructed in the use of arms (493). For the same reason he advocates physical training (494). Yet the Liberal of the first generation cannot hide his idealistic, optimistic vein which makes him believe in enlightenment which will eventually bring eternal peace. Keller expresses that quite sincere yearning in a poem (495), and Bitter utters his conviction that wars will soon cease to be (496). Keller even goes as far as to admit that

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(489) *ibid.* p. 234.

(490) *ibid.* p. 370.

(491) Keller "Der gruene Heinrich", first version, p. 155 and Bitter "Der schoene Abraham und das stolze Baebeli", p. 54.

(492) Keller "Verschiedene Freiheitskaempfer" (1865) and his views on defence reprinted in "Nachlass", p. 347.

(493) "Der gruene Heinrich", p. 155.

(494) *ibid.* p. 355.

(495) "Fruehlingsglaube".

(496) Bitter, p. 185.

Switzerland as a political entity is not eternal (497), and this in spite of his belief that the Swiss nation is the expression of an idea which dwells above her mountains and has become flesh in her Confederates (498). Every nation, he writes, has a mission; once it is fulfilled, there must be decay and the disappearance of that nation through inner disintegration or absorption by a powerful and virile neighbour. This soundness of outlook enabled Keller to look critically at people who in his view lacked the essentials of enlightened citizenship: the burghers of Seldwyla who refrain from nationalist expressions because they fear their repercussions on business, the small business man and the artisan who suspect the presence of the evil spirit of militarism everywhere (499), the shortsighted people who forget that nationalism in its strictest form is apt to be misused by despots and demagogues for purposes which have nothing to do with the well-being of the community (500). Especially as he grew older, Keller raised his voice against chauvinism and that type of patriotism which is nothing but clumsy self-admiration (501), and he countered demands for a bigger army with the justifiable enquiry whether the capabilities of the individual had sunk so low as to make such unreasonable increases necessary (502). When patriot-

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- (497) "Das Faehnlein der sieben Aufrechten", p. 189.  
(498) "Der gruene Heinrich", first version, p. 45.  
(499) "Der gruene Heinrich", first version, p. 250.  
(500) "Gedichte", p. 115 called "Nationalitaet".  
(501) "Martin Salander", p. 236.  
(502) "Nachlass", p. 347.

ism had got hold of the middle classes to such an extent as to make them praise anything which bore the word "folk" in front of it, whether it be a song, a dance or a sentiment, Keller alone objected (503). He did not, however, succeed in arresting the impulses, economic and sentimental, which drove the lower middle classes towards nationalism. C.F. Meyer's poem on eternal peace (504) and his insistence on modesty about one's nationality (505) revealed a personality out of touch with the aspirations of the Swiss masses. The petty bourgeoisie preferred Heer to Keller and Meyer, and Heer prided himself on being patriotic (506). Although he had a weakness for life on a grand scale and for the exotic such as Switzerland could not provide, he could not help his class feelings. In "Felix Notve" he objects to a Swiss industrialist marrying a foreigner, and the Swiss citizen appears as superior to any rival, whatever his nationality. The time had passed when an author (Dranmor) could not quite make up his mind as to whether his fatherland was Switzerland or Germany. Interest began to narrow. Gotthelf's assertion that there was no need for the ordinary citizen to feel concerned about developments abroad (507) had been rejected by Keller (508) only to return in a more borne form among the lower middle classes.

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(503) "Seldwyla" II, p. 251.

(504) "Friede auf Erden", p. 155 of "Gedichte".

(505) "Firnlicht", ibidem p. 61.

(506) G.H. Heer "Jakob Christoph Heer", p. 54.

(507) "Zeitgeist", p. 31.

(508) see Kriesi for facts on Keller's writings and secretarial work on behalf of Poland.

Spitteler made a frontal attack on this self-satisfied patriotism. He did not trouble to convince patriots that other nations were also worthy of some consideration, but <sup>took</sup> the offensive by pulling to shreds whatever Swiss patriots believed in. When he told them that their romanticism about the nation of shepherds was rubbish (509) and that the Alps of which they were so proud would certainly not be so sheer and majestic if their creation had been entrusted to the Swiss philistines (510), he shocked the middle classes sufficiently to feel proud of himself, but one looks in vain for a substitute for the rejected patriotism. Neither cosmopolitanism nor pacifism are openly advocated; one has to assume that since to him the free individual alone mattered, he would have refused to acknowledge national distinctions; yet from such a refusal to constructive internationalism, is a long step.

Spitteler's contempt and playful scoring off of his opponents could not leave any deep imprint on Swiss society. The new generation from 1905 onwards were preoccupied with the change of heart which must rescue the individual if society was to be led out of capitalist thought. They preached love for all humanity, however (511), and thus broke the spirit of bourgeois isolationism and nationalism. Only when the Great War broke out, their salvationist doctrine was challenged. Before they could reply,

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(509) "Imago", p. 96.

(510) *ibidem*.

(511) Steffen "Ott, Alois und Werelache".

Switzerland had changed overnight. A new type of patriotism emerged. Its exuberance is depicted in R.J. Lang's "Mobilisation" (512), and it certainly is not of a very pleasant type (513). Yet apart from regrettable outbursts of primitive national passion, there is another side to this feeling of national consciousness, one which transformed Swiss literature to the good and for good: Authors forget to write of Bernese and Zuerich people, of Aargauer or Waadtlaender, but turn to the Swiss people at last. The stress shifts from the canton as the real fatherland to the whole country. Switzerland, in contrast to Gotthelf's conception, is more than a conglomeration of cantons, some of which are nearer to one's heart than others, but one State. This State is to be preserved, its existence is to be maintained and is worth defending whether by armed neutrality or by war. A good deal of this development was not fortuitous but willed by the governing classes, but other changes were independent of economic considerations. A new consciousness regarding moral duties arose. Swiss authors who saw the world around them consumed by hatred, intolerance, libel and destructive will, began to ponder on the question whether the neutrality which Switzerland was observing could not be turned into something more than a superior standing-aside (514). Neutral-

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(512) p. 63 ff. of the collection "Leonz Wängeler", Zuerich, undated.

(513) p. 69: "Neben ihm pfiff einer auf die Schweiz. Er ueberlegte zuerst; er musste zuerst ueberlegen, was er tun sollte. Dann versetzte er dem Lumpen einen Stockhieb ueber den Hut. Dann brauchte er nichts mehr zu unternehmen, denn um ihn herum fiel alles ueber den Kerl her."

(514) Heinrich Federer dealt with foreign accusations from the Swiss point of view in "Unser Heergott und der Schweizer", Zuerich 1916, but the artificially naive story begs the main question.

ity thus became in the works of socially conscious authors a moral duty towards the spiritual community of the European countries. Here the writers with the salvationist doctrine found their cue. Felix Moeschlin came forward as an absolute pacifist in the drama "Die Revolution des Herzens" (1918). Klinger, its central figure, is an exemplary man and a reliable citizen, so exemplary indeed that the literary historian Faesi thinks him unreal (515). His great experience is the cruelty of war which he sees from his post at the frontier. The terror of modern warfare of which he has not been conscious before alters him suddenly. The obedient and willing soldier suddenly rebels, the steadfast Swiss patriot becomes a pacifist. He cannot kill, he must not belong to an organisation whose members are ready and trained to kill. All discussions with him, persuasive efforts by ministers of religion and military superiors cannot weaken his determination (516). Love and trust must govern the earth, not force and hatred (517).

Other authors turn to the soldier. P. Ilg's "Der starke Mann" (1917) depicts the impact of the special code of honour

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(515) p. 271.

(516) His arguments are not unique. A good deal of his reasoning can be found in L. Ragaz' "Die neue Schweiz" which approaches pacifism from the theological and the political points of view.

(517) "... die anderen wagen alles fuer die nationale Existenz.. warum sollten wir nicht alles fuer die Existenz Europas wagen?.. Die anderen giessen aus ihren Glocken Kanonen, wir wollen aus unseren Kanonen Glocken giessen. Kinder sollen unsere Grenze bewachen, Blumen in den Haenden. Jeder fremde Soldat, der unserer Grenze naht, soll wissen, dass dies die Grenze eines Landes voll Liebe ist. Heiliger Boden, nicht zu betreten, und eine Ermahnung zur Auferweckung des Heiligen in ihnen."

which army officers try to cultivate, upon an essentially democratic society. "The strong man", Adolf Lenggenhager, has been to Potsdam and has seen there how the officers set the tone in the Reich. The officer in Germany is the German par excellence, the first citizen, a member of a superior State within the State. Why should the Swiss army officer not occupy that same outstanding position? Robert Faesi (518) denies that men of Lenggenhager's calibre were typical representatives of the Swiss officer, although he admits that this particular kind of outlook existed. Such an objection is of small importance. As long as it was possible ~~that~~, clearly through the medium of Germany's example, for men of Leggenhager's stamp to arise in the Swiss army, Ilg was dealing with a phenomenon amounting to a social factor.

Lenggenhager is, in the first place, anti-democratic. He refuses to be treated as though he had no more rights than a peasant. Laws, as far as they exist, may be equitable in the case of people of low social standing; they do not necessarily apply, however, to officers. An officer is a being apart, he maintains (519). It is essential to discover the root of this particular conceit, for German influence alone cannot be credited with having introduced this factor into such a comparatively new organisation as the professional officer corps of the Swiss Confederation. There are two such roots, and in the course of the novel one is

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(518) p. 271.

(519) P. Ilg "Der starke Mann", Frauenfeld 1917, p. 37.

laid bare by Daniel, Lenggenhager's brother, who is portrayed in the book as a well-meaning parson who sees the army as nothing but a necessary instrument, which must not be allowed to become an end in itself. He attributes his brother's conceited notions and his resistance to the idea of equality, to his membership in a students' corporation ("Burschenschaft") where everybody learns contempt for the masses and for all democratic ideals. Another cause of Lenggenhager's dislike for the principle of equality lies in his unfortunate attempt at becoming a true aristocrat. The connection between aristocracy and the officer corps is obvious enough in countries where the aristocracy plays a great part in national life, and the younger sons are usually sent to the army which in consequence cultivates an aristocratic tradition (England (520), Germany during the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th). In Switzerland, however, where the aristocracy lost its power in 1848 never to regain it, and where a republican spirit was pervading the rank and file of the army, the sons of patricians did not turn to the army as a career so readily. Yet there was a tendency for aristocrats to enter a milieu which had a code of honour of its own and thereby attracted personalities whose privileges of birth made them shun a bourgeois existence. Whether these

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(520) cf. a newspaper report ("News Chronicle", dated 26.7.1939): "Mr. Herbert Morrison, M.P., Leader of the L.C.C.... said there was still class privilege in the appointment of the officer class in the armed forces of the Crown. "It is being done deliberately because traditionally the Conservative Party regards and have regarded the armed forces as an instrument of class predominance rather than of democratic service to the country," he added."

privileges were still acknowledged by society or not, is hardly of consequence. We find in literature that the aristocrat who joined the army as a professional officer constitutes no problem at all. Von Wattenfeld for instance, the aristocratic captain in S. Haberstich's "Der Patrizierspiegel", is merely a knave. In 1855 such a type was dangerous to some extent, but even then sufficient legislation existed to curb that captain's enthusiasm for a return to a feudal régime. Of much more importance, at least in literature, is the social climber in the army who thinks that he can, by way of the army, improve his own social status and assist later on in raising the deposed aristocracy to a dominating position. In J. Schaffner's "Die Erlhoeferin" there is a young man, Dietrich, who seems likely to develop along such lines, although he takes a side path after some time and merely marries an aristocratic girl. But Ilg's "strong man", is the perfect type of low-born careerist, who becomes convinced that the army will open the way to the hand of a young lady of noble birth. Not content with that, he wishes the army to be used as an instrument in the hands of the aristocracy, capable of thwarting all democratic progress and of finally reconstituting an aristocratic régime. Ilg shows convincingly that such a social climber is much more dangerous to a democratic people than the born aristocrat. Swiss aristocracy knew the limitations of its strength better than this young hothead does. Lenggenhager is fundamentally mistaken about the nature of the Swiss army and the

character of the Swiss aristocracy before the Great War. Neither of them dreamed of the dictatorship designed to keep the masses in check of which that young officer was dreaming. In consequence Lenggenhager falls as soon as he becomes more insistent on the extraordinary and unconstitutional powers of the army than his commanders are, and more aristocratic than born noblemen. He falls and neither officers nor patricians raise a finger to help him. There is no lack of sympathy for him among those two classes, but the populace as a whole is too vigilant over its rights. The masses unmask Lenggenhager as a mouthpiece of anti-democratic impulses within the bourgeoisie. He has no understanding of the need for increased social services, and men who devote themselves to humanitarian causes are rebels, envious weaklings, demagogues, and women are contemptible in his eyes when they become social workers or university students. Every bourgeois profession seems degrading to him, and his feelings of superiority are so numerous that at one point the author shows his tragic hero as possessing three degrees of snobbery at the same time: the feeling of superiority of the soldier over the civilian, of the professional officer over the officer of the conscript militia, of the aristocratic individual over the mob.

Ilg is careful to point out that Lenggenhager is exceptional -- he has to do so, if only to make the end, Lenggenhager's defeat, plausible, but he leaves his reader in no doubt that many officers would like to achieve the "strong man's" aims, but know full well that the nation is more than an electorate

which can be deprived of its votes by a coup d'état, its will is a power against which even the army cannot act. The same forces which kept the patricians of 1853 in check (521) still prevent the aristocracy of 1910 from assuming power.

If the novel were merely directed against the idea of a return to government by privileged classes, no importance would be attached to it, the book would be a belated document of the rising bourgeoisie. The aristocracy is however comparatively harmless. The attack is really aimed at sections of the middle classes who forget their bourgeois affinities as soon as they associate with professional officers; it is the unmasking of a group within bourgeois society which enjoys the blessings of a democratic State and uses them for the destruction of that same democracy. Artistically, "Der starke Mann" is an exaggerated, rather biased novel, sociologically it is a valuable document illustrating the dangers which may arise out of a superficial adoration of the armed forces. It shows that authors were on the alert, and when they saw democracy threatened, they cemented its weak points by a spirited defence of the ultimate aims of democratic government.

The danger was avoided and even the War did not bestow undue prominence upon the soldier (522). The unexpected happened:

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(521) cf. Haberstich "Der Patrizierspiegel".

(522) Popular poetry, e.g. Konrad Baenninger "Stille Soldaten" the first edition of which was sold within five days, did nothing to break the democratic backbone of Swiss politics. ("Stille Soldaten", Zuerich 1917).

new democratic thought grew out of the army. Weilenmann's "Befreier" explored means of extending true liberty and achieving genuine equality (523), Moeschlin's "Wachtmeister Voegeli" turned soldiers into social workers (524) thus sketching in outline what Pierre Ceresole, a Swiss Colonel, and son of an ex-President of the Confederation, was to work out in detail later on in his "International Voluntary Service for Peace" ("I.V.S.P."). A pacifist note was struck in so many books -- apart from the drama mentioned above -- that one can only consider one or two exponents of that trend.

Steffen's opposition to war has its inception in his belief in the unity of mankind and its perfectibility through individual self-sacrifice, which dates back to pre-war days. He extended that faith to a refusal to resist even evil (525), and gave deep religious expression to that thought in the drama "Das Viergetier", where a murderer who was taught homicide in war, is forgiven by those whom he injured most (526). T. Vogel preached non-violence and patient suffering in his earlier novels with the only difference that Steffen's heroes are essentially religious martyrs whereas Vogel's chief characters are fundamentally artists gifted

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- (523) Hermann Weilenmann "Der Befreier", Zuerich 1918, pp. 60ff etc.  
(524) Felix Moeschlin "Wachtmeister Voegeli", Leipzig 1922, espec. p. 362.  
(525) That had been foreshadowed in "Ott, Alois und Werelsche", p. 212 where he welcomed suffering because it prepared man for his mission of shouldering part of the suffering of others.  
(526) "Das Viergetier", Zuerich.

with particular sensitiveness (527). In a speech in which Vogel pleaded as a lawyer for the author A. Ehrismann, who had refused military service for conscientious reasons, Vogel denied the State the right to penalise a man who cannot acknowledge national frontiers because he believes in mankind's unconquerable goodness. In Wirz, another novelist who wrestled at that time with the problem of force, the conviction that all men are good and kind at heart is sufficiently strong to make him include even the capitalist (528), for whom he has little sympathy otherwise. To man as a spiritual being war is a crime (529). Wirz thus joins the advocates of pacifism on purely religious grounds and shows great interest in the attitude of Quakers towards war (530). Bosshart, too, arrived at the pacifist's way of reasoning in those first few post-war years, yet he remained too rational to follow Steffen or Wirz to the point of refusing to resist evil. Those who flee from contact with the world in order to escape from suffering or from the necessity of causing pain to others are exposed as inhuman egotists (531). Man must not rest content with ending war and strife within himself; he must proselytise and win converts to a new way of life which will make avoidable suffering impossible (532). The great mistake made by radical Socialists, Bosshart asserts, is that they hope to end injustice and war by one great revolution based on violence (533). The use of force cannot eradicate force.

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(527) Traugott Vogel "Unsereiner", Zuerich 1924.

(528) "Gewalten eines Toren", vol. I, p. 530.

(529) "Prophet Mueller-zwo", p. 60.

J. Buehrer does not agree with this at all. Class warfare and pacifism are strangely intertwined in his works, especially in his new interpretation of the Tell Saga. He calls it "Ein neues Tellenspiel" (534). It presents the revolutionary pacifist point of view in rather a doctrinaire fashion (535) but more clearly than had ever been attempted before. The play shows three powers in conflict: proletariat, bourgeoisie and the outside world. The proletariat (farm hands in this case) complains of being excluded from all material possessions, whereas the bourgeoisie (wealthy farmers) derives all the profit from the land without working on it. Baumgartner says: "Man ist als Knecht, als Hoeriger geboren und soll verrecken als ein Herrenknecht. Ist man dazu da, Kaelber aufzuziehen, melken, Grass abheuen fuer andere? Man muss doch das besitzen, was man schafft." Erni amplifies this demand: "Des Christus Juenger sprach: Wer nicht arbeiten will, soll auch nicht essen. Doch heute frisst immer der am meisten und am besten, der nichts tut." Gessler's servant argues like a proletarian who has had a lesson in dialectic materialism: "Ich bin auch nicht reich genug, um nicht gemein zu sein."

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(530) *ibidem*, p. 62. Keller, at the height of his Liberalism, had called Quakers bigoted (letter to B. Auerbach, 1860, reprinted in Ermatinger's biography, vol. II, p. 513).

(531) "Ein Rufer in der Wueste," p. 274.

(532) *ibidem*.

(533) *ibid.* p. 346.

(534) Jakob Buehrer "Ein neues Tellenspiel", 1923.

(535) The doctrine goes back to Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, but came into prominence through Wilhelm Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and, in sociological literature, through Kurt Hiller.

In a similar way specifically modern ideology is applied in the case of Stauffacher, the Swiss "capitalist". He is seen as a nationalist who thinks his possessions threatened by a foreign power (Austria) and accordingly embraces a philosophy in which liberty and independence loom large. He makes the proletariat believe that its liberty is at stake and thus hopes to win its support in the capitalist struggle against Austria.

Austria's representative is Gessler who maintains that he aims at serving peace by incorporating Switzerland in the Austrian Empire which is intent on constructing a world peace. He speaks like a modern pacifist: "Aufhoeren soll die stumpfe Feindschaft zwischen Mensch und Mensch. Aufhoeren soll der Krieg, die Feindschaft zwischen Gau und Gau und Land und Land. Die ganze Erde sei ein Friedensreich." With a perspicacity which in itself constitutes a still bigger anachonism than his pacifism does, he wants to establish a class-less society. "Ihr seid so lang die Beute jeder Macht, als ihr nur Staende seid und Klassen." Like every modern advocate of a classless society he sides with the oppressed classes to such an extent as to condone their warfare against the free Swiss farmers.

Tell lastly is the pacifist par excellence. He rejects patriotism and refuses to fight for the sake of national honour. "Wo Menschen sind, ist Heimat, sollt ich meinen... Mein Herz haengt nicht an diesem Tal allein. Auch anderswo ist wieder eine Heimat. Dies Tal ist mir zu klein. Ich moechte unsre ganze Erde lieben! Die ganze Erde soll uns Heimat sein!" War is wrong, and

the wrong committed by an aggressor cannot be righted by resistance to the aggressor. Instead, one must learn to practice forgiveness. "Verzeihen. Sich unterwerfen! Ja! Wie anders sollen wir zum Frieden kommen?..." "Darum muessen wir uns erst mal beugen koennen! Selbst vor dem Unrecht!"

Although Buehrer makes Tell reject force, as far as it is directed against foreign foes, he condones it when used in class warfare, as though "beugen vor dem Unrecht" did not apply in such a case. He openly demands a world revolution of the proletariat. "Ein allgemeiner Aufstand muesst es werden. Von allen, die nichts haben! Kein Land besitzen! Ein allgemeiner Aufstand von allen Leibeigenen und Hoerigen der ganzen Welt." Is that revolt envisaged to be bloodless? That question is not answered. Nor is everything else very lucid. The women, e.g. Tell's wife, welcome the idea of international justice and brotherhood and do not hide their loathing of war (536). If anything, they are intended to be more sensible than the men, but Tell himself is incomprehensible. He greets the famous or infamous hat gladly, then murders Gessler by "a mistake" which he himself brands as "Unsinn" and eventually dies whilst trying to rescue his son from drowning --not on the barricades. It seems as though Buehrer, convinced that the class struggle has to be waged, shrinks from its worst form and gives an idealistic twist to his plot in the last minute,

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(536) One must not forget that this is the time when in Germany Erich Kaestner wrote his "Phantasie fuer uebermorgen":  
"Und als der naechste Krieg begann,  
Da sagten die Frauen: Nein!  
Und schlossen Bruder, Sohn und Mann  
Fest in die Wohnung ein...."

because -- to use Bosshart's distinctions about the two types of Socialism -- he prefers the "tender hand" to the "sharp claw".

It is not astonishing that Buehrer should have remained altogether isolated in his "pacifism" which allows the murder of an exploiter and forbids national defence. If pacifism in general, however, has made an astonishingly great number of converts, it is for two reasons. Switzerland is sufficiently Christian in outlook to follow the reasoning of authors who present the gospel of love in its application to modern social life. E. Arnet (537) and C.I. Loos (538) have to be added as the latest newcomers to those authors already discussed who base their international outlook on their spiritual convictions, and there will, no doubt, be many more, since the country, neutral in every war and confronted with refugees and other relief problems, which have made it the centre of world wide organisations for relief, finds time and occasion to reflect on the implications of its special position. This special position also suggests another trend of thought which ends in pacifism, and this line has the added advantage of appealing to the bourgeois writer as much as to the anti-bourgeois revolutionary. By democratic government and through continuous encouragement given to the idea of toleration, Switzerland has succeeded in uniting three nationalities within her borders. Peace reigns between these three communities, and unitedly they have kept war away from Switzerland's frontiers. Is it not the duty of the outstanding thinkers

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(537) E. Arnet "Emanuel", p. 41 (prayer).

(538) C.I. Loos "Matka Boska", p. 339 (the Church and war).

of the country to acquaint the world with the conditions which enable Switzerland to be peaceful internally and externally? Gustav Gampfer (539) and Hermann Weilenmann (540) mentioned this train of thought first, and other bourgeois authors such as Maria Waser (541) were quick to take it up. This conviction that Switzerland should serve as a pattern to a restless Europe does not presuppose an adoption of the pacifist position -- indeed, Weilenmann approves of military service as much as M. Waser does, and the latter has profound misgivings about increasing internationalism -- but it serves to strengthen pacifist feelings in the general public where an atmosphere suitable for the spreading of anti-war tendencies has been created through the last war and its aftermaths.

It could not be reasonably expected that the war experience should last for ever. It is true that the mystically religious authors and the strongly anti-bourgeois writers, among whom Konrad Falke stands out today, went on decrying nationalism, military preparedness and a self-sufficient attitude in moral and economic life long after the Great War was over. But the exponents of the lower middle classes in particular, returned to national pride and reliance on strong defence measures as the international situation grew more uncertain. They argued, with conviction, that if democracy was as much superior to totalitarian

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- (539) "Bruecke Europas".  
(540) "Der Befreier".  
(541) "Wir Narren von gestern".

regimes as even the most violent anti-capitalist writers admitted, then certainly democracy was worth defending, even by armed force. If democracy was to be the aim even of Socialist régimes, if federal union of various States was to follow upon national sovereignty, then Switzerland, already firmly democratic and a model to all Europe by virtue of its federal constitution, must be preserved. Not all the authors who approve of conscription as a democratic right and duty are consciously adopting this point of view, but conventional authors like Anna Burg and Franz Odermatt, not to speak of Hanselmann, who is superior to them by far, voice popular feeling. The professional soldier who sells his services abroad remains despised, the aspirations of the professional officer class are watched with suspicion, as we saw, but the man who undertakes his military service when called upon by the nation is still considered as the best Swiss democrat. Hanselmann is as convinced of that as Bitter was nearly ninety years ago. Yet the conception of the nation has changed. Its republicanism and its prosperity, once featured as its main characteristics, no longer appear as important. It is the success of the federal structure, by which three nationalities speaking four different languages and professing two different faiths can live at peace, produce documents of culture and assure democratic rights for everybody which today attracts the writer and his public. National defence, rightly or wrongly, becomes the more imperative to the Swiss the loftier their conception becomes of the purpose of their Confederation.

b) Contact with the Foreigner.

When one considers that a good deal of Switzerland's wealth is derived from foreigners and that a great number of people spend most of their lives catering for visitors from abroad, one can only note with surprise how little interest Swiss authors have taken in the guests of their country and the lands from which they hail. The Swiss inn and hotel keeper undoubtedly rose in his social standing, but authors in general assume a criticising attitude towards the man who is the first beneficiary of the tourist traffic. Among the writers of the Liberal period Hartmann welcomed the steady influx of foreign money, by which everybody, from the rich "Kurhaus" proprietor down to the farmer's boy who acted as porter or as guide, profited (542), and Heer, still more enthusiastic about this visible sign of prosperity, made an idol of a man who opened up a valley to a constant stream of foreign tourists (543). Yet not all liberally minded writers shared this enthusiasm. Keller dealt rather sarcastically with the all-too-eager hotel keeper (544) and gave no indication anywhere that he was particularly interested in his guests. Zahn condemned the narrow mindedness of Conservative farmers who refused to receive foreign visitors (545) and seemed to share the esteem in which hotel proprietors were held (546) -- one must not overlook that he owns a hotel himself! -- but he was quite prepared to join with more Conservative authors in laments over the unnatural-

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(542) "Das Aenneli von Siebenthal".

(543) "Der Koenig der Bernina".

(544) "Kleider machen Leute".

(545) "Herrgottsfaeden".

(546) "Stephan, der Schmied".

ness and immorality to be found in big hotels (547). On the whole, however, 19th century authors were not interested in the foreigner nor inquisitive about the methods employed in attracting him.

References to the outside world were equally rare. The only foreigners Gotthelf mentioned frequently (548) were the democratic refugees from Germany whom he hated because of their interference in Swiss domestic affairs, particularly education. He spoke of the Frankfort Parliament and its professorial members with derision thus acting against his own demand that good citizens should not meddle with foreign affairs but leave that stupid political pastime to Liberals. His outlook was especially narrow when he turned to the subject of emigration to America. He must have known perfectly well that many sons of smallholders could not find land within the reach of their finances. He must have been aware that emigration with the object of purchasing land abroad or of serving in foreign armies was to thousands the only way left open, yet to judge by his novels America was only the paradise of (Liberal!) officials who had absconded with public funds or of business men who preferred a life of luxury overseas to payment of their debts in Switzerland (549).

The first generation of Liberals showed a more genuine, though limited concern for emigrants, mercenaries ("Reisslaeufer")

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(547) "Der Geiss-Christeli".

(548) "Kaeserei" and "Zeitgeist".

(549) cf. e.g. "Kaeserei", p. 58.

and Switzerland's neighbours. They discouraged emigration, pointing out its disadvantages at some length. Hartmann is the best example of this bourgeois dislike of an uncertain future. Without explaining why some people have to emigrate (550) he introduces us to a few malcontents who have no proper cause to leave their country, and outlines their experiences on the way to and in the United States (551). There must have been a good deal of popular misconception about life on the other side of the Atlantic. In the course of his tale Hartmann explodes these wrong ideas of a carefree life in the United States one by one. He dwells on the hardships awaiting the inexperienced settler after a journey which generally deprives him of half his financial resources. Undoubtedly he lays his gloomy colours on too thickly. America appears as a country of rogues, and every potential settler is fair game for swindlers on both sides of the Atlantic. Justice is non-existent in the States, land is cheap but often unsuited for agriculture, fevers sweep the country. All the emigrants whom we accompany on their journey regret sooner or later that they left home. One of them who had lost half his money through unnecessary court actions in Switzerland, loses the other half and his life in

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(550) Historians attribute the need for increased emigration from the middle of the last century onward to the laws which forbade military service abroad, and to the decrease in the death rate through improved medical services.

(551) Hartmann "Dursli, der Auswanderer", pp. 85ff in vol. I of collection "Kiltabendgeschichten".

America. A discontented schoolmaster, who had thought that he was born for better things than teaching stupid children, finds that he can only exist in America if he does work which even he admits to be more degrading than punishing naughty boys.

Duersli himself, a young farmer who had possessed one small field in Switzerland and had dreamed of a prosperous plantation finds that the plot he has bought without seeing it beforehand is a portion of virgin forest covered with century old trees.

At this point Hartmann deals with two questions which must have occupied the minds of a large percentage of the Swiss population who had heard conflicting stories about the land of hope: Why do Swiss-Americans praise their new homes so much, and secondly, why do they not return if things are really bad? In answer to these questions which were rather important to a community in which emigration was unavoidable for thousands annually, Hartmann points out that the optimistic reports about conditions in the United States sent over by settlers are lies designed to attract more settlers. If more land is bought through increased immigration, the price of the soil is bound to rise and with it the price of its produce. A return, however, is impossible because the disappointed settlers are too much ashamed to acknowledge defeat, too poor to afford the passage back or convinced that their children will see better days if they hold out and gradually bring their land to a state of prosperity. As soon as Duersli learns about all this, he returns to Switzerland content with being a small-holder or

even only a "Lehenmannli" who cultivates a plot rented from a landlord.

Even America does not provide a short cut to prosperity. "Bleibe im Lande und Naehe dich redlich", the wisdom of the Restoration period and its Biedermeier philosophy rings through the story and makes it the true expression of the petty bourgeoisie which in the 'fifties had not yet taken to the kind of commercial adventures which implied travelling and residence abroad. Keller, too, makes Martin Salander refuse emphatically the suggestion that he is an "emigrant" (552).

In spite of this opposition to foreign adventures, the first generation of Liberal lower middle classes took some interest in happenings beyond the frontiers. They were proud of the full measure of liberty they had achieved (553) -- with what pride Hartmann confronted a decadent foreign nobleman with Swiss aristocrats who were farm hands and stable maids! (554) -- but this made them all the more eager to compare their own constitution with those of foreign régimes (555). They even went as far as admitting that their own culture was linked to that of a greater neighbour (556) and they rendered moral and financial

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- (552) "Martin Salander", p. 15.  
(553) "Der gruene Heinrich", first version, p. 40 and elsewhere.  
(554) Hartmann "Das Aenneli von Siebenthal".  
(555) Keller "Der gruene Heinrich", first version, p. 40 etc.  
(556) although Keller once aroused great indignation when he spoke at a dinner, of the possibility of an eventual incorporation of Switzerland in the Reich. For details see Kriesi and Ermatinger (biography).

assistance when the cause of liberty needed it anywhere in Europe (557).

The second generation, more materialistic in outlook, condoned emigration (558), but lost interest in European solidarity, the cause of freedom in neighbouring countries or any other links with the outside world. This interest has been returning since the beginning of the present century, but emigration which still occupies the minds of many is hardly alluded to anywhere (559).

One type of foreigner is singled out for detailed treatment by many authors: the Russian. Russian students, men and women, came to Switzerland in increasing numbers from the end of last century to the time of the Communist Revolution. No writer with a foible for "exotic" types could resist the temptation of contrasting them with the Swiss. Ernst Zahn wrote a short story in which a woman student from Russia is the central figure. Whilst other writers have been attracted by the intellectual stimulus which these students represent to the academic world, Zahn, preoccupied with the power strata of society, deals with the impression which such a foreigner makes on simple Swiss people.

Anna Iwanowna Kaulen in the story "Anna Kaulen" (560)

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- (557) Keller's work for German refugees and the cause of the Poles.  
(558) Heer showed the successful Swiss business man in Hamburg in "Der Wetterwart", Zahn approved of emigration in "Wie es in Brenzikon menschele", although he had little sympathy with the returned emigrant who has forgotten how to fit into Swiss social life, cf. "Die Mutter".  
(559) Moeschlin "Der Amerika-Johann", K. Falke "Die Eifersuechtigen", Renker "Der sterbende Hof" only introduce emigrants casually, Emil Scherer "Soeldner" only in retrospect.  
(560) "Anna Kaulen", included in collection "Der sinkende Tag" 1920.

takes a furnished room in the house of the Spenglermeister Christian Lobesam Stuenzi. The names indicate the extent of the contrast. He is a small independent craftsman who exercises his trade diligently and honestly, a patient husband and a loving father. With infinite forbearance he suffers the whims of his invalid wife, and in spite of all his domestic disappointments he perseveres in his kind attentions to an orphan child and his interest in art. He represents in everything the man of the lower middle classes, the backbone of Swiss society, whom Zahn always portrays with particular affection. Industriousness, kindness and humility characterise him like so many of Zahn's other "heroes" if that expression can be used for such unheroic natures.

This prototype of the average Swiss citizen, meets Anna Iwanowna Kaulen. Her first demand when she takes a room in Stuenzi's house is that she must not be "supervised" (beaufsichtigt) in any of her doings. This independence in a woman is uncommon enough in the lower and middle strata of Swiss society, and Zahn very appropriately mentions that trait first. Next come her seriousness and her unusual determination to persevere at her work. At the root of her entire being, however, lies a deep distrust of humanity in general and of herself in particular. Mankind is degenerate and all attempts at being "sociable" are worthless to a person who wants to preserve her integrity. Therefore there can be no marriage for Anna Kaulen, nor any pleasure, unless it can be indulged in when one is alone. A feeling of pity for the mentality of the young Russian intellectuals is created by that short story

and Zahn seems to hold that it is well that the Swiss are different. They are not created with that singlemindedness which merely causes unhappiness.

It is this singlemindedness, the "one-track-mind" which attracts Swiss authors most in the Russian. Jakob Buehrer in "Der Anarchist" mentions a Russian called Tschechowsky who apart from possessing a "knabenhafte Guete" (561) reveals that same singlemindedness. When he discovers that one moon of some planet moves in the opposite direction to all the rest, he receives that piece of news with such consternation that nothing can console him. "Mensch, meine Welt geht in Truemmer!" (562). Since his best friend will not see the great significance of that fact which upsets Tschechowsky's speculations regarding the laws of the universe, he breaks off the friendship without regret. Buehrer, without blame for the Russian, makes him rescue the "anarchist" by his clear reasoning. But for the Russian's logical thinking Hans Raechli would not find his way back to society.

Other authors, whilst not overlooking the fine qualities of the Russian mind, are very doubtful whether any direct benefit can be derived for Swiss people from contact with that particular type of foreigner. Their advanced views on social questions are rejected. Even very progressive authors dislike the Russian approach to the question of social justice: "Sie sagte Dinge ueber Voelkervereinigung und Besitztum, Kommunismus und

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(561) "Der Anarchist", p. 35.

(562) ibidem.

Geistesbildung, die in ihrer sonderbaren Urspruenglichkeit und Lostrennung von aller Ueberlieferung mir ebenso merkwuerdig als wirklichkeitsfern erschienen." (563) Schaffner, too, doubts whether one can accept their views, but stresses the indirect influence, the inspiration which grows out of their wrong ideas: "... und doch lernte Heinrich nirgends mehr, als bei seinen Russen. Sie waren in ihrer Vagabundenweise in der ganzen Welt zu Hause; die ganze Welt bewegten sie um sich her und es gab nichts, das Heinrich nicht durch sie kennen lernen konnte. Zu all und jedem nahmen sie Stellung, fuer oder wider, leidenschaftlich und gruendlich in beiden Faellen. Sie zeigten ihm von Dingen, die er nicht lieben konnte, immer noch eine gute Seite, und von Goetterbildnissen, die ihm die Ueberlieferung geheiligt hatte, rissen sie ihm unbarmherzig den mystischen Schleier herab. Es ging viel Licht und viel Erkenntnis von diesen Geistern aus. Mit ihrer gesamten Weltanschauung stand er aber in unversoehnllichem Widerspruch und machte darin auch die Erfahrung, dass man im Widerspruch oft mehr lernt als in verstaendnisinnigen Gespraechen." (564).

On one trait all authors are in full agreement, that quality which Buehrer very aptly called "knabenhafte Guete". Wirz gives us an example: "Von den Russen erhielt ich nach ein paar Tagen die Nachricht, dass mein Mantel einem beduerftigen

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(563) Otto Wirz "Gewalten eines Toren", vol. I, p. 314.

(564) J. Schaffner "Die Erlhoeferin", p. 98.

Manne uebergeben worden sei. Ich erkundigte mich nach der Frau, die ihn von mir erhalten. Sie studierte mit neunzig Franken im Monat Medizin, verdiente sich einiges durch Stundengeben hinzu und gab einen Teil des Verfuegbaren regelmaessig an arme Lande-  
sleute weiter. Einst hatte sie sich neue Gummischuhe erworben. Man entwendete sie ihr am gleichen Tage in einem Speisehaus. Ein altes zerrissenes Paar stand da an ihrer Statt. Sie betrachtete es mit Befriedigung. 'Man sieht', sprach sie, 'der andere hat neue noch noetiger gehabt als ich.'" (565) Schaffner calls them "Hochgebildet und weitherzig" (566) and in Vuilleumier's "Sie irren, Herr Staatsanwalt" Dimitri Kotschanow dies with terms of endearment on his lips (567).

Yet in spite of all praise, no bridge leads from the Russian guest to his Swiss host, and Zahn follows a sound Swiss instinct in showing the impossibility of a marriage between Stuenzli and Kaulen. Schaffner intimates that Russia will become a home for Heinrich (one of the main characters in "Die Erlhoeferin") only after he has been uprooted, and Wirz notwithstanding all his sympathy cannot refrain from quoting the views of the man and woman in the street to whom the Russian appears as "... zuegelloser in seinen geistigen Interessen als der westliche Mensch ... liebenswuerdig, .. aber unsteter,

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(565) Otto Wirz "Gewalten eines Toren", vol. I, p. 315.

(566) J. Schaffner "Die Erlhoeferin", p. 90.

(567) p. 109.

zerrissener, gleichgueltiger, sprunghafter, daemonischer .." (568)  
Zahn had said the same without so many words in "Anna Kaulen".

This interest in the complicated mentality of one kind of foreigner may be comparatively unimportant, but it is at least superior to Hartmann's naive praise for the English (569) who spend much money in Switzerland and stand out for their generosity (570). Growing preoccupation with psychological analysis had made this advance possible, but Swiss middle class stuffiness soon ended these experiments. That tendency which wanted to show the foreigner as the direct or indirect perverter of healthy cultural life in Switzerland grew. Moeschlin (571) and Schaffner (572) objected to the way in which Swiss national customs were stressed or changed in order to let the foreigner enjoy a spectacle for his money. Buehrer is still more scathing in his exposures of the Swiss businessman who defiles nature (573), exploits the country's resources and cheats the foreigner in his eagerness to enrich Switzerland, which generally means himself. Inglin wrote the most complete condemnation of the Grand Hotel mania in a recent novel (574) and is pessimistic about the influence of both the hotel proprietor and his foreign guests on Swiss social life. Vuilleumier, too,

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(568) Wira, p. 314.

(569) Hartmann "Aenneli von Siebenthal".

(570) Anglo-Saxon generosity is also mentioned in Gotthelf Jr. "Der Patrizierspiegel", Keller's "Pankraz, der Schmoller" (which can, however, not be used as a suitable document, since the English people mentioned do not live in Switzerland) and Heer's "An heiligen Wassern".

(571) "Der Amerika-Johann".

(572) "Das Schweizerkreuz".

(573) "Das Volk der Hirten".

(574) "Grand Hotel Excelsior".

although he is far from being a chauvinistic patriot, draws a most revolting picture of the kind of international society which has infested Swiss hotels ever since the last Great War (575).

Whilst these objections are of a moral type and are directed against international gangsters, profiteers, prostitutes, idlers, perverts and that sort of hotel keeper who encourages their residence in Switzerland, other authors, petty-bourgeois in character, fear political dangers. Gotthelf had blamed Germans resident in Switzerland for an increase of radicalism; in the last twenty years or so the growth of Socialism has been attributed to foreign agitators. There is a good deal of truth in this accusation. Industry had to recruit both intellectuals and factory hands from abroad, and many of these had clearer views on politics than the Swiss workers or intellectuals, who were as a rule too well off to preach rebellion, too cautious to overlook the strength, even numerically, of the Swiss lower middle classes and of the agricultural population, and too level-headed to follow abstract ideologies without considerable qualms. Thus Maria Waser (576), Anna Burg (577) and Meinrad Inglin (578) lay all extremist ventures at the door of foreigners, and even authors who are not blind to the sufferings of the Swiss proletariat, such as Bosshart (579), do not deny that foreign agitators will be largely responsi-

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- (575) "Cantor im Kaleidoskop".  
(576) "Wir Narren von gestern", p. 85.  
(577) "Das Gras verdorret", p. 82.  
(578) "Grand Hotel Excelsior", p. 222.  
(579) "Ein Rufer in der Wueste", p. 540.

ble if opposition to capitalism grows among the working classes. When one realises this, it is almost surprising that authors of imaginative literature have not yet demanded the exclusion of foreigners from Swiss civic life, which has been postulated by some ultra-conservative sociologists (580).

The foreigners' reactions to Swiss isolation have often been bitter and were sufficiently loud at one time to force Swiss authors to a reply. Federer defended Switzerland's seeming indifference to the outside world during the last war (581) and voiced the feelings of most of his compatriots who refused to take sides as violently as Spitteler did for example. In all fairness it must be conceded that the Swiss have never been idle, when prisoners, refugees and other unfortunates needed attention, though there is no reason why authors like Maria Waser should be content with seeing Switzerland always as the healer after a disaster (582). Surely it could be justifiably argued that prevention is better than cure, and that the Confederation might make her nursing work unnecessary by helping to prevent disasters. This would presuppose an interest in the surrounding world which at present does not exist. Switzerland possesses more of Gott-helf's isolationist spirit than she is ready to admit.

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(580) cf. "Die kulturelle Ueberfremdung der Schweiz" by Max Koller, Zuerich 1918.

(581) Heinrich Federer "Unser Herrgott und der Schweizer", Zuerich 1918.

(582) Waser "Wir Narren von gestern", p. 155.

## TOWN VERSUS COUNTRY.

According to Oswald Spengler (583), the main struggle in our modern social life is that between city mentality and country outlook. This is borne out by certain literary movements -- one need only think of the "Georgian Poets" in English literature or of the German "Bauerndichtung" -- and Swiss literature is no exception. Swiss authors take a particularly strong interest in the controversy between town and country advocates. The contrast in moral outlook is frequently exploited by middle class authors, but in the first fifty years of the period under review they are not quite sure whether to choose progress or simplicity (at least that is how the choice appeared to them). Gotthelf for instance showed the depravity of city culture and created the impression that he sided with the country (584), but another time he wrote: "Man meint auf dem Lande, in den Staedten sei die Verfuehrung und das schlechte Leben zuhause; ach, wenn man doch die Augen offen haette fuer das, was rund um einen in der naechsten Umgebung vorgeht!" (585). Keller saw no reason to condemn the places from which, beginning in the middle ages, modern culture had arisen, as he showed in the carnival scene in "Der gruene Heinrich". To deny the value of town life would have been an attack on Liberalism. He did not look down on the farmer whose naturalness (586) and sound pride in his own prod-

(583) "Der Untergang des Abendlandes".

(584) cf. "Kaeserei", p. 17, p. 154, p. 488, also "Zeitgeist", p. 63, cf. also Roethlisberger "Das Kind etc.", p. 29, which allows conclusions on Gotthelf's inconsistencies.

(585) cf. Muschg, p. 407.

(586) cf. Keller's reviews on Gotthelf, reprinted "Nachlass", p. 131 on harmonious existence in the country.

uce (587) appeared as healthy to him. He smiled indulgently at the prejudice held widely by country people that town dwellers were poor (588). In "Die missbrauchten Liebensbriefe" he spoke as a rationalist amazed at the credulity of country folk (589). His attitude was fairly typical. On the whole the first Liberal generation avoided setting off town against country. They had no reason to look down on farmers who voted Liberal and expressed their willingness to learn as much from the new Gods, progress and enlightenment, as could be digested. Thus Haberstich did not find it detrimental to the honour of townspeople that the Conservative leaders from Berne were soundly beaten by farmers (590), physically as well as morally. Hartmann's treatment of the contrast is still more illuminating. He shows a farmer's aversion to a son-in-law from town, and his refusal to give his farm to a man who has no idea of farming, is treated as natural by the author. The solution is found (591) in the suitor's secret training in agriculture. The competent farmer -- whether child of town or country -- cannot be rejected. The Liberals of the second generation were equally intent on making the best of both worlds. J.C. Heer in his early period (592) waxed lyrical about the farmer's virtues, but had little respect for his persistence in superstition and seclusion; Ernst Zahn, in spite of

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(587) "Der gruene Heinrich", first version, p. 212.

(588) *ibidem*, p. 213.

(589) "Seldwyla II", p. 325.

(590) "Der Patrizierspiegel".

(591) "Kiltabendgeschichten".

(592) "An heiligen Wassern".

his love for true peasants, attacked reactionary villagers who wished to seal their valleys hermetically to traffic and foreigners (593).

Only after the first disappointments about Liberalism had matured, was town civilisation abused, and country culture praised. Peace reigned in literature for about fifty years, then suddenly Felix Moeschlin, Fritz Marti and Ernst Zahn showed interest in purity, sincerity, honesty, industriousness and God-fearing as well as self-confident strength -- the petty bourgeois set of ideals which is found at its best in the countryside. The cry is for preservation, after all the demands for progress.

The three writers are of quite different calibre artistically. Moeschlin is the profound and concerned apostle of the country. He went as far as to take up his domicile in Sweden where farmers still preserved the primitivity he cherished. He openly asked the question, which since Gotthelf's death had not been approached directly, whether man ought to return to nature in order to save himself. He first answered it in "Der Amerika-Johann" (1912) and there his preference for the country is most emphatically stated.

The farmer is purer and healthier in life and outlook; the big town is a monster, corrupting and destroying its own inhabitants, and giving off death rays which harm the countryside. Neither industry nor commerce, nor that special line of business

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(593) Most clearly expressed in "Herrgottsfaeden".

which makes Switzerland rich, the tourist trade, make the farmer better, wealthier or happier. One notices at a glance how authors' interests change. Gotthelf had studied proceedings in the law courts in order to gain detailed knowledge of the civilisation of his period (594). Keller had entered active party politics -- now "realists" of Moeschlin's type begin to study economics (595). The materialists had dwelled on factual accuracy, statistics had begun to play a part in "les belles lettres" -- why should not the enemies of materialism equip themselves with specialised knowledge on matters which belong to the physical as well as the spiritual world? This is shown in Steffen's "Die Erneuerung des Bundes" where one of his characters collects data relating to professional diseases.

With a power of conviction which reveals a good command of the relevant facts Moeschlin chooses that same type which once attracted Zahn (596), the emigrant returning from America, as the representative of corrupt city culture. The "Amerika-Johann" exploits whatever he can lay his hands on. He buys the forest which surrounds the village where he was born, he sells cheap modern furniture and dress to the farmers and makes them part with their beautiful traditional dress and their handcarved furniture. The new spirit of progress which, according to Moeschlin, is nothing but a desire to get rich quickly,

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(594) cf. Muschg, chapt. "Realismus".

(595) cf. Ermatinger, p. 731.

(596) "Die Mutter".

suddenly pervades the village. "Amerika-Johann" launches a limited company exploiting the timber resources of the district. When a crisis hits the timber trade severely, he has secured his money in time whereas the farmers lose their shares. When he starts out on a new venture, the farmers still cannot resist the attraction of this strange financial genius. This time foreign tourists, as in Heer's "Der Koenig der Bernina", are to benefit the district. Soon the discarded old-fashioned costumes and pieces of furniture are fetched down again from the attics for the benefit of admiring strangers. Johann opens a hotel. He then proceeds to buy land for the construction of a sanatorium. Soon the village will be a busy town with everybody praying for well-paying guests instead of for rain to water the crops. Johann, however, has gone too far and, like the emigrant in "Die Mutter" he drives sane people to violence. The farmers kill him, and contentment with their existence on the soil returns to the villagers (597).

As regards the social types, we find the same groups as in the more popular novels by Zahn and Heer, with the only, but very important exception, that the representatives of the new town-inspired outlook on life are not hailed as saviours, but accused as murderers. The farmers in both cases are sound in mind and body, but unimaginative. In Heer's "Koenig der Bernina" they are depicted as not clear-sighted enough to wel-

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(597) The novel takes place in Sweden, but is applicable enough to Swiss conditions to be mentioned here.

come the new source of prosperity, in "Der Amerika-Johann" they are blamed for not finding out soon enough that Johann is their enemy and not even a declared one, but a crook. This means a declaration of war against town civilisation. The advocacy of an advance of city culture into the country as an integral part of the struggle for progress has disappeared. The years of greatest, but also most revealing busy-ness in the towns, "die Gruenderzeit", had tipped the scales in favour of country life for every thinker who wanted to get beneath the surface of social progress.

Moeschlin continued to stress the importance for Switzerland of preserving an agricultural economy. That novel which Korrodi holds to be his finest work, "Die Koenigschmieds" (1909) again takes the reader back to a village where dangerous trends show themselves. One may speak of "trends", for Moeschlin in a truly panoramic way lets three generations express themselves. Yet the conclusion at which he arrives is given in the first half of the novel; it might have been moved to the end, but its place in the first half suggests that no generation can alter that one fundamental fact of which Victor speaks: "Auf die Erde bist du gefallen. Tiefer kannst du nicht mehr fallen. Das ist ein Halt, den dir niemand mehr rauben kann, ein Besitz, der dir bleibt, so lange du lebst." (598) The farmer comes into his own again. One is reminded of Benz

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(598) "Die Koenigschmieds", Leipzig (edition of 1912), p. 165.

(in "Zeitgeist") walking home from town after his personal acquaintance with Radicalism in its worst form, when he looks at the landscape and rejoices over God's creation and the blessings in the religious and contented farmer's life. Certainly there is no writer about the soil from 1853 when Gotthelf laid away the pen to 1909 when "Die Koenigschmieds" was published. There had been stories on farmers, but the farmers in those Novellen or novels had not been convincing (Huggenberger, the farmer, excepted). Sometimes they were seen from the point of view of the town dweller who had made a short acquaintance with country life, in which case his portraits bore a wrong perspective. Other authors had looked for the exceptional and with naturalistic accuracy they had either drawn pictures of conditions which did not fit sufficiently into everyday life to be considered typical, or they had missed out art altogether. In Moeschlin's novel, however, as well as in Gotthelf's works, the farmers who stand in the foreground are both typical and natural. Still more, they are seen in the farmer's perspective, viz. they are the salt of the earth, not merely the spice on the town-born author's palate. This makes bias unavoidable. If there is an argument between town and countryside, the country is generally right (599) and the town-dwellers are oppressors of righteousness (600). It is this atti-

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(599) He admits the justification for the existence of towns, but insists on strict separation. Such a division of society leads naturally to weaknesses in contents and construction of the novel, e.g. the village teacher does not fit into the scheme at all.

(600) cf. p. 31: "... im Kampfe der Bauern gegen staedtische Bedrueckung...".

tude which had made Gotthelf occasionally see Berne as the seat of all wickedness. Moeschlin, hostile to the encroachments of town civilisation on country life, sees in the farmer the strongest and healthiest citizen. He is so firmly attached to the soil, if one is to believe Moeschlin, that even the intellectual among the farmers cannot be satisfied by mere intellectual and spiritual pursuits. Gregor, Sepp Koenig's brother, had become a priest in order to ensure the prosperity of his brother's farm which would not have been capable of providing a livelihood for two farmers. Secretly, however, he produces plough-shares which his brother sells and only at the anvil does he find an outlet for the desires which propel him towards an energetic life in the fields and vineyards (601). Gregor is convinced that he is a good priest, because he understands his flock. He loves them; they are "... in der Arbeit... Tag um Tag, wie Soldaten in einer ewigen Schlacht" (602). In that eternal battle Gregor dies himself, as a farmer, not as a priest. When the grass requires cutting, if the hay harvest is not to be lost, he allows his farmers who would not have dared to work on a Sunday, to bring in the harvest on the Sabbath. On another occasion when helping in the fields, he is seized by a stroke and dies on the spot.

Both these details are most significant. Moeschlin, in spite of all his opposition to the civilising mania of his period has not been able to detach himself altogether from the "Zeit-

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(601) p. 70.

(602) p. 71.

geist", Gotthelf was a realist, Moeschlin is a naturalist in many ways. Naturalism is more than an attribute of style (603). It is no coincidence that another naturalist author, who preferred country to town, Anzengruber, arrived at the same conclusions regarding the hold of the Catholic Church over the farming population as Moeschlin does. In "Die Kreuzelschreiber" the women are most slavishly attached to the Church, in Moeschlin's "Die Koenigschmieds" Anna and Marei are spiritually and physically cramped by observing the priest's commandments over-strictly. In both, the man who stands outside the Catholic community and arrives at his religious convictions through contact with nature is made to pronounce the most balanced, progressive and tolerant views -- in one case a road-mender, in the other a shepherd is entrusted with that rôle. In addition, the only people who are really happy in "Die Koenigschmieds" are Urs, the freethinker, and Marei, his wife, who both refuse to go to Church after their marriage, preferring to show their religion in a practical way through good works. Sepp Koenig himself is pleased at the thought that he caused everything that happened to him, and that no external, mysterious force moved him in his doings. Here the difference between Gotthelf and Moeschlin be-

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(603) though it is interesting to compare the stylistic differences between Gotthelf and Moeschlin. One can also point to the different attitudes of their farmers towards the land. Korrodi calls Gotthelf's peasants "naiv", and Moeschlin's "sentimentalisch". This distinction, brought about by the intervening period of increasing scientific education, is noticeable everywhere -- in language, style and thought.

comes most noticeable. Gotthelf would not have chosen a free-thinking shepherd as his mouthpiece, nor would he have had any excuse for a priest who allows work on the Sabbath (604). The scientific outlook which had suggested economics as an important subject to Moeschlin led him to a rejection of extra ecclesia salus nulla est. His farmers threaten to become Liberal Catholics if their priest is taken from them. There is more likelihood of salvation outside the Church than inside, as long as truly religious feelings are present. Monasteries can be appropriated by the State without any divine rectification of such an injustice taking place. Moeschlin treats the superstitious belief of some of the farmers that God will help them in their efforts to prevent the expulsion of the monks, with a certain irony. In that, too, he is a child of his time. Gotthelf had called the confiscation of Church property in his time plain theft.

The main theme of the novel is the continued demand that the farmer must stay in the country and live on his soil, dependent solely upon and content with it. The construction of the story which reminds one of Thomas Mann's "Buddenbrooks" bears this out. Sepp, the grandfather, is the true farmer. His thoughts are centred upon a righteous life, the prosperity of his estate and a son to run the farm after his death. In these thoughts there is no flaw, and Moeschlin seems convinced that they are healthy, natural and beneficial. Sepp, however, makes one mistake. When

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(604) cf. his anecdotes near the beginning of "Kaeserei" describing punishments by God meted out to farmers who work on a Sunday.

his wife gives birth to a son and pays with her own life for his, concerns about Viktor, the heir, are allowed to crowd out all other considerations. Viktor is to become a saint, a priest, a farmer in succession, and unfortunately he is educated too well. His sisters are ill-treated for his sake, and eventually the father commits the greatest blunder of his life by settling the estate upon his son before his own death.

Viktor is still industrious and still proud of the farm, but he indulges in industrial and commercial ventures, marries a thoroughly unsuitable but reputedly rich woman who is expecting a child by him, and finally he takes to drink. This is the first stage of the decay of the family.

Arnold, Viktor's eldest son, neither wants to work, nor does he show any interest in the farm. A mere parasite, his unrest drives him to town where he will probably end his days in a factory. His brothers become merchants, post officials, waiters. The ruin of farm and family is complete. Viktor sets fire to the buildings; the Koenigshof must cease to exist when no Koenig is ready to be master of it. The line of development is too distinct to be overlooked, Sepp's mistakes are too apparent not to warn us of what is going to happen, and the author's caution is plain, even if the novel does not end on a positive note like "Der Amerika-Johann" which Nadler prefers for constructive ideology. Moeschlin is -- need that be expressly stated? -- hardly an impartial judge, yet as a reformer he knows that too

obvious over-statements merely harm the cause he wants to further. The coarse attitude of farmers towards matters of sex, their contemptuous treatment of women, and their groundless objections to the very things which they will later on appraise, are not glossed over, nor is their short-sightedness in the choice of their sons-in-law and daughters-in-law which is actuated by considerations of money and land left unmentioned. Their intolerance in religious matters -- Protestants are shunned even more than Jews -- is not excused.

The credit side of the account, however, is weightier. Their industriousness, modesty, and pride in the outcome of their toil are demonstrated as by no author since Gotthelf. This list of virtues could be extended, but one cannot fail to make one observation: the farmer's virtues are not social virtues. This is a point which Moeschlin leaves entirely out of account. The farmer's work may feed others, but his attitude towards his neighbour is faulty. The binding power of social intercourse is missing. Where in "Die Koenigschmieds" is there any passage suggesting the presence of a communal or public spirit? Every farmer seems to be a self-detached entity. No threads of friendship lead anywhere from the Koenigshof. The priest can justly point out (although he does not blame them for it!) that they neglect God. One could add to this a contempt for women, unwillingness to pay for educational services, obstruction even of reasonable progress, opposition to measures approved by majorities. There is not even any interest in political matters, and their patriotism, as even

Moeschlin admits, is superficial. Their sympathy with others is slow in coming and passes quickly. Their entire thinking is self-centred. Gotthelf, who had maintained in "Die Kaeserei in der Vohfreude" that farmers could never be brought together, be made to act truly sociably or be inspired by social ideals, is proved by Moeschlin to be right. The only difference is that Moeschlin almost certainly did not intend to demonstrate this a-social character of the country population.

Compared with Moeschlin, Fritz Marti (605) is naive and borne. He works consistently on the black-and-white principle. Nevertheless the Novelle is interesting as it throws a light on the unreasonable plans, which country folk conceived, regarding their children, when they saw that they were a little more gifted than others. They were blinded by the same delusions which Hartmann had attacked (606) and Keller had condemned in his review on Jeremias Gotthelf. Keller wrote then (607): "Mancher Bauer, dessen Sohn einen guten Brief schreiben, eine Wiese ausmessen gelernt, oder in Erfahrung gebracht hat, dass die Gewaechse sich auch geschlechtsweise fortpflanzen, oder der ueber 1812 und 1798 hinauf noch einige historische Jahreszahlen mehr kennt, der sagt: 'Pots Blitz! Mein Bub muss ein Gerichtsschreiber oder gar ein Ingenieur, ein Doktor, ein Lehrer werden.'" Und statt eines

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- (605) Fritz Marti "Die Stadt", Zuerich (undated). Found in his papers after his death which took place in Summer 1914.  
(606) Hartmann "Peterli, der verlorene Sohn" in "Kiltabendgeschichten", 1852/4.  
(607) reprinted in "Nachlass", p. 96.

tuechtigen, kundigen Buergers, der mit Rath und That bei der Hand und eine Zierde seiner Gemeinde ist, erzieht er mit seinem sauer erworbenen Gelde dem Staate ein misslungenes Subjekt, einen Winkeladvokaten und kaeuflichen Geschaeftemacher, einen versoffenen Geometer... einen Quacksalber und einen aufgeblasenen Schulmeister."

In Marti's story an honest, hardworking, simple woman from the country has far-reaching intentions concerning her daughter's future. She is to have a better life than her mother had. This in itself is a rather revealing statement. In generations untainted by the bourgeois ideal of "getting on in life" farmers never dreamed of wanting a better, in the sense of different, occupation for their children than farming. If a farmer had a son, he must be a farmer; if he is the youngest son, he will get the farm at his father's death or retirement (608) and all a farmer will do towards improving his son's lot is to add one or two fields to the holding handed down to the father by the grandfather. With the dawn of the capitalist age, farmers learning of the easy money that can be earned by people with brains and an education, begin to dream of their sons' comfortable lives in ease and luxury. They send them to universities. Gotthelf has only scorn and contempt for farmers who yield to this temptation and blames modern enlightenment and the "Zeitgeist" for this deplorable phenomenon. Keller, as we have seen, is equally

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(608) In this Bernese custom differs from English or German usage.

strongly opposed to this development, but refuses to admit that education is to be blamed for this. He blames human weakness. Strictly speaking, both are wrong in attributing this new custom to one single cause. The whole historic position made this error of judgment on the part of farmers possible. The dangerous hunt after success and money had begun, the scientific outlook of the age promised a life of ease to everybody, education had become more general, ready money began to be valued more -- all this helped to alter the views of farmers on their sons' future. This attitude progresses till we find in the years just before the war a general boasting by village leaders of how many doctors, lawyers, priests, architects and engineers their village has produced (609). Farmers, as we see in Schaffner (610) and in Moeschlin, have to struggle hard to keep their sons on the land, and it is some time before authors regret this phenomenon. At the height of capitalist saturation writers condoned this flight from the land (611). Marti, however, belongs to those authors who feel deeply concerned about this rush to the towns not only by the scum, but to a great extent and still more deplorable, by the most gifted country children. Therese is one of these. Her parents sent her to "Welschland" to learn French and to "acquire culture". The father has to be exonerated. His wife insisted. Again, like in Hartmann's story (612) it is the mother who has

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- (609) cf. Federer "Jungfer Therese", p. 277.  
(610) "Die Erlhoeferin".  
(611) Heer and Zahn give examples of this.  
(612) "Peterli, der verlorene Sohn".

the more ambitious hopes. When her period of education is terminated, Therese is sent to town to work as a governess. One day her mother decides to visit her daughter. She finds her thoroughly corrupted through town life, conspicuously dressed, ostentatious in manners, perfumed, and worst of all, ashamed of her mother. The poor old woman follows her frivolous daughter who pretends that the badly dressed, rather loud woman, who gapes open-mouthed at all the unaccustomed traffic in the streets and the luxury in the shops, does not belong to her. At last they reach a rather disreputable public-house where the daughter drinks like a fish and spends more money on one meal and a tip than her mother can spend on a whole week's food. When the mother at last discovers that her daughter is nothing but a prostitute, the pathetic and sentimental story is complete. It ends with the mother cursing her own high-flown ideas. She wants to commit suicide, but eventually abandons this intention and takes her daughter back to the country where one does not find luxury and thieves, ease and prostitution, but hard work, honesty, simple dress and food, moral steadfastness and contentment with little.

Admittedly, the colours are laid on very thickly, but this only goes to show how narrow and super-virtuous middle class morality was becoming round about the turn of the century.

Ernst Zahn in his second period, more balanced and rather intent on realistic treatment, avoids exaggeration. In "Der Geiss-Christeli" (613) he makes a poor village boy experience (613) in collection "Helden des Alltags", pp. 316-335.

the corruption of town life, but in "Wie es in Brenzikon menschelte" (614) he shows village life as it really is, viz. immoral to the same degree as town life if only an opportunity presents itself. The time had come, however, when a decision, one way or the other, was expected of the writer (615). Schaffner was not afraid of attacking the tyranny which demanded of farmers' sons that they should continue a tradition which meant nothing to them (616). Huggenberger writing as a farmer for farmers showed country life as it is and let it speak in its own defence (617). Bosshart (618) and Odermatt (619) expressed their dissatisfaction with Liberal achievements in hopeful pictures of rustic culture. To Spitteler alone, farmers were uninteresting, as they make no claim to intellectual independence or excellency. He preferred them, however, to the town middle classes whose hypocrisy they do not share (620). Then the war came. Town and countryside had to get along together. There was a temporary armistice in the battle town versus country.

In the last fifteen years hostilities have broken out afresh. Fankhauser sides with the country whence all religion has come (621) according to his views, where faith is renewed and where every movement for cleansing society from corruption begins. Inglin, too, expects a good deal from a return to rural simplicity (622). Kuhn goes further than anybody else (623).

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(614) in collection "Firnwind", pp. 265-294.

(615) This was the period when towns began to organise themselves in defence of their interests.

(616) "Die Erlhoeferin".

(617) Alfred Huggenberger "Die Bauern von Steig", Leipzig 1912.

In the course of a novel (624) Kohn contrasts the farmer with three other classes: the industrialists, the proletariat and the middle classes in the towns. Everything is related to the farmer's life, whether it be the State, the capitalist whose factory borders on the farm, the Christian gospel or Socialist theories. Jost, the father, is an intelligent, independent man. He cares so little about the unessential views of his neighbours that he marries a woman of a different faith. There is nothing problematic about him. His aims are as simple as those of his ancestors, identical with Sepp Koenig's in "Die Koenigschmieds". Joerg, his "difficult" son, has higher aims than agriculture. Thus the clash between education and farming again stands in the foreground, and the way by which Joerg is led back to agriculture, after having deserted his post at home, constitutes the main problem of the novel.

The farming class is drawn sympathetically and the author aims at showing both the deserved and the unmerited plight of present day farmers in a way which would do credit to any sociologist. Deserved distress is caused by the farmer's lack of faith in the value of his handiwork (Keller had maintained the opposite!).

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- (618) "Ein Rufer in der Wueste", cf. particularly the ending.  
 (619) "Bruder und Schwester".  
 (620) "Imago".  
 (621) "Die Brueder der Flamme".  
 (622) "Grand Hotel Excelsior", ending.  
 (623) The connection between Kuhn's ideas on private property and Socialism on the one hand and modern Swiss political theory on the other is considered in another chapter and therefore omitted here.  
 (624) "Die Jostensippe".

He starts by buying one machine only to find that he has become enslaved to mechanical devices (625). The extension of the use of machinery, once embarked upon, cannot be arrested (626). The author is definitely opposed to this development since it estranges the farmer from real work, forces farm hands to become proletarians and makes the peasant befriend the industrialist who is his enemy. The result is that the flight from the land assumes greater proportions and well-established morality begins to be assailed by those who ought to strengthen it, viz. the farmers' sons. The towns offer a relief from the loneliness in the countryside, better pay, free evenings, amusements -- young people will flock to these attractions unless the more experienced older generation stresses the deep significance of farm work. As things are, greed and increasing laziness have caused the older farmers to set a bad example to their children by industrialising agriculture. They let education separate their children from the land instead of using it for the fostering of real values (here Kuhn returns to Keller's point of view). Spiritually they offer nothing to their offspring. They refuse to acknowledge the reality of artistic leanings by branding art as a pastime for rich people only. They have no understanding for the deep religious yearnings of the younger people. In consequence they lose their children and only the most valuable individuals such as Joerg return after having experienced

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(625) "Die Jostensippe", p. 88 and p. 101.

(626) *ibid.* p. 373.

all those disappointments which modern civilisation has in store for all serious-minded people.

A fair number of the farmer's difficulties are, however, undeserved. Economic developments react on all classes of society. Class barriers and national boundaries cannot stop the advance of a crisis. The Swiss farmer suffers, when Wall Street, several thousand miles away, experiences a slump (627). The bank, always ready in the past to help with a small loan or mortgage, emerges as an enemy (628).

Only Hans Fallada's "Bauern, Bonzen und Bomben", dealing with conditions in Germany round about 1930, can be compared in strength of feeling and power of expression with Kuhn's novel. In Fallada's book the farmers rebel with revolutionary agitation which leads them as far as bomb outrages. In Switzerland democratic tradition and discipline prevent revolt against the State in which the farmers are, at least nominally, represented. Yet the atmosphere becomes tense. For the first time during the whole period from 1850-1940 the farming population approaches the government for help on a large and national scale. The only alternative had been coalition with Socialism. Both solutions are hateful to the farmers (629). But they prefer humiliation, to Socialist theories which threaten their

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(627) *ibid.* p. 335.

(628) *ibid.* p. 356.

(629) "Die Jostensippe", p. 592.

possessions. The State is now seen as nothing but a representative of interests. Once it represented the aristocracy, the clergy and the army, now the industrialists and bankers obtain whatever they want through the State. When the farmers present their claims, officials, parliamentary representatives, leaders of the press, experts, lawyers, marketing boards and distributors' associations vie with each other in inventing obstructions (630). The "farmer" M.P.'s betray the cause of their constituents (631). Why do not the farmers unite, like the industrialists and every other professional group down to the proletariat? The author regrets the absence of unity among the most vital section of the population (632). Things have changed. In 1850 Gotthelf reproached the farmers with acting in an unnatural way, contrary to the true character of any farmer, when they formed corporations like the one described in "Die Kaeserei". He rejoiced when disruption set in. In 1934 they are blamed by Kuhn for this unreasonable individualism.

The defence of town civilisation rests today with Socialist authors. Vuilleumier's farmers are little better than savages (633). They vegetate in superstition, intolerance and childlike obedience to their priests. They hate townspeople, Communism, strangers, progress -- in short they are obstacles in

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(630) *ibid.* p. 393.

(631) *ibid.* p. 394.

(632) *ibidem.*

(633) "Cantor im Kaleidoskop" and "Sie irren, Herr Staatsanwalt".

the way of social justice, democratic responsibility and human brotherhood. Sociologists confirm this gloomy view for mountain villages at any rate (634), but fortunately even the smallest and remotest places are being opened up to wholesome broadening influences. The reader, however, is baffled by the various judgments and has to choose between Conservative advocates of the country, Liberal defenders of town civilisation, proletarians who see their salvation arising from the towns and obstructed by the country and finally agricultural Socialists who -- along with some intellectuals -- hope for a new era whose cradle can only be in the countryside.

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(634) cf. Sir E.D. Simon "The smaller democracies", London 1939, pp. 16/7 in particular.

## THE CLASH OF THE GENERATIONS.

Not every age witnesses a struggle between town and countryside, but the drawn out battle between the older generation and the younger is known to every society. No author who is bent on reflecting the totality of social life in his works can gloss over the facts that the dissatisfaction of children with the world their elders built, the desire of the younger generation to assert itself and the effort of men and women of experience to preserve what they have won in a bitter struggle against their elders are causes of social friction, and thus, social factors of considerable importance. Progress, stagnation and retrogression depend on the degree to which the younger generation succeeds or fails in improving social conditions as it found them at the moment when its critical faculties began to awaken. Every author who wishes to influence social life rather than to depict it as a neutral observer, must accordingly decide whether the younger or the older generation deserves his support. His decision should not be influenced by his own age; although it frequently is.

In the middle of last century, the struggle between young and old within the family was particularly severe, if we are to believe what authors tell us. Gotthelf repeats over and over again that parents allow themselves to be tyrannised by their sons (635) and that the younger generation no longer re-

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(635) "Zeitgeist", p. 287.

spects old age (636). No doubt a good deal of this was true, or a fairly open-minded author like Hartmann would not have written in a similar strain (637). Whilst sociology has explained which general influences allow for enmity between the generations to develop, it is of interest to analyse the particular circumstances/<sup>which</sup>brought about the clashes between young and old round about 1850.

Gotthelf does not theorise on the matter, but examples drawn from his novels are illuminating enough. Felix, the mayor's son in "Die Kaeserei in der Vohfreude", can do whatever he likes in the village as long as he emerges superior from any verbal controversy or actual fight. Why should his father be so lenient as to allow such scope of action? Gotthelf does not answer directly, but he depicts the mayor as domineering, enterprising and rich. He hates aristocrats, the former rulers, and glories in his own power. His benevolent attitude towards his son's despotism is partly founded on the pleasure he experiences when he sees his son capable of ruling after he has gone. Here then is one root of parental weakness. Another boy in the same novel disturbs the peace of the village as effectively by his cunning as Felix does by brute force. The boy has had a modern education and is intellectually superior to many an adult in the community (although Gotthelf takes care to introduce us merely to the disagreeable sides of this trained intellect). In an age

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(636) "Kaeserei", p. 475.

(637) "Peterli, der verlorene Sohn".

which believes fanatically in education there are no effective safeguards against undue influence being exercised by youngsters who have benefited from an education superior to the training enjoyed by their elders. If such future bourgeois "rulers" are taught into the bargain, that their parents are victims of stupid superstitions such as the Christian faith, barbaric in their educational methods, believing as they do in corporal punishment, and generally pitiable in their ignorance, there is no limit to the amount of conceit that can be bred in school children, and parents, unless they lose faith in education, are bound to become wrongly intimidated by their own offspring. To this must be added the widely held faith in progress which makes it possible for people to believe that their children are really better than they are themselves. This development had only just begun when Gotthelf wrote his political novels, but he must have foreseen dangers. In his next novel he showed such a modern youth entrusted with a public office and public funds, and he succeeds in making the reader feel that modern education, wrong parental pride and optimistic ideas on progress and the value of education cannot fail to turn the boy into a drunkard and thief.

In spite of his gloomy outlook, Gotthelf did not dwell on the possibility of active opposition by sons or daughters to their parents. Jakob Frey, too, does not give us any example of open conflict although he shows the dangers to the community created by the contempt for tradition in which young people are

brought up (638). Even Keller does not foresee the possibility of an actual breaking off of relations between the two generations. Children still obey (639) although he mentions the greater independence they enjoy (640) and the danger of excessive leniency on the part of the parents (641). He characterizes the irresponsibility in the outlook of a majority among the younger generation, by contrasting their business methods with those of their elders (642), who object to creditors being cheated by financial settlements on a percentage basis. Nevertheless, the son still believes in his father's good intentions (643) and on the whole the family still "pull together". Sali (644) takes his father's part in a fight although he does not believe in the righteousness of his father's cause.

This situation which seemed to belie Gotthelf's prophecies could not last for ever. The power complex which made bourgeois parents impose a standard of living and a profession on their children against their will, the financial dependence in which educated sons with minds of their own had to live and the growing dissatisfaction of imaginative children whose individualist outlook had been stimulated by modern teachers produced their results at the beginning of the new century (645). Schaffner, a

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(638) "Der Alpenwald".

(639) e.g. the daughters in "Martin Salander" etc.

(640) cf. "Martin Salander", p. 102.

(641) demonstrated by the Zeissig boys, "Martin Salander".

(642) "Das verlorene Lachen", Sedwyla II, p. 443.

(643) cf. relationship between Martin and Arnold Salander.

(644) "Romeo und Julia auf dem Dorfe".

(645) The development: ascendancy of the younger generation in the middle of the 19th century, superficial victory of the elders in the 'sixties to 'eighties to be followed by open rebellion/

rebel in so many ways, was one of the first to take youth's side against parental despotism. In "Die Erlhoeferin" only death ends a conflict in the course of which a mother's demands, which would have been considered reasonable only a short time before, are violently rejected (646). Considerations of the past -- and the parents now constitute part of the past -- must no longer cramp individual development.

Steffen probed a good deal deeper and discovered in the same decade that not only meaningless tradition was being rejected, but that the younger generation looked at life altogether differently. Alois and Werelsche, two boys in their 'teens (647) begin by being bored by their parents (648). After some time they read books which their parents condemn as "sinnlos und schwachsinnig" (649). This is altogether new. In the 19th century young people had not been attracted by literature which could be termed defeatist or decadent, morbid in its cruel analysis of all sentiment and repulsive in its lack of virility. Suddenly it appears, and the carefully educated children of well-to-do professional men are captivated by it. Heroism is ridiculed, propriety is flaunted; the more shocked the older generation is, the fiercer the attacks on all established values become. A good

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round about 1900 can be observed in the literatures of other nations, too, particularly in England. Cf. Routh, pp. 151/4.

- (646) "Die Erlhoeferin", p. 163.  
(647) "Ott, Alois und Werelsche".  
(648) *ibid.* p. 43.  
(649) *ibid.* p. 46.

deal of it is rubbish, contradiction for the sake of wanting to be different, but some remarks show growing discontent with the social outlook of the elders (650), both of which remind one of the English contemporary Oscar Wilde. In the end, sanity is restored, but a new idealism has been gained: the individual only has the right to exist when he is prepared to devote his energies to serving the weak, the poor and the exploited. No class-hatred, no intolerance, must be allowed to impede the coming of the kingdom of love. Nearly twenty years later Bosshart returned to this subject (651). By then the struggle was fiercer, the issue more restricted to the sphere of economics. The anti-bourgeois son dies in his attempt at overcoming the brutality of the capitalist order. Ott, Alois and Werelsche are playful children compared to Bosshart's hero-martyr. A world war lies between the two books.

Steffen and Bosshart agreed in viewing the father-son relationship in the light of their idealism: the young generation must fight the older world; free will is at the disposal of every individual; the stronger will, the finer brain or the kindlier heart, but especially the last of these three, decides the issue.

Schaffner had introduced the theme of tradition, a factor outside the control of the individual. Moeschlin, writing in the same fertile decade of Swiss literature, reversed the

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(650) "Ott, Alois und Werelsche", p. 298.

(651) "Ein Rufer in der Wueste".

problem altogether (652). It is not the son who suffers, but the father, and when the son has children of his own, he in turn is ill-treated by his off-spring. Fifty years after Gotthelf's death, his fear that some day parents would be victimised by their own children, if they failed to bring them up in Christian reverence for parenthood, is proved to have been justified by a kindred mind.

After this, almost every year a book appeared in which some author found occasion to refer to hatred of children towards their parents, filial disobedience and parental disappointment. There is very little sympathy for the younger generation, a further proof of the conservative character of the country and its writers. Marti (653) condemned young people for their selfishness the origin of which he finds, as we saw in the previous chapter, in the aristocratic aspirations of their petty bourgeois parents. Ilg (654) dealt with a similar case. Here, however, family life is portrayed as satisfactory, but academic corporations with their anti-democratic code of honour estrange the son from his parents. Anna Burg (655) connects the class struggle with the domestic conflict: the son turns Socialist as a protest against his father's opulence. The authoress does not approve of this at all, but reaches conventional conclusions which one meets again in John Knittel's "Therese Etienne" where two young

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- (652) "Die Koenigschmieds".  
(653) "Die Stadt".  
(654) "Der starke Mann".  
(655) "Das Gras verdorret", p. 10.

Nietzsche enthusiasts try to assert themselves and a son does not even shrink from allowing his father to be murdered (656).

These laments over juvenile lawlessness lack just that understanding for the greater sensitiveness and more developed social conscience of the younger generation, which was required if healthy self-assertion was not to lead to anti-social behaviour. Condemnation is the stricter, the more petty bourgeois an author is in outlook. Marti and Burg accordingly judge most severely, whereas Ilg and Knittel make due allowance for irresponsible actions and attitudes which are reactions against fossilised forms of morality. Ilg in particular put forward a warm defence for the young people of the 'nineties who had to find their way amidst the temptations of a prosperous epoch in which everything was permitted as long as it led to wealth (657).

Authors who felt less sure about the unassailable strength of middle class ideals, which included a "happy home", were quite prepared to acknowledge the beneficial side of youthful revolts. Federer does not deny that no community escapes justifiable criticism by its younger members, but the priest in one of his best novels (658) deals tolerantly with young offenders against orthodox morality. He finds ample praise for the increase in imaginative faculties, tolerance and generosity among modern youth (659). Kuhn, too, sees a religious, ideal-

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(656) John Knittel "Therese Etienne", Zuerich 1928.

(657) Paul Ilg "Lebensdrang", Leipzig 1912.

(658) Heinrich Federer "Papst und Kaiser im Dorf", Berlin 1924.

(659) *ibidem* pp. 112/5.

istic revival in young people (660) with sincere concern for human suffering. Unlike Anna Burg he approves of class warfare carried into the frame of the family. When the rich industrialist's daughter breaks with all home influences and sets out on a medical career, the author makes us feel that she personifies the generous impulses of which even spoiled girls possess (661).

Vogel, Hanselmann and Humm, whilst equally understanding and sympathetic towards the younger generation, arrive at three different "solutions" of the conflict, although the type of youth they are interested in is one and the same. Their young heroes are social reformers incensed at social injustice, unhappy in the knowledge that their elders form part of the unimaginative and unfeeling majority of mankind. Vogel sums up his solution in the slogan "Einordnen, nicht unterordnen" (662); Hanselmann makes Jakob (663) realise that he must live in two worlds, the social outside world and the private world of his soul, if he wishes to preserve his integrity and at the same time avoid becoming a rebel; Humm teaches acquiescence under forceful paternal wishes. It is evident that these "solutions" are only interim arrangements (664), which will hold good only whilst the present bourgeois outlook maintains its domination over a society which approves of it for lack of a better alternative. The reader is not convinced that there is no other way;

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(660) "Die Jostensippe", p. 180 and elsewhere.

(661) *ibidem* p. 387.

(662) Traugott Vogel "Der blinde Seher", p. 345.

(663) Heinrich Hanselmann "Jakob, Sein Er und sein Ich", Zuerich, 1931.

(664) as in the modern English play by Aldous Huxley "The World of Light".

he is merely persuaded by the authors that at present no other solution is practicable. This applies also to Lisa Wenger whose novel "Der Vogel im Käfig" has been previously mentioned. She simply preaches independence, yet in spite of all the undoubted qualities of her book, the problem of youthful self-assertion in a capitalist world is not solved by making the young heroine financially independent. The capitalist -- young or old -- can easily be independent in a capitalist world. Her heroine's achievements are of value as far as she is herself concerned, but socially unimportant.

That there is a deadlock is perhaps best illustrated by two of the best contemporary novelists. Both Maria Waser and Meinrad Inglin advocate resignation for the impetuous younger generation. They prove their case by showing the superiority of the mature person over young people. Inglin for example has little constructive to say about modern youth. He gives us instead a legend (665), in which the greater wisdom of the man who prefers to live in a dark room which will allow him to explore things gradually and to gain contact with the supernatural world, is convincingly demonstrated over that of his brother who wants to see and to know beyond doubt what he owns. This type of resignation, of being content to explore gradually in reliance on one's own spiritual growth clearly cannot appeal to young people. Maria Waser chose a similar comparison when she spoke of

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(665) Meinrad Inglin "Grand Hotel Excelsior", p. 89.

the "wisdom of the empty walls" (666). A man who once possessed many costly paintings is happier when he has to part with them and reconstructs them with his mind's eye than when he saw them daily without realising how valuable they could be to him. Again, the young mind is not satisfied by such wisdom. At any rate, there is no doubt that Waser and Inglin side with mature age rather than with young revolutionaries. This, indeed, seems to be the dominant note in most recent German-Swiss literature in spite of Konrad Falke's dramas of youthful rebellion against a stuffy, selfish and decadent bourgeois world (667). The conflict between the generations is losing in vehemence, not because youth agrees with its elders but because change appears hopeless. The moment for the pitched battle has not arrived yet. In the meantime, as Falke seems to prove (668), the younger generation begins to solve individually what cannot yet be settled corporately. That means that the relations are gradually strained more and more, care being taken all the time lest the strain should be too much for their fragile nature.

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(666) "Wir Narren von gestern", p. 149.

(667) cf. Konrad Falke "Christian", "Lux", "Die Statthalterin" and other dramas.

(668) cf. his drama "Das Kind" in "Dramatische Werke", vol. IV.

## THE EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN.

Sir E.D. Simon, reviewing modern Swiss social life (669) is struck by the utter exclusion of women from politics. In the villages, he asserts, an enquiry as to why women are never admitted to deliberations on the common good, is considered laughable, and there is little more understanding in the towns for the plea of political equality.

A study of Swiss literature reveals that the present position corresponds not only to the will of the unthinking masses of menfolk, but also to the outlook of men and women of intellectual and spiritual distinction. It also shows that Emil Ermatinger's explanation attributing the inferior position of Swiss women in politics to the "zurueckhaltende Naturverbundenheit des Schweizer Charakters" (670) is insufficient. Professor Rappard (671) is more correct when he calls the emancipated woman a product of either the literary "salon" or the factory; neither has influenced Swiss social life deeply. Bourgeois Conservatism restricted woman's activities to her "natural" spheres, kitchen, nursery and garden. This is fully borne out by literature.

Gotthelf's views still reflect the sentiments of a majority of Swiss men and women. As a minister he held -- in

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(669) Sir E.D. Simon "The smaller democracies", London 1939, p. 18.

(670) p. 701 ("Dictung und Geistesleben").

(671) in a radio address from Geneva, June 1939.

conformity with Pauline Christianity and Conservative tradition -- that woman is inferior to man in the handling of public affairs. The heroines of his novels, however, are strong rulers over their servants, strict, diplomatic, discreet when necessary, full of foresight and shrewd in business. No evidence is proffered of man's superiority, on the contrary it is often pointed out (672) that when men vote in village politics it is their wives' decisions which are expressed by the vote. Wives occasionally beat their husbands and surpass men in brutality (673). Yet Gotthelf complains that "the emancipation of women" which gave them the right to look after their own financial affairs delivered the weaker sex to ruthless swindlers who deprive their victims of savings and title deeds (674). After all the examples given in this and other novels, of women who prove superior to their husbands in financial transactions, and after the description of credulous farmers who lose money to swindlers (675) one cannot believe Gotthelf. Without any reason -- except the unadmitted wish to keep the power in the hands of menfolk -- he expresses horror at the idea put forward at a meeting of the Liberals at Berne to give women a vote (676).

In "Zeitgeist-Bernergieist" he contrasts "emancipated" women with "decent" wives (677). The women who have his approval

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(672) especially in the first part of "Die Kaeserei in der Vehfreude"...

(673) ibidem.

(674) "Zeitgeist", p. 381.

(675) e.g. Benz in "Kaeserei".

(676) "Kaeserei", p. 308.

(677) "Zeitgeist", pp. 255/259.

are neat and clean, wearing the simple national costume; and if they possess a book, it is either the Bible or a prayer book. They talk little, and their only interests are the farm, their husbands and children and religion. They come mostly from the country or from such towns where there is still the opportunity of owning a garden. Their main worries are that their husbands are in danger of being infected by the Liberal disease, and their indignation is reserved for atheistic schoolmasters and "emancipated" women who use their freedom to be unfaithful to their husbands and to lead godless lives (678). The emancipated women, according to Gotthelf, are younger, fashionable in their dress, wearing rings and watches. They are loud in voice and appearance, their speech is affected, their air condescending, but full of contempt for the lower classes. Instead of a Bible they carry pieces of embroidery about. They think they are cultured when they know a little French, and talk incessantly of balls, festivals, their husbands' committees and political achievements. In their demand for more enlightenment and progress they praise teachers and condemn priests. Atheism as a philosophy means nothing to them; their irreligious outlook is based on worldliness, pleasure in living without self-control and delight in criticising seeming inconsistencies in the Bible.

This contrast may appear crude, but it is hardly less biased and unconcerned about important changes in the female

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(678) *ibidem*.

psyche than that which we find in the writings of modern authors. Schaffner, who can be said to mean as much for contemporary Swiss literature as Gotthelf meant for the first generation of writers, works with the same opposites in "Der Dechant von Gottesbueren". An officer has the choice between two women in that novel, and we are supposed to call him stupid because he cannot decide at once between Linde, whom the author has lovingly equipped with all the virtues, and her emancipated rival. Linde is quiet, pensive, pure in mind and soul; the "modern" girl is sure of herself, sober and ruthless. Rationalism and religion, brain and heart, civilisation and culture, America and Germany are represented by the independent woman and her Gretchen-like counterpart (679). With generalisations, Schaffner like Gotthelf, wishes to outlaw the woman who insists on her equality, not considering that Linde is no longer the household slave, dependent on her husband for financial support, and deprived of all cultural enjoyments as Gotthelf's "ideal" farmwives had been. Even Schaffner's shy and obedient Linde would not suffer silently if she had to conform to Gotthelf's narrow standards.

Maria Waser's conservatism errs in the same direction. In "Wir Narren von gestern" the mother refutes emancipation: "Dagegen sei es Frauenart, alles daran zu setzen, um in die andern hineinsehen und sie verstehen zu koennen, und wenn in juengster Zeit nun auch bei den Frauen der Schrei nach Verstandensein laut

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(679) cf. ~~"Verena Stadler", "Die Frauen von Tenno" and many others.~~  
*Faesi. P. 194.*

werde, so sei das jedenfalls eine neue Erfindung und zeige ihr bloss, dass die Frau daran sei, ihre geheimste Weisheit und innigste Macht zu verlieren" (680). Yet that very same woman does as she pleases in many ways which would have shocked Gotthelf. She chooses her own profession and refuses to be influenced by her husband's wishes. The fact that she is wiser than her husband does not lessen the problem, but merely brings it to light more clearly.

The position of woman in society is further obscured by the insistence of many authors and authoresses on portraying woman as a martyr whose rôle -- at least in art -- is to suffer and to fulfil her task by renouncing willingly all claims to consideration, except in a "chivalrous" way, by the other sex. Woman bears her martyrdom in silence, unacquainted with the spirit of rebellion. Zahn has depicted a great number of brave mothers, wives and daughters who suffer under brutality from men and from fate. With great sympathy he shows their calvary (681), but obviously he thinks it outside his sphere to suggest how woman's lot might be improved. C.I. Loos takes us from Poland to Switzerland in her deeply felt novel "Matka Boska" in which a stupid peasant girl rises by suffering until she is identified with the Virgin Mary. The Polish Matka Boska is the personification of the idea of self-effacing motherhood in its agony. Such women call for respect, even adoration, but emancipation is outside their sphere. The authoress-

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(680) p. 76.

(681) cf. "Verena Stadler", "Die Frauen von Tanno" and many others.

es creating these characters -- apart from C.I. Loos there are Cecile Lauber (682) and Berthe Kollbrunner (683) -- could point out that emancipation would not affect their heroines. This is quite true in so far as they choose types who are born sufferers and destined to bear passively what fate and a man-made, man-controlled world have in store for them. These authoresses avoid visualising the kind of women who could press for legislation to protect mothers, wives and daughters against even that part of woman's suffering which is avoidable. It is significant that no authoress has yet appeared -- with the possible exception of Lisa Wenger and E. Thommen -- who directs her attention to possible interference with male rule by determined efforts towards social and political equality for woman. So far only Socialists like Buehrer (684), anti-bourgeois revolutionaries like Konrad Falke (685) and -- a little further back -- the Liberal J.V. Widmann have expressly declared themselves in favour of full social and political rights to women. All the other authors, including the women-authors, are content to leave the position of woman in society unaltered.

Gottfried Keller who enriched Swiss literature by such fine women of political sagacity and social insight as Frau Regel Amrain and Frau Salander might have been expected to show understanding for the idea of giving political expression to the grati-

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(682) "Die Versuendigung an den Kindern".

(683) "Taumel", Zuerich 1925.

(684) "Man kann nicht" and "Das Volk der Hirten".

(685) in "Gesellschaftsdramen", vols. III and IV of collected works.

tude men feel towards capable women. Yet all through Keller's works one finds remarks which show his middle class male superiority. He ridiculed "blue-stockings" (686) -- that is pardonable since the woman who is too intent on intellectual pursuits becomes a type which evokes satire from the old-fashioned author as much as from a writer who is in favour of emancipation. Elsewhere, however, it becomes obvious that he objects less to exaggerated intellectual pursuits than to the attempt of woman to become independent. He is sound enough in his reasoning when he attributes the new outlook among some women to economic factors, viz. the insecurity of social life brought about by the modern businessman's financial gambles, but he calls that insecurity "imagined" and the desire for emancipation which results from it "stupid" (687). The question of financial dependence is entirely perverted. He maintains that if a girl becomes a wage earner, she loses her freedom (688). Does she not become still more dependent on her future husband, if she is capable of house work only? Martin Salander, too, is opposed to the emancipation of women and Keller does not hide his agreement with his Liberal hero (689). In the daughter of an English officer in India we meet an emancipated woman. She has no likeable traits at all, on the contrary, the main feature of her character is a certain coarseness ("the feature of our age") which she is supposed to have learned from men (690). This statement

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(686) Seldwyla II, pp. 508/12 ("Die missbrauchten Liebesbriefe").

(687) "Das verlorene Lachen", p. 444.

(688) "Martin Salander", p. 72.

(689) *ibid.* pp. 129/130.

(690) "Pankraz, der Schmoller", p. 24.

reveals a good deal more than Keller would probably have been prepared to say frankly. Women are obviously thought of as dependent on man for good or for evil. The women mentioned in "Verschiedene Freiheitskämpfer" (691) are unreliable, ready to cheer the enemy when their husbands have shown weakness; in "Der Wahltag" (692) a young man is reproached for altering his political views under the influence of a woman. No wonder that he could treat the whole question of emancipation as a joke (693).

J.C. Heer and Anna Burg, previously described as continuing the middle class tradition of the late 19th century, added nothing to Keller's point. Heer, unhappy in his love (694) and incapable of resigning himself to his misfortune, created a good many different female characters in his desire to exhaust the varieties of the feminine psyche. There are even two "emancipated" women among them, but Felix Notvest's aristocratic fiancée, Sigunde, destroys herself in her attempt to dominate others (695) and the exotic young wife of the Wetterwart (696) abandons her independence as soon as she falls in love. The only women in Heer's novels who achieve happiness are the clinging obedient wives who find all their satisfaction in their homes and their children, and in worshipping their husbands. Heer might enjoy life as a "man of the world", but his idea of perfect womanhood was very philistine.

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(691) 1863, reprinted in "Nachlass", p. 245.

(692) 1862, "Nachlass", p. 296.

(693) poems, p. 91.

(694) cf. G.H. Heer "J.C. Heer", p. 22.

(695) "Felix Notvest".

(696) "Der Wetterwart".

With the narrowness appropriate to the petty bourgeoisie he shows the ruin of Stockar, the fine soldier, by his wife who is ambitious to play a part in society (697). Keller never lived to see the professional woman who could control her own life and serve the community as a teacher or doctor at the same time; Heer had an opportunity to see this new type, but we find no trace of it in his works.

Anna Burg is even more reactionary than the men. She blames girls for entering factories instead of training themselves for their duties as housewives and mothers (698). Keller had at least admitted that society forced girls to become objectionably commercialised governesses abroad (699). A. Burg accuses poor girls of selfishness and superficiality when they become factory workers; as though they chose to be exploited, by the class whose principles A. Burg upholds, the class who desire female labour because it is cheap. Felix Moeschlin is to be thanked for having exposed how heavily the hand of the Church lies on women, and how a different moral code for men and women forms the first root of an inferiority feeling in women (700). This is obvious enough (701), but it needed saying, particularly at a time -- the first decade of the 20th century -- when Spitteler extolled man and poured such abuse on woman as can be found nowhere else in German-

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(697) "Felix Notvest".

(698) "Das Gras verdorret", p. 66.

(699) "Der Schmied seines Gluecks", p. 276.

(700) "Die Koenigschmieds".

(701) cf. Sir E.D. Simon's remarks on influence of priest even today ("The smaller democracies", London 1939).

Swiss literature. Spitteler explains his aversion to women by the attitude of the prophets who, he maintains, always had women as their natural adversaries (702). Woman is always opposed to adventures of the spirit; she may be capable of consolidating values which have been acquired in the immediate past, but she will not assist man in his struggle for new ideals. At least, such, one supposes, is Spitteler's reasoning, though he does not state it. He merely goes on to say that every independent man has to struggle against woman. Man is forced to love whom he despises. Besides, woman unwillingly admits that man is superior (703): "... wenn einer Mutter nach sechs weiblichen Missgeburten endlich ein Bub gelungen ist, so erhebt sie ein Siegesgegacker, als haette sie den Messias geboren. Und alles Weibliche auf eine Quadratmeile im Umkreis eilt freiwillig herbei, um dem wundersamen Uebermaedchen unterwuerfig zu dienen." With that fanatical fervour which characterises all general judgments which Spitteler passes on social phenomena, he goes so far as to deny undeniable facts, as when he speaks of the musicality of women (704).

The titan's particular scorn is reserved for the women of the "cultured" middle classes. The women in these circles of lofty but superficial ideals insist on being treated as equals,

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(702) "Imago", p. 85.

(703) *ibid.* p. 98.

(704) *ibidem.*

but complain if the men do not help them into their coats. To this weakness in logical thinking is added prudishness, hypocrisy, enthusiasm for false values. They resent everything and then forgive quickly, the sign of feeble characters. Inanimate nature such as mountain peaks, sunsets and cloud formations induces them to fall into raptures, but the beauty of a nude body shocks them. Frivolous judgments are passed on vital questions of the spirit, and after debates on the absolute and the eternal they forget their differences over cups of tea and ham sandwiches.

All this is, of course, most unjust. Women in general cannot be blamed for the shortcomings of idle middle class wives with petty bourgeois limitations. Yet even the Goddesses in "Der olympische Fruhling" are objectionable and inferior to men. Their author felt the spiritual enmity between man and woman too strongly to be unbiased in his judgment.

Since Spitteler died, nothing has happened in Swiss social life which might have destroyed the foundations of his philosophy. As long as Switzerland remains conservatively bourgeois, unaffected by "salon or factory", ready to worship personal initiative, woman will not be granted real equality, especially since under present conditions she does not think of asking for it.

## EDUCATION.

Although, as we have just seen, foreign observers are justified in expressing their disappointment about the current Swiss attitude towards the rights of women, sociologists have little cause to complain about the attention paid to education by all sections of the community and the good results achieved (705). It is therefore well worth while considering the stimulus given to education by literature, and to outline the changing attitude of authors towards education during the period. What authors wish to be taught, must by now be plain; it remains to be seen what they think of teaching.

The period opened with a violent controversy around the idea of "enlightenment" ("Aufklaerung") in which teachers participated prominently on the side of the "Bildungsfanatiker". An extension of the educational system to all classes of society was as loudly cheered by the progressive sections as it was violently abused by the conservative members of the community. Gotthelf becomes venomous whenever he writes of "modern" teachers. His attacks deal with their political outlook, their religious convictions and their foreign origin. He sees in the modern teacher, especially the master at a secondary school, the Radical

Liberal who is bound to teach self-assertion and contempt for  
(705) Sir E.D. Simon notes (with some astonishment) that even in the most isolated mountain villages education is so thorough as to enable every farmer to become chairman, secretary or treasurer of the parish council. It must not be forgotten that local government is more elaborate in Switzerland than it is in England or Germany and that the chairman's and the financial report of a village community deal with every item of social life.

tradition to the younger generation, the freethinker who spreads anti-clerical and anti-Christian sentiments, the German refugee who in ignorance of Swiss culture corrupts Swiss youth with foreign notions of rebellion. There is a good measure of justification for these accusations. Professional men, notably teachers, have been the first, with the help of their knowledge of political problems to arrive at formulating the Liberal doctrine as far as it could apply to Switzerland. When the Liberals won in battle and on the election platform it was natural that they should try to inculcate their new ideology in the minds of the children in their trust. They could feel all the more justified in doing so since they knew that not only the cream of the intelligentsia and the government, but also the farming classes shared their desire to bring up a generation of truly "emancipated" citizens. The anti-clericalism to which Gotthelf objected was also natural because Liberal teachers rightly saw in orthodox Christianity the greatest enemy to bourgeois progress, to the growth of the scientific spirit and to the whole Liberal programme. To teachers and ministers of religion this struggle for a hold over the younger generation must have been a very real thing, absorbing a good deal of their energies, since it has lingered on in the countryside down to today (706). The minister was in a more advantageous position at the outset; he could -- Keller gives us an example (707) -- see to it that a too outspokenly Liberal

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(706) cf. Vuilleumier "Cantor im Kaleidoskop", ch. II "Der Schulmeister", and Hanselmann "Jakob", p. 170.

(707) "Die missbrauchten Liebesbriefe", Seldwyla II, p. 317.

teacher was dismissed, whereas the teacher could not retaliate in similar coin (708). Soon, however, Liberals succeeded in changing this position and parsons, too, <sup>had</sup> to depend on a majority vote (709). The two antagonists had to fight as equals for the soul of Swiss youth.

Gotthelf's third objection which concerned the foreign origin of a great number of educational leaders was also based on facts. "Im Kampf um die deutsche Republik", says Nadler (710), "hatte sich ein grosser Teil der Unterliegenden nach der Schweiz geworfen. Sie waren gesaettigt gewesen mit den gaerenden Gedanken der deutschen Jugend und des neuen deutschen Schrifttums. Viele von ihnen erzogen in der Schule und in der Presse den eidgenossischen Nachwuchs. Die junge Schweiz war Zeugin eines beispiellos erregten, beweglichen, formenreichen deutschen Geisteslebens gewesen. Mit angeregt von diesem neuen Wesen des deutschen Geistes hatten sich Bund und Einzelstaaten eigene Pfliegstaetten der Bildung und Wissenschaft gegruendet." It was such a "Pfliegstaette der Bildung" which provoked Gotthelf's fury (711) when a German professor of strong Liberal and atheistic sympathies was asked to occupy one of its vacant teaching posts.

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- (708) In French literature we still see that phase of the struggle; teacher and progressive villagers against priest and Conservatives; cf. the novel "Clochemerle" which aroused considerable interest some seven years ago.
- (709) described in detail in J.C. Heer's "Felix Notvest".
- (710) J. Nadler "Literaturgeschichte der deutschen Schweiz", p. 359.
- (711) "Zeitgeist-Bernergeist".

Although Gotthelf's objections to Liberal, anti-Christian and "foreign" teaching are understandable, they show him as the mouthpiece of the stolid "Buerger" who as a class was soon to die out; they can hardly have exercised any influence on the development of Swiss educational life. Some of Gotthelf's criticism was, however, entirely sound and was shared by Liberals as well as less fanatical Conservatives. It was wrong to tell young people that they were the salt of the earth and superior to their elders; it was equally unwise to tell them that evil environment should be considered as a mitigating circumstance in every crime and that corporal punishment was out-of-date and barbarous; it proved fatal to public decency and individual honesty to tell students that theoretical knowledge was almost useless and that during a talk in a public house over a bottle or two they would acquire more useful knowledge than in the lecture theatres and libraries. The worst mistake made by the extreme advocates of enlightenment through education for everybody, was their promise to give every pupil a sufficiently good education to make manual work unnecessary for him. Every author who felt responsible for the well-being of the community, particularly Gotthelf, but also Bitter, Hartmann, Frey and Keller pointed to the dangers which lay in an exaggerated educational policy (712). Keller had been a staunch advocate of extended education; he had used the strongest language possible in demanding an interest in

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(712) J. Frey's "Das Vaterhaus" is typical.

education from the State. As a zealous Liberal he had even condoned absurdities in educational thoroughness (713). As he grew older, he became disillusioned. In the revised version of "Der gruene Heinrich" there are some significant changes which illustrate his doubts in the unlimited blessings of education (714).

The effort to teach everything to everybody had certainly been overdone. The Liberal doctrine had been impressed upon every child (715). Compulsory elementary education had come to be considered as an essential part of democracy. The petty bourgeoisie in particular demanded reforms in industrial employment of children under the slogan "Im Namen der Volksschule" (716). If knowledge was power, only education could guarantee a secure future. The teacher, though still shockingly underpaid (717) rose in prestige in the public eye, along with the professor. Gotthelf had despised professors (718), Keller also had included a rather contemptuous remark on professors in his first version of "Der gruene Heinrich" (719). Very soon he

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(713) Austrian Liberals wrote in the same strain at that time (cf. Stifter, Grillparzer, Feuchtersleben) and Carlyle summed up the general view on the subject: "Who would suppose that education were a thing which had to be advocated on the ground of local expediency or indeed on any ground? As if it stood not on the basis of everlasting duty, as a prime necessity of man. Education should be a national service, including religion. For in very truth, how can religion be divorced from education?" (quoted from Adamson's history of education).

(714) cf. p. 189 of first version left out later on.

(715) cf. Maria Waser's remark that she used to dream of foreign despots depriving Switzerland of her new liberties (p. 14 of "Dichtung und Erlebnis"), an interesting sidelight on Liberal education.

(716) cf. Heer "Felix Notvest".

(717) cf. Keller "Die missbrauchten Liebesbriefe" and R.J. Lang "Das Kindlein", p. 36.

must have realised, however, that as a believer in education he was contradicting himself if he ridiculed professors, and in his review on Gotthelf (720) he finds fault with Gotthelf for his prejudices against professors. In the second version of "Der gruene Heinrich" he took his own exhortations to heart and omitted his unflattering reference to that profession.

The petty bourgeois enthusiasm for education began, as soon as the upper middle classes and the intellectuals became disillusioned. It has lasted down to today (721), and in a society where the lower strata of the middle classes are gradually being pressed down to the level of the proletariat whose ideology they do not share, education will always be regarded as the ladder, by which, the gifted petty bourgeois child may escape the fate of disappearing into the ranks of the proletariat.

When capitalism corrupted the spirit of democracy, the enemies of the belief in the sovereignty of the people, had another chance of attacking the extension of education to all classes (722). Spitteler's revolt against education for every-

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(718) especially if they sat in the Frankfurt Parliament. See also ending of "Zeitgeist", p. 504 on professors.

(719) p. 140 of first version.

(720) p. 110 of "Nachlass".

(721) Examples are R.J. Lang, H. Hanselmann, F. Odermatt and M. Lienert.

(722) The following contrast illustrates the point: Heer ("Felix Notvest") wrote: "Es ist zu Berg oder Tal keine Huette so schlecht, keine Wiege so gering, dass daraus nicht ein Mann hervorgehen koenne, der den Geistern in Arbeit oder Kunst neue Wege, hoehere Ziele weist, die Sache der Menschheit und Menschlichkeit in seinem Volke foerdert und dessen Name von Geschlecht zu Geschlecht ein Segen bleibt" (p. 31 when speaking of elementary education). Spitteler writes on the same subject ("Imago", p. 10): "Des Mannes Kernspruch vermochte/

body was the natural outcome of his "aristocratic" or -- as his biographers like to call it -- "titanic" individualism which made him dread the time when the country would be full of partially educated people, who would lower the level of public intelligence by their cheap optimism, their unsound ideas on equality and their lack of critical power. He was rightly afraid that the State was beginning to turn out average minds just as a baker turns out even-sized loaves. Being fond of exaggerations, however, and utterly opposed to anything even faintly democratic he denounced school education and its results too fiercely. Surely he wanted some of it to be maintained for the aristocratic youth of the future, in which, as he said (723), all his hopes lay?

Although Spitteler went too far, his attacks indicated the trend of enlightened opinion. The value of such education as the State could provide sank rapidly when Liberal optimism and faith in progress melted away under the strain of continual disappointments. Schaffner defended State education in only one of his earliest books (724), Steffen describes boys of school age without reference to their work at school (725) stressing home influence rather (726) like the aged Keller (727). Elsewhere he

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vermochte er zu buchstabieren; 'Alles durch die Volksschule!' Ja, danach sah der gerade geschriebene Herr aus. Die Welt als eine Erziehungsanstalt aufgefasst; Zweck des Lebens lernen, hernach lehren; keine Wahrheit, sie schmecke denn nach Weisheit, und keine Weisheit, oder sie roeche nach Ermahnung etc. etc."

(723) "Imago", p. 49.

(724) "Die Erlhoeferin".

(725) "Ott, Alois und Werelsche".

(726) *ibidem* p. 355.

(727) Second version of "Der gruene Heinrich", vol. I, p. 115.

shows (728) that the main evils in this world cannot be solved by education but require spiritual healing. Moeschlin maintained during the same period that it may be disastrous to give too good an education to a boy (729), because selfishness and contempt for his elders may be the outcome. Marti wrote in a similar strain (730). Federer mentioned in a significant passage (731) what narrow ideas connected with financial gain and prestige people had about education. The boredom with eulogies on education became general.

Today Inglin (732), Knittel (733), Waser (734), Falke (735) and Vogel (736) provide examples of the critical attitude which authors of bourgeois extraction (excepting, as stated before, the strictly petty bourgeois) assume towards instruction by the State, as at present handed out. Of these, Inglin, Falke and Vogel are anti-bourgeois and hardly pro-anything; they merely reject without mentioning practicable substitutes. Maria Waser, however, has definitely returned to Gotthelf's anti-Liberal point of view and feels bound to blame education-mania for many of the cul-de-sacs into which Swiss culture drifted during the past eighty years. Unlike her petty bourgeois colleagues she cannot even hope that an education in the duties and responsibilities of the citizen can serve any purpose now. Knittel, who is not so

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- (728) A. Steffen "Das Viergetier".
  - (729) "Die Koenigschmieds".
  - (730) "Die Stadt".
  - (731) "Jungfer Therese", p. 277.
  - (732) "Grand Hotel Excelsior".
  - (733) "Therese Etienne", p. 182.
  - (734) "Wir Narren von gestern", pp. 89ff.
  - (735) "Moderne Gesellschaftsdramen", vols. III and IV of collected
  - (736) "Der blinde Seher".

conservative, but certainly opposed to the individualistic strand in Liberalism (737) also shows little faith in education.

There remain the Socialists like J. Buehrer, E. Schibli, A. Richli and J.F. Vuilleumier, also Kuhn, the representative of the "second form" of Socialism. To these writers with a concern for the proletariat, especially to Anna Richli (738), education means as much as it did to the apostles of the third estate in 1850. They hope for a new society, which, even if its beginnings should be brought about by revolution rather than by a slow evolutionary process, only a suitably educated, intellectually well-equipped generation can construct. The fourth estate is now to be taught and prepared for its rôle as the ruler of the future. There is only one great difficulty. In the middle of the last century when the bourgeoisie was ready to take over power from the vanquished aristocracy, both farmers and teachers (or progressive townspeople in general) marched in the front ranks of the Liberal army. The farmers elected Liberal teachers and these filled their pupils with an enthusiasm for Liberal principles. Now the question arises: Does the modern teacher show any concern for present day proletarian gospels? Is he considering himself a proletarian in the same way as his predecessor considered himself a bourgeois in 1850? And even if such teachers who are proletarian in their outlook, and class-conscious enough to wish to bring about a victory

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(737) "Therese Etienne", p. 346.

(738) "Im Vorraum der Zukunft".

of their class, can be found in sufficient numbers, are the farmers on whose support a good deal depends in Switzerland, likely to appoint such teachers to their village schools? Vuilleumier has shown how difficult the position of a "proletarian" schoolmaster is in a reactionary village (739). The modern type of teacher to whom the reader is introduced in Buehrer's "Das Volk der Hirten" is drawn convincingly enough, but where are her pupils, where is the community which will appoint her? The contemporary Swiss teacher is baffled, like most authors who know that capitalist society will have to be replaced by some new form of social organisation. He hesitates, and there are signs that he has not made up his mind yet, as to whether he is really a proletarian and called to proclaim the new proletarian or classless society, or whether he belongs to the middle classes. A good deal of Switzerland's future will depend on his decision, yet authors do little to help him to come to a conclusion.

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(739) "Cantor im Kaleidoskop".

## SEX.

In most ways the development from 1850 to 1940 is one from simplicity to complexity. This is particularly the case in the study of the relationships of the sexes. It may well be that part of the simplicity of the situation such as we find in 1850 is artificial, since authors considered sex problems as unfit for inclusion in works of imaginative literature, but undoubtedly the hold of Christian morality over the relations of the sexes prevented the appearance of "triangular marriages", abortion, birth control, adultery and homosexuality in literature. Even divorces, or separations which were the equivalent at a time when divorce was unobtainable, and pre-marital intercourse are rare subjects between 1850 and 1860.

Gotthelf exemplifies best the attitude of the first generation towards matters of sex. In documents not intended for publication, such as letters, he reveals acquaintance with the sordid side of village life including sexual indecencies and crimes (740), but in his novels he treads very cautiously. Marriages are either healthy and normal, or if there is discord, there is no mention of erotics, sexual dissatisfaction, infatuation, adultery, refusal to consummate, desertion or divorce, all subjects which modern authors introduce candidly in their works. When reading Gotthelf, one might believe that only the clash of two strong wills, a wife's ambition, a husband's professional incompetence or differences over

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(740) cf. Muschg, chapter "Realismus".

the education of the children could be reasons for unhappy marriages. Only political passion can drive the author to the point of introducing the word "adultery" into his works. Emancipated women, for instance, are represented as prepared to commit adultery in pursuit of selfish "happiness" (741), but it is obvious that Gotthelf puts this forward -- without elaborating the point -- merely as one more argument in his accusations against Liberalism. He knows that his readers will agree with him that everything which sets out to destroy the sanctity of marriage is thoroughly wicked. So strong is his belief in this sanctity that he does not think it dangerous to dwell on domestic quarrels. He describes scenes during which wives beat their husbands, others in which the man treats his wife brutally; he shows the incessant struggle between husband and wife over money matters (742). One deduces from this, that marriage must be strong enough to withstand all this strain. His attitude is one of severity and repressive cruelty, as exemplified by the fact that a woman who agrees to intercourse outside marriage is literally "sentenced to death" by Gotthelf, who seems to see no other way of letting her atone for her "crime" (743).

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(741) "Zeitgeist", p. 255.

(742) In "Die Kaeserei in der Vohfreude" he even proves by a fine example of sociological reasoning how the introduction of clover into Switzerland led to greater power for the husband. His argument is quite sound: When milk was of little use, farmwives could keep the proceeds from the sale of milk which provided them not only with pocket money, but also a certain feeling of financial independence (on a limited scale of course, but still noticeable). When clover and other new plants were introduced (at the beginning of the 19th century) cows gave more milk. In an attempt to utilise

The Liberals were scarcely more broadminded. They, too, attacked their political opponents by accusing them of sexual license and of undermining the institution of marriage. Haberstich (744) is thoroughly convinced that aristocrats and clergymen are inveterate roués. All the same, two new points are introduced by the first generation of Liberal writers. Firstly, Bitter (745) and Hartmann (746) are not afraid of gentle erotic hints, and secondly, the idea of misalliance changes. While their German colleagues are still dwelling on the tragic circumstances which arise when aristocracy and middle classes meet in love, the Swiss writers go beyond this old form of misalliance and turn to the difficulties created by love between rich and poor among the bourgeoisie (747). In popular literature, it is true, the theme of frustrated love between the Junker and the peasant girl can still be met with (748), but popular writers in the days before general compulsory education, and to some extent still today, do not reflect the latest stage of development in social outlook.

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the surplus, the manufacture and export of cheese was organized. Men took considerable interest in this new source of income and kept the profit from the cheese business. Their wives lost both milk and milk money, and domestic strife started. There are, of course, some gross exaggerations in this reasoning. Gotthelf defeats his own ends by introducing a couple who live active and devout lives and who have no reason to fight over the "Kaesgeld". We realize -- although Gotthelf in his hostility towards cheese factories run by village communities does not want us to do so -- that couples who live in strife over this question would not have avoided friction, even if clover had not been imported into Switzerland. Yet the passage remains interesting since it shows Gotthelf's hatred of the "economic man", the rising capitalist who sacrifices domestic peace to his financial ambitions.

(743) Anneli in "Jakobs Wanderungen"; Gotthelf's determination to keep/

Keller, too, ponders on the question whether a Liberal who believes in equality can object to marriages between rich and poor. His "Faehnlein", that gem of Liberal philosophy which solves so many debatable issues, provides an answer to this, too: if the young man has no money, then patriotic fervour, moral integrity, resourcefulness and courage weight the scales sufficiently in his favour to make him worthy (749). One sees how bourgeois soundness and caution characterise his reply. A short remark on the age at which one ought to marry enhances this impression. He mentions (750) that two young people are "already" married and quotes their ages as twenty-seven and twenty-four years respectively. There is more tolerance, however, in his views on divorce which he accepts as natural (751), and on illicit intercourse (752). The hypocrisy of people with a filthy outlook who refuse to admit their illegitimate birth although they might quite well have been responsible for illegitimate children themselves (753) is satirised (754). A certain naturalness also pervades the erotic experiences of Heinrich's youth. Judith to whom love is nothing but play (at least at one stage) personifies a new conception of woman or man as a sexual being. Gotthelf who does not

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the tragic ending is gone into by Roethlisberger, p. 50.

- (744) "Der Patrizierspiegel".  
 (745) "Geschichten aus dem Emmenthal", 1857.  
 (746) "Kiltabendgeschichten", 1852/4.  
 (747) Bitter provides examples.  
 (748) J. Frey in many Novellen.  
 (749) "Faehnlein", p. 127.  
 (750) "Verschiedene Freiheitskaempfer", in "Nachlass", p. 268.  
 (751) e.g. Salander's daughters.  
 (752) "Romeo und Julia auf dem Dorfe".  
 (753) "Der Schmied seines Glueckes", p. 244.  
 (754) *ibid.* p. 269.

even wish children to play (755) would condemn such an attitude as utterly frivolous.

In spite of ambiguous hints by the early Liberals and refreshing honesty by Keller bourgeois strictness on matters of sex only gradually gives way to frank discussions in literature on the relationships between man and woman. Widmann exposes "double morality" -- need of chastity for the woman to be reconciled with the man's demand for sexual freedom for himself (756); Voegtlin, whose Liberal convictions are naive in comparison to Widmann's, connects stuffy pietism with selfish domination of the wife by the husband (757), but both authors make it clear that they do not wish to go so far beyond the confines of bourgeois morality as to attack marriage as an institution. When a husband's affection cools off, they still cry "Cherchez la femme!" and the intrigues of an immoral woman are generally held responsible for a wrecked marriage (758). The reader is again left with the idea that selfishness of one partner or seduction by an outsider are the only dangers to marriage.

Spitteler breaks the monotony of the conventional treatment. His hyper-sensitive individualism which makes him obsessed with the idea of man's enmity towards man widens still more where matters of sex are concerned: not only the struggle

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(755) cf. Roethlisberger "Das Kind etc."

(756) "Jenseits von Gut und Boese".

(757) "Heilige Menschen".

(758) Both in "Jenseits von Gut und Boese" and in "Heilige Menschen".

of individual against individual is natural; there is also a fundamental never-ceasing hostility between woman and man, the two electrically charged poles of a world built on the principle of antithesis. We have seen how he opposes the idea of the emancipation of woman, but his conviction that the two sexes are natural enemies can hardly be attributed to a hatred of suffragettes (non-existent in Switzerland at Spitteler's time).

Spitteler is never content with scratching at the surface of problems, in this case, too, he tries to find the root: Man is the creator and -- as he tells us in "Imago" -- the prophet. Prophets and revolutionaries must fear the reactionary nature of woman who opposes change. He overlooks -- on purpose? -- that her opposition is based on her instinctive effort to preserve life, which may be endangered by violent change. Besides, he says (759), woman admits her inferiority to man, which is reason enough for her hostility. In "Der olympische Fruehling" woman's point of view, as Spitteler imagines it, is stated. Hera, the princess of heaven and earth, who by the way is drawn as a petty, cruel, treacherous, passionate and hysterical woman, hates man for his sensuousness. For the first time in modern Swiss literature, an attribute of sex -- not the institution which tries to unite the sexes -- is blamed for a social rift cutting right through every community. Before Spitteler's time the individualist, at least had his obedient wife as a companion in his struggle

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(759) also in "Imago", p. 98.

against the rest of the world; Spitteler's individual, however, stands alone, an enemy even to his wife.

This idea was too revolutionary to pass unnoticed. Besides, with rebellion in the air, other authors could not help but arrive at similar conclusions. Schaffner (760) created a parallel to Goethe's conflict of conscience at Sesenheim in the same decade which had witnessed Spitteler's outbursts, and K. Guggenheim's "Entfesselung" (761) which shows the struggle of man against woman at its height, could hardly have been written without Spitteler's precedent.

Most of Spitteler's contemporaries made realism their main method and aim. As far as sexual questions were concerned, they were only prepared to describe as much as was necessary, which means in effect that they stayed on the surface. Zahn showed the difficulties which appeared when rich and poor met or tried to meet in matrimony (762), when a cultured intellectual married a woman without refinement (763), when an upright girl is tied to a drunkard (764), a strong young woman to a cripple (764). He rose to a higher level in "Nacht" where the husband of a blind woman forgets his self-imposed duty and has to find his way back to his wife. There is very little of general social value to be deduced from these novels and Novellen unless it be the presence of more tolerance towards people's failures in

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- (760) "Konrad Pilater".  
(761) Kurt Guggenheim "Entfesselung", Zuerich 1935.  
(762) "Im Hause des Witwers" in collection "Der sinkende Tag".  
(763) "Keine Bruecke" in collection "Firmwind".  
(764) "Verena Stadler" in collection "Helden des Alltags".

married life, towards illegitimate children (765) or illicit intercourse, and the realisation that sex is a power which is apt to set aside the considerations of the intellect. For the rest there is a good deal of petty-bourgeois but sound idealism. Selfish fathers who ruin their children's happiness, are condemned (766), resignation and sacrifices by parents for the sake of a happy married life for their children, evoke the author's admiration (767). In spite of slight advances in some directions, one might call all this conventional, but for two short stories (768) in which Zahn doubts whether people are justified in thinking that the union of a man and a woman is only blessed and moral if sanctioned by State or Church. The respectable woman in "Das Fest im Gruenwinkel" who at her husband's death bed thinks of future marriage plans, is unfavourably compared with a woman who lived in free love with a vagrant and commits suicide when her lover is killed by a drunken peasant. Wedlock is no longer the only sanction for intercourse.

Other bourgeois authors do not go as far as that. The petty bourgeois writers Marti, Burg and Huggenberger are still on Gotthelf's level as far as strictness over sex is concerned; Heer describes free love -- of course still without any detail --

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- (765) "Die Gerechtigkeit der Marianne Denier" in collection "Die da kommen und gehen."  
(766) "Herrgottsfaeden".  
(767) "Stephan, der Schmied" in collection "Firnwind".  
(768) "Wie es in Brenzikon menschet" in collection "Firnwind" and "Das Fest im Gruenwinkel" in collection "Helden des Alltags".

(769), but makes the reader feel happy when the union becomes wedlock; Federer attacks (770) the narrowness of farmers and priests who maintain that people married by a registrar "live in sin", but he does not intimate that he would be equally tolerant, if not even the State had been asked for its sanction. Only reformers such as Ilg, Steffen and Moeschlin look unbiasedly at sex without fearing that they might hurt sensibilities. All three are concerned with the individual rather than with society as the primary claimant. They do not believe that the community as a whole can possibly benefit from the crippling and repressing of individual needs. What would be classed as adultery, illicit intercourse or unchaste behaviour by the petty bourgeois authors, sometimes appears in their works as the only way left open to an individual as a healthy escape from a wrecked marriage (771), the final meeting of two kindred souls and bodies (772), the association of a spiritually outstanding being with a person who is to be saved (773). Klinger in Moeschlin's "Die Revolution des Herzens" sets out to win the affection of an actress whom he loves. The actress who would have ranked as a prostitute in Gotthelf's eyes cannot resist the power which emanates from Klinger's purity of heart and his desire to "do away with everything that is not love". Instead of dragging the

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(769) "Der Wetterwart".

(770) "Papst und Kaiser im Dorf".

(771) Paul Ilg "Lebensdrang".

(772) Felix Moeschlin "Die Koenigschmieds".

(773) Moeschlin "Die Revolution des Herzens" and Steffen "Das Viergetier".

man down to her level, as the orthodox writers would have made their readers expect, she rises to his. Whether such a marriage is legalised or not, remains immaterial.

The Great War brought about the "Kameradschaftsehe" and an atmosphere conducive to experiments. Schaffner appears to have been the first writer to suggest that a woman might wish to have an illegitimate child, and he introduces us to a thoroughly sensible woman who plans for a child to be born outside marriage (774). Elisabeth Thommen analyses the conventional marriage and finds it unsatisfactory. The short story (775) in which she exposes past mistakes and demands a new outlook, deserves closer attention since it comes from the bourgeois camp which still has the decisive voice in Switzerland.

"Evas Weg" shows us a girl of the lower middle classes who, in the eyes of her shortsighted friends and relatives has been very fortunate in securing a husband in a good position. In their limited outlook they know no other considerations than those of age and money. The mother rejoices that her future son-in-law is a "real man", i.e. a master in the house, energetic and sure of himself. Since age, finances and her husband's character are all judged to be satisfactory by the outside world, Eva is told that her marriage must be a

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(774) Ise Voss in "Schweizerreise".

(775) "Evas Weg", Zuerich 1925.

success.

Here E. Thommen begins her first attack. Happiness in marriage is not acquired with the marriage license. The first observation Eva makes is that married life is boredom. She has no work to do. Tending the flowers and dusting the grand piano, making herself beautiful for her husband, idling away the time with embroideries -- such is her life. Her husband tells her nothing about his work, wants his newspapers, his peace and comfort and his two nights out every week. His views about women, declared to be typical of his class by the authoress, are most interesting. He is condescending towards them which does not prevent him from thinking very highly of them since they are capable of great self-sacrifice. Before his marriage he had "certain relations" with the other sex; those were women on the other side of life, the type whom one does not marry. When he says of a woman: 'I would never have married her', he passes the most devastating judgment upon her. Woman is the guardian of beauty, reticence and good morals. She has to be modest and shy. The home is her domain. It is her duty to keep it and herself attractive, and she must always be ready to please her husband .....

One is inclined to think that E. Thommen exaggerates, but does she? Is there not plenty of evidence in literary documents of the bourgeois age that man had and still has these ideas which turn woman into a second-class being? Is not even Keller's Martin Salander highly pleased when his wife has remem-

bered about his "Stiefelknecht" and has kept it ready for him?

To continue with E. Thommen's sketch of Fritz's views: Women should never look neglectful. Low heels and too pronounced views -- the two go together -- are distasteful. A woman need not have a clearly defined character at all; it is much better if she allows herself to be moulded by her husband. Marriage, after all, can only be successful, if one partner is ready to yield on debatable points, and it is expected of the wife that she yields and thus admits her inferiority.

Eva soon gets to know these views of her husband. As after some time love seems to play a smaller part in her married life, she hopes that a child will improve matters. A friend disillusions her. Women are always lonely, and children make no difference. Help in this desperate situation comes from Aenny, Eva's friend. Aenny had discovered the solution of the marriage problem: co-operation. Both partners must have absorbing work to do, must discuss their work, read and play together, develop their individual hobbies. Possessive love has to make way for comradeship. Eva takes Aenny's advice, accepts a post, convinces her husband by successes -- for what would flatter a bourgeois more than a successful wife? -- wins his confidence, shares in his work and gains her independence without losing his affection.

The story reveals several things about the later stage of capitalist morality. Firstly, bourgeois respectability in

its strictest aspects is beginning to break down. The working wife is no longer an impossibility (776), or an indication -- as it was to Keller -- that the husband is no longer capable of supporting his wife. Much more important, however, is the change in the man's attitude towards women. Woman becomes partner to a contract on an equal footing with the man. Liberalism by preaching political equality has had to concede a point to women demanding social equality at least in marriage. Once women had shown that personal initiative which the captains of industry and commercial enterprise valued above anything, the granting of some measure of equality could no longer be withheld. Social life has moved a step forward. In Gotthelf's novels the wife has to get her own way by graft, nagging and begging. Now she has a voice by virtue of her competence. It would be idle to prove that the new position of woman in society cannot be divorced from the spread of medical and psychological knowledge which the period of scientific eagerness in the second half of the last century has engendered, nor need one dwell too long on the far-reaching consequence. The Liberal programme is overstepped for a certain section of women at any rate. The town-dwelling, educated, energetic type of woman has attained an aim which till now seemed inaccessible through male opposition: the free development of all faculties. In itself it is a bourgeois-capitalist aim, but for women it is a revolutionary innovation. The bourgeois, man-

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(776) cf. even the conservative Maria Waser's "Wir Narren von gestern", where the mother despite all opposition becomes a midwife.

made world lost its first battle when this "comradeship-marriage" pushed man off the pedestal of superiority. The system has survived this successful insurrection, but its inner structure has been altered. The next stage, the introduction of female views into legislation, so far purely male in outlook, is foreshadowed by another short story by Elisabeth Thommen, "Lydia Vonaesch", which sets out to cement the newly-gained position of woman (777).

"Lydia Vonaesch" attacks the present attitude of the State to the question of divorce. The authoress gives us an example of the obstacles which the authorities put in the path of married people who agree to separate. When a man and a woman wish to be joined together as husband and wife, E. Thommen complains. — Everybody is ready to help them, the Church is pleased, the State is highly satisfied, everybody joins in the congratulations and merriment. Only two documents are needed, a birth certificate and a paper stating nationality or origin. It does not matter whether one is ill or healthy, a cripple or an idiot. When the same man and woman find after serious efforts and prolonged deliberations that they are not suited to each other, when they both agree that a divorce would be best for them, then the State raises objections. Laws must have been broken, adultery proved, or depravity of one partner must be pleaded and every sordid detail must be put before an ignorant jury. Lawyers have

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(777) E. Thommen "Lydia Vonaesch" in collection "Das Tannenbaeumchen", Zuerich, undated (early 'twenties according to internal evidence).

to be engaged who win by skill, exaggeration or untruth, not through the strength of their case. If people separate, however, without a divorce, society despises and outlaws them. The cream of society will be hardest in its judgment, the same "good" society among which ninety marriages out of a hundred are failures.

In the previous story E. Thommen merely demanded a rearrangement within bourgeois society, but here she touches on one of the vital nerves of the social body. The State pleads that its very existence is threatened if marriages can be dissolved without difficulty. The stability of society will become precarious if people are enabled to part company easily and their children will miss a well-ordered family life. E. Thommen's plea is rooted in an individualism which goes too far to be convenient to the State. The Church, siding with the State, refuses its support, demanding sacrifice and renunciation instead. The authoress has to attack the State and fight against its very essence, if she is to succeed. She does not do that. She accuses society of hypocrisy, but society has withstood stronger attacks in this line. She also objects to unjust discrimination in the case of divorce and careless approval where marriages of cripples and idiots are concerned. Such charges do not go deep enough. She exposes merely the State's steadfast determination to see people married and to keep them married, but she does not ask why the State is so intent on the sanctity of marriage. Konrad Falke begins where this surface attack left off. His studies in the nature of sex lead him to the conclusion which E.

Thommen avoided to draw: the State is the natural enemy of the individual. It tyrannises the individual politically and forces him to resort to pernicious repression. Bourgeois society exercises the same wicked influence in the moral sphere. The result is that the State -- assisted by the Church -- sends its citizens into senseless wars, and the bourgeois -- also with the approval of the Church -- "violates" his wife, prevents his children from marrying suitable partners, forbids pre-marital intercourse which might prevent unsuitable marriages, perpetuates prostitution, encourages philandering and adultery, causes abortions to increase. The number of sexually frustrated women grows, with the result that lunatic asylums are full of sex-starved cripples. Possession has been allowed to become the aim of love. Because parents wish to possess and to dominate their children, their daughters are not allowed to live full lives, to bear children outside marriage, to marry whom they love. They prefer to send their sons to prostitutes rather than allow them to marry beneath them financially and therefore socially. The mania of possession causes children to be conceived against the mother's will, makes separation or divorce impossible, and refuses to share a husband or a wife with a third person. These are Falke's main complaints and his dramas of the last ten to fifteen years revolve round experiments in sexual relations ad nauseam (778). Probably through Freud's influence, he tries to

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(778) Konrad Falke "Moderne Gesellschaftsdramen", vols. III and IV of collected works.

explain even the origin of war and of social injustice by linking them up with sex. His plays are either entirely tragic where he exposes the bourgeois attitude towards sex, or over-optimistic in their advocacy of sexual freedom as mankind's salvation. He can hardly be considered as the mouthpiece of any social group in Switzerland, and even the sincerity of his concern for a better and healthier world will not win him many disciples as long as he remains as radical as he has been in the past. He wishes to abolish too much at the same time: monogamy, marriage, the difference between legitimacy and illegitimacy, possessiveness and parental authority.

One has to turn to women authors if one wants to observe the trend of criticism among those members of the intelligentsia who agree to reform in moderation. Kollbrunner (779) aims at putting marriage on a basis of co-operation, mutual understanding and readiness for sacrifice, Johanna Siebel (780) shows sympathy for the illegitimate child and its mother. Cecile I. Loos goes further and exalts the sacredness of motherhood and the spiritual value of marriage, denouncing the coarse treatment still accorded to woman in some parts of Europe (781) She has the power of inspiring the reader with a religious reverence for every mother. No other Swiss author can claim to have done as

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(779) Berthe Kollbrunner "Tanniel", Zuerich 1925.

(780) Johanna Siebel "Die Weihnacht der Ursula Staeger", in collection "Zwischen Schuld und Schicksal", Zuerich 1926.

(781) "Matka Boska".

much as she has towards bridging the gulf which exists -- according to Spitteler -- between man and woman. Lisa Wenger, another woman novelist, contrasts bourgeois conventions on love with the feelings of the present generation (782), but adds nothing new.

The men are still less helpful, though not all as unreal in their presentation of an unproblematic world as Lienert (783) and Reinhart (784) are. Arnet, preoccupied with the a-social individual, sees in marriage a chance meeting of irreconcilable units (785); this may be interesting and characteristic of certain writers who have lost touch with the community, but proves or solves nothing. Inglin includes a few remarks on sex in his descriptions of society (786), but the reader knows without Inglin's help that prostitutes exist in modern hotels, that mothers try to sell their daughters to the highest bidder and that girls today start flirting at an early age. Buehrer at least suggests a remedy for the two worst scourges of modern sexual life -- abortion and prostitution (787). He underlines their connection with a faulty economic structure and sees a chance, or rather a certainty, of their removal as soon as society has become Socialist. Yet he confronts the reader at the same time with a marriage triangle which is not -- as far as one can see -- necessary. There is no economic motive which compels a woman to live with her husband and her lover with the full knowledge of

(782) "Der Vogel im Kaefig".

(783) Meinrad Lienert "Der doppelte Matthias und seine Tochter", Berlin, new edition of 1928.

(784) Josef Reinhart "Geschichten und Gestalten", Zuerich undated, and "Heimwehland", Bern 1926.

(785) E. Arnet "Die Scheuen", pp. 116/118.

(786) e.g. in "Grand Hotel Excelsior".

(787) "Man kann nicht", pp. 17 and 86.

both men. A mere switch-over from a capitalist to a Socialist system would not make such an inroad into monogamy impossible, and one begins to wonder what Buehrer really thinks about marriage.

Vuilleumier's views may be more baffling on the surface, but they are not aimless. In his novels "Cantor im Kaleidoskop" and "Sie irren, Herr Staatsanwalt" we are not spared any form of sexual perverseness or crime. Descriptions of rape, abortion, homosexuality, orgies, adultery and criminal repression alternate with happy scenes of family life and sincere affection. He crowns his panoramic review with a minute account of an act of intercourse which in its beauty is far from being shocking. If one pieces all these scenes together and asks oneself what the author wants to say, apart from a realistic "such is life!", one arrives at the conclusion that he wants to see sex treated as part of man's nature which must not be denied. All crimes connected with sex are the outcome of frustrated desires. The woman who finds her husband an unsatisfactory partner, the ill-treated wife and the woman who is forced to live with an irresponsible husband are three of his types. Adultery leads them into a new life, and they are not condemned. One is left with no doubt that Vuilleumier wants them to marry again, and that marriage as an institution is not to be discarded. Then there are the men who have been brought up to fear their sexual impulses as attacks by an evil

power. Nature takes revenge by turning these men into perverts, their "crimes", including assaults and indulgence in orgies are not premeditated, but created by circumstances outside their control. This plea for a broadminded outlook on sexual relations, coming from a lawyer who must know Swiss society as well as any contemporary author shows that social life has become so complicated that the old Liberal theories no longer apply. Gotthelf or Keller confronted with all the various forms of sexual relations which demand the attention of a modern author would feel utterly lost. No wonder that authors like Falke, Buehrer and Vuilleumier turn to Socialist theories since they alone seem to afford solutions. They must feel particularly attracted by a philosophy which includes a belief in the force of environment and all the laws of causality because they have come to the conclusion -- judging by their works -- that at least as far as sex is concerned free will which played such a large part in the Liberal ideology is of little value.

## CONCLUSIONS.

In the course of this thesis it has been unavoidable and even occasionally imperative that judgment should be passed on the value of an author's statements. Such criticism was intentionally one-sided since it could take no account of purely literary or aesthetic qualities. The main task was to state the authors' views by gleaning them from their works of imaginative literature, implementing them with remarks passed in letters or in essays of a scientific character. The second aim was to relate these views on society to the writer's position within the community and to separate, where possible, sheer playful invention from opinions based on experience within a particular environment or class. I hope that it has become sufficiently clear that in spite of all dependence on his environment the author has more possible attitudes which he can adopt towards society, than that of his class only, as the strictest historic materialists used to maintain. He can associate himself with his class (direct dependence), despise or loathe his class (indirect dependence), aim at identifying himself with the class above or below (emancipation through inferiority feeling or idealism), and lastly he can arrive at social values applicable to all classes and useful for the construction of a classless society. The assigning of an author to one of those four categories was not meant to contain a judgment on his individual worth or the value of his work. According to personal political bias literary critics would always arrive at different conclusions on these points, and it would therefore have been idle if

the writer of this thesis had indulged in purely subjective criticism.

As far as the treatment of social problems is concerned, the following general conclusions can be drawn:

### 1. FORM.

The novel and the Novelle yield best results as far as the scope of this thesis is concerned, for <sup>four</sup> ~~three~~ reasons:

- a) The epic form appeals most to the Swiss. O. von Greyerz, the literary historian, expressed it: "Keine Dichtungsart ist unserem Wesen gemassert als die epische, keine haben wir zu hoeherer Bluete entwickelt." (788).
- b) The way of Swiss literature since classicism, again according to von Greyerz, (789) but amply confirmed by other authorities, is "the way to the people". The Swiss people, however, as just stated, is fondest of narrative.
- c) Modern civilisation has relegated corporate enjoyment of art such as the drama provides, <sup>to</sup> the background. The "Festspiele" in the Switzerland of 1880-1900 were the last unnatural harking back to a past mode of life and enjoyment. It is significant that the "Festspiel" dealt exclusively with themes of the past. Today art is appreciated by the individual in his home, and even modern dramas are read rather than performed. Steffen, for instance, writes dramas which can hardly be produced on a stage.
- d) Only in epic poetry "the relationship between the subjective poet and the objective world is represented as existing". Contact between the two is present and intended, according to E. Hirth (790). This special feature of epic poetry makes the Swiss novel and Novelle particularly suitable for an examination of the problems discussed in this thesis.

### 2. REALITY.

If one searches for a standard by which literature can be

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(788) Otto von Greyerz "Grundlagen und Grundzuege der deutsch-schweizerischen Literatur von Haller bis zur Gegenwart", in Schweiz. Monatshefte fuer Politik und Kultur, vol. III, 1923/4, p. 193.

(789) Otto von Greyerz "Heimatkunst", in Schweiz. Monatshefte fuer/

measured without any risk of introducing subjective likes and dislikes of the reviewer, one is reduced to valuing by the standard of "reality". That is to say: if an author succeeds in depicting the social situation faithfully and in forecasting correctly the future form of social life, he has to be singled out as valuable within the scope of the present enquiry. This leaves undecided whether it is always the superior idea which is victorious, and merely indicates <sup>that</sup> those views were endorsed later on by a majority. On this score, the early Liberals have no rival at all. The third-rate artist S. Haberstich moves into the front rank and, as far as correctness of prophesies on social life are concerned, he has to be classed first among all Swiss writers. The social structure which Haberstich advocated still exists today.

### 5. CRITICISM.

The Liberal philosophy which was based on the doctrine that enlightened self-interest cannot fail to benefit the community, was recognised as fallacious by the more fore-sighted authors almost as soon as the general public had begun to translate Liberal ideas into practice. Undoubtedly, popular authors preached what had been advocated a generation before as "modern" views and went on believing in the Liberal gospel, but their works merely deepened the rut into which Swiss society had fallen. Independent

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(790) fuer Politik und Kultur, vol. III, 1923/4, p. 37.  
E. Hirth "Das Formgesetz der epischen, dramatischen und lyrischen Dichtung", Leipzig 1923, p. 12.

authors felt that they could not share the optimism which had characterised Haberstick's writings and Keller's "Fahnenlein". Hence the critical and tragic note which can be detected in every work of imaginative literature of importance since 1880. The best Swiss books for the last sixty years have been accusations such as Keller's "Martin Salander", Moeschlin's "Die Koenigschmieds", Spitteler's "Prometheus und Epimetheus", Bosshart's "Ein Rufer in der Wueste", Waser's "Wir Narren von gestern", Inglin's "Grand Hotel Excelsior" and Buehrer's "Man kann nicht".

#### 4. REALISM.

The century old Swiss love for realism of which Walzel liked to write has become increasingly weaker as time has passed, and is on the point of disappearing altogether. It was much more connected with the social structure than orthodox bourgeois literary historians like to admit. Today there is no suitable social system to support it.

#### 5. CLASS MANIFESTOS.

Swiss authors have failed to produce any great work which epitomises one class -- be it the aristocracy, the industrial upper middle classes, the merchant class, the petty bourgeois world or the proletariat. Only the farmer is adequately presented in the beginning, in the middle and at the end of the period; by Gotthelf in the 'forties and 'fifties, by Moeschlin and Huggenberger in the first decade of the twentieth century and by Kuhn today. Even their works, however, do not reach the high standard required for a convincing class manifesto.

## 6. CONSTRUCTIVENESS.

The democratic right to ventilate every sort of opinion freely, contributed to enhance the author's interest in public affairs. No really subversive or nihilist book -- unless one puts Spitteler's works in this category -- has emerged as a product of this freedom, nor is there any evidence of a public interest in disruptive literature.

## 7. VISION.

Swiss authors do not appear to be fond of Utopias. On the whole, they lack vision. This is perhaps best illustrated by the fact that Bluntschli, the historian, was more than fifty years ahead of his time when he wrote about Switzerland's mission (791).

## 8. FAILURE.

During the first thirty years of the period under consideration authors reflected and directed social life in their works. Present-day literature has no roots in the life of the people as a whole. Every author has his particular interest and no "public" in the true sense of the word.

## 9. CONSERVATISM.

Interest in Marxism as a theory capable of explaining the actual dynamics of society is on the increase only as far as

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(791) cf. J.C. Bluntschli "Denkwuerdiges aus meinem Leben II", 1884 reproducing a diary entry dated 14.3.1853 (p. 131) on "Die Bedeutung der Schweiz fuer Europa" which contains ideas which -- in imaginative literature -- we only meet with in the second decade of the twentieth century.

the economic applications of the Marxist philosophy are concerned. Historic materialism with its denial of a supernatural world does not find many supporters. In this connection, the slowness of the Swiss to take up new ideas is of importance: When the Swiss sold themselves to capitalism, Swiss authors could learn from the objections, which their colleagues in other countries who had a longer experience to draw on were putting forward. By the time that interest in scientific socialism awoke in Switzerland, other countries had already discovered its shortcomings.

#### 10. THE ARTIST'S DILEMMA.

The anti-social longing of the artist to be alone with his world of visions, which makes him sympathise with the social outsider has found as much expression in modern Swiss literature (e.g. Arnet) as his desire to become one with the mass and to efface his personal identity for the sake of the achievement of harmony and unity within the social framework (e.g. the Socialist authors). Such is the position after a short spell during which the author felt it easy to consider himself as a "citizen" (Keller), followed by a period during which the author exalted the individual at the expense of the community (Spitteler).

#### 11. THE DOMINANT TYPE OF HERO.

In contrast to other European literatures there is no trace of a cult of the "he-man" or the "nothing-but-proletarian"; on the contrary, the dominant feature of modern Swiss literature

is the portrayal of the self-conscious and hyper-sensitive person in preference to the level-headed, unsophisticated individual.

#### 12. THE PRESENT UNCERTAINTY.

Although no solution of present-day difficulties which promises success is offered, there is no lack of interpretations of the present crisis. Since man needs to recognise himself and his position through works of art, such diagnoses constitute perhaps the first step towards a cure, especially since the modern Swiss writer of rank is as conscious as his fellow artists in other bourgeois countries, that a change is imminent which will be as fundamental as the revolution which put Liberalism into the saddle. In the meantime he feels forced to express what he knows to be anything else but the last word on the subject. Forster in a speech to the International Society of Writers for the Defence of Culture (Paris, 1936) called this "to go on tinkering with the old tools until the crash comes: when the crash comes, nothing is any good."

#### 13. CIRCULUS VITIOSUS.

The widening of the scope of public interest which imposed a -- to most writers -- loathsome conformity on the individual was as much part of Liberalism as was the ruthless individualism which flouted all considerations for humanity. The collectivist side of Liberalism provoked a reaction in authors which led to their sympathy for a-social or anti-social individuals. Thus, in a vicious circle, every increase in State interference demanded by authors with collectivist ideals turns more authors into strict

individualists. As a result there are today many authors who literally "hang in the air", writing without basing their art on the outlook of any collective body, for a public which they do not know and which they do not even want to influence.

#### 14. ANOTHER CIRCLE.

Swiss literature has now returned in many respects to ideals (anti-Liberal in character) which had marked the beginning of the period. Some authors such as Kuhn, Fankhauser and Huggenberger stand comparison with Gotthelf much better than with any other writer since Gotthelf's death. A full circle has now been completed.

#### 15. THE PUBLIC.

There are no rival mass movements in Swiss literature. Mass attraction is only exercised by those authors who cater for the lower and medium strata of the middle classes. The gulf between those who can read and those who can appreciate the best of literature has become too great.

#### 16. SERIOUSNESS AND THE HIDE-BOUND OUTLOOK.

There is little evidence of playfulness with subjects of social import. Even satires are apt to be bitterly earnest or schoolmasterly. Contradicting public opinion just for the sake of being witty is as good as unknown. This seriousness is connected with a scrupulous avoidance of frivolity and a hide-bound outlook as far as sex and foreigners are concerned.

### 17. THE AUTHOR'S REACTION TO EVENTS.

The seeming monotony of Swiss literature of a social character (a monotony which becomes very noticeable when one compares it with English or German literature) is explained by the simplicity and uneventfulness of social life. Whenever the occasion arose, be it a political change such as the "democratic movement" brought about, an economic phenomenon like expansionist capitalism in the 'eighties, or a national danger such as the Great War constituted, the author remembered his vocation and gave his comments and advice on the situation. The narrow geographical and sociological confines of the country are to be blamed for the absence of many ideas and movements which can be met with in the literary output of other countries. This explains why we miss "Empire" or colonial or "overseas" literature, and detective fiction, why there are no great reformers and no writers who cater for the "gentleman". There are no descriptions of slums but also no eulogies on factory life (with one artificial exception); trade-union literature is also non-existent.

### 18. COMPARISON.

In its approach towards problems of social life Swiss literature since 1850, in its main features, though not in quality or scope, is comparable to English rather than to German, French or Italian literature.

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