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### **Transatlantic Connections: The Lloyd Family and Switzerland**

For many Americans, scholar and lay alike, Western Europe consists of the Big Three, England, Germany, and France.<sup>1</sup> Monographs in English about the history and culture of Europe typically pertain only to these three. On occasion another region or nation is included, but not unless "important" events took place there. Italy, for instance, only "existed" during the Renaissance, the Risorgimento, and again under Mussolini. Smaller countries like Switzerland, Portugal, or Denmark often are not mentioned at all even when part of "world historical" phenomena. George Huppert exemplifies this approach in his newest book, *After the Black Death: A Social History of Europe*, when he writes:

What of the territorial limits of Western Europe? On that question I have allowed myself some latitude. Instead of settling for a purely geographical border line [certainly commendable], such as the Elbe River valley, I have, in effect, focused on the most densely populated and the most thoroughly urbanized regions: the Paris Basin, southeastern England, northern Italy, western Germany. One might almost say the "western" is used in this book as a social rather than a geographical expression, so that Italy appears more western by far than Portugal.<sup>2</sup>

Perhaps this attitude is based on the notion that size and significance are closely related. In some measure this is a peculiarly North American phenomenon, although it must be admitted that few monographs on purely Swiss topics are published in Europe outside the Helvetic Confederation.

Scholars of the transatlantic migrations in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have the same proclivity. They usually study those groups that originate in the Big Three and Italy, and they do the same when exploring the persistence of European culture in American (meant in the widest sense) ethnic groups. Scholarly works seldom focus on the Swiss, Danes, or Portuguese, unless publications expressly devoted to

such groups like the *Swiss-American Historical Society Review*, *Scandinavian Studies*, or special issues like this *Yearbook of German-American Studies*, draw attention to them.

Those who study neglected Europe and Europeans appreciate coming across work that covers a country or people other than one of the European Big Three. While I was working with the papers of Georgia Lloyd, the granddaughter of the Chicago Progressive writer and activist Henry Demarest Lloyd, for instance, a number of intriguing references to Switzerland emerged. Henry and his grandson William Bross Lloyd, Jr., Georgia's brother, had both written books about the Helvetian Confederation using Swiss history and institutions as examples for the world, or at least the United States, to follow. Various members of the Lloyd family had visited or lived in Switzerland, and generally found Swiss history and culture of interest. This essay explores what the Lloyds admired about the Swiss, how they used Swiss history and institutions, and what they thought exemplary in their two books on Switzerland.

## I

Henry Demarest Lloyd was born on May Day 1847 as the oldest child of Aaron Lloyd, a minister in the Dutch Reformed Church, but of Welsh and French Huguenot extraction.<sup>3</sup> Family ancestors had arrived in North America during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. After a peripatetic early childhood, Lloyd received his secondary and university education in New York City. Even before his graduation from Columbia University in 1869, he became involved in reform movements, participating, for instance, in the successful campaign to have opening hours of libraries in New York City extended to include Sunday, working people's only day of rest, and the only time they could frequent a library. In early 1872, Lloyd was active in the free trade campaign. When it collapsed that summer, he decided to accept the invitation of editor Horace White to move to Chicago and write for the *Chicago Tribune*. At the time it supported the liberal Republicans, it was reform friendly, and one of the best newspapers in the country. On Christmas Day 1873 Lloyd married Jessie Bross, daughter of William Bross.<sup>4</sup> William Bross had been lieutenant governor of Illinois, had been active in the presidential campaign of Abraham Lincoln, and was a member of the Republican Party. In addition he owned one quarter of the *Chicago Tribune*. The Chicago metropolitan area was to remain the home of Henry and Jessie Lloyd until their deaths in 1903 and 1904 respectively.

Lloyd quickly gained notoriety as a champion of social and economic justice. As a journalist and writer he was among the first of the so-called muckrakers. In 1881, the *Atlantic Monthly* published his article exposing the Standard Oil monopoly. The article received national attention and that issue of the magazine went through seven printings before demand was satisfied. Lloyd later expanded this article with additional research and in 1894 published it as a book entitled *Wealth Against Commonwealth*.



Henry and Jessie Lloyd first went to Europe in 1885.<sup>5</sup> Jessie fell ill in Venice, apparently from typhoid fever. Fortunately the crisis passed and she later wrote "Henry and I had some enchanting weeks in Switzerland and the nightmare of Venice is now only seen through the medium of thankfulness that it was no darker."<sup>6</sup>

Upon his return Lloyd devoted himself full-time to writing and political work, ably assisted by Jessie. Lloyd became one of the leaders in the effort to commute the death sentences of the men convicted in the so-called Haymarket Square Riot on 4 May 1886.<sup>7</sup> Their home, the Wayside in Winnetka, became something of a haven for all sorts and conditions of humankind. Here Lloyd devoted most of his time to writing. A partial list of his publications fills fourteen densely printed pages in the biography his sister wrote, and in all of them he strove to serve the cause of social and economic justice.<sup>8</sup> Lloyd espoused the political and economic rights of ordinary people, and he opposed graft, monopoly and the exploitation of working people by large companies, landlords and corrupt officials. He was very much a part of the left wing of the Progressive movement and one of the nationally read muck-rakers.

He not only exposed injustice and corruption, however, he also advocated specific reforms and sought examples of how various systems could work in the United States. In 1898, for example, he published a book called *Labour Copartnership: Notes of a Visit to Co-Operative Workshops, Factories and Farms in Great Britain and Ireland in which Employer, Employee and Consumer Share in Ownership, Management, and Results*. In 1900 two more of his books were published, *A Country without Strikes: A Visit to the Compulsory Arbitration Court of New Zealand* and *Newest England: Notes of a Domestic Traveller in New Zealand with some Australian Comparisons*. In 1901 and 1902 Lloyd traveled extensively in Switzerland filling notebooks, gathering published materials and clippings, corresponding widely, and interviewing officials, scholars and experts for a book about Swiss democracy.<sup>9</sup>

During the summer of 1903 at his Rhode Island summer home, Lloyd organized his materials preparatory to writing the book, but fate intervened. Reform forces in Chicago had campaigned avidly to convince the aldermen that government rather than private contractors should operate the city's street railways. The contractors were accused of providing questionable services at high prices and of being involved in much graft. Lloyd had been active in this campaign for some time and he returned to Chicago to enter the fray as it intensified. He caught influenza, and, as he did not get enough rest, it developed into pneumonia. On the day he was to have addressed the city council, 28 September 1903, he died. The book on Switzerland had not been written.

In correspondence from the 1890s Lloyd refers to his friendship with the English economist John A. Hobson, who wrote a well-known analysis of imperialism, first published in 1902.<sup>10</sup> When asked by Lloyd's family and friends to construct a book from the material Lloyd had gathered, Hobson agreed, and in 1907 *A Sovereign People: A Study of*



*Swiss Democracy* appeared.<sup>11</sup> Here indeed was a transatlantic connection: an American and an Englishman held up Switzerland as a model to be emulated. As in his books about Great Britain and New Zealand, Lloyd looked to specific aspects of Switzerland's institutions to show that economic democracy and truly popular involvement in the political processes could work and bring benefits to all.

From Lloyd's perspective, Switzerland had a number of advantages as a "Laboratory of Democracy," the title of the first chapter in *A Sovereign People*. Nowhere else, he thought, had the civil and political rights of male citizens "been so fully realized as in the expanding series of self-governing areas in which a Swiss citizen exercises his rights and duties as a member of a commune, a canton, and a federal state. . . ."<sup>12</sup> He suggested that a careful adjustment of the relations between smaller and larger units promised much stability. Lloyd further found Switzerland to be the one state with local, regional, and federal constitutions that expressed the most "confidence in the present will of the majority," and the greatest "facility of fundamental changes to meet new conditions."<sup>13</sup> The Swiss system as Lloyd had observed it in 1901 and 1902 had undergone significant changes during the preceding decade. Christopher Hughes of Leicester University and an expert on Swiss history and politics suggests, for example, that the 1890s and especially the half decade from 1891 to 1896 saw the foundation of the current political and social infrastructures.<sup>14</sup> The usefulness of Switzerland as a lesson in democracy was enhanced for Lloyd by the heterogeneity of the Swiss. Not only were there cleavages between thinly peopled agricultural regions and the more densely populated industrial centers then emerging, but religion, language, and ethnicity also bifurcated the nation.<sup>15</sup> He admired the ability of the Swiss political systems to integrate these various groups, albeit not without difficulties.

In Lloyd's view the nature of communal rule, the referendum, and the initiative formed the basis for the success of Swiss democracy. Two aspects in the structure of the commune, he thought, gave it its special force: In most communes rule was based on direct democracy and on a large measure of financial independence.<sup>16</sup>

The survival of large elements of communal property in many parts of Switzerland administered by the body of the members of the commune, or by large corporations within the commune, for the common good, plays a most important part in the maintenance of local democracy and the determination of its forms."<sup>17</sup>

Originally not every one had benefited from the proceeds of the *Allmend*, as it was called, but by the nineteenth century "the bulk of the communal rights had passed to the burgher population."<sup>18</sup> By 1901, when Lloyd was there, the use of communal property or *Allmend* had changed in many places to support a more "modern" welfare system.

The other important aspect of political life in the commune was direct democracy. In 1900 the norm for direct participation remained voter presence and participation at community-wide meetings. In the larger



more urban communes, however, the referendum and the initiative were increasingly replacing the meetings of the *Gemeinde*. Since Lloyd, like many Progressives in the United States, valued these two instruments of popular access to the political process, he did not seem to regret the change. It must be remembered that only men had the vote in Switzerland in those days, as was the case elsewhere in the Western world, except for a few places in the United States, and there women could only vote in local elections.

The individual's access to political power had played an important role in the historical development of Swiss governmental structures. It was assured not only in the role of the *Gemeinde*, but also in the federal structure of the central government in Switzerland which had begun in the thirteenth century, but had remained quite weak. Not until the provisions of the 1874 constitution did the national administration gain added power and authority. Yet political centralization was accompanied by a check on that power, i.e., the referendum. Citizens could accept or reject any federal law or constitutional change by a simple majority. But the referendum, as Lloyd points out, only allows the voters to say no. In 1891, at the beginning of that important half decade of political change referred to above, the initiative was added to the constitution. Voters were thus empowered to add laws and constitutional changes, again with a simple majority. In Lloyd's view it was important that the referendum and the initiative applied not only to the federal government, but also to smaller administrative units that used representatives to rule. These two instruments then effectively replaced the meeting of the *Gemeinde*, but without people losing actual power.

Lloyd credits several significant changes in the political process during the 1890s to direct citizen participation. He viewed the nationalization of railways and of the alcohol trade as good examples of effective uses of the referendum and initiative at the federal level and he devoted a chapter to each. At the local level he noted similar developments as in the expansion of municipal ownership of utilities and transportation systems, a topic dear to Lloyd's heart. In the latter case, change sometimes resulted from the use of channels other than the referendum or the initiative.

For Lloyd one of the supreme tests of democracy was successfully to navigate between the Scylla of industrial monopoly's tyranny and the Charybdis of industrial warfare's anarchy. He thought the Swiss had been considerably more successful in this effort than the United States. In the ninth chapter of his book, aptly titled "The State for the Workers," he analyzed factory legislation, such as the limiting of work hours. He suggests that such laws were enacted in large measure due to public pressure and the use of the instruments of direct democracy.<sup>19</sup> In a subsequent chapter, Lloyd suggests that socialism did not gain the power in Switzerland as it did in other countries, because the political system more effectively limited the capitalists' power, in a sense making socialism unnecessary.<sup>20</sup> Lloyd tried here to demonstrate what he interpreted as the average Swiss voter's basic sense of responsibility and



reasonableness and he further suggests the average American voter would act in a similar way.

Lloyd clearly wanted to convince his fellow countrymen that popular democracy could work. *A Sovereign People* was written as a tract for its time, yet it was anything but superficial. Lloyd's notebooks and correspondence reveal him as a careful and thorough researcher who developed a dense data base which Hobson then shaped into a readable book. Through a network of friends and acquaintances, Lloyd had identified and corresponded with people who could give him the information he needed.<sup>21</sup> His notebooks contain extensive lists of materials that he apparently had consulted. They include technical, scholarly, and government publications and provide a judicious mixture of primary and secondary sources. Most aspects of Swiss life in the nineteenth century were reflected in these sources as well as in Lloyd's extensive correspondence. Lloyd also drew heavily on interviews and on his own observations made during his trips to Switzerland in 1901 and 1902. These last two sources give the book its immediacy and relevance for the modern reader.

Because of his untimely death, it remains unknown what Henry Lloyd would have done with his Swiss lesson, although we can easily infer it. His correspondence reveals that he used the books he had written about New Zealand and Great Britain to support his efforts in promoting social and economic justice in the United States. One may assume he would have done the same with the book on Switzerland. In any event, his interest in Switzerland also had a significant if indirect impact upon his descendants.

## II

Henry D. Lloyd's oldest son William Bross Lloyd, Sr., married Lola Maverick of the Texas Mavericks. They followed in Henry's footsteps and joined the Socialist Party local in Winnetka where they lived after their marriage. They had four children, including William Bross Lloyd, Jr., and Georgia Lloyd. After William and Lola separated, William became increasingly radical. He helped to bail out Bill Hayward of the radical International Workers of the World and, like many on the left in those days, he celebrated the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. During the red hunts, William was briefly imprisoned for his political activities.<sup>22</sup>

Lola was an activist in her own right, and she continued the Lloyd Swiss connection in her generation, albeit in a different way. She did not write a book but, after separating from William, lived in Switzerland for a time. There she worked closely with Swiss women activists, several of whom she had met earlier.<sup>23</sup> Lola Lloyd had become radicalized already during the First World War as she joined those struggling for peace. In 1915 she helped Rosika Schwimmer organize the Ford Peace Expedition and its conference of neutrals which was almost successful in mediating an end to the war.<sup>24</sup> In this work she met Clara Ragaz and Marguerite Gobat, both of whom were Swiss activists. Gobat was the daughter of Dr. Albert Gobat who won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1902.<sup>25</sup> Lola Lloyd

also participated in the Hague Congress of Women which gave rise to the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace, later renamed the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. During the 1920s Lola lived in Geneva, Switzerland, as an observer at the League of Nations and worked or visited with Swiss women activists like Ragaz and Gobat, the latter of whom operated a "peace school." Lola's youngest daughter attended a Quaker school in Gland and her son, William Bross Lloyd, Jr., attended the University of Geneva, a city to which he was later to return.<sup>26</sup> In 1937, with Rosika Schwimmer, Lola Lloyd founded the Campaign for World Government to which she dedicated all her energies until her death in 1944.<sup>27</sup>

### III

William Bross Lloyd, Jr., was therefore no stranger to social action. In 1915 he and his two older sisters had accompanied their mother to Europe on the Ford Peace Ship. Although accepted at Harvard, in 1927 he began his undergraduate work at Antioch College in Yellow Springs, Ohio, a school noted for advanced educational ideas. Upon graduation he went briefly to graduate school, then worked in the cooperative movement and as a journalist for the labor press.<sup>28</sup> After Hitler's invasion of Czechoslovakia William Bross Lloyd, Jr. (hereafter referred to as Bill Lloyd), dedicated himself fully to the Campaign for World Government which advocated a democratic, non-military and all-inclusive world federation and, after the war broke out, added the idea of neutral mediation to end this and other international conflicts. In 1943 he left the Campaign in order to begin his alternative service as a conscientious objector. Like so many at that time he thought deeply about the problems and possibilities of world peace. Moreover, he actively participated in the work for non-violent conflict resolution among the countries of the world. The League of Nations had clearly not been an effective tool in maintaining peace, nor did he think the United Nations had the necessary apparatus to do so.<sup>29</sup> Bill Lloyd wanted to make a significant contribution to the debate on how best to build a more permanent peace. He was convinced that a federation of the world's nations was most likely to be effective in gaining that peace. He had studied and written about the federal system in the United States and, since he wanted to study another example of federalism, he set off to Switzerland in the summer of 1949.<sup>30</sup> Although no direct evidence is available, Bill Lloyd was undoubtedly, at least in part, inspired by his grandfather's example. Copies of Henry Demarest Lloyd's books are still plentiful in the family and it is hard to imagine that Bill did not know *A Sovereign People*. His own stay in Switzerland in the 1920s probably encouraged him further to select Switzerland as a subject for study. In any event, as he wrote: "Impelled by the hope of finding some major keys to the problems of world peace, the author left the United States . . . to study Swiss political history."<sup>31</sup>

But why pick Switzerland of all places? It was after all one of those little "insignificant" countries living in the shadows of the Big Three. In



a number of differing contexts Bill Lloyd discussed this issue himself. In a talk given at the Chicago Literary Club in 1976 he explained, "Yet if it's a question of the relevance of Swiss political history . . . , people are apt to say: 'But it's not big enough to be significant,' forgetting that structure is often more important than size."<sup>32</sup> By way of illustration he noted that both elephants and mice were mammals. Ernst Schwarcz addresses this same issue in his foreword to the German-language edition of *Waging Peace* published in 1963 by the Sensen Verlag of Austria.<sup>33</sup> Why, he asked, would an Austrian publisher print a book about Swiss inter-cantonal relations? He answered by noting that Lloyd had clearly delineated and discussed the structures which maintained peace among the cantons and that Lloyd (as well as Schwarcz) saw this as an important lesson both for Austria and for the world. In Lloyd's view it was the nature of inter-cantonal relations and the manner in which they were institutionalized that were key to peace-keeping.

Bill Lloyd's initial plan was to study Swiss federalism. Yet when reading William E. Rappard's *Collective Security in Swiss Experience* on his way to Geneva in 1949, he changed direction. In the introduction to *Waging Peace*, he noted that most histories of Switzerland in English failed to mention that "neutrality was an important phenomenon of the country's *internal* as well as its *external relations*," a central point of Rappard's book.<sup>34</sup> Lloyd became intrigued by the institutionalization of neutrality and the role neutrals could play in mediating and conciliating disputes among the fractious and often antagonistic cantons. "Might not the history of this experience, the author wondered, 'speak to the condition' of the present contentious world of sovereign states more significantly than a mere recital of the steps in the growth of Swiss federalism?"<sup>35</sup> Lloyd suggested that the way to "peace with freedom" was not through collective security, since allies could be just as bellicose as individual countries. Rather people had to meet every dispute with "persistent, influential conciliation and mediation."<sup>36</sup> Therefore Lloyd set out to research and write about the history of the neutral cantons' responsibilities in keeping the peace.

And he did so with tenacity. Assisted by Swiss scholars like David Lasserre of Lausanne, William Rappard then of the Graduate Institute of International Studies at Geneva, and the University of Geneva's Dr. W. A. Liebeskind's language skills, Lloyd immersed himself in the sources. He found his main data in the federal diet's published minutes covering the period from the Middle Ages to the end of the early modern era. When Lloyd began his work "this indigestible source material . . . had baffled the efforts of many earlier historians," Rappard noted in his preface to Lloyd's book.<sup>37</sup> Lloyd also consulted other primary materials and he became familiar with the secondary literature pertaining to his sharply focused topic. He spent two years researching and then began writing *Waging Peace*.

The chronologically arranged book is deceptively simple in appearance. A brief introduction discusses the author's premises and purpose, then eight chapters cover the development of the mediation process from its "Origins" through the "Protestant-Catholic Conflict," ending



with the events and the constitution of 1848, yet noting that the 1848 article regarding mediation of disputes remained in force also in the subsequent constitution. A concluding chapter delineates "The Swiss Lesson" on how to maintain peace and democracy also among hostile and competing nations or groups of allies.

The peaceful settlement of disputes has had a long, if inconstant, history in Switzerland. The foundations were laid in the agreements which formed the initial confederation in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. The oldest extant pact, dating back to 1291, united Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden, but not until a new treaty of cooperation concluded in 1325 was the settlement of disputes addressed directly. That pact included the mandate that in any dispute among the signers, "the noblest and wisest should come to settle . . . the dispute by friendly compromise or law."<sup>38</sup> During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as the confederation continued to add new members like Lucerne, Zurich, and Bern with their respective rural lands, diversity of interests and political systems increased, and in consequence also the potential for violent conflict. Since the cantons were a part of the Holy Roman Empire and at least indirectly under the Habsburgs, and since the peasants of the cantons were slowly but surely expanding their autonomy from aristocratic and imperial control, keeping internal peace became increasingly important, in order to minimize opportunities for the emperor or other potentates to interfere in inter-cantonal affairs.

In Lloyd's view peaceful and legal means of conflict resolution reached something of a golden age at the end of the fifteenth and at the beginning of the sixteenth centuries.<sup>39</sup> Basel and Schaffhausen joined the confederation in 1501 and Appenzell in 1513. They were not admitted as full-fledged members, however, but were obligated both to remain neutral and to function as permanent mediators in inter-cantonal disputes, thus augmenting the diet's efforts in maintaining the peace. This structure did not remain static, but continued to evolve over time. The strife between Catholicism and Protestantism almost tore the fragile political fabric apart. Nonetheless the structure worked, and with increasing success, despite the heterogeneity of the Helvetic Confederation. It remained united and at peace during the very difficult times of the Thirty Years' War. This does not imply that the Swiss were in agreement on most issues; for example, they were as deeply divided over religion as anyone else.

The golden age did not persist. All sectors of Swiss life declined in the seventeenth century and Swiss society became increasingly stratified. The cantons gave little support either to each other or to the ideals of mediation and conciliation. This led to a lack of effective resistance to foreign intervention in Swiss affairs and to a loss of local freedoms. The invasion of French revolutionary forces and the subsequent imposition of Napoleonic laws in 1798 forced much needed legal and economic reforms upon the Swiss, but did not lead to political freedom for the ordinary Swiss, of course. The early nineteenth century saw a great deal of unrest and even bloodshed, as in the 1847 *Sonderbundskrieg*, a brief civil war. The mediation by Basel, while unsuccessful in preventing that



conflict, significantly limited the extent of the bloodshed and any subsequent bitterness, Lloyd suggests.<sup>40</sup> Not until the constitution of 1848 did internal peace return. The federal nature of the new government, moreover, removed the need for "the process of active intercantonal [sic] mediation."<sup>41</sup>

Buried in the minutes of the late medieval diet of the Swiss Confederation, Bill Lloyd found what he considers an important lesson for the peoples of the earth. The cantons resolved conflicts in at least three ways. The parties to a dispute simply sat down at the negotiation table and settled their differences, or, if that were not possible, they submitted their dispute to a mutually agreed upon arbitrator. In many conflicts, however, those involved were not willing to negotiate with the opponent, nor did they wish to submit to arbitration, since this required them to accept a resolution sight unseen. Furthermore to suggest mediation was (and still is) often interpreted as a sign of weakness. The history of Switzerland, indeed of Europe, contains many examples of these problems. For Lloyd, therefore, the third procedure, which developed in the decades before and after 1500, was the most important. The three then newest cantons were designated as permanent neutrals with the obligation of stepping in as mediators in any dispute within a canton, between cantons, or between a canton and an outside power, unless either direct negotiations or arbitration were possible. In 1919 Switzerland followed its own example and offered to mediate disputes as a permanently neutral member of the League of Nations. Because its neutrality had already been established in international politics, the League accepted the Swiss offer. Regrettably the League was not successful in its peace-keeping efforts, but for reasons not related to Swiss participation nor pertinent to this study. Yet Bill Lloyd insists that the history of Switzerland suggests a way to world peace. Could not a nation or group of nations, whose permanent neutrality is recognized, receive a mandate to mediate any serious international dispute not amenable to negotiation or arbitration? Such a structure had brought a measure of peace, justice and freedom to a group of cantons who spoke different languages, held different even antagonistic religious views, and which had differing economic and political systems. Surely it seemed worth trying on a global scale also, Lloyd argues.

Lloyd's historical work was, of course, not the first account of the regulation of inter-cantonal affairs, and he himself cites the standard works.<sup>42</sup> These monographs, however, focused on arbitration. Not much research had been done on mediation, Lloyd's main focus in exploring Swiss political history. Although the resulting book is not a scholarly work in the very narrow sense of that term, the author's research was meticulous, his methodology and analysis sound, and his argument cogent and solidly based on the evidence. The apparatus is somewhat limited, to be sure, and there is no bibliography. There are, however, sufficient notes and an appendix listing the dates of and participants in pertinent decisions made by the Federal Diet, so that anyone could check the author's findings. The fact that this book was written for the lay person and by a non-professional gives it a certain



freshness and immediacy and in no way detracts from its accomplishments.

Like his grandparents and parents Bill Lloyd was an activist and he set out to spread the "Swiss lesson" even before finishing his research. In a letter to his sister dated 5 March 1950 from 109 Chemin d'Aire, Châtelaine, Genève, Bill Lloyd wrote,

I am getting the growing feeling that the 'neutrals' offer the . . . greatest hope of preventing war in general, and from that I see a crying need for someone to encourage Nehru in a hard-hitting peace-mongering neutrality. A lot of other people could make a better approach, but I have an increasing feeling that I may have to make the attempt myself.<sup>43</sup>

Lloyd did make that attempt and went to India in October 1950. Anticipating his trip, he sent a three-page letter to President Prasad of India in July, and there he gave a brief synopsis of the history of mediation in Switzerland along with his suggestions for India assuming a similar role, perhaps in the context of its United Nations membership. He sent an identical one to Hadji Agus Salim of Indonesia.<sup>44</sup> Lloyd clearly believed that nations, new and old, in the nonaligned movement had real potential as neutral mediators.

Lloyd remained busy. In 1951 he finished his research and left Geneva in July after almost two years of intense effort. The next year he founded the newsletter *Toward Freedom* which is dedicated to the issues of decolonization and nation building. He was active in a number of other pursuits as well, including lobbying for the establishment of a United Nations radio network as a way of promoting federalism and thus world peace. In the midst of all these activities his book was somehow written and it was published by the Public Affairs Press in 1958.

To Lloyd the new nations emerging from European control in the postwar decolonization movements presented a special opportunity. The first permanent mediators in Switzerland had, after all, been new members of their confederation, just as the new African and Asian countries were new members of the United Nations. *Waging Peace* gave him another way to present his case. Beginning in 1959, he sent copies of the book with a cover letter advocating neutrality and mediation to various heads of state. The list included leaders in what was then called The Congo, Nigeria, Guinea, Liberia, Libya, Ethiopia, The Sudan, Southern Rhodesia, Togoland, Morocco, and Egypt, in addition to leaders in the Asian countries of Nepal, Lebanon, Laos, Cambodia, Burma, India, Indonesia, Sri Lanka, and Iraq. Copies of the book were also sent to Western leaders like President Eisenhower, Marshal Tito, President Urho Kekkonen of Finland, and Tage Erlander of Sweden.<sup>45</sup> While Bill Lloyd continued to discuss the Swiss lesson in relation to the new nations, his interests were much broader, however, and he showed a genuine interest in their special problems and accomplishments as the articles in *Toward Freedom* indicate. In less formal ways as well, Lloyd used what he had learned from Swiss history to bolster his efforts to

convince both established and new world leaders of the value of and, indeed, the need for, mediation.

Bill Lloyd continued to spread the word during the 1960s and 1970s. A German-language edition of *Waging Peace*, entitled *Neutrale als Friedenstifter*, was published in 1964. That year his *Peace Requires Peacemakers*, a summary of his book was published as a pamphlet by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. Efforts to publish a French edition were not successful, however. His article "Solidarity and Autonomy: Africa and the Swiss Example" in which he again presented the history of Swiss mediation and conciliation appeared in the 1966 edition of the journal *Acta Africana: Geneva-Africa*.<sup>46</sup> In this article he highlighted the weakness of the cantons, their efforts to gain autonomy in the face of opposition from powerful neighboring rulers, and their relative poverty and "backwardness." These were situations the new African nations knew firsthand. Lloyd pointed out that there are clearly many differences between the medieval Swiss and the twentieth-century Africans. Yet he felt something could be learned and pointed out that the Organization of African Unity had already had some successes in mediating conflicts. Beginning in late 1971 and on into 1972, he carried on a lengthy correspondence with Swiss federal authorities in which he advocated that Switzerland join the United Nations as a permanently neutral mediator, the role it played as member of the League of Nations.

While Bill Lloyd's interests in Switzerland focused initially on federalism and then on the various ways of conflict resolution, they have since expanded to include much more than those aspects of its political history. Between 1964 and 1970, for instance, he taught a course in the political and cultural history of Switzerland at Roosevelt University in Chicago. In 1976 Lloyd presented a paper on Swiss history, culture and belles-lettres, titled "Behind the Cuckoo Clock," to the Chicago Literary Club.<sup>47</sup> Four years later he read another paper, again at the Chicago Literary Club, this time on Albert Gallatin.<sup>48</sup> In numerous talks, letters to the editor, and by other means Bill Lloyd presented the Swiss lesson and shared other aspects of the Swiss experience with his readers and listeners.

Switzerland is small to be sure, but its experience is anything but insignificant. As the peasants and burghers in the mountains and valleys of south central Europe struggled to protect their traditional rights and to advance their say in local affairs, they built a series of structures of "world historical" significance. A good place to begin the study of those structures can be found in the efforts of the Lloyd family.

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> This essay is an expanded and revised version of a paper given at the annual meeting



of the Swiss-American Historical Society held in Washington, DC, on 21 October 1989. Additional materials, especially from the Henry Demarest Lloyd Papers held by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, have been consulted for this essay. Portions of what pertains to William Bross Lloyd, Jr., appeared earlier in *Swiss-American Historical Society Review* 25.2 (1989): 4-17.

<sup>2</sup> George Huppert, *After the Black Death: A Social History of Europe* (Bloomington, 1986), xii.

<sup>3</sup> Henry Lloyd's sister Caro wrote *Henry Demarest Lloyd, 1847-1903: A Biography* (New York, 1912), a two-volume work, in the years immediately after his untimely death. It is an excellent biography and, although there are later ones, it remains a standard. Unless otherwise noted, biographical information about HDL comes from this source.

<sup>4</sup> Jessie Bross Lloyd's pocket calendar in the family's possession.

<sup>5</sup> Jessie and Henry sent numerous letters to their children who stayed at home. These letters are in the possession of the family.

<sup>6</sup> Caro Lloyd, *Biography*, 1:74.

<sup>7</sup> For a thorough discussion of the Haymarket incident and subsequent events and Henry Lloyd's involvement in them see Paul Avrich, *The Haymarket Tragedy* (Princeton, NJ, 1984).

<sup>8</sup> Quoted in Caro Lloyd, *Biography*, 2:351-64.

<sup>9</sup> Much of this material is contained in the Henry Demarest Lloyd Papers (microfilm edition), State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1970; correspondence for this period can be found on reels 10, 11, 12; and the materials he gathered for the book are on reel 39.

<sup>10</sup> Caro Lloyd, *Biography*, 1:208-9; John A. Hobson, *Imperialism* (Ann Arbor, 1972; 1st ed. 1902).

<sup>11</sup> John A. Hobson, "Preface" in Henry D. Lloyd, *A Sovereign People* (New York, 1970), v-xiii.

<sup>12</sup> H. Lloyd, *Sovereign People*, 1.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> Christopher Hughes, *Switzerland* (London, 1975), 106; on pp. 106-11, Hughes provides a succinct picture of the political structures that form the context for the issues Lloyd raises.

<sup>15</sup> See, e.g., the chart in Lloyd, *Sovereign People*, 4.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 29-46.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 35.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 126-53.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 183-207.

<sup>21</sup> A note of thanks is due Ms. Sigrid Ellis who combed through the microfilm edition of Lloyd's papers, identifying those documents that pertained to Lloyd's Swiss work.

<sup>22</sup> References to all of these events can be found in the papers of Georgia Lloyd. Some remain in her possession and others have become part of the Schwimmer-Lloyd Collection of the New York Public Library.

<sup>23</sup> Special thanks are due Edith Wynner, Consultant to the Schwimmer-Lloyd Collection, and the only one who really knows the contents of that collection, which she indeed helped to create. Ms. Wynner was good enough to share her research notes and to find and photocopy material for this portion of the essay.

<sup>24</sup> Anne Wiltshire, *Most Dangerous Women: Feminist Peace Campaigners of the Great War* (London, 1985), deals with this effort in detail. Lola Maverick Lloyd's diary entries for this time period (part of the Schwimmer-Lloyd Collection), are a key source for these events.

<sup>25</sup> *Biographical Dictionary of Modern Peace Leaders*, 1985 ed., s.v. Gobat, Albert; Gobat, Marguerite.

<sup>26</sup> Georgia Lloyd in conversations during late winter and spring of 1988.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> William Bross Lloyd, "Autobiographical Notes Prepared for the Antioch Peace Seminar, July 21-28, 1978," mss. in Georgia Lloyd's papers; see note 22.

<sup>29</sup> There is a great deal of correspondence among the principals of the Campaign for World Government, including Bill Lloyd, regarding the shortcomings of that body. The UN charter was seen to resemble the United States Articles of Confederation (replaced by the US Constitution) in that there was no independent source of revenue and only

"sovereign states" were represented, thus giving the UN (or the Continental Congress) little if any enforcement power except for a military one. Even that has remained for the most part an impossibility.

<sup>30</sup> See, e.g., William Bross Lloyd, Jr., *Town Meeting for America: How Citizens Can Set the Course for United States World Relations* (New York, 1951).

<sup>31</sup> William Bross Lloyd, Jr., *Waging Peace: The Swiss Experience* (Washington, DC, 1958), 1.

<sup>32</sup> William Bross Lloyd, Jr., "Behind the Cuckoo Clock," paper read at the Chicago Literary Club, 19 January 1976. In the W. B. Lloyd Papers, Schwimmer-Lloyd Collection, New York Public Library.

<sup>33</sup> Ernst Schwarcz, "Vorwort des Herausgebers," in William Bross Lloyd, Jr., *Neutrale als Friedenstifter: Das Beispiel der Schweiz* (Vienna, 1964), 5-6.

<sup>34</sup> Lloyd, *Waging Peace*, 1; the book he cites is William E. Rappard, *Collective Security in Swiss Experience 1291-1948* (London, 1948). Rappard wrote the "Preface" to Lloyd's book. (Lloyd's italics.)

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> William Rappard, "Preface" in Lloyd, *Waging Peace*, vi.

<sup>38</sup> Lloyd, *Waging Peace*, 9.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 34-38.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 70.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 67.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 95, notes 25 and 26.

<sup>43</sup> Lloyd to Georgia Lloyd-Berndt, letter dated 5 March, 1950; in Georgia Lloyd's possession.

<sup>44</sup> Lloyd's letter to Hadji Agus Salim, 15 July 1950. Note on copy in Lloyd's hand "Similar letter sent to Pres. Prasad of India." Copy in the possession of Georgia Lloyd.

<sup>45</sup> Correspondence in the Schwimmer-Lloyd Collection, New York Public Library.

<sup>46</sup> Lloyd, "Solidarity and Autonomy: Africa and the Swiss Example," *Acta Africana, Geneva-Africa* 5.2 (1966): 179-88.

<sup>47</sup> Lloyd, "Behind the Cuckoo Clock."

<sup>48</sup> Read at the 21 January 1980 meeting; Lloyd, *Waging Peace*, 70.