

death (April 30, 1436) was the signal for the breaking out of strife. The Prättigau and Davos valley formed the League of the Ten Jurisdictions in Rhetia (see below), while Frederick's widow sided with Zurich against Schwyz for different portions of the great inheritance which had been promised them. After being twice defeated, Zurich was forced in 1440 to buy peace by certain cessions (the Upper March) to Schwyz, the general feeling of the Confederates being opposed to Zurich, several of them going so far as to send men and arms to Schwyz. Zurich, however, was bitterly disappointed at these defeats, and had recourse to that policy which she had adopted in 1356 and 1393—an alliance with Austria (concluded in 1442), which now held the imperial throne in the person of Frederick III. Though technically within her rights according to the terms on which she had joined the League in 1351, this act of Zurich caused the greatest irritation in the Confederation, and civil war at once broke out, especially when the Hapsburg emperor had been solemnly received and acknowledged in Zurich. In 1443 the Zurich troops were completely defeated at St Jakob on the Sihl, close under the walls of the city, Stüssi himself being slain. Next year the city itself was long besieged. Frederick, unable to get help elsewhere, procured from Charles VII. of France the despatch of a body of Armagnac free lances (the Écorcheurs), who came, 30,000 strong, under the dauphin Louis, plundering and harrying the land, till, at the very gates of the free imperial city of Basel (which had made a twenty years' alliance with Bern), by the leper house of St Jakob on the Birs (August 26, 1444), the desperate resistance of a small body of Confederates (1200 to 1500) till cut to pieces, checked the advance of the freebooters, who sustained such tremendous losses that, though the victors, they hastily made peace, and returned whence they had come. Several small engagements ensued, Zurich long declining to make peace because the Confederates required, as the result of a solemn arbitration, the abandonment of the Austrian alliance. At length it was concluded in 1450, the Confederates restoring almost all the lands they had won from Zurich. Thus ended the third attempt of Austria to conquer the League by means of Zurich, which used its position as an imperial free city greatly to the harm of the League, and was the cause of the first civil war which distracted the League.

These fresh proofs of the valour of the Confederates, and of the growing importance of the League, did not fail to produce important results. In 1452 the "Confederates of the Old League of Upper Germany" (as they styled themselves) made their first treaty of alliance with France, a connexion which was destined to exercise so much influence on their history. Round the League there began to gather a new class of allies (known as "Zugewandte Orte," or associated districts), more closely joined to it, or to certain members of it, than by a mere treaty of friendship, yet not being admitted to the rank of a full member of the League. Of these associates three, the abbot (1451) and town of St Gall (1454), and the town of Bienne (Biel), through its alliance (1352) with Bern, were given seats and votes in the diet, being called "socii"; while others, known as "confederati," were not so closely bound to the League, such as Wallis (1416-17), Schaffhausen (1454), Mühlhausen (1466), Rothweil (1463).¹ Appenzell, too, in 1452, rose from the rank of a "protected district" into the class of associates, outside which were certain places "protected" by several members of the League, such as Gersau (1359), the abbey of Engelberg (c. 1421) and Einsiedeln (1397-1434), and the town of

¹ To the class of "confederati" belonged in later times Neuchâtel (1495-98), the Leagues of Rhetia (1497-98), Geneva (1519-36), and the bishop of Basel (1579).

Rapperschwyl (1458). The relation of the "associates" to the League may be compared with the ancient practice of "commendation": they were bound to obey orders in the matter of declaring war, making alliances, &c.

In 1439 Sigismund succeeded his father Frederick in the Hapsburg lands in Alsace, the Thurgau, and Tyrol, and, being much irritated by the constant encroachments of the Confederates, in particular by the loss of Rapperschwyl (1458), declared war against them, but fared very badly. In 1460 the Confederates overran the Thurgau, and occupied Sargans. Winterthur was only saved by an heroic defence. Hence in 1461 Sigismund had to give up his claims on those lands and renew the peace for fifteen years, while in 1467 he sold Winterthur to Zurich. Thus the whole line of the Rhine was lost to the Hapsburgs, who retained (till 1802) in the territories of the Confederates the Frickthal only. The Thurgovian bailiwicks were governed in common as "subject" lands by all the Confederates except Bern. The touchiness of the now rapidly advancing League was shown by the eagerness with which in 1468 its members took up arms against certain small feudal nobles who were carrying on a harassing guerilla warfare with their allies Schaffhausen and Mühlhausen. They laid siege to Waldshut, and to buy them off Sigismund in August 1468 engaged to pay 10,000 gulden as damages by June 24, 1469; in default of payment the Confederates were to keep for ever the Black Forest, Waldshut, and certain other Black Forest towns on the Rhine. A short time before (1467) the League had made treaties of friendship with Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, and with the duke of Milan. All was now prepared for the intricate series of intrigues which led up to the Burgundian War,—a great epoch in the history of the League, as it created a common national feeling, enormously raised its military reputation, and brought about the close connexion with certain parts of Savoy which finally (1803-15) were admitted into the League.

Sigismund did not know where to obtain the sum he had promised to pay. In this strait he turned to Charles the Bold (properly the Rash), duke of Burgundy, who was then beginning his wonderful career, and aiming at restoring the kingdom of Burgundy. For this purpose Charles wished to marry his daughter and heiress to Maximilian, son of the emperor, and first cousin of Sigismund, in order that the emperor might be induced to give him the Burgundian crown. Hence he was ready to meet Sigismund's advances. On May 9, 1469, Charles promised to give Sigismund 50,000 florins, receiving as security for repayment Alsace, the Breisgau, the Sundgau, the Black Forest, and the four Forest towns on the Rhine (Rheinfelden, Säckingen, Lauffenburg, and Waldshut); in addition, Charles took Sigismund under his protection, specially against the Swiss, and agreed to give him aid in a war if he was attacked by them. It was not unnatural for Sigismund to think of attacking the League, but Charles's engagement to him is quite inconsistent with the friendly agreement made between Burgundy and the League as late as 1467. The emperor then on his side annulled Sigismund's treaty of 1468 with the Swiss, and placed them under the ban of the empire. Charles committed the mortgaged lands to Peter von Hagenbach, who proceeded to try to establish his master's power there by such harsh and severe measures as to cause all the people to murmur, then rise against him.

The Swiss in these circumstances began to look towards Louis XI. of France, who had confirmed the treaty of friendship made with them by his father in 1452. Sigismund had applied to him early in 1469 to help him in his many troubles, and to give him aid against the Swiss, but Louis had point-blank refused. Anxious to secu-

their neutrality in case of his war with Charles, he made a treaty with them on August 13, 1470, to this effect. All the evidence goes to show that Sigismund was not a tool in the hands of Louis, and that Louis, at least at that time, had no definite intention of involving Charles and the Swiss in a war, but wished only to secure his own flank.

Sigismund in the next few years tried hard to get from Charles the promised aid against the Swiss (the money was paid punctually enough by Charles on his behalf), who put him off with various excuses. Charles on his side, in 1471-72, tried to make an alliance with the Swiss, his efforts being supported by a party in Bern headed by Adrian von Bubenberg. Probably Charles wished to use both Sigismund and the Swiss to further his own interests, but his shifty policy had the effect of alienating both from him. Sigismund, disgusted with Charles, now inclined towards Louis, whose ally he formally became in the summer of 1473,—a change which was the real cause of the emperor's flight from Treves in November 1473, when he had come there expressly to crown Charles. The Confederates on their side were greatly moved by the oppression of their friends and allies in Alsace by Hagenbach, and tried in vain (January 1474) to obtain some redress from his master. Charles's too astute policy had thus lost him both Sigismund and the Swiss. They now looked upon Louis, who, thoroughly aware of Charles's ambition, and fearing that his disappointment at Treves would soon lead to open war, aimed at a master stroke—no less than the reconciliation of Sigismund and the Swiss. This on the face of it seemed impracticable, but common need and Louis's dexterous management brought it to pass, so that on March 30, 1474, the Everlasting Compact was signed at Constance, by which Sigismund finally renounced all Austrian claims on the lands of the Confederates, and guaranteed them in quiet enjoyment of them; they, on the other hand, agreed to support him if Charles did not give up the mortgaged lands when the money was paid down. The next day the Swiss joined the league of the Alsatian and Rhine cities, as also did Sigismund. Charles was called on to receive the money contributed by the Alsatian cities, and to restore his lands to Sigismund. He, however, took no steps. Within a week the oppressive bailiff Hagenbach was captured, and a month later (May 9, 1474) he was put to death, Bern alone of the Confederates being represented. On October 9 the emperor, acting of course at the instance of Sigismund, ordered them to declare war against Charles, which took place on October 25, Bern acting in the name of the Confederates, and alleging that they made war solely by order of the emperor and not as principals. Next day Louis formally ratified his alliance with the Confederates, promising money and pensions, the latter to be increased if he did not send men. Throughout these negotiations and later, Bern directs Swiss policy, though all the Confederates are not quite agreed. She was specially exposed to attack from Charles and Charles's ally (since 1468) Savoy, and her best chance of extending her territory lay towards the west and south. A forward policy was thus distinctly the best for Bern, and this was the line supported by the French party under Nicholas von Diesbach, Von Bubenberg opposing it, though not with any idea of handing over Bern to Charles. The Forest districts, however, were very suspicious of this movement to the west, by which Bern alone could profit, though the League as a whole might lose; then, too, Uri had in 1440 finally won the Val Leventina, and she and her neighbours favoured a southerly policy—a policy which was crowned with success after the gallant victory won at Giornico in 1478 by a handful

of men from Zurich, Lucerne, Uri, and Schwyz over 12,000 Milanese troops, though the main body of the Confederates was already on its way home. Thus Uri gained for the first time a permanent footing south of the Alps, not long before Bern had won its first conquests from Savoy.

The war in the west was begun by Bern and her allies (Freiburg, Solothurn, &c.) by marauding expeditions across the Jura, in which Héricourt (November 1474) and Blamont (August 1475) were taken, both towns being held of Charles by the "sires" de Neuchâtel, a cadet line of the counts of Montbéliard. It is said that in the former expedition the white cross was borne (for the first time) as the ensign of the Confederates, but not in the other. Meanwhile Yolande, the duchess of Savoy, had, through fear of her brother Louis XI. and hatred of Bern, finally joined Charles and Milan (January 1475), the immediate result of which was the capture, by the Bernese and friends (on the way back from a foray on Pontarlier in the Free County of Burgundy or Franche Comté) of several places in Vaud, notably Granson and Echallens, both held of Savoy by a member of the house of Challon, princes of Orange (April 1475), as well as Orbe and Jougne, held by the same, but under Burgundy. In the summer Bern seized on the Savoyard district of Aigle. Soon after (October-November 1475) the same energetic policy won for her the Savoyard towns of Morat, Avenches, Estavayer, and Yverdun; while (September) the Upper Wallis, which had conquered all Lower or Savoyard Wallis, entered into alliance with Bern for the purpose of opposing Savoy by preventing the arrival of Milanese troops. Alarmed at their success, the emperor and Louis deserted (June-September) the Confederates, who thus, by the influence of Louis and Bernese ambition, saw themselves led on and then abandoned to the wrath of Charles, and very likely to lose their new conquests. They had entered on the war as "helpers" of the emperors, and now became principals in the war against Charles, who raised the siege of Neuss, made an alliance with Edward IV. of England, received the surrender of Lorraine, and hastened across the Jura (February 1476) to the aid of his ally Yolande. On February 21 Charles laid siege to Granson, and after a week's siege the garrison of Bernese and Freiburgers had to surrender, and, by way of retaliation for the massacre of the garrison of Estavayer in 1475, of the 412 men two only were spared in order to act as executioners of their comrades. This hideous news met a large body of the Confederates gathered together in great haste to relieve the garrison, and going to their rendezvous at Neuchâtel, where both the count and town had become allies of Bern in 1406. An advance body of Bernese, Freiburgers, and Schwyzers, in order to avoid the castle of Vauxmarcus (seized by Charles), by the Lake of Neuchâtel, on the direct road from Neuchâtel to Granson, climbed over a wooded spur to the north, and attacked (March 2) the Burgundian outposts. Charles drew back his force in order to bring down the Swiss to the more level ground where his cavalry could act, but his rear misinterpreted the order, and when the main Swiss force appeared over the spur the Burgundian army was seized with a panic and fled in disorder. The Swiss had gained a glorious victory, and regained their conquest of Granson, besides capturing very rich spoil in Charles's camp, parts of which are preserved to the present day in various Swiss armouries. Such was the famous battle of Granson. Charles at once retired to Lansanne, and set about reorganizing his army. He resolved to advance on Bern by way of Morat (or Murten), which was occupied by a Bernese garrison under Von Bubenberg, and laid siege to it on June 9. The Confederates had now put away all jealousy of Bern, and collected a large army. The decisive battle took place on the afternoon of June

22, after the arrival of the Zurich contingent under Hans Waldmann. English archers were in Charles's army, while with the Swiss was René, the dispossessed duke of Lorraine. After facing each other many hours in the driving rain, a body of Swiss, by outflanking Charles's van, stormed his palisaded camp, and the Burgundians were soon hopelessly beaten, the losses on both sides (a contrast to Granson) being exceedingly heavy. Vaud was reoccupied by the Swiss, Savoy having overrun it on Charles's advance; but Louis now stepped in and procured the restoration of Vaud to Savoy, save Granson, Morat, Orbe, and Échallens, which were to be held by the Bernese jointly with the Freiburgers, Aigle by Bern alone,—Savoy at the same time renouncing all its claims over Freiburg. Thus French-speaking districts first became permanently connected with the Confederation, hitherto purely German, and the war had been one for the maintenance of recent conquests, rather than a purely defensive one against an encroaching neighbour desirous of crushing Swiss freedom. Charles tried in vain to raise a third army; René recovered Lorraine, and on January 5, 1477, under the walls of Nancy, Charles's wide-reaching plans were ended by his defeat and death, many Swiss being with René's troops. The wish of the Bernese to overrun Franche Comté was opposed by the older members of the Confederation, and finally, in 1479, Louis, by very large payments, secured the abandonment of all claims on that province, which was annexed to the French crown.

Internal
disputes
in the
League.

These glorious victories really laid the foundation of Swiss nationality; but soon after them the long-standing jealousy between the civic and rural elements in the Confederation nearly broke it up. This had always hindered common action save in case of certain pressing questions. In 1370, by the "Parsons' ordinance" (Pfaffenbrief), agreed on by all the Confederates except Bern and Glarus, all residents, whether clerics or laymen, in the Confederation who were bound by oath to the duke of Austria were to swear faith to the Confederation, and this oath was to rank before any other; no appeal was to lie to any court spiritual or lay (except in matrimonial and purely spiritual questions) outside the limits of the Confederation, and many regulations were laid down as to the suppression of private wars and keeping of the peace on the high roads. Further, in 1393, the "Sempach ordinance" was accepted by all the Confederates and Solothurn; this was an attempt to enforce police regulations and to lay down "articles of war" for the organization and discipline of the army of the Confederates, minute regulations being made against plundering,—women, monasteries, and churches being in particular protected and secured. But save these two documents common action was limited to the meeting of two envoys from each member of the Confederation and one from each of the "socii" in the diet, the powers of which were greatly limited by the instructions brought by each envoy, thus entailing frequent reference to his Government, and included foreign relations, war and peace, and common arrangements as to police, pestilence, customs duties, coinage, &c. The decisions of the majority did not bind the minority save in the case of the affairs of the bailiwicks ruled in common. Thus everything depended on common agreement and goodwill. But disputes as to the division of the lands conquered in the Burgundian war, and the proposal to admit into the League the towns of Freiburg and Solothurn, which had rendered such good help in the war, caused the two parties to form separate unions, for by the latter proposal the number of towns would have been made the same as that of the "Länder," which these did not at all approve. Suspended a moment by the campaign in the Val Leventina, these quarrels broke out

after the victory of Giornico; and at the diet of Stanz (December 1481), when it seemed probable that the failure of all attempts to come to an understanding would result in the disruption of the League, the mediation of Nicholas von der Flüe (or Bruder Klaus), a holy hermit of Sachseln in Obwald, though he did not appear at the diet in person, succeeded in bringing both sides to reason, and the third great ordinance of the League—the "compact of Stanz"—was agreed on. By this the promise of mutual aid and assistance was renewed, especially when one member attacked another, and stress was laid on the duty of the several Governments to maintain the peace, and not to help the subjects of any other member in case of a rising. The treasure and movables captured in the war were to be equally divided amongst the combatants, the territories and towns amongst the members of the League. As a practical proof of the reconciliation, on the same day the towns of Freiburg and Solothurn were received as full members of the Confederation, united with all the other members, though on less favourable terms than usual, for they were forbidden to make alliances, save with the consent of all or of the greater part of the other members. Both towns had long been allied with Bern, whose influence was greatly increased by their admission. Freiburg, founded in 1178 by Berthold IV. of Zaringen, had on the extinction of that great dynasty (1218) become a free imperial city, but had bowed successively to Kyburg (1249), Austria, the sons of Rudolph (1277), and Savoy (1452); when Savoy gave up its claims in 1477 Freiburg once more became a free imperial city. She had become allied with Bern as early as 1243. The ancient Roman city of Solothurn (or Soleure) had been associated with Bern from 1351, but had in vain sought admission into the League in 1411. Both the new members had done much for Bern in the Burgundian war, and it was for their good service that she now procured them this splendid reward, in hopes perhaps of aid on other important and critical occasions.

The compact of Stanz strengthened the bonds which joined the members of the Confederation; and the same centralizing tendency is well seen in the attempt (1483-89) of Hans Waldmann, the burgomaster of Zurich, to assert the rule of his city over the neighbouring country districts, to place all power in the hands of the guilds (whereas by Brun's constitution the patricians had an equal share), to suppress all minor jurisdictions, and to raise a uniform tax. But this idea of concentrating all powers in the hands of the Government aroused great resistance, and led to his overthrow and execution. Peter Kistler succeeded (1470) better at Bern in a reform on the same lines, but not of such a sweeping character.

The early history of each member of the Confederation, and of the Confederation itself, shows that they always professed to belong to the empire, trying to become immediately dependent on the emperor in order to prevent the oppression of middle lords, and to enjoy practical liberty. The empire itself had now become very much of a shadow; cities and princes were gradually asserting their own independence, sometimes breaking away from it altogether. Now, by the time of the Burgundian war the Confederation stood in a position analogous to that of a powerful free imperial city. As long as the emperor's nominal rights were not enforced, all went well; but, when Maximilian, in his attempt to reorganize the empire, erected in 1495 at Worms an imperial chamber which had jurisdiction in all disputes between members of the empire, the Confederates were very unwilling to obey it, partly because they could maintain peace at home by their own authority, and partly because it interfered with their practical independence. Again, their refusal to join the

"Swabian League," formed in 1488 by the lords and cities of South Germany to keep the public peace, gave further offence, as well as their fresh alliances with France. Hence a struggle was inevitable, and the occasion by reason of which it broke out was the seizure by the Tyrolese authorities in 1499 of the Münsterthal, which belonged to the "Gotteshausbund," one of the three leagues which had gradually arisen in Rætia. These were the "Gotteshausbund" in 1367 (taking in all the dependents of the cathedral church at Chur living in the Oberhalbstein and Engadine), the "Oberer or Grauer Bund" in 1395 and 1424 (taking in the abbey of Dissentis and many counts and lords in the Vorder Rhein valley, though its name is not derived, as often stated, from the "grey coats" of the first members, but from "graven" or "grafen," as so many counts formed part of it), and the "League of the Ten Jurisdictions" (Zehngerichtenbund), which arose in the Prättigau and Davos valley (1436) on the death of Count Frederick of Toggenburg, but which, owing to certain Austrian claims in it, was not quite so free as its neighbours. The first and third of these became allied in 1450, but the formal union of the three dates only from 1524, as documentary proof is wanting of the alleged meeting at Vazerol in 1471, though practically before 1524 they had very much in common. In 1497 the Oberer Bund, in 1498 the Gotteshausbund, made a treaty of alliance with the Everlasting League or Swiss Confederation, the Ten Jurisdictions being unable to do more than show sympathy, owing to Austrian influence, which was not bought up till 1649-52. Hence this attack on the Münsterthal was an attack on an "associate" member of the Swiss Confederation, Maximilian being supported by the Swabian League; but its real historical importance is the influence it had on the relations of the Swiss to the empire. The struggle lasted several months, the chief fight being that "an der Calven" or "auf der Malserheide" (May 22, 1499), in which Benedict Fontana, a leader of the Gotteshausbund men, performed many heroic deeds before his death. But, both sides being exhausted, peace was made at Basel on September 22, 1499. By this the matters in dispute were referred to arbitration, and the emperor annulled all the decisions of the imperial chamber against the Confederation; but nothing was laid down as to its future relations with the empire. No further real attempt, however, was made to enforce the rights of the emperor, and the Confederation became a state allied with the empire, enjoying practical independence, though not formally freed till 1648. Thus, 208 years after the origin of the Confederation, it had got rid of all Austrian claims (1394 and 1474), as well as all practical subjection to the emperor. But its further advance towards the position of an independent state was long checked by religious divisions within, and by the enormous influence of the French king on its foreign relations.

With the object of strengthening the northern border of the Confederation, two more full members were admitted in 1501—Basel and Schaffhausen—on the same terms as Freiburg and Solothurn. The city of Basel had originally been ruled by its bishop, but in the 14th century it became a free imperial city; before 1501 it had made no permanent alliance with the Confederation, though in continual relations with it. Schaffhausen had grown up round the Benedictine monastery of All Saints, and became in the 13th century a free imperial city, but was pledged to Austria from 1330 to 1415, in which last year the emperor Sigismund declared all Duke Frederick's rights forfeited in consequence of his abetting the flight of Pope John XXII. It had become an "associate" of the Confederation in 1454.

A few years later, in 1513, Appenzell, which in 1411 had become a "protected" district, and in 1452 an "associate" member of the Confederation, was admitted as the thirteenth full member; and this remained the number till the fall of the old Confederation in 1798. Round the three original members had gathered first five others, united with the three, but not necessarily with each other; and then gradually there grew up an outer circle, consisting of five more, allied with all the eight old members, but tied down by certain stringent conditions. Constance, which seemed called by nature to enter the League, kept aloof, owing to a quarrel as to the criminal jurisdiction in the Thurgau, which had been pledged to it before the district was conquered by the Confederates. Neuchâtel in 1495-98 became permanently allied with several members of the Confederation.

In the first years of the 16th century the influence of the Confederates south of the Alps was largely extended. The system of giving pensions, in order to secure the right of enlisting men within the Confederation, and of capitulations, by which the different members supplied troops, was originated by Louis XI. in 1474, and later followed by many other princes. Though a tribute to Swiss valour and courage, this practice had very evil results, of which the first fruits were seen in the Milanese (1500-1516). Both Charles VIII. (1484) and Louis XII. (1499 for ten years) renewed Louis XI.'s treaty. The French attempts to gain Milan were largely carried on by the help of Swiss mercenaries, some of whom were on the opposite side; and, as brotherly feeling was still too strong to make it possible for them to fight against one another, Ludovico Sforza's Swiss troops shamefully betrayed him to the French at Novara (1500). In 1500, too, the three Forest districts occupied Bellinzona at the request of its inhabitants, and in 1503 Louis XII. was forced to cede it to them. He, however, often held back the pay of his Swiss troops, and treated them as mere hirelings, so that when the ten years' treaty came to an end Matthew Schinner, bishop of Sitten (or Sion), induced them to join (1510) the pope, Julius II., then engaged in forming the Holy League to expel the French from Italy. But when, after the battle of Ravenna, Louis XII. became all-powerful in Lombardy, 20,000 Swiss poured down into the Milanese and occupied it, Schmid, the burgomaster of Zurich, naming Maximilian (Ludovico's son) duke of Milan, in return for which he ceded to the Confederates Locarno, Val Maggia, Mendrisio, and Lugano (1512), while the Rætian leagues received Chiavenna, Bormio, and the Valtelline. (The former districts, with Bellinzona and the Val Leventina, were in 1803 made into the canton of Ticino, the latter were held by Rætia till 1797.) In 1513 the Swiss completely defeated the French at Novara, and in 1514 Pace was sent by Henry VIII. of England to give pensions and get soldiers. Francis I. at once on his accession (1515) began to prepare to win back the Milanese, and, successfully evading the Swiss awaiting his descent from the Alps, beat them in a pitched battle at Marignano near Milan (September 13, 1515), which broke the Swiss power in North Italy, so that in 1516 a peace was made with France,—Wallis, the Rætian leagues, and St Gall being included on the side of the Confederates. Provisions were made for the neutrality of either party in case the other became involved in war, and large pensions were promised. This treaty was extended by another in 1521 (to which Zurich, then under Zwingli's influence, would not agree, holding aloof from the French alliance till 1614), by which the French king might, with the consent of the Confederation, enlist any number of men between 6000 and 16,000, paying them fit wages, and the pensions were raised to 3000 francs annually to each member of the Confederation. These two treaties were

the starting point and foundation of later French interference with Swiss affairs, which became more and more oppressive, and was not finally thrown off till 1814.

IV. In 1499 the Swiss had practically renounced their allegiance to the emperor, the temporal chief of the world according to mediæval theory; and in the 16th century a great number of them did the same by the world's spiritual chief, the pope. The scene of the revolt was Zurich, and the leader Ulrich Zwingli. But we cannot understand Zwingli's career unless we remember that he was almost more a political reformer than a religious one. In his former character his policy was threefold. He bitterly opposed the French alliance and the pension and mercenary system, for he had seen its evils with his own eyes when serving as chaplain with the troops in the Milanese in 1512 and 1515. Hence in 1521 his influence kept Zurich back from joining in the treaty with Francis I. Then, too, at the time of the Peasant Revolt (1525), he did what he could to lighten the harsh rule of the city over the neighbouring rural districts, and succeeded in getting serfage abolished. Again he had it greatly at heart to secure for Zurich and Bern the chief power in the Confederation, because of their importance and size; he wished to give them extra votes in the diet; and would have given them two-thirds of the "common bailiwicks" when these were divided. In his character as a religious reformer we must remember that he was a humanist, and deeply read in classical literature, which accounts for his turning the canonries of the Grossmünster into professorships, reviving the old school of the Carolinum, and relying on the arm of the state to carry out religious changes. His theology sprang from a single ruling principle—the absolute and unlimited sovereignty of God. Hence his profound respect for the letter of the Bible led him to "legalism" and extreme Sabbatarianism. Hence his view of the incarnation bordered on Unitarianism, and sacraments were mere signs of that which is already given; hence too sprang his denial of man's free will and his belief in absolute election and reprobation. Nay, God, being the absolute Author of all things, is the Author of evil, though He is not immoral, for He is above law, and what is morally wrong for man is not so for God. Zwingli began to preach the new views as early as 1516, long before and quite independently of Luther; but it was only when at the end of 1518 he was called to Zurich as parish priest that he began to make any noise, and in fact it was even later (1522), when his admirers allowed themselves to eat fish in Lent, that disturbances arose, and the diet forbade all preaching which would disturb the public peace. But, after succeeding at two public disputations, his views rapidly gained ground at Zurich, which long, however, stood quite alone, the other Confederates issuing an appeal to await the decision of the asked-for general council, and proposing to carry out by the arm of the state certain small reforms, while clinging to the old doctrines. Zwingli had to put down the extreme wing of the Reformers—the Anabaptists—by force. Quarrels too arose as to allowing the new views in the "common bailiwicks." The disputation at Baden (1526) was in favour of the maintainers of the old faith; but that at Bern (1528) resulted in securing for the new views the support of that great town, and so matters began to take another aspect. In 1528 Bern joined the union formed in 1527 in favour of religious freedom by Zurich and Constance (*Christliches Burgrecht*), and her example was followed by Schaffhausen, St Gall, Basel, and Mühlhausen. This attempt to virtually break up the League was met in February 1529 by the offensive and defensive alliance made with King Ferdinand of Hungary (brother of the emperor) by the three Forest districts,

with Lucerne and Zug, followed (April 1529) by the "Christliche Vereinigung," or union between these five members of the League. Zurich was greatly moved by this, and, as Zwingli held that for the honour of God war was as necessary as iconoclasm, war seemed imminent; but Bern held back; and the first peace of Kappel was concluded (June 1529), by which the Hungarian alliance was annulled and the principle of "religious parity" (or freedom) was admitted in the case of each member of the League and in the "common bailiwicks." This was at once a victory and a check for Zwingli. He tried to make an alliance with the Protestants in Germany, but failed at the meeting at Marburg (October 1529) to come to an agreement with Luther on the subject of the eucharist, and the division between the Swiss and the German Reformations was stereotyped. Zwingli now developed his views as to the greater weight which Zurich and Bern ought to have in the League. Quarrels too went on in the "common bailiwicks," for the members of the League who clung to the old faith had a majority of votes in matters relating to these districts. Zurich tried to cut off supplies of food from reaching the Catholic members (contrary to the wishes of Zwingli), and, on the death of the abbot of St Gall, disregarding the rights of Lucerne, Schwyz, and Glarus, who shared with her the office of protectors of the abbey, suppressed the monastery, giving the rule of the land and the people to her own officers. Bern in vain tried to moderate this aggressive policy, and the Catholic members of the League indignantly advanced towards Zurich. Near Kappel, on October 11, 1531, the Zurich vanguard under Göldli was (perhaps owing to his treachery) surprised, and despite reinforcements the men of Zurich were beaten, among the slain being Zwingli himself. Another defeat completed the discomfiture of Zurich, and by the second peace of Kappel (November 1531) the principle of "parity" was recognized, not merely in the case of each member of the League and the "common bailiwicks," but also in that of each parish or "commune." Thus everywhere the rights of a minority were protected from the encroachments of the majority. The "Christliches Burgrecht" was abolished, and Zurich condemned to pay heavy damages. Bullinger succeeded Zwingli, but this treaty meant that neither side could now try to convert the other wholesale. The League was permanently split into two religious camps: the Catholics, who met at Lucerne, numbered, besides the five already mentioned, Freiburg, Solothurn, Appenzell (Inner Rhoden), and St Gall (with Wallis), thus commanding seventeen votes (out of twenty-nine) in the diet; the Evangelicals were Zurich, Bern, Basel, Schaffhausen, Appenzell (Ausser Rhoden) (with Graubünden), who met at Aarau; while Thurgau and Glarus were divided.

Bern had her eyes always fixed upon the Savoyard lands to the south-west, in which she had got a footing in 1475, and now made zeal for religious reforms the excuse for resuming her advance policy. In 1526 William Farel, a preacher from Dauphiné, had been sent to reform Aigle, Morat, and Neuchâtel. In 1532 he came to Geneva, an ancient city of which the rule had long been disputed by the prince-bishop, the burgesses, and the house of Savoy, the latter holding the neighbouring districts. She had become in 1519 the ally of Freiburg, in 1526 that of Bern also; and in 1530, by their influence, a peace was made between the contending parties. (In 1531 Bonivard, the prior of St Victor, for joining a rising in favour of political liberty, was imprisoned in the castle of Chillon, remaining there till 1536.) The religious changes introduced by Farel greatly displeased Freiburg, which abandoned the alliance (1534), and in 1535 the Reformation was firmly planted in the city. The duke of

Savoy, however, took up arms against Bern (1536), who overran Gex, Vaud, and the independent bishopric of Lausanne, as well as the Chablais to the south of the lake. Geneva was only saved by the unwillingness of the citizens. Bern thus ruled north and south of the lake, and carried matters with a high hand. Shortly after this John Calvin, a refugee from Picardy, was, when passing through Geneva, detained by Farel to aid him, and, after an exile from 1538-1541, owing to opposition of the papal party, and of the burghers, who objected to Bernese rule, he set up his wonderful theocratic government in the city, pushing Zwingli's principles to their ultimate conclusions (see *SERVETUS*) (1553), and in 1555 expelling many who upheld municipal liberty, replacing them by French, English, Italians, and Spaniards as new burghers, whose names are still frequent in Geneva (*e.g.*, Candolle, Mallet, Diodati). His theological views led to disputes with the Zurich Reformers, which were partly settled by the *Consensus Tigurinus* of 1549, and more completely by the *Helvetic Confession* of 1566, which formed the basis of union between the two parties.

By the time of Calvin's death (1564) the old faith had begun to take the offensive; the reforms made by the council of Trent urged on the Catholics to make an attempt to recover lost ground. Emmanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy, the hero of St Quentin (1557), and one of the greatest generals of the day, with the support of the Catholic members of the League, demanded the restoration of the districts seized by Bern in 1536, and on October 30, 1564, the treaty of Lausanne confirmed the decision of the other Confederates sitting as arbitrators (according to the old constitutional custom). By this treaty Gex, the Genevois, and the Chablais were to be given back, while Vevey, Chillon, Lausanne, Yverdon were to be kept by Bern, who engaged to maintain the old rights and liberties of Vaud, which in 1565 were further placed under the special protection of France. Thus Bern lost the lands south of the lake, in which St Francis of Sales, the exiled prince-bishop of Geneva, at once proceeded to carry out the restoration of the old faith. In 1555 Bern and Freiburg, as creditors of the debt-laden count, divided the county of Gruyères, thus getting fresh French-speaking subjects. In 1558 Geneva renewed her alliance with Bern, and in 1584 she made one with Zurich.

The decrees of the council of Trent had been accepted fully by the Catholic members of the League, so far as relates to dogma, but not as regards discipline or the relations of church and state, the sovereign rights and jurisdiction of each state being always carefully reserved. The Counter Reformation, however, or reaction in favour of the old faith, was making rapid progress in the Confederation, mainly through the indefatigable exertions of Charles Borromeo, from 1560 to 1584 archbishop of Milan (in which diocese the Italian bailiwicks were included), and nephew of Pius IV., supported at Lucerne by Ludwig Pflyffer, who, having been (1562-1570) the chief of the Swiss mercenaries in the French wars of religion, did so much till his death (1594) to further the religious reaction at home that he was popularly known as the "Swiss king." In 1574 the Jesuits, the great order of the reaction, were established at Lucerne; in 1579 a papal nuncio came to Lucerne; Charles Borromeo founded the "Collegium Helveticum" at Milan for the education of forty-two young Swiss, and the Catholic members of the League made an alliance with the bishop of Basel; in 1581 the Capuchins were introduced to influence the more ignorant classes. Most important of all was the Golden or Borromeo League, concluded (October 5, 1586) between the seven Catholic members of the Confederation (Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Lucerne, Zug, Freiburg, and Solo-

thurn) for the maintenance of the true faith in their territories, each engaging to punish backsliding members and to help each other if attacked by external enemies, notwithstanding any other leagues, old or new. This league marks the final breaking up of the Confederation into two great parties, which greatly hindered its progress. The Catholic members had a majority in the diet, and were therefore able to refuse admittance to Geneva, Strasburg, and Mühlhausen. Another result of these religious differences was the breaking up of Appenzell into two bits (1597), each sending one representative to the diet—"Inner Rhoden" remaining Catholic, "Ausser Rhoden" adopting the new views. We may compare with this the action of Zurich in 1555, when she received the Protestant exiles from Locarno and the Italian bailiwicks into her burghership, and Italian names are found there to this day (*e.g.*, Orelli, Muralt). The duke of Savoy made several vain attempts to get hold of Geneva, the last (in 1602) being known as the "Escalade."

In the Thirty Years' War the Confederation remained neutral, being bound both to Austria (1474) and to France (1516), and neither religious party wishing to give the other an excuse for calling in foreign armies. But the troubles in Rhetia threatened entanglements. Austria wished to secure the Münsterthal (belonging to the League of the Ten Jurisdictions), and Spain wanted the command of the passes leading from the Valtelline (conquered by the leagues of Rhetia in 1512), the object being to connect the Hapsburg lands of Tyrol and Milan. In the Valtelline the rule of the Three Leagues was very harsh, and Spanish intrigues easily brought about the massacre of 1620, by which the valley was won, the Catholic members of the Confederation stopping the troops of Zurich and Bern. In 1622 the Austrians conquered the Prättigau, over which they still had certain feudal rights. French troops regained the Valtelline in 1624, but it was lost once more in 1629 to the imperial troops, and it was not till 1635 that the French, under Rohan, finally succeeded in holding it. The French, however, wished to keep it permanently; hence new troubles arose, and in 1637 the natives, under George Jenatsch, with Spanish aid drove them out, the Spaniards themselves being forced to resign it in 1639. It was only in 1649-52 that the Austrian rights in the Prättigau were finally bought up by the League of the Ten Jurisdictions, which thus gained its freedom.

In consequence of Ferdinand II.'s edict of restitution (1629), by which the *status quo* of 1552 was re-established—the high-water mark of the Counter Reformation—the abbot of St Gall tried to make some religious changes in his territories, but the protest of Zurich led to the Baden compromise of 1632, by which, in the case of disputes on religious matters arising in the "common bailiwicks," the decision was to be, not by a majority, but by means of friendly discussion—a logical application of the doctrine of religious parity—or by arbitration.

But by far the most important event in Swiss history in this age is the formal freeing of the Confederation from the empire. Basel had been admitted a member of the League in 1501, two years after the Confederation had been practically freed from the jurisdiction of the imperial chamber, though the city was included in the new division of the empire into "circles" (1521), which did not take in the older members of the Confederation. Basel, however, refused to admit this jurisdiction; the question was taken up by France and Sweden at the congress of Münster, and formed the subject of a special clause in the treaties of Westphalia, by which the city of Basel and the other "Helvetiorum cantones" were declared to be "in the possession of almost entire liberty and exemption from the empire, and *inlitteratus* subject