

at 2000 and 3000 feet above the sea famous as whey-cure stations (Heiden, Gais, Appenzell, &c.), and various chalybeate springs (Weissbad, Gonten, Heinrichsbad). Basel contains salt baths at Schweizerhalle, Bienenberg, and Schanenburg. Bern is particularly rich in baths and sanatoriums (Lenk, Weissenburg, Heustrich, Gurnigel, Engstein, Blumenstein). Schwarzseebad is the chief mineral spring in Freiburg; Pfäfers-Ragatz in St Gall is world-famous. The Stachelberger Schwefelbad in Glarus is much frequented. The Grisons have almost a superfluity of mineral waters, some of which (St Moritz, Fideris) are exported in large quantities. Weissenstein in Soleure is one of the oldest sanatoriums in Switzerland. Lavey and Bex in Vaud are respectively famous for their sulphur and salt baths. In Valais, Saxon and Leulerbad are famous. The importance of altitude in the attractiveness of a health resort is shown in a table by Guyer, 230 of the hotels for foreign visitors being upwards of 3900 feet above the sea. Dr F. Stöpel (*Industrie u. Handels politik der Schweiz*, 1876) reckoned the total receipts from foreign visitors at 120,000,000 francs.

The position taken by Switzerland in the trade and commerce of the world is remarkable when the various natural obstacles are considered—such as absence of raw material for her industries, costly and difficult means of transport, and restrictive customs established by neighbouring countries. The following table shows the value in thousands of francs of the imports and exports for 1885 (the first year for which we have official returns):—

	Imports.	Exports.		Imports.	Exports.
Germany.....	249,262	157,620	Russia.....	21,318	9,481
France.....	179,195	139,670	United States.....	17,842	77,723
Italy.....	112,095	60,316	Egypt.....	12,217	2,138
Austria-Hungary.....	65,603	37,726	Holland.....	9,286	5,879
Great Britain and Ireland.....	51,604	99,396	Other countries.....	10,658	66,889
Belgium.....	26,372	13,076	Total.....	755,462	659,964

England is the great market for silver watches; Germany for gold watches and musical boxes; France for weaving machinery; Russia for mills; Italy for miscellaneous machinery; France for asphalt; France for butter; France, Italy, Germany, and the United States for cheese; Germany for silk; Germany for cattle; France for sheep and goats. Cotton manufactures find their way to France, Italy, Austria, Britain, Germany, Spain, India, &c.; leather to the United States and the Argentine Republic. The customs increased from 3,953,192 francs in 1850 to 21,342,403 in 1884.

By article 27 of the federal constitution of 1874, primary instruction, while left in the charge of the several cantons, is required to be sufficient, obligatory, gratuitous, unsectarian, and under public control of the state. The primary school age is up to twelve years, as far as this general law is concerned, but in some cantons this is raised to fourteen, fifteen, or sixteen years of age. The first school year also varies from five to seven in different cantons. Great variety indeed exists in the whole school organization of the several cantons; while the chief authority as regards the primary schools is in some cases vested in an educational department or educational council, or both, in others it is entrusted to an educational director with or without a council. Considering the difficulties caused in many regions by a sparse population and a rugged country, primary instruction is well carried out. Funds are provided by the state, the commune, and often by the private individual. Even in remote districts the school buildings are generally good. Bern has been especially active in building new schools. In 1882 218,191 boys and 215,889 girls attended the primary schools. Of these 311,271 had German as their mother tongue, 97,113 French, 19,864 Italian, and 5832 Romansch. The total number of male teachers was 5840, and of female teachers 2525; the average pay in money per male teacher was 1303 francs, for female teachers 822 francs. The primary school property was valued at 137,534,597 francs (86,647,507 in 1871). The expense was 14,731,610 francs (8,708,174 in 1871). The communes contributed 3,349,697 francs and the state 2,825,722. The expense per scholar was 34.1. For the school children who are too poor to obtain proper food and clothing both public and private assistance is freely rendered. Besides the ordinary public primary schools, there are a considerable number of secondary schools (attended in 1882 by 11,155 boys and 8976 girls), preparatory (or intermediate) schools (9556, 2133), infant schools (10,364, 11,242), schools for adults (12,758, 1110), and private schools (6057, 4834). In 1882 there were in all 272,039 males and 244,896 females in receipt of education. Among the preparatory schools are the "colleges" or "gymnasiums" and the industrial schools, one of which exists in almost all the cantonal capitals as well as at Winterthur, Burgdorf, Porrentruy, Einsiedeln, Murten, and Brieg. In Grisons and Neuchâtel normal schools for the education of teachers are attached to the cantonal schools. Separate establishments for this purpose exist in the cantons of Zurich, Bern, Lucerne, Schwyz, Freiburg, Soleure, St Gall, Aargau, Thurgau, Tessin, Vaud, and Valais. Among the more specialized institutions of the preparatory or middle class are the *Technicum*

at Winterthur, the veterinary colleges at Zurich and Bern, the agricultural schools at Oberstrass and Rütli, and the school of dentistry at Geneva. In the four universities of Basel, Bern, Zurich, and Geneva, each with faculties of law, theology, medicine, and arts (philosophy), the average number of matriculated students per session of six months was, between 1876 (the first year of the Geneva university) and 1881, in theology 113, in law 188, in medicine 469, and in arts 288,—a total of 1058, to which must be added 334 non-matriculated. Basel has a preponderance in theology, Bern in law, Zurich in arts. The great federal polytechnicum at Zurich (opened in 1855) comprises schools of architecture, civil and industrial engineering, industrial chemistry, forestry, and agriculture.<sup>1</sup>

The public libraries of Switzerland are briefly described in vol. xiv. p. 528, as they existed in 1868 (*cf.* p. 548); for the learned societies, see SOCIETIES.

The total revenue of the Confederation, which was only 22,049,353 francs in 1869, had increased to 44,308,000 on an average in 1879–1883, and reached 48,392,000 in 1885; the expenditure, which was 21,744,459 at the first date, had correspondingly increased to 43,312,610 in 1879–1883, and 46,278,685 in 1885.

In Switzerland there is no standing army, but every male citizen between twenty-four and forty-four years of age is bound to military service and drill. The federal forces consist of the *Auszug*, *Élite*, or regular army (men from twenty to thirty-two years old), and the *landwehr* (men thirty-two to forty-four years). The whole army was reorganized in 1874, when extensive functions were assigned to the military physician in connexion with the recruiting and calling out of the soldiers. In the ten years 1875–84 there was one new recruit for 111 of the population (foreigners excepted); 49 per cent. of the total were declared fit for service, 19 per cent. re-manded, and 32 per cent. declared unfit. In the long run, about 61.1 per cent. of the young men of the country passed the standard. In 1886 the regulars numbered 117,179 and the *landwehr* 84,046.<sup>2</sup>

Railway construction, which began in 1844, proceeded in earnest after the new legislation of 1852, and by the close of 1862 718 miles had been constructed; by 1872 the ordinary lines reached a total of 1459 miles, with 5 miles of special lines; for 1882 the corresponding figures were 2667 and 81. The annual railway profits increased from 105,599,970 francs in 1870–74 to 179,151,112 in 1880–84. Tramways began to be laid down in 1862, and rope railways in 1877. The railways are mostly in the northern plateau and connect with the systems of Northern Europe. The only Swiss line which crosses to the south of the Alps is the St Gotthard (see RAILWAYS). The proposed Simplon railway has already been carried up the Rhone valley as far as Brieg. The mountainous character of the country and the special exigencies of its traffic have successfully stimulated to some striking efforts of railway engineering. Thus the Rigi railway rises from the Lake of Lucerne to a height of 5739 feet, with a maximum gradient of 250 per thousand; that of the Rorschach-Heiden line is 50 per thousand.

Switzerland is famous for its well-made and well-kept carriage-roads. Some of those that traverse the mountain-passes have been constructed at great expense. One of the most remarkable is the mule-path down an almost perpendicular rock from the Gemmi Pass to Leukerbad, made in 1737–40.

Bern has been the seat of the international Postal Union since 1874 (see POST-OFFICE, vol. xix. p. 534). The federalization of the national post-office dates from 1848,—the different cantons having previously conducted their postal business according to very different methods. It is to be noted that this department charges itself with the conveyance of passengers as well as mails,—their numbering 831,839 in 1880 and 754,365 in 1885. For other details see the table given in vol. xix. p. 585.

The length of telegraph lines increased from 1920 kilometres in 1852 to 6374 in 1884 (wires from 1920 to 16,618 kilometres), and the number of despatches from 2876 in 1852 to 1,127,311 in 1884, the total receipts for the latter year being 2,555,637 francs.

In Switzerland there are thirty-three legalized banks of issue; their average circulation of notes in 1885 was to the value of 123,431,000 francs. There are 325 savings banks proper (deposits 246,359,735 francs in 1882) and 162 other institutions which receive deposits (267,298,548 francs in 1882). Most of these are in the hands of companies or private merchants.

Besides the older but valuable works of Faber (1756), Füssli (1770–72), Normann (1795–98), Durand (1795–96), Meister (1796), see *Hist. geogr. statistische Gemälde der Schweiz* (a series of monographs, published by Huber and Co. of St. Gall and Bern); Hottinger, *Statistisches Verzeichnis der Schweiz*, Evidenz, and Co. of St. Gall and Bern; Lugano, 1827 and 1847–49; Wirth, *Allgemeine Beschreibung der Schweiz*; Legoyt and Vogt, *La Suisse*; Prof. Egli's most convenient *Taschenbuch* (1878, &c.) and *Schweizerkunde*; Berlepsch, *Schweizerkunde*, 1875; and Furrer's comprehensive *Volks- und Handels-Lexicon*. A statistical bureau was founded in 1860, a statistical society in 1864. Dr Kummer gives a history of Swiss statistics in *Zeitschrift für schweiz. Stat.*, 1885, and his successor, Herr Milliet, to whom we are indebted for much of the above information, is engaged on a statistical handbook. (W. A. B. C.—H. A. W.)

<sup>1</sup> See especially C. Grob, *Statistik über der Unterrichtsverhältnisse in der Schweiz*, 7 parts, 1883, and Dr H. Wettstein, *Bericht über Gruppe 30, Unterrichtsverhältnisse* (Zürich Exhibition), 1884.

<sup>2</sup> Details may be found in the *Almanach de Gotha*, 1887.

## PART II.—HISTORY.

The Swiss Confederation is made up of twenty-two small states, differing from each other in nearly every point,—religious, political, social, industrial, physical, and linguistic; yet it forms a nation the patriotism of whose members is universally acknowledged. History alone can supply us with the key to this puzzle; but Swiss history, while thus essential if we would thoroughly grasp the nature of the Confederation, is very intricate and very local. A firm hold on a few guiding principles is therefore most desirable, and of these there are three which we must always bear in mind. (1) The first to be mentioned is *the connexion of Swiss history with that of the empire*. Swiss history is largely the history of the drawing together of bits of each of the imperial kingdoms (Germany, Italy, and Burgundy) for common defence against a common foe—the Hapsburgs; and, when this family have secured to themselves the permanent possession of the empire, the Swiss League little by little wins its independence of the empire, practically in 1499, formally in 1648. Originally a member of the empire, the Confederation becomes first an ally, then merely a friend. (2) The second is *the German origin and nature of the Confederation*. Round a German nucleus (the three Forest districts) there gradually gather other German districts; the Confederation is exclusively German; and it is not till 1803 and 1815 that its French- and Italian-speaking "subjects" are raised to political equality with their former masters, and that the Romansch-speaking Leagues of Rhaetia (Graubünden) pass from the status of an ally to that of a member of the Confederation. Even now, though by the constitution three languages (German, French, and Italian) are recognized as official, the overwhelming majority of the population of the Confederation is German-speaking (2,030,792 out of 2,846,102 in 1880), and the capital was fixed at Bern by a law of 1848, having previously shifted between various German-speaking towns, while in olden days the diet always met in some German-speaking place. (3) Swiss history is a study in federalism. Based on the defensive alliances of 1291 and 1315 made between the three Forest districts, the Confederation is enlarged by the admission of other districts and towns, all leagued with the original three members, but not necessarily with each other. Hence great difficulties are encountered in looking after common interests, in maintaining any real union; the diet was merely an assembly of ambassadors with powers very strictly limited by their instructions, and there was no central executive authority. The Confederation is a *Staatenbund*, or permanent alliance of several small states. After the break-up of the old system in 1798 we see the idea of a *Bundesstaat*, or an organized state with a central legislative, executive, and judiciary, work its way to the front, an idea which is gradually realized in the constitutions of 1848 and 1874. The whole constitutional history of the Confederation is summed up in this transition to a federal state, which, while a single state in its relations with all foreign powers, in home matters carefully maintains the more or less absolute independence of its several members.

Swiss history falls naturally into five great divisions: I. the origins of the Confederation—up to 1291; II. the shaking off dependence on the Hapsburgs—up to 1394 (1474); III. the shaking off dependence on the empire—up to 1499 (1648); IV. the period of religious divisions and French influence—up to 1814; V. the construction of an independent state as embodied in the constitutions of 1848 and 1874.

I. On August 1, 1291, the men of the valley of Uri ("homines vallis Uranie"), the free community of the valley

<sup>1</sup> For the legendary origin, see TELL.

of Schwyz ("universitas vallis de Switz"), and the association of the men of the lower valley or Nidwald ("communitas hominum intramontanorum vallis inferioris") formed an Everlasting League for the purpose of self-defence against all who should attack or trouble them, a league which is expressly stated to be a confirmation of a former one ("antiquam confederationis formam juramento vallatam presentibus innovando"). This League was the foundation of the Swiss Confederation.

What were these districts? and why at this particular moment was it necessary for them to form a defensive league? The legal and political conditions of all differed. (a) In 853 Louis the German granted (*inter alia*) all his lands (and the rights annexed to them) situated in the "pagellus Uroniæ" to the convent of Sts Felix and Regula in Zurich (the present Fraumünster), of which his daughter Hildegard was the first abbess, and gave to this district the privilege of exemption from all jurisdiction save that of the king (*Reichsfreiheit*). The abbey thus became possessed of the greater part of the valley of the Reuss between the present Devil's Bridge and the Lake of Lucerne, for the upper valley of Urseren belonged at that time to the abbey of Dissentis in the Rhine valley, and did not become permanently allied with Uri till 1410. The privileged position of the abbey tenants gradually led the other men of the valley to "commend" themselves to the abbey, whether they were tenants of other lords, or free men as in the Schächenthal. The meeting of all the inhabitants of the valley, for purposes connected with the customary cultivation of the soil according to fixed rules and methods, served to prepare them for the enjoyment of full political liberty in later days. The important post of "protector" (*advocatus* or *vogt*) of the abbey was given to one family after another by the emperor as a sign of trust; but, when, on the extinction of the house of Zähringen in 1218, the office was granted to the Hapsburgs, the protests of the abbey tenants, who feared the rapidly rising power of that family, and perhaps also the desire of the emperor to obtain command of the St Gotthard pass (of which the first authentic mention occurs about 1236, when of course it could only be traversed on foot), led to the recall of the grant in 1231, the valley being thus restored to its original privileged position, and depending immediately on the emperor. (b) In Schwyz we must distinguish between the districts west and east of Steinem. In the former the land was in the hands of many nobles, amongst whom were the Hapsburgs; in the latter there was, at the foot of the Mythen, a free community of men governing themselves, and cultivating their land in common; both, however, were politically subject to the emperor's delegates, the counts of the Zürichgau, who after 1173 were the ever-advancing Hapsburgs. But in 1240 the free community of Schwyz obtained from the emperor Frederick II. a charter which removed them from the jurisdiction of the counts, placing them in immediate dependence on the emperor, like the abbey men of Uri. In a few years, however, the Hapsburgs contrived to dispense with this charter in practice. (c) In Unterwalden things were very different. The upper valley (Obwald or Sarnen, so called because of its position with regard to the Kernwald) formed part of the Aargau, the lower (Nidwald or Stanz) part of the Zürichgau, while in both the soil was owned by many ecclesiastical and lay lords, among them being the Hapsburgs and the Alsatian abbey of Murbach. Hence in this district there were no privileged tenants, no free community, no centre of unity, and this explains why Obwald and Nidwald won their way upward so much more slowly than their neighbours in Uri and Schwyz. Thus the early history and legal position of these three districts was very far from being the same.



In Uri the Hapsburgs, save for a brief space, had absolutely no rights; while in Schwyz, Obwald, and Nidwald they were also, as counts of the Zürichgau and of the Aargau, the representatives of the emperor.

The Hapsburgs had been steadily rising for many years from the position of an unimportant family in the Aargau to that of a powerful clan of large landed proprietors in Swabia and Alsace, and had attained a certain political importance as counts of the Zürichgau and Aargau. In one or both qualities the cadet or Lauffenburg line, to which the family estates in the Forest districts round the Lake of Lucerne had fallen on the division of the inheritance in 1232, seem to have exercised their legal rights in a harsh manner. In 1240 the free men of Schwyz obtained protection from the emperor; in 1244 the Hapsburgs built the castle of New Hapsburg on a promontory jutting out into the lake not far from Lucerne, with the object of enforcing their real or pretended rights. It is therefore not a matter for surprise that, when, after the excommunication and deposition of Frederick II. by Innocent IV. at the council of Lyons in 1245, the head of the cadet line of Hapsburg sided with the pope, the men of the Forest districts should rally round the emperor. Schwyz joined Sarnen, Nidwald helped Lucerne; the castle of New Hapsburg was reduced to its present ruined state; and in 1248 the men of Schwyz, Sarnen, and Lucerne were threatened by the pope with excommunication if they persisted in upholding the emperor and defying their hereditary lords the counts of Hapsburg. The rapid decline of Frederick's cause soon enabled the Hapsburgs to regain their authority in these districts. Yet these obscure risings have a double historical interest, for they are the foundation in fact (so far as they have any) of the legendary stories of Hapsburg oppression told of and by a later age, and these fleeting alliances are doubtless what is represented by the "antiqua confederatio" of 1291, Schwyz already taking the lead, while Uri, secure in its privileged position, contented itself with giving a moral support to its neighbours. After this temporary check the power of the Hapsburgs continued to increase rapidly. In 1273 the head of the cadet line sold all his lands and rights in the Forest districts to the head of the elder or Alsatian line, Rudolph, who a few months later was elected to the imperial throne, in virtue of which he acquired for his family in 1282 the duchy of Austria, which now for the first time became connected with the Hapsburgs. Rudolph recognized the privileges of Uri but not those of Schwyz; and, as he now united in his own person the characters of emperor, count of the Zürichgau and of the Aargau, and landowner in the Forest districts (a name occurring first in 1289), such a union of offices might be expected to result in a confusion of rights. On April 16, 1291, Rudolph bought from the abbey of Murbach in Alsace (of which he was "advocate") all its rights over the town of Lucerne and the abbey estates in Unterwalden. It thus seemed probable that the other Forest districts would be shut off from their natural means of communication with the outer world by way of the lake. Rudolph's death, on July 15 of the same year, cleared the way, and a fortnight later (August 1) the Everlasting League was made between the men of Uri, Schwyz, and Nidwald (the words "et vallis superioris," i.e., Obwald, were inserted later on the original seal of Nidwald) for the purpose of self-defence against a common foe. We do not know the names of the delegates of each valley who concluded the treaty, nor the place where it was made, nor have we any account of the deliberations of which it was the result. The common seal—that great outward sign of the right of a corporate body to act in its own name without needing to ask the permission of any external authority—appears first in Uri in 1243,

in Schwyz in 1281, in Nidwald not till this very document of 1291; yet, despite the great differences in their political status, they all joined in concluding this League, and confirmed it by their separate seals, thereby laying claim on behalf of their union to an independent existence. Besides promises of aid and assistance in the case of attack, they agree to punish great criminals by their own authority, but advise that, in minor cases and in all civil cases, each man should recognize the "judex" to whom he owes suit, engaging that the confederates will, in case of need, enforce the decisions of the "judex." At the same time they unanimously refuse to recognize any "judex" who has bought his charge or is a stranger to the valleys. All disputes between the parties to the treaty are, as far as possible, to be settled by a reference to arbiters, a principle which remained in force for over six hundred years. "Judex" is a general term for any local official, especially the chief of the community, whether named by the lord or by the community; and, as earlier in the same year Rudolph had promised the men of Schwyz not to force upon them a "judex" belonging to the class of serfs, we may conjecture from this very decided protest that the chief source of disagreement was in the matter of the jurisdictions of the lord and the free community, and that some recent event in Schwyz led it to insist on the insertion of this provision. It is stipulated also that every man shall be bound to obey his own lord "conveniently," or so far as is fitting and right.

II. In the struggle for the empire, which extended over the years following the conclusion of the League of 1291, we find that the Confederates support without exception the anti-Hapsburg candidate. On October 16, 1291, Uri and Schwyz ally themselves with Zurich, and join the general rising in Swabia against Albert, the new head of the house of Hapsburg. It soon failed, but hopes revived when in 1292 Adolf of Nassau was chosen emperor. In 1297 he confirmed to the free men of Schwyz their charter of 1240, and, strangely enough, confirmed the same charter to Uri, instead of their own of 1231. It is in his reign that we have the first recorded meeting of the "landsgemeinde" (or assembly) of Schwyz (1294), that of Uri being heard of as early as 1275. But in 1298 Albert of Hapsburg himself was elected to the empire. His rule was strict and severe, though not oppressive. He did not indeed confirm the charters of Uri or of Schwyz, but he did not attack the ancient rights of the former, and in the latter he exercised his rights as a landowner and did not abuse his political rights as emperor or as count. In Unterwalden we find that in 1304 the two valleys were joined together under a common administrator, a great step forwards to permanent union. The stories of Albert's tyrannical actions in the Forest districts are not heard of till two centuries later, though no doubt the union of offices in his person was a permanent source of alarm to the Confederation. It was in his time too that the "terrier" (or list of manors and estates, with enumeration of all quit rents, dues, &c., payable by the tenants to their lords) of all the Hapsburg possessions in Upper Germany was begun, and it was on the point of being extended to Schwyz and Unterwalden when Albert was murdered (1308) and the election of Henry of Luxemburg roused the free men to resist the officials charged with the survey. Despite his promise to restore to the Hapsburgs all rights enjoyed by them under his three predecessors (or maintain them in possession), Henry confirmed, on June 3, 1309, to Uri and Schwyz their charters of 1297, and, for some unknown reason, confirmed to Unterwalden all the liberties granted by his predecessor, though as a matter of fact none had been granted. This charter, and the nomination of one imperial bailiff to administer the three districts, had the

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effect of placing them all (despite historical differences) in an identical political position, and that the most privileged yet given to any of them,—the freedom of the free community of Schwyz. A few days later the Confederates made a fresh treaty of alliance with Zurich; and in 1310 the emperor placed certain other inhabitants of Schwyz on the same privileged footing as the free community. The Hapsburgs were put off with promises; and, though their request (1311) for an inquiry into their precise rights in Alsace and in the Forest districts was granted, no steps were taken to carry out this investigation. Thus in Henry's time the struggle was between the empire and the Hapsburgs as to the recognition of the rights of the latter, not between the Hapsburgs and those dependent on them as landlords or counts.

On Henry's death in 1313 the electors hesitated long between Frederick the Handsome of Hapsburg and Louis of Bavaria. The men of Schwyz seized this opportunity for making a wanton attack on the great abbey of Einsiedeln; with which they had a long-standing quarrel as to rights of pasture. The abbot caused them to be excommunicated, and Frederick (the choice of the minority of the electors), who was the hereditary "advocate" of the abbey, placed them under the ban of the empire. Louis, to whom they appealed, removed the ban; on which Frederick issued a decree by which he restored to his family all their rights and possessions in the three valleys and Urseren, and charged his brother Leopold with the execution of this order. The Confederates hastily concluded alliances with Glarus, Urseren, Art, and Interlaken to protect themselves from attack on every side. Leopold collected a brilliant army at the Austrian town of Zug in order to attack Schwyz, while a body of troops was to take Unterwalden in the rear by way of the Brüning pass. On November 15, 1315, Leopold, with from 15,000 to 20,000 men, moved forward along the shore of the Lake of Egeri, intending to assail the village of Schwyz by climbing the steep hillside above the southern end of the lake, through the narrow pass of Morgarten between the mountain and the lake. At the summit of the pass waited the valiant band of the Confederates, from 1300 to 1500 strong. The march up the rugged and slippery slope threw the Austrian army into disarray, which became a rout and mad flight when huge boulders and trunks of trees were hurled from above by their foes, who charged down on them, and drove them into the lake. No fewer than 1500 Austrians fell; their brilliant cavalry had completely failed before the onset of the lightly armed Swiss footmen. Leopold fled in hot haste to Winterthur, and the attack by the Brüning was driven back by the men of Unterwalden. On December 9, 1315, representatives of the victorious highlanders met at Brunnen, on the Lake of Lucerne, not far from Schwyz, and renewed the Everlasting League of 1291. In their main lines the two documents are very similar, the later being chiefly an expansion of the earlier. That of 1315 is in German (in contrast to the 1291 League, which is in Latin), and has one or two striking clauses largely indebted to a decree issued by Zurich on July 24, 1291. None of the three districts or their dependents is to recognize a new lord without the consent and counsel of the rest (this is probably meant to provide for an interregnum in or disputed election to the empire, possibly for the chance of the election of a Hapsburg); strict obedience in all lawful matters is to be rendered to the rightful lord in each case, unless he attacks or wrongs any of the Confederates, in which case they are to be free from all obligations; no negotiations, so long as the "Länder" have no lord, are to be entered on with outside powers, save by common agreement of all. Louis solemnly recog-

nized and confirmed the new League in 1316, and in 1318, a truce was concluded between the Confederates and the Hapsburgs, who treat with them on equal terms. The lands and rights annexed belonging to the Hapsburgs in the Forest districts are fully recognized as they existed in the days of Henry of Luxemburg, and freedom of commerce is granted. But there is not one word about the political rights of the Hapsburgs as counts of the Zürichgau and Aargau. This distinction gives the key to the whole history of the relations between the Confederates and Hapsburgs; the rights of the latter as landowners are fully allowed, and till 1801 they possessed estates within the Confederation; it is their political rights which are always contested by the Swiss, who desire to rule themselves, free from the meddling of any external power.

As early as 1320 we find the name "Swiss" (derived from Schwyz, which had always been the leader in the struggle) applied to the Confederation as a whole, though it was not till after Sempach (1386) that it came into popular use, and it did not form the official name of the Confederation till 1803. This is in itself a proof of the great renown which the League won by its victory at Morgarten. Another is that as years go by we find other members admitted to the privileges of the original alliance of the three Forest districts. First to join the League (1332) was the neighbouring town of Lucerne, which had grown up round the monastery of St Leodegar (whence the place took its name), perhaps a colony, certainly a cell of the great house of Murbach in Alsace, under the rule of which the town remained till its sale in 1291 to the Hapsburgs. This act of Lucerne was opposed by the house of Austria, but, despite the decision of certain chosen arbitrators in favour of the Hapsburg claims, the town clung to the League with which it was connected by its natural position, and thus brought a new element into the pastoral association of the Forest districts, which now surrounded the entire Lake of Lucerne. Next, in 1351, came the ancient city of Zurich, which in 1218, on the extinction of the house of Zaringen, had become a free imperial city in which the abbess of the Fraumünster (the lady of Uri) had great influence, though from 1240 the citizens elected the council which she had previously named. In 1336 there had been a great civic revolution, headed by Rudolph Brun, which had raised the members of the craft guilds to a position in the municipal government of equal power with that of the patricians, who, however, did not cease intriguing to regain their lost privileges, so that Brun, after long hesitation, decided to throw in the lot of the city with the League rather than with Austria. In this way the League now advanced from the hilly country to the plains, though the terms of the treaty with Zurich did not bind it so closely to the Confederates as in the other cases (the right of making alliances apart from the League being reserved, though the League was to rank before these), and hence rendered it possible for Zurich now and again to incline towards Austria in a fashion which did great hurt to its allies. In 1352 the League was enlarged by the admission of Glarus and Zug. Glarus belonged to the monastery of Säckingen on the Rhine (founded by the Irish monk Fridolin), of which the Hapsburgs were "advocates," claiming therefore many rights over the valley, which refused to admit them, and joyfully received the Confederates who came to its aid; but it was placed on a lower footing than the other members of the League, being bound to obey their orders. Three weeks later the town and district of Zug, attacked by the League and abandoned by their Hapsburg masters, joined the Confederation, forming a transition link between the civic and rural members of the League. The immediate occasion of the union of these two districts was the war begun by the



Austrian duke against Zurich, which was ended by the Brandenburg peace of 1352, by which Glarus and Zug were to be restored to the Hapsburgs, who also regained their rights over Lucerne; Zug was won for good by a bold stroke of the men of Schwyz in 1364, but it was not till the day of Näfels (1388) that Glarus recovered its lost freedom. These temporary losses and the treaty made by Brun of Zurich with Austria in 1356 were, however, far outweighed by the entrance into the League in 1353 of the famous town of Bern, which, founded in 1191 by Berthold V. of Züringen, and endowed with great privileges, had become a free imperial city in 1218 on the extinction of the Züringen dynasty. Founded for the purpose of bridling the turbulent feudal nobles around, many of whom had become citizens, Bern beat them back at Dornbühl (1298), and made a treaty with the Forest districts as early as 1323. In 1339, at the bloody fight of Laupen, she had broken the power of the nobles for ever, and in 1352 had been forced by a treaty with Austria to take part in the war against Zurich, but soon after the conclusion of peace entered the League as the ally of the three Forest districts, being thus only indirectly joined to Lucerne and Zurich. The special importance of the accession of Bern was that the League now began to spread to the west, and was thus brought into connexion for the first time with the French-speaking land of Savoy. The League thus numbered eight members, the fruits of Morgarten, and no further members were admitted till 1481, after the Burgundian war. But, in order to thoroughly understand the nature of the League, it must be remembered that, while each of the five new members was allied with the original nucleus,—the three Forest districts,—these five were not directly allied to one another: Lucerne was allied with Zurich and Zug; Zurich with Lucerne, Zug, and Glarus; Glarus with Zurich; Zug with Lucerne and Zurich; Bern with no one except the three original members. The circumstances under which each entered the League can alone explain the very intricate relations at this time of its eight members.

Sempach.

After a short interval of peace the quarrels with Austria broke out afresh; all the members of the League, save the three Forest districts and Glarus, joined the great union of the South German cities; but their attention was soon called to events nearer home. Lucerne fretted much under the Austrian rule, received many Austrian subjects among her citizens, and refused to pay custom duties to the Austrian bailiff at Rothenburg, on the ground that she had the right of free traffic. An attack on the custom-house at Rothenburg, and the gift of the privileges of burghership to the discontented inhabitants of the little town of Sempach a short way off, so irritated Leopold III. (who then held all the possessions of his house outside Austria) that, unmindful of the defeat of his uncle at Morgarten in 1315, he collected a great army, with the intention of crushing his rebellious town. Lucerne meanwhile had summoned the other members of the League to her aid, and, through Leopold's faint of attacking Zurich caused the troops of the League to march at first in that direction, they discovered their mistake in time to turn back and check his advance on Lucerne. From 1500 to 1600 men of Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, and Lucerne opposed the 6000 which made up the Austrian army. The decisive fight took place on July 9, 1386, near Sempach, on a bit of sloping meadow-land, cut up by streams and hedges, which forced the Austrian knights to dismount. The great heat of the day, which rendered it impossible to fight in armour, and the furious attacks of the Confederates, finally broke the Austrian line after more than one repulse and turned the day (see WINKELRIED). Leopold, with a large number of his followers, was slain,

and the Hapsburg power within the borders of the Confederation finally broken. Glarus at once rose in arms against Austria, but it was not till the expiration of the truce made after Sempach that Leopold's brother, Albert of Austria, brought an army against Glarus, and was signally defeated at Näfels (not far from Glarus) on April 9, 1388, by a handful of Glarus and Schwyz men, the troops of the other Confederates arriving too late.

In 1389 a peace for seven years was made, the Confederates being secured in all their conquests; an attempt made in 1393 by Austria by means of Schöno, the chief magistrate of Zurich and leader of the patrician party, to stir up a fresh attack failed owing to a rising of the burghers, who sympathized with the Confederates, and on July 16, 1394, the peace was prolonged for twenty years (and again in 1412 for fifty years), various stipulations being made by which the hundred years' struggle of the League to throw off all political dependence on the Hapsburgs was finally crowned with success. Glarus was freed on payment of 200 pounds annually (in 1389-1395 it bought up all the rights of Säckingen); Zug too was released from Austrian rule. Schwyz was given the town of Einsiedeln (the "advocatia" of the great abbey following in 1397); Lucerne got the Entlibuch, Sempach, and Rothenburg, the last-named being mortgaged only; Bern and Solothurn were confirmed in their conquests. Above all, the Confederation as a whole was relieved from the overlordship of the Hapsburgs, to whom, however, all their rights and dues as landed proprietors were expressly reserved,—Bern, Zurich, and Solothurn guaranteeing the maintenance of these rights and dues, with power in case of need to call on the other Confederates to support them by arms. Thus the distinction always made by the Confederates between the Hapsburgs as rulers and as landowners was once more upheld; and, though that powerful family entertained hopes of recovering its former rights, so that technically the treaties of 1389, 1394, and 1412 were but truces, it finally and for ever renounced all its feudal rights and privileges within the Confederation by the "Everlasting Compact" of 1474.

It is probable that Bern did not take any active share in the Sempach war because she was bound by the treaty of peace made with the Austrians in 1368; and Solothurn, allied with Bern, was doubtless a party to the treaty of 1394 (though not yet in the League), because of its sufferings in 1382 at the hands of the Kyburg line of the Hapsburgs, whose possessions (Thun, Burgdorf, &c.) in 1384 fell into the hands of the two allies.

We may mention here the foray (known as the English or Gugler war) made in 1374-75 by Enguerrand de Coucy (husband of Isabella, daughter of Edward III. of England) and his freebooters (many of them Englishmen and Welshmen), called "Gugler" from their pointed steel caps, with the object of obtaining possession of certain towns in the Aargau (including Sempach), which he claimed as the dowry of his mother Catherine, daughter of the Leopold who was defeated at Morgarten. He was put to rout in the Entlibuch by the men of Bern, Freiburg, Schwyz, and Unterwalden in December 1375. This victory, which gave rise to the first great Swiss war song, was commemorated with great rejoicings as lately as 1875.

III. The great victory at Sempach not merely vastly increased the fame of the Everlasting League but also enabled it to extend both its influence and its territory. The 15th century is the period when both the League and its several members took the aggressive, and the expansion of their power and lands cannot be better seen than by comparing the state of things at the beginning and at the end of this century. The pastoral highlands of Appenzell (Abbatia Cella) and the town of St Gall had

long been trying to throw off the rights exercised over them by the great abbey of St Gall, founded in the 7th century by the Irish monk of that name. The Appenzellers in particular had offered a stubborn resistance, and the abbot's troops had been beaten back by them in 1403 on the heights of Vögelinseck, and again in 1405 in the great fight on the pass of the Stoss<sup>1</sup> (which led up into the highlands), in which the abbot was backed by the duke of Austria. Schwyz had given them some help, and in 1411 Appenzell was placed under the protection of the League (save Bern), with which in the next year the city of St Gall made a similar treaty to last ten years. So too in 1416-17 several of the "tithings" of the Upper Wallis or Valais (*i.e.*, the upper stretch of the Rhone valley), which in 1388 had beaten the bishop and the nobles in a great fight at Visp, became closely associated with Lucerne, Uri, and Unterwalden. It required aid in its final struggle against the great house of Raron, the count-bishop of Sitten (or Sion), and the house of Savoy, which held Lower Wallis,—the Forest districts, on the other hand, wishing to secure themselves against Raron and Savoy in their attempt to permanently conquer the Val d'Ossola on the south side of the Simplon pass. Bern, however, supported its burgher, the lord of Raron; but, by a peace made in 1420, the powers of the bishop and the lord of Raron were greatly diminished; the latter house soon after sold all its lands and rights, and migrated to the district of Toggenburg. Such were the first links which bound these lands with the League; but they did not become full members for a long time—Appenzell in 1513, St Gall in 1803, Wallis in 1815.

Space will not allow us to enumerate all the small conquests made in the first half of the 15th century by every member of the League; suffice it to say that each increased and rounded off its territory, but did not give the conquered lands any political rights, governing them as "subject lands," often very harshly. The same phenomenon of lands which had won their own freedom playing the part of tyrant over other lands which joined them more or less by their voluntary action is seen on a larger scale in the case of the conquest of the Aargau, and in the first attempts to secure a footing south of the Alps.

In 1412 the treaty of 1394 between the League and the Hapsburgs had been renewed for fifty years; but when in 1415 Duke Frederick of Austria helped Pope John XXII. to escape from Constance, where the great council was then sitting, and the emperor Sigismund placed the duke under the ban of the empire, summoning all members of the empire to arm against him, the League hesitated, because of their treaty of 1412, till the emperor declared that all the rights and lands of Austria in the League were forfeited, and that their compact did not release them from their obligations to the empire. In the name, therefore, of the emperor, and by his special command, the different members of the League overran the extensive Hapsburg possessions in the Aargau. The chief share fell to Bern, but certain districts (known as the *Freie Ämter*) were joined together and governed as bailiwicks held in common by all the members of the League (save Uri, busied in the south, and Bern, who had already secured the lion's share of the spoil for herself). This is the first case in which the League as a whole took up the position of rulers over districts which, though guaranteed in the enjoyment of their old rights, were nevertheless politically unfree. As an encouragement and a reward, Sigismund had granted

<sup>1</sup>The tales of the heroic defence of Uli Rottach of Appenzell, and of the appearance of a company of Appenzell women disguised as warriors which turned the battle, are told in connexion with this fight, but do not appear till the 17th and 18th centuries, being thus quite unhistorical, so far as our genuine evidence goes.

in advance to the League the right of criminal jurisdiction ("haute justice" or "Blutbann"), which points to the fact that they were soon to become independent of the empire, as they were of Austria. But all through the 15th century it must be carefully borne in mind that the members of the League were constantly recognized as and acknowledged themselves to be members of the empire.

As the natural policy of Bern was to seek to enlarge its borders at the expense of Austria, and later of Savoy, so we find that Uri, shut off by physical causes from extension in other directions, as steadily turned its eyes towards the south. In 1410 the valley of Urseren was finally joined to Uri; though communications were difficult, and carried on only by means of the "stiebende Brücke," a wooden bridge suspended by chains over the Reuss, along the side of a great rocky buttress (pierced in 1707 by the tunnel known as the Urnerloch), yet this enlargement of the territory of Uri gave it complete command over the St Gotthard pass, long commercially important, and now to serve for purposes of war and conquest. Already in 1403 Uri and Obwald had taken advantage of a quarrel with the duke of Milan as to custom dues at the market of Varese to occupy the long narrow valley on the south of the pass called the Val Leventina; in 1410 the men of the same two lands, exasperated by the insults of the local lords, called on the other members of the League, and all jointly (except Bern) occupied the Val d'Ossola, on the south side of the Simplon pass. But in 1414 they lost this to Savoy, and, with the object of getting it back, obtained in 1416-17 the alliance of the men of Upper Wallis, then fighting for freedom, and thus regained the valley, despite the exertions of the great Milanese general, Carmagnola. In 1419 Uri and Obwald bought from its lord the town and district of Bellinzona. This rapid advance, however, did not approve itself to the duke of Milan, and Carmagnola reoccupied both valleys; the Confederates were not at one with regard to these southern conquests; a small body pressed on in front of the rest, but was cut to pieces at Arbedo near Bellinzona in 1422. A bold attempt in 1425 by a Schwyzër, Peter Rissi by name, to recover the Val d'Ossola caused the Confederates to send a force to rescue these adventurers; but the duke of Milan intrigued with the divided Confederates, and finally in 1426, by a payment of a large sum of money and the grant of certain commercial privileges, the Val Leventina, the Val d'Ossola, and Bellinzona were restored to him. Thus the first attempt of Uri to acquire a footing south of the Alps had failed, but the wish to recover its lost conquests still continued, and a later attempt was more successful, leading to the inclusion in the Confederation of what has been called "Italian Switzerland."

The original contrasts between the social condition of the different members of the League became more marked when the period of conquest began, and led to quarrels and ill-feeling in the matter of the Aargau and the Italian conquests which a few years later ripened into a civil war, brought about by the dispute as to the succession to the lands of Frederick, count of Toggenburg, the last male representative of his house. Count Frederick's predecessors had greatly extended their domains, so that they took in not only the Toggenburg or upper valley of the Thur, but Uznach, Sargans, the Rhine valley between Feldkirch and Sargans, the Prättigau, and the Davos valley. He himself, the last great feudal lord on the left bank of the Rhine, had managed to secure his vast possessions by making treaties with several members of the League, particularly Zurich (1402) and Schwyz (1417), from 1428 inclining more and more to Schwyz (then ruled by Ital Reding), being disgusted with the arrogant behaviour of Stüssi, the burgomaster of Zurich. His

The first civil war