

# THE SWISS CIVIL WAR OF 1712 IN CONTEMPORARY SOURCES

GRAHAM NATTRASS

IN 1991 the British Library mounted an exhibition, 'Switzerland 700', to coincide with the seventh centenary celebrations of the Swiss Confederation.<sup>1</sup> One of the items on display was *Die edle Friedens-Lust* ('The noble joys of peace'), a poem commemorating the conclusion of a formal peace between the Abbot of St Gall and the Protestant cantons of Zurich and Berne in 1718, following a civil war which had threatened to tear the country apart six years earlier. The work came from a tract volume (BL press-mark 9305.aa.8) containing forty-six printed pamphlets or longer works relating to Swiss history, as well as a number of manuscripts. Approximately two thirds of the printed works, and three of the manuscripts, nos. 10\*, 10\*\* and 30\*, concern the war of 1712, otherwise known as the War of the Toggenburg or Second Villmergen War. The volume has a plain binding, probably of around 1800, and is described on the spine as 'Alte Schweizer Sachen', and inside the book as 'Alte Schweizer Piecen'. It bears the label of the Schweizer Antiquariat, Zurich, but was actually acquired in 1877 from the firm of Asher in Berlin for exactly £2.

An analysis of the volume led indirectly to numerous other items on the same subject in the British Library, mostly in other tract volumes. As most of the pieces are probably rare outside Switzerland, and certainly outside the German-speaking world, this and a forthcoming article to be published in this journal will present a survey of the material, and place it in its historical context. In what follows, simple numbers (e.g. no. 10) refer to individual items in volume 9305.aa.8; in other cases the press-mark is given in full.

## THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Until the end of the eighteenth century, Switzerland was a loose confederation of territories related to one another in complex and varied ways. There were only thirteen cantons, as compared with twenty-three today; the rest of the Confederation consisted of 'associated territories' and 'subject lands'. The latter enjoyed a kind of colonial status, governed by one or several cantons or by one of the associated territories. Central control, in so far as it existed at all, lay with the Federal Diet which met in a variety of places, there being no capital city.

An example of Switzerland's constitutional complexity may be seen in the north-east



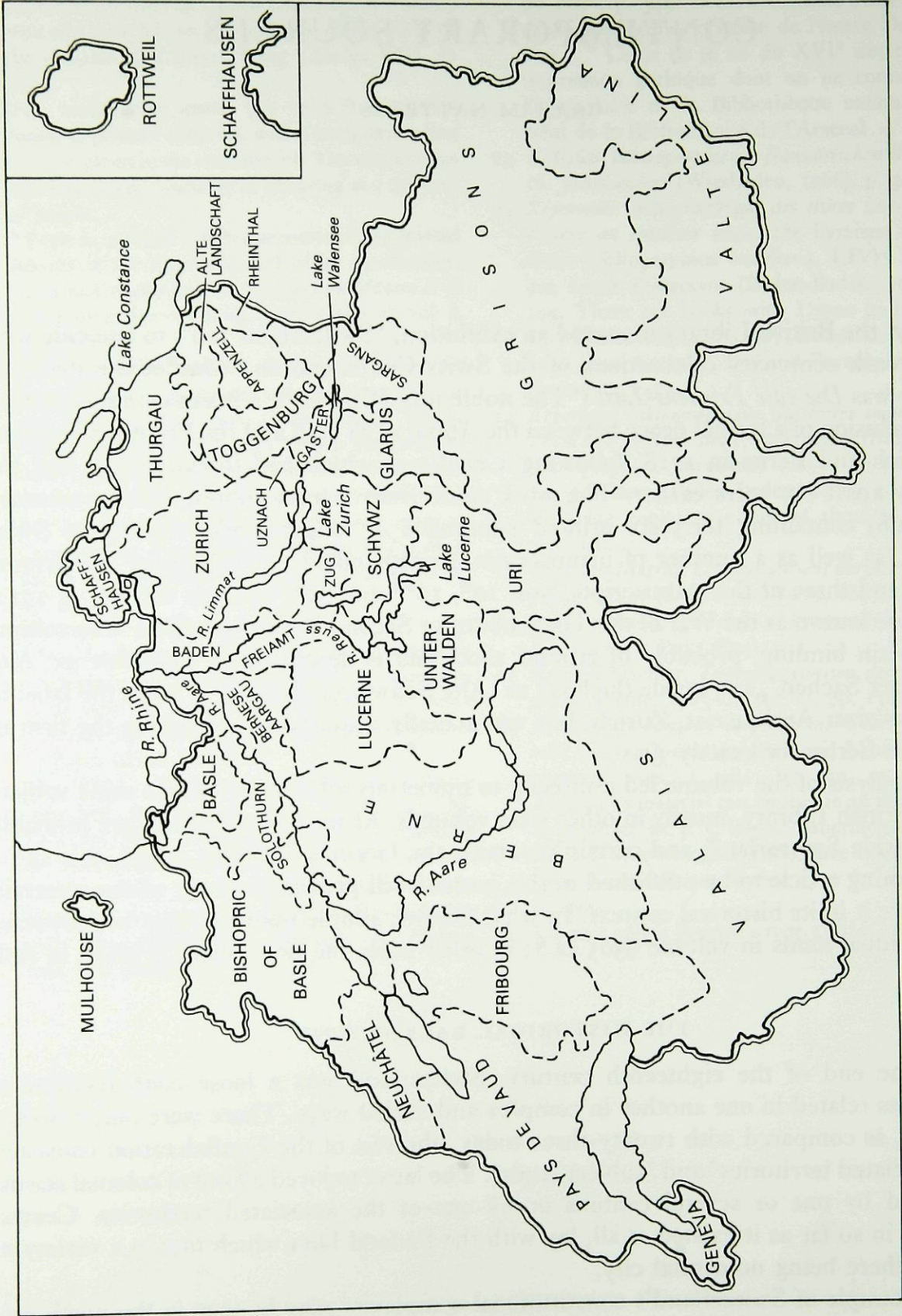


Fig. 1. A political map of Switzerland in 1712. The boundaries have been simplified.



of the country, where the Abbot of St Gall ruled a miniature principality extending from Wil in the west to Rorschach on Lake Constance in the east. The great Benedictine monastery had grown out of a hermitage established by the Irish monk Gallus in the year 612. The abbots were allies of the Swiss Confederation, though they also continued to think of themselves as belonging to the Empire – a claim not willingly accepted by the rest of Switzerland. Roughly in the middle of the principality lay the free city of St Gall, not forming part of the abbot's domains but separately allied to the Swiss in its own right, whilst the abbey precincts, housing the principality's administration, formed an enclave within the free city. The home territory of St Gall was known as the *Alte Landschaft* or 'Old Country', but since the end of the Middle Ages the abbots had also ruled, by a different constitutional arrangement, the County of Toggenburg, to which we shall return.

To the political complexity of Switzerland was added a deep religious divide. The Swiss Reformation, born of the social and political aspirations of the municipal guilds, had begun in Zurich and spread to other large towns. The city-states of Berne and Zurich imposed the new religious order on the rural areas under their jurisdiction. Subsequently, about the time that Protestantism reached the extreme west (Geneva and Neuchâtel), Berne acquired the Pays de Vaud, which became the third major Reformed area of the country. Elsewhere, Protestantism was confined to the smaller cantons (Basle, Schaffhausen) and certain free cities (Mulhouse, Biel, St Gall), or existed alongside Catholicism in mixed areas (Grisons, Toggenburg, Aargau and Thurgau). In other parts of the country the peasants mostly remained faithful to Catholicism, as did the towns of Lucerne, Fribourg and Solothurn.

Thanks to the large populations of Berne and Zurich, both urban and rural, Protestants outnumbered Catholics in the Confederation as a whole by two to one. However, at Federal level, only those territories which enjoyed the full status of cantons could vote in the Diet, and each canton had two representatives but only one vote. Since only four of the thirteen cantons were entirely Protestant, and two (Appenzell and Glarus) were confessionally mixed, it is not difficult to see that the Catholics enjoyed a permanent majority. This they exploited to the full, particularly in the administration of those subject lands which they ruled jointly with Protestants – the so-called 'gemeine Herrschaften' or joint dependencies. In 1656 a civil war took place, in which the Protestants attempted to reverse this state of affairs, but were defeated in the first Battle of Villmergen. Thus the prosperous burghers of Berne and Zurich continued to play second fiddle to the peasants of the Alpine heartland – though, to tell the truth, the peasants themselves were politically suppressed, since in every part of Switzerland power was concentrated in the hands of a few ruling families.

We must now return to the Toggenburg, a territory formed by the upper valley of the Thur. It is a relatively fertile and prosperous area of approximately 220 square miles, with a present-day population of around 70,000. In the Middle Ages it enjoyed the beneficent rule of its own Counts, but after their line died out it was sold to the Abbot of St Gall. The Abbot and his successors were constitutionally bound to uphold the



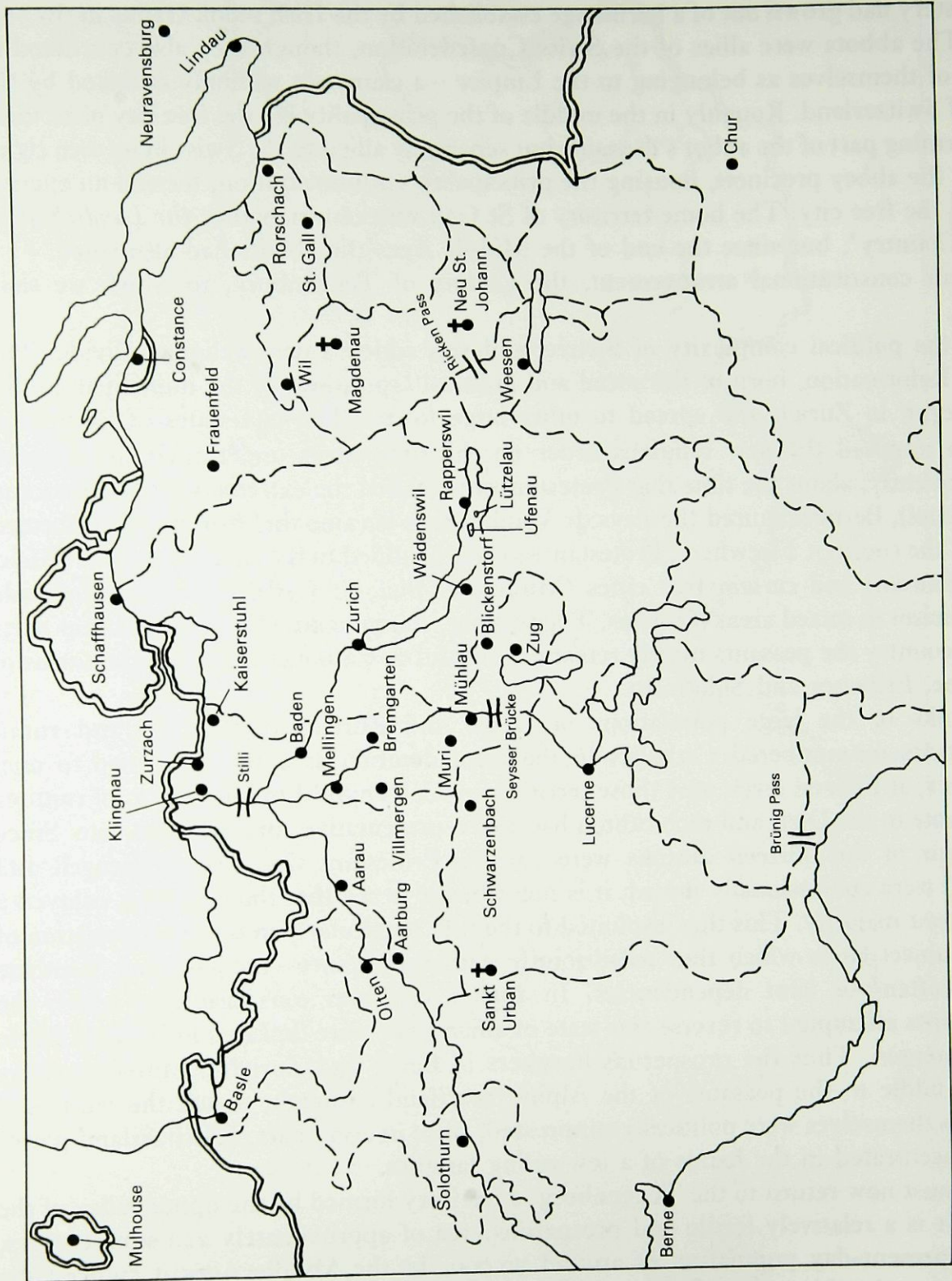


Fig. 2. Northern and eastern Switzerland, illustrating the principal events of the Toggenburg War.



ancient liberties of its inhabitants, which were in turn guaranteed by the Toggenburg's 'protector' cantons of Schwyz and Glarus. In course of time, however, the abbots sought to whittle away these privileges and give themselves a free hand in the territory (no. 4\*).

Zwingli, founder of the Zurich Reformation, was born in a remote hamlet at the upper extremity of the Toggenburg; it was largely thanks to his personal influence that Protestantism spread rapidly there. St Gall, however, continued to favour the Catholic minority. Centuries of constitutional conflict came to a head in the reign of Leodegar Bùrgisser (1696–1717). This son of a Lucerne cobbler was now, at least in his own eyes, a prince of the Holy Roman Empire. Like many German rulers of his day, he tried to model himself on Louis XIV, and to impose the absolutism of Versailles on his own subjects (nos. 2, 4\*), but he had reckoned without the sturdy independence of the Toggenburgers. He especially incensed them by a plan, formed jointly with Schwyz, to build a road over the Ricken Pass, so as to provide a strategic link between the cantons of central Switzerland and their fellow Catholics in southern Germany without the necessity of passing through the Protestant territory of Zurich. The Abbot offered to build the Toggenburg half of the road by using forced labour, from which the inhabitants had long been exempt. In the event the plan fell through (the road was not built until the 1780s), but both sides now began a bitter struggle for supremacy which could not end without the complete defeat of one side or the other.

Various conferences were held, involving Schwyz and Glarus as well as other cantons, but produced no lasting solution (no. 4\*). In 1706 the dispute was discussed at yet another meeting of the Federal Diet, in Baden: on this occasion, after the Protestant delegates had gone home, the representatives of the Catholic cantons met secretly in the Capuchin monastery and drew up a document in which they declared themselves the rightful mediators between the Abbot and his subjects – in other words the grievances of the Toggenburg would be settled by Catholics alone. The shape of future alliances was now becoming plain. Zurich and Berne, angered by the report of the secret meeting, came down unequivocally on the side of the Toggenburg, whilst Schwyz threw in its lot with its fellow Catholics. By 1708 the Toggenburg was in open revolt, and Zurich sent its state attorney, Johann Ulrich Nabholz, to take charge of political developments there. In 1709 he presented a memorandum on the legal aspects of the Toggenburg question to the Federal Diet (no. 4\*) on behalf of the territory's elected representatives. However, in the ensuing years the situation remained highly unstable and Nabholz had difficulty in controlling the volatile Toggenburgers.

At the beginning of 1712 the population of the Toggenburg was turning against its own leaders, and tension was rising between Catholics and Protestants. The Abbot was able to exploit the situation to re-establish his authority in several areas of the predominantly Catholic *Unteramts* or lower Toggenburg, where his supporters, aided by some of his own troops, had begun a military takeover. In their Easter sermons, priests incited Catholics to take up arms against his opponents, and the church bells were rung for a general mobilization.

The Toggenburgers' response was to occupy by force two religious houses belonging



to the Abbot, the convent at Magdenau and the monastery of Neu Sankt Johann, during the night of 12–13 April. This action, which may be said to have marked the outbreak of war, had been sanctioned by Zurich and Berne, who the following day issued a famous declaration (no. 6; 9305.bbb.3(5)) supporting the Toggenburgers. The Landrat of the Toggenburg had issued its own 'Manifest' the day before (no. 7). The Catholic cantons produced a counter-declaration, which is not in the British Library. The local militia occupying Magdenau and Neu Sankt Johann were ill-disciplined, and highly-coloured reports of their 'excesses' were soon circulating in the Catholic cantons, inflaming public opinion. Zurich and Berne subsequently published a denial of the rumours (no. 10).

As soon as they learned of these developments, the so-called *Fünf Orte* or Five Cantons (Lucerne and Uri, supported by Schwyz, Unterwalden and Zug) moved to occupy the *Freiamt* and County of Baden. These territories stretched northwards from the borders of Lucerne down the valley of the Reuss and on to the Rhine. They formed a wedge between Zurich and Berne and, ever since the Reformation, had represented an obstacle to the union of military forces of the two most powerful Protestant cantons. It was such a union which the Five Cantons now sought to prevent. They already had a share, along with Zurich, Berne and Glarus, in the government of both territories; they were now abusing their power by invading them unilaterally.

Meanwhile Zurich had despatched troops eastwards under the command of Johann Heinrich Bodmer. (As the owner of a well-known printing firm, he is a figure of bibliographical as well as historical interest.) Their aim was to unite with the Toggenburg militia, commanded by Nabholz, and attack the town of Wil, close to the Toggenburg border, where the Abbot had concentrated his forces to support his designs on the territory. As early as 15 April both forces reached the outskirts of Wil independently, but in the small hours of the 16th Bodmer received an order from Zurich to retreat. Nabholz had no choice but to do the same.

The significance of this fiasco was not lost on the other side. In the nearby Thurgau in particular, the Catholic element of the population was jubilant. It was partly to restore its credibility in the area that Zurich embarked on a full-scale occupation of this 'joint dependency'; at the same time it could deal a blow against the Abbot of St Gall, who enjoyed feudal rights, including that of calling up men for military service, in many Thurgau parishes. The invading forces met with little resistance; on 25 April Frauenfeld, the chief town, opened its gates to them.

Elsewhere Zurich was impatiently awaiting the arrival of Bernese reinforcements. Because the Catholics had occupied the crossings of the Reuss, the Bernese were obliged to make a detour, but on 25 April 1,400 of them forced the passage of the Aare near the Stilli (literally: the place where the river flows quietly), a few miles south of its confluence with the Rhine, and joined 2,000 of their allies. One thing immediately became apparent: the men of Berne were a far more effective fighting force than the men of Zurich. By the end of April the Bernese had also occupied Klingnau (further down the Aare), Kaiserstuhl and Zurzach (both on the Rhine); all three belonged to the Prince-Bishop of Constance, under the sovereignty of the Swiss Confederation (no. 22).



The beginning of May was taken up with attempts at peace-making in which the French ambassador played a prominent part. A Diet was held in Baden but Zurich and Berne declined to attend as long as the town was occupied by Catholic troops. They also had reason to seek a speedy military resolution of the conflict. Zurich now had 20,000 of its citizens under arms; its countryside was denuded of able-bodied men; agriculture and commerce were almost at a standstill, and the longer the war lasted the greater the cost would be. In the middle of May Zurich ordered the resumption of the siege of Wil, whose garrison had been steadily reinforced and now numbered approximately 4,000. Military operations, involving both Bernese and Zurich forces, commenced on 17 May, but it was only after an artillery bombardment that began on 21 May and resumed the following morning, Trinity Sunday, that the town was compelled to surrender (nos. 10\* and 10\*\*).

The Abbot of St Gall was at Rorschach, anxiously awaiting the outcome of events; when news of the fall of Wil reached him, he took ship across Lake Constance en route for his Swabian territory of Neuravensburg, a few miles north of Lindau. The rest of his domains were now at the mercy of the invaders. Ignoring the pleas of the Protestant free city of St Gall, whose inhabitants viewed their approach with mixed feelings, Zurich and Berne took possession of the abbey on 25 May; their troops also reached Rorschach on the 26th, only to find the population had vanished.

In the days which followed, the victors ransacked the deserted abbey 'from the wine-cellars to the belfries', not sparing its magnificent library, which explains why some of its books are still to be seen in the Zentralbibliothek in Zurich.<sup>2</sup> The librarian of Zurich, Johann Jacob Scheuchzer – whose son Johann Caspar was for a time secretary and librarian to Sir Hans Sloane, and thus played a part in building up our own collections – was embarrassed by these new acquisitions, whilst from Vienna the great Leibnitz wrote to express his concern. Fortunately, some of the library's greatest treasures from the early Middle Ages had already been removed to safety; furthermore, Zurich later gave back some of what it had taken. The two victorious city-states also took control of all the Abbot's sources of income, justifying their action by the need to defray the expenses of war.

Meanwhile the Protestants had scored further military successes in another theatre of war. On 22 May, the day that Wil surrendered, the Bernese captured Mellingen in the *Freiamt*, and thus secured an important crossing of the Reuss. The garrison had already fled. The other key crossing-place was Bremgarten, but while marching towards it the Bernese forces were ambushed in a sunken lane on a densely wooded hillside. Fighting back from a very difficult position, they managed to win a decisive victory. This was the second most important engagement of the whole war; it took place on 26 May.

With the *Freiamt* securely in their hands, the victorious allies turned their attention to the town of Baden. Besides being the traditional meeting place of Federal Diets, this town was a bastion of Catholicism in northern Switzerland, and yet it lay a mere fifteen miles' journey from Zurich down the valley of the Limmat. Ever since the Middle Ages, and more particularly since the Reformation, it had been politically and economically a



thorn in the side of Zurich, which now saw its opportunity to settle old scores. The town was strongly fortified, and overlooked by the castle of Stein. It was defended by a garrison of 1,000 men and sixty cannon (no. 30\*). However, they were unable to withstand the onslaught of the heavy Zurich artillery, which had been placed under the command of an expert officer. On 31 May, when the bombardment was at its height, the Imperial Resident, Count Trautmannsdorf, demanded a cessation of hostilities so that he could leave the town in safety by boat. This was granted; the bombardment was not resumed, because the town surrendered unconditionally the following morning (no. 30\*). There was much gloating by the other side over the fall of Baden (cf. 11517.de.1(5) and 11517.de.27(2)). Its citizens were humiliated by being made to swear the oath of allegiance to Zurich and Berne – see the ‘Huldigungs-formale, abgelegt in der Kirchen der Statt Baden, von gantzer Burgerschaft daselbsten’ in manuscript no. 30\* – and the town’s fortifications, symbol of its pride, were demolished with indecent haste.

The victors had now achieved their war aims, and were willing to talk peace. It was the neutral cantons that initiated the process. At first the Protestants met in Aarburg and the Catholics in nearby Olten, but it was not until the venue was changed to Aarau that discussions began in earnest on 8 June. The delegates met in three separate rooms – Zurich and Berne in one, the Five Cantons in another, and the neutrals in a third. There were three issues: the Toggenburg, the joint dependencies, and war reparations. The first had been solved *de facto* for the time being, and the third could perhaps be thrown into the equation of a satisfactory deal on the joint dependencies.

Negotiations dragged on for several weeks. Eventually it was agreed that the *Freiamt* would be divided by an east–west line; everything north of it, and also the County of Baden, would be removed from the control of the Five Cantons, whose share in the administration and, more important, the revenues would henceforth be divided between Zurich and Berne. Glarus, which had stayed neutral, would continue to enjoy an eighth share of the cake. Meanwhile a formal settlement of the Toggenburg dispute would be deferred until the Abbot of St Gall was willing to enter into meaningful negotiations.

Peace was signed on 18 July by Zurich and Berne with Lucerne and Uri. The smaller Catholic cantons delayed their approval, but it was expected to be only a matter of time. The delegates of Lucerne and Uri had repeatedly sworn ‘before God’s countenance’ that their intentions were peaceful. Zurich and Berne were relying on them to bring the others into line, and were therefore totally unprepared for what happened next (no. 35; 9305.bbb.1(3–5); 11517.de.1(6)).

When the people of the Five Cantons learned the terms of the peace, their indignation knew no bounds. How could they accept such humiliation, when they had not been defeated on their own territory? They were persuaded that their enemies were aiming at nothing less than the extermination of Catholicism in Switzerland. Egged on by the Papal nuncio, their priests threatened them with hell-fire and damnation if they did not defend their faith; now, if ever, was the time to trust in the God of miracles.

On 20 July a Catholic force of 4,000 fell upon the Bernese detachment guarding the bridge over the Reuss at Sins, opposite the territory of Zug. (Contemporary sources



always use the name Seysser Brücke, though the spelling varies.) Heavily outnumbered, the Bernese were forced to withdraw northwards to Muri (9305.bbb.1(1,2); 11522.df.89(4)). On 22 July the men of Schwyz made a dawn raid on the territory of Zurich. Close to the south side of the lake the borders of Zurich were defended by a series of earthworks, traces of which can still be seen. The invaders carried out acts of savagery against the population as they lay in their beds, and succeeded in penetrating behind the Zurich lines. Cannon-fire could be heard in the city, fifteen miles away. By late morning the situation was critical, and was only saved for Zurich by the timely arrival of cavalry. The episode became known as the Wädenswil raid or attack on the Bellenschanze (11517.de.25(1); 11522.df.89(8)).

Meanwhile, in far-away Flanders, the French victory at Denain on 24 July saved Louis XIV from disaster, and changed the course of European history in a way that could only work to the disadvantage of the Swiss Protestants. However, the Swiss conflict reached its climax on 25 July, when the combined forces of the Five Cantons clashed with the Bernese close to Villmergen, the very place where the previous civil war had ended in a Catholic victory. On this occasion, after a bitterly contested day-long battle whose outcome was in doubt almost to the end, the Bernese triumphed. Three thousand of their enemies, almost a third of the total, lay dead on the field or drowned in the nearby river, and two centuries of Catholic hegemony were at an end (nos. 40-42; 9304.dd.10(10); 9305.bbb.1(1,2,7); 9305.bbb.3(1,4); 11522.df.89(4)).

Only now did Zurich dare to begin further offensive operations; on 26 July its forces invaded the territory of Zug, which signed an armistice at Blickenstorf on 28 July (nos. 31, 38; 9305.bbb.1(8)). Preparations were also made for the invasion of Schwyz; even the Zurich navy lent a hand by landing on the islands of Ufenau and Lützelau; but on 1 August proud Schwyz, hitherto the most fanatical of the Catholic cantons, signed an armistice (no. 39; 9305.bbb.1(8)).

Since throwing off the Abbot's yoke, the Toggenburgers had begun to dream of their own sovereign state, united with the neighbouring Uznach, Gaster and other territories in a Republic of Eastern Switzerland. Such a concept was nearly a hundred years ahead of its time, and received scant sympathy from the authorities in Zurich. None the less the County of Uznach, a joint dependency of Schwyz and Glarus, was invaded on 30 July in a combined operation: Zurich forces approached from the north-west, and the Toggenburgers, accompanied by Nabholz, from the north-east. An act of capitulation was signed the same day. The following day, 31 July, it was the turn of Gaster to surrender (no. 37; 9305.bbb.1(8)) and receive a Toggenburg garrison. The Bailiwick of Gaster, with Weesen, extended up to the Lake of Walenstadt, and was likewise ruled by Schwyz and Glarus.

On the north side of Lake Zurich, towards its upper end, lay the ancient town of Rapperswil, strongly fortified and joined to the opposite shore by a bridge nearly a mile in length. The town was a joint dependency of four cantons, three of them Catholic. Often at loggerheads with Zurich in the past, it had successfully withstood a siege during the civil war of 1656. On this occasion, however, it surrendered without a shot being fired



(nos. 37, 39; 9305.bbb.1(8)). Since the Battle of Villmergen the Bernese had also entered the territory of the Five Cantons, invading Unterwalden from the south over the Brünig Pass and Lucerne from the west and north. In the latter they occupied the monastery of Sankt Urban where they took sixty prisoners; the monks had already fled, taking all their treasures with them; doubtless these treasures included the magnificent silver reliquary of which some surviving fragments – panels by Urs Graf – are on permanent loan to the British Museum and were on display during the ‘Switzerland 700’ exhibition. By 31 July the main Bernese army was at Schwarzenbach on Lucerne soil.

The capitulation of Rapperswil on 1 August marked the complete end of hostilities. A new peace (nos. 23, 24, 28, 29; 9305.bbb.3(2); 9305.cc.12(1)) was signed in Aarau on 9 and 11 August; it included the provisions of the old, but went further in favour of Zurich and Berne. The area of the *Freiamt* to be placed under their jurisdiction was extended; Rapperswil, together with its bridge and the strategic positions on the opposite bank, was to be subject to them; and Berne was to be admitted to the administration of further joint dependencies (principally the Thurgau and Rheintal). The Toggenburg dispute, for which ostensibly the whole war had been fought, was still not settled, because St Gall was unwilling to seek a compromise.

Abbot Leodegar remained to the end of his days outside Switzerland, a sad, deluded figure, hoping for Imperial intervention which never came (cf. 11517.de.27(2)). In the meantime both the Toggenburg and the *Alte Landschaft* continued to be administered by Zurich and Berne. In 1714 a serious attempt was made at Rorschach to achieve a lasting settlement with St Gall, but the Abbot refused to accept the terms his officials had negotiated (no. 46). It was left to his successor, Joseph von Rudolphi, to sign the Peace of Baden in 1718 (nos. 4, 27; 113.m.47; 9304.dd.10(11); 9305.cc.12(2)). His lands were restored to him, but he was compelled to make substantial concessions to the Toggenburgers, and any future differences were to be settled by the mediation of Zurich and Berne (no. 5; 9305.cc.12(3)). The Catholic cantons too dreamed of outside intervention to restore their lost fortunes, and to this end made a secret pact with the French ambassador in 1715. In fact the agreement had no legal validity, and Louis XIV’s successors had no serious intention of implementing it; but the Catholics’ dream faded only slowly as the century went by.

#### CONTEMPORARY SOURCES IN TRACT VOLUME 9305.aa.8, WITH ASSOCIATED MATERIAL<sup>3</sup>

The first relevant item in the volume is no. 2, *Gerechtigkeit und Bescheidenheit des abgenöthigten Toggenburger-Kriegs*<sup>4</sup> (Zürich: bey David Gessner, 1712). It was printed after the fall of Baden, and takes the form of a dialogue between a Züricher and a Schweizer. (For Schweizer read Schwyzer, a man of Schwyz.) It is an attempt to justify the actions of Zurich. In particular it paints a grim picture of the ‘tyranny’ of the Abbot of St Gall in the Toggenburg: the Abbot had packed the courts and administration with his own creatures; he had increased taxes and levied new ones, and instituted a strict



control of all economic activity; his spies were everywhere, listening for seditious utterances and encouraging people to inform on their fellow-citizens who were then punished with heavy fines. Often the victims were not allowed to know who had given evidence against them. Arbitrary arrests were the order of the day, and torture not unknown. Protestants were subject to innumerable restrictions, whilst the Catholics were a prey to avaricious priests. Meanwhile the ancient records on which the liberties of the Toggenburg were based had been spirited away – to prevent their being invoked. These details are confirmed by other documents in the collections.

The dialogue is a one-sided affair: at the end the Schweizer can only say: 'I don't know what to make of it' ('Ich weiss nicht was ich sinnen sol'). Gottlieb Emanuel von Haller lists various editions of this anonymous work, of which the British Library has the 32-page duodecimo; the author is Johann Caspar Diebold (1661–1728), a Zurich clergyman, who was commissioned to write it by the city authorities.

No. 3 is entitled simply *Beschreibung des Toggenburger-Kriegs*. It has no separate title-page and no imprint. It is the best overall contemporary account of the war in the Library's collections, though the introduction recounting the Toggenburg grievances owes much to no. 2, which it explicitly mentions. Few of the items described in this article are good examples of typography, and the present one is especially cramped and uncomfortable to read. This is above all true of the résumé of the Peace of Aarau with which it closes. However, this part of the text is interesting for the extremely detailed provisions of the treaty regarding the enforcement of religious parity in the Thurgau and Rheintal.

No. 4 is the piece shown in the 1991 exhibition, *Die edle Friedens-Lust* (fig. 3). It consists of a poem celebrating the restoration of peace with the Prince-Abbot of St Gall in 1718. Because the dedication is signed by Johann Melchior Füssli, the General Catalogue attributes the work to him. In fact Füssli (1677–1736) was not a writer but an artist, who did some notable engravings of episodes in the Toggenburg War. He belonged to a Zurich patrician family which gave the world many artists, the most notable being that Johann Heinrich Füssli who later became known in this country as Henry Fuseli. The poem was obviously meant to accompany an engraving, which is unfortunately missing from this copy; it is signed J. R. Z., and is one of the earliest works of Johann Rudolph Ziegler (1695–1762), a very prolific writer and leading figure in the intellectual life of Zurich. He pursued a career as a schoolmaster in the city, and ended his days as a canon of the Grossmünster. Though suffering from the Baroque tendency to overstatement, the poem manages to convey noble thoughts in pleasant cadences. It looks forward to an era of prosperity in agriculture and commerce, and the flowering of literature and the arts as a result of peace. Indeed, it is possible to see in retrospect that the victory of Zurich and Berne in 1712, by boosting the self-assurance of the two city-states, made possible the great contribution of Switzerland to the cultural life of Europe in the eighteenth century. Albrecht von Haller, Bodmer and Breitinger, Scheuchzer, Salomon Gessner, Lavater, Pestalozzi, the Bernoullis, Euler, and Rousseau – all came from the Protestant cities of Zurich, Basle, Berne or Geneva.



Die Edle Friedens-Lust:

nach dem 4.

wegen der Graffschafft Toggenburg  
Anno Christi 1712.

Zwischen beyden

Hochloblichen Freyen Eydgnössischen Ständen

**S**ürich und **H**errn

einerseits /

Und Ihr

Hoch-Fürstl. Gn. dem H. Prälaten/  
und Convent zu

**S**anct Gallen

anderseits /

aufgebrochnen

Aber zu Baden im Oergöw /

Anno 1718. den 1. Junii,

Durch des Allerhöchsten Segen /

wieder beygelegten Kriege / und daher  
glücklich hergestellt

**L**ands = Ruhe.

Fig. 3. Die edle Friedens-Lust. 9305 .aa .8 (4)



No. 4\* is not entered in the General Catalogue, because it is a duplicate of 9304.dd.5(12), which is. Entitled *Warhafftiger und grundlicher Entwurff worauf das entzwischen dem...Stift St. Gallen und der Landschafft Toggenburg nunmehr lange Zeit obgeschwebte Streitgeschafft eigentlich beruhe*, this is Nabholz's memorandum of 1709, an astonishingly clear and well-argued document of 82 pages, covering the entire constitutional history of the Toggenburg as well as the current dispute. The author was, it is true, a lawyer; but it is perhaps worth recalling that he had started life as a shoemaker's apprentice, and later escaped hanging, literally by the luck of the draw, for desertion from the Zurich army. Nabholz left a number of other works, among them an unpublished history of the development of the Toggenburg dispute from 1709 to 1721, held in the Zentralbibliothek Zürich<sup>5</sup> as MS. W6; the same library also possesses an extract covering the events of 1712 alone (part of MS. B55). Neither of these is the original, but a copy of the text of the latter is to be found in the British Library's Egerton MS. 2201, ff. 440–512. Its title is 'Kurtze jedoch grundliche und ausführliche Beschreibung des Togenburger Kriegs...mit fleiss zusãen getragen und beschrieben von H. R. N. [Herrn Rathsherrn Nabholz]'. There is not space in this article to describe the manuscript in detail; in any case much of it reproduces the very texts which occur, mostly in printed form, in volume 9305.aa.8. However, reference will be made to the manuscript later on.

No. 4\*\* is the first of the manuscripts which this volume contains. Eight pages in length, it is headed 'Anreden an die 12. Toggenburgischen Anführer des wühlerischen Haufens!' or 'Addresses to the twelve Toggenburg ringleaders of the seditious mob'. At first sight it would appear to be an appeal by Abbot Bürgisser or his representative to his rebellious subjects; in fact, however, references to the Peace of Baden (1718) and the Frauenfeld Declaration (1719) indicate that it cannot be earlier than the latter. Further evidence is provided by the names which appear at the beginning of the four addresses: Treasurer Leu, Councillor Heidegger, Venner<sup>6</sup> Ougspurger and Councillor von Müllinen. No. 26, *Vermittlung der Toggenburgischen Streitigkeiten* (1759), states that Hans Jacob Leu,<sup>7</sup> Hans Conrad Heidegger, Beat Sigmund Ougspurger and Friedrich von Müllinen were the envoys of Zurich and Berne charged with mediating between St Gall and the Toggenburg in that year. The date of the manuscript, or at least of its contents, is therefore 1759, and as this takes us a long way from the theme of this article we do not propose to discuss it in detail here. However, the text does reveal in a most graphic way the tensions between the authorities of Berne and Zurich and the population of the Toggenburg whom they were supposed to be helping. It would seem that, having let the genie out of the bottle by championing the liberties of the Toggenburgers in 1712, Zurich and Berne were having great difficulty, even half a century later, in controlling their own protégés.

An earlier mediation process is recorded in no. 5, *Aussgetragene Toggenburgische Streit- und Beschwehrds-Puncten*. Dated 1719, it sets forth the judgment of Zurich and Berne on disagreements which had arisen between the new Abbot of St Gall and the Toggenburg over the implementation of the Peace of Baden. This was the treaty which had brought



an end to Protestant occupation of the St Gall territories one year earlier; however, under its terms any outstanding disputes in the Toggenburg were to be settled through the mediation of the two Protestant cities. Some of the matters raised are reminiscent of grievances before the war; others are highly specific, such as who should pay for the repair of the church clock in mixed parishes where the building was used by both denominations. Another version is held at 9305.cc.12(3). One is almost a page-for-page reprint of the other, though the spelling of the first word of the title differs. Curiously enough, neither is in the Zentralbibliothek Zürich,<sup>8</sup> which holds yet another version.

No. 6 is the declaration of Zurich and Berne which started the war: *Manifest beyder Lobl. Ständen Zürich und Bern wegen des Toggenburger-Geschäfts. Den 13. Tag April A.1712*. The text occupies less than six pages, all but the last few lines of which are taken up by a single sentence; yet it could be said that from these few pages flowed much bloodshed and decades of distrust. A French translation, *Manifeste de deux louables cantons de Zurich & de Berne, concernant les affaires du Toggenbourg, le 13. avril 1712*, is held at 9305.bbb.3(5). It is prefaced by the following statement: 'On avertit le public qu'ayant paru une traduction françoise faite par une personne inconnue, & qui a esté trouvée defectueuse, LL. EE. [Leurs Excellences] de Berne ont ordonné à leur Chancellerie d'en faire une autre; en consequence de quoy la presente a esté faite & imprimée.' None the less, it is not a literal translation, and it contains at least one difference of substance from the German original.

Next in order, though dated one day earlier, comes the Toggenburg's own declaration, *Manifest des Landt-Rahts beyder Religionen im Toggenburg. Den 12. April. A.1712*. It announces the Landrat's plan to seize the two monasteries, explains the reasons behind it and asks the rest of Switzerland not to believe any false reports that may subsequently be spread. There is strong typographical evidence to suggest that both German declarations are the work of the same printer, presumably in Zurich. The General Catalogue mentions 'another edition' of no. 7, with a slightly different title, at 5607.bb.9, but a comparison of the two reveals they are identical. The explanation lies in the fact that the second copy was acquired in 1950 as a replacement for one destroyed in the Second World War, but was in reality a duplicate of 9305.aa.8(7) and not an exact replacement.

No. 8, *Wahrhaffter Bericht deren zu dem Toggenburger-Geschäft von... Zürich, Bern, Basel verordneten Mediatoren*, takes us back to the Diet of 1709, the same to which Nabholz had presented his memorandum (no. 4\*) on behalf of the Toggenburgers. They had asked Zurich, Berne and Basle to act as mediators, whilst the Abbot of St Gall had made a similar request to the Catholic cantons of Lucerne, Uri and Solothurn. The aim was a comprehensive settlement of the long-standing dispute. The Toggenburgers' grievances were to be discussed one by one, but the Catholic side wrecked the negotiations by refusing to read out their own proposal, whereupon the Toggenburgers and Protestant mediators left for home. After they had gone the remaining Catholic delegates read out their proposal and later issued it in print (no. 9), accompanied by a preface stating (falsely) that it had been read to the whole Diet. No. 9 is the only Catholic



document in the whole collection; it is entitled *Endtlicher Schluss und Gutachten der Lobl. Cathol. Herren Mediatoren über die Toggenburgische Streittigkeit* and has obviously been included solely to explain no. 8, by which it is refuted.

Item 10, *Wahrhafft und sicherer Bericht, wegen Verhaltens der...Besatzung in den zweyen Toggenburgischen Klösteren Magdenaum und Neu St. Johann*, denies bad reports about the behaviour of the garrisons and includes signed statements by the abbess and prior to the effect that the inmates had not been harmed nor the church services interfered with. The tone of these statements however seems a little contrived, to say the least.

No. 10 is followed by two manuscripts, here designated as 10\* and 10\*\*. The first consists of two folios, the second of a single folio. The subject of both is the same: the terms of surrender of Wil. We learn that the garrison was to be allowed to leave with flying colours, and that no officer was to be punished for looting. There is the usual statement about freedom of religion. (Contrary to the fears of Catholics, religious toleration was upheld in all those territories which surrendered to Zurich and Berne.) Whereas the first manuscript reproduces all ten articles of the capitulation, the second contains only three. It is unusual in being addressed to an individual, described as 'My esteemed Captain and distinguished patron'; the signature at the end appears to be 'Heinr[ich] Wirtz, Stud. philos.'. The surname occurs widely in many Swiss cantons, and especially in Zurich, but although reference sources list more than one holder of the name called Heinrich it has not so far been possible to identify the writer of the manuscript with any one of them. In any case the manuscript appears to be a copy. None the less its contents were obviously written in the immediate aftermath of the fall of Wil, because the writer apologizes for not being able to give all ten conditions as he does not yet know them; he promises to send them the next day.

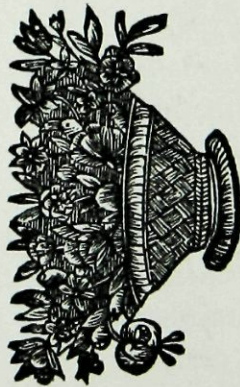
At first sight it would seem that no. 22 has no connection with the War of the Toggenburg. It is entitled *Gründliche Behauptung der hohen Landes-Obrigkeit, welche denen...regierenden Eydgnössischen Orthen über die in der Graffschafft Baden und im Thurgäu belegene Bischöfflich-Costantzische Privat-Aemter...unstreitig zustehet*, and dated 1713. It concerns those localities in the Thurgau and County of Baden over which the Prince-Bishop of Constance exercised lower jurisdiction, and which he was now trying to claim as wholly his own. In fact, the Bishop was unhappy about the Peace of Aarau, which had for the first time removed these areas from mainly Catholic control. He would have liked to circumvent the treaty by excluding the Swiss cantons as far as possible from the administration of these enclaves. The work has a 92-page appendix containing important early documents. This dispute was to drag on for a number of years before being settled through the good offices of Nabholz.

The Peace of Aarau appeared in numerous printed versions, including nos. 23, 24, 28 and 29 of the present volume, as well as 9305.cc.12(1). A study of their differences would require an article to itself. The title-page of no. 23 is shown in fig. 4. The Bodmer in whose printing-house it was produced is none other than Johann Heinrich Bodmer, who led the Zurich forces in the siege of Wil. No. 24, *Instrumentum pacis inter Tigurinos &*



# Friedens-Instrument

Zwischen denen Lobl. Eidgenössischen Ständen / Zürich und Bern einerseits und Lucern / Uri / Schwyz / Unterwalden Ob- und Nide dem Kernwald / und Zug samt dem Aussen Amt Anderseits / zu Arauw aufgericht / und geschlossen / den 18. Julij. 9. und 11. Augustj. des 1712. Jahrs.



Zürich /

In der Bodmerischen Druckerey getruet.

Fig. 4. Friedens-Instrument ... containing the text of the Peace of Aarau. 9305 . aa . 8 (23)

# Friedens-Schlusß

Zwischen  
Beiden Lobl. Evangelischen Obr- Orthen  
Zürich und Bern / 28

an einem:  
Und den fünf Lobl. Catholischen Orthen  
Lucern / Uri / Schwyz /  
Unterwalden und Zug /

an dem andern Theil:  
Wie solcher das erste mal den 18. Heumonat dieses 1712. Jahrs  
allein von beyden Lobl. Orthen Lucern und Uri /  
angenommen:

Hernach aber den 9. und 11. Augustm. von allen Lobl. Catholischen  
Orthen ins gesamt geschlossen / aufgesetzt und verurtheilt / auch  
allseitig hoch- Obertheilich ratificirt und verfiget worden.

Welcher auch künfftig  
Der Lands = Frieden  
heissen und seyn soll.



Seid errecht / Krieg erseyhet.

Ann 1712.

Fig. 5. Friedens-Schluss ... containing another edition of the Peace of Aarau. 9305 . aa . 8 (28)



*Bernenses*... & *quinque pagos Catholicos*, is in the main a faithful Latin translation of no. 23, though there are some substantive differences; it likewise comes from Bodmer's press. The text of no. 28, *Friedens-Schluss zwüschen beyden Löbl. Evangelischen Vor-Orthen Zürich und Bern... und den fünf Lobl. Catholicischen Orthen* (fig. 5) is very similar to no. 23, but it has no imprint; it does however have a crude woodcut on the title-page, with two putti holding a wreath above the word 'Pax'. No. 29 is close to 28, though the beginning of the title differs: *Instrumentum pacis* as opposed to *Friedens-Schluss*; there are also frequent differences of spelling, *et cetera*. On the other hand 9305.cc.12(1), with a title largely identical to no. 29, has a substantially different text, some portions being present in one but not the other and vice versa. Early in 1993 the Library was able to acquire from a bookseller in St Gall yet another edition (RB.23.a.4838); the text agrees very closely with no. 29, but is followed, at least in this copy, by a second bibliographic part containing all the 'Ratificationen' as well as the French ambassador's address to the peace conference. All six will be recorded, and adequately differentiated, in the short-title catalogue of German books printed between 1701 and 1750 which the British Library is preparing.

The Library also holds a French version, *Traité de paix conclu entre ... Zurich & ... Berne d'une part et les... cinq cantons catholiques... d'autre part* (9305.bbb.3(2)). Here, as elsewhere, it is interesting to compare the French and German versions. Though obviously written in eighteenth-century French, the former seems much closer to modern linguistic usage than does the German, and shows few if any traces of regional influence. The type-face and layout are also much more elegant. The availability of a French translation is a useful aid to the comprehension of some of the more unusual German words, especially legal terms and official titles. One may assume the *Traité de paix* was printed by Berne for the benefit of its large 'welsch' population. In every edition, the text of the treaty begins with a formula roughly amounting to 'In the name of the most Holy Trinity, Amen'. The fact that Lucerne and Uri had put their signatures to it underlined their perjury in the eyes of the other side.

The Treaty of Baden (1718), between Zurich and Berne on the one side and St Gall on the other, can be found at no. 27, as well as at 9305.cc.12(2). The wording of both title-pages is exactly the same, *Friedens-Vertrag, wie derselbe durch beyder Lobl. Ständen Zürich und Bern an einem, danne... des Hrn. Prälaten von St. Gallen am anderen Theil Pacificatoren zu Baden... beabredet...*, but a visual comparison reveals at once that the setting of type is different. The treaty contains eighty-five clauses, almost all of them concerned with the administration of the Toggenburg. Both editions were printed in Zurich by David and Johann Gessner. A further German edition is held at 9304.dd.10(11). Unlike the foregoing it has no imprint, and its title begins *Friedens-Verglich* instead of *Friedens-Vertrag*; it is prefaced by the 'Gwalts-Patente' [*sic*] or formal powers granted to the respective negotiators of the three parties. Meanwhile, from the library of George III comes a French text, *Traité de paix, conclu entre les louables cantons de Zurich et Berne, d'une part, et monsieur l'abbé... de St. Gall d'autre part* (113.m.47). Much shorter than the others, it contains only thirty clauses, but adds that



Neuzeitliche Schusswaffen  
 Artillerie, so wie die Schusswaffen  
 der Armee

	Ar:	lbs
1. Mörser (Carbonium No. 10) 1697.	32	—
2. Mörser (Carbonium No. 10) 1697.	37	77 1/2
1. Mörser (Carbonium No. 10) 1697.	6	— 10
1. Mörser (Carbonium No. 10) 1697.	6	— 3
1. Mörser (Carbonium No. 10) 1697.	7	— 34 1/2
1. Mörser (Carbonium No. 10) 1697.	6	— 6 1/2
1. Mörser (Carbonium No. 10) 1697.	12	— 50
1. Mörser (Carbonium No. 10) 1697.	2	— 80
1. Mörser (Carbonium No. 10) 1697.	3	— 14 1/2
1. Mörser (Carbonium No. 10) 1697.	7	—
1. Mörser (Carbonium No. 10) 1697.	10	— 20
1. Mörser (Carbonium No. 10) 1697.	1	— 60
1. Mörser (Carbonium No. 10) 1697.	4	— 12
1. Mörser (Carbonium No. 10) 1697.	1	— 10

Alte Neuzeitliche Schusswaffen  
 der Artillerie

1. Kartouche (Pulver) St. Andrews.	Ar.	1
1. Debo. St. Jacobus (Pulver)	b. lbs	1
1. Debo. St. Thomas	b. lbs	1
1. Debo. St. Phillipus	b. lbs	1
1. Debo. St. Augustin	b. lbs	1
1. Debo. St. Peter	b. lbs	1
1. Debo. St. Paulus	b. lbs	1
1. Debo. St. Martin	b. lbs	1
1. Debo. St. Simon	b. lbs	1
1. Debo. St. Jakobus	b. lbs	1
2. Pulver (Pulver)	b. lbs	1

Summa  
 150. (Pulver) 69 1/2 lbs  
 29. (Pulver) 4. (Pulver) 1. (Pulver)  
 1. (Pulver)

Fig. 6. A list of the cannon which formed part of Zurich's share of the arms and munitions captured at the fall of Baden. The name of each is followed by the size of shot it was capable of firing, and by its weight in hundredweight and pounds. Note the scrap-metal ('Bruchmassing') at the end. The right-hand page is cropped. The MS. is shown at approximately half actual size. 9305.aa.8 (30\*), ff. [2v, 3r]



these are the most important and form the basis of all the rest. Its accuracy leaves something to be desired: for example, Baden is described as being 'en Thourgovie' when it should be 'en Argovie'.

No. 30\* is a manuscript of twenty pages, plus two blank leaves; it has no overall title, but contains various texts relating to the fall of Baden. All are in the same hand. First come the names of the officers of the Baden garrison: 'Officier der Guarnison zu Baden den 26ten Mey 1712'. The list is headed by Lt.-Col. Crivelli of Uri, who was later to die in the Battle of Villmergen (though some reputable sources give the date of his death as 1714). Then comes 'Verzeichnuss dess halben Theils der Artillerie, so den Hren: von Zürich zu komen' (fig. 6). Every piece is listed, together with its weight and calibre, from the heaviest (32 cwt., 'cast in Schaffhausen in 1697') down to a small saluting gun ('Böhlerli'); some are named after heavenly bodies ('The Sun', 'Luna', 'Saturn') or signs of the zodiac ('Virgo', 'Cancer', 'Taurus'); others after saints ('St Andrew', 'St Thomas', 'St Peter'); there is also 'The Rottweiler'. (Rottweil, which gave its name to the breed of dog, is a town in southern Germany long allied to the Swiss cantons.) The total is given as twenty-nine, which tallies with the oft-quoted figure of sixty cannon captured at Baden and divided equally between the victors. Other inventories of the artillery exist in the Staatsarchiv in Zurich, but it has not been possible to compare them in the time available. However, there is a similar list in Eg. MS. 2201, which follows a different order and gives considerably fuller information. For example, concerning the Rottweiler we learn that it was made in Strasbourg in 1565 and was decorated with the figures of two halberdiers holding a shield, on which was an eagle thought to represent the arms of Rottweil.

Then follows an inventory, or rather several inventories, of small arms and other munitions found in the castle, the arsenal and the towers of the town walls. The details are not easy to understand, because of the archaic and technical language coupled with chaotic spelling practices. There are no doubt also some specifically Swiss words, but the very Swiss-looking 'Füssi' turns out to be merely a rendering of the French 'fusil'. Despite the vast quantity of weapons involved, it seems that many were obsolete or useless. There is mention of halberds, 'Kriegsgablen' (literally 'battle-forks', a weapon of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries), and 'Prügel' (cudgels). We shall have cause to return to this topic when discussing 11517.de.1(7) in a subsequent article. The list goes on to mention seven useless swords ('7: schlechte Schwerter'), hand-grenades, mattocks, storm lamps, saltpetre, all manner of weapons and equipment, and large quantities of cannon-balls of different sizes, including three hundredweight of the same which had been fired into the town by the Zurich artillery. This does not seem very many! Everything is recorded, even down to six hundredweight of old iron, and one heap of old iron of all sorts ('1: Hauffen allerley Alten Eyssens').

The next section of the manuscript, dated 15 June, tells us that the town's charters, its municipal silver, and money amounting to 54,000 gulden were handed over to Zurich and Berne to be stored in a vault. Quantities of grain and wine were also handed over. There follows the text of the terms of surrender, dated 2 June. They contain no



surprises, but do explicitly state that an inventory was to be made of all captured war matériel. Then comes the 'Huldigungs-Formale' by which the citizens were to swear allegiance to their new masters, and also promise to report immediately anything that might pose a threat to their authority. The oath was to be taken in the town church on 3 June. The manuscript concludes with the promulgation of peace on 15 August. This is not the text of the Peace of Aarau, but a specific announcement to the people of Zurich that war is at an end and freedom of trade and movement can return. As our manuscript contains several sections with different dates, it was obviously put together subsequently from a number of sources.

No. 31 is a proclamation of Zurich, a single-sheet folio dated 29 July 1712. It tells us that during the invasion of Zug some soldiers had disobeyed orders by setting fire to houses. This is a serious offence, contrary to the rules of war and Christian decency. Any repetition, indeed any offences against civilians, will be punished by flogging or death. Interestingly enough, the proclamation goes on to invoke reasons of self-interest, for example that atrocities serve no useful purpose, and destroy the soldiers' hopes of food and shelter. This is the only piece in the whole collection that admits Zurich did anything wrong; on the other hand it shows that the authorities at least were conscious of their moral obligations.

No. 32 is another proclamation, dated 8 August. It concerns Beat-Antoni Schnorff, formerly employed by Zurich and Berne as Untervogt or, as the General Catalogue has it, 'under-sheriff' of the County of Baden. He had disappeared at the beginning of the war, and was guilty of plotting against his former masters, even seeking the help of foreign powers. He is hereby declared an outlaw – 'a rebel, a traitor and a bandit' – and anyone knowing his whereabouts should deliver him up dead or alive. For the former a reward of 100 thalers is offered, but for the latter 100 ducats, roughly twice as much. In fact Schnorff was busy representing the Abbot of St Gall's interests at the Diet in Regensburg, and was able to place himself under the protection of Emperor Charles VI. Amnestied in the Peace of Baden, he lived on until 1729.

No. 33, which has no title-page, is headed *Bericht von den dissmahligen Kriegs-Bewegungen in der Eidgenossenschaft*. It contains a brief outline of the opening stages of the war, but is distinguished chiefly for its detailed eye-witness account of the Battle of Bremgarten. No. 34 contains that portion of the Peace of Aarau which relates specifically to the Thurgau and Rheintal, both joint dependencies of several cantons. It derives very closely from no. 23. Even the type-face appears to be the same; but the preamble and closing section have been added. The title of the work is *Landts-Frid, wie solcher zwüschen denen Lobl. Regierenden Orthen gemeiner Herrschafften geschlossen... worden*. No. 35, *Grundliche Vorstellung einerseiths, wie ein Stand Bern alle zumuhtliche Mittel... zu Wiederharstellung eines billichen... Fridens... beygetragen...; anderseiths... wie auf Seithen Lucern und Uri... treuloser Weise die Waaffen... geführet werden*, is a piece of urgent propaganda, issued in the five days between the attack on the Seysser Brücke and the Battle of Villmergen. Its aim is to show the rest of the Confederation that Berne had acted in good faith, only to be treacherously attacked by the other side. Another edition



is held at 9305.bbb.1(5), but the text is essentially the same. The title of the French translation at 9305.bbb.1(3) begins *Véritable & sincère information, où on fait voir ... que ... Berne n'a pas seulement accepté les moïens ... raisonnables ... pour rétablir ... une paix juste & durable*, and goes on to castigate the 'noire perfidie' of the treaty breakers. Another copy is held at 9305.bbb.3(3).

No. 36 introduces us to the wider European context. One reason why Zurich and Berne had felt emboldened to take on the entrenched power of the Catholic cantons was that most of Europe was engaged in the War of the Spanish Succession. Both the Emperor, ally of St Gall, and France, traditional protector of the Catholic cantons, were too preoccupied with their own rivalry to intervene in Switzerland. In this *Memoriale an eine Hoch-Löbliche Reichs-Versammlung zu Regensburg ... die schweizerische Unruhen betreffend*, the representative of the United Provinces, Baron Mozes de Mortaigne, states his government's objection to any Imperial involvement in the Swiss conflict. His elaborate geometry seems to run as follows: if the Emperor throws his support behind the Abbot, the Protestant cantons will withdraw their mercenaries from the Dutch army; they would have to be replaced on the Swiss frontier by Imperial troops drawn from the east bank of the Rhine; this would lessen the threat to the French army in Alsace, thus freeing more French forces for the theatre of war in Flanders, uncomfortably close to Mortaigne's own country. With a flourish of realpolitik he concludes that, even if the Abbot's claims were just, they could hardly take precedence over the interests of the Allied powers. The text is very cramped and makes uncomfortable reading. Another edition at 9305.bbb.1(6) is in larger type; one is a page-for-page reprint of the other. As indicated in note 8, the 'small-print' version is not present in the Zentralbibliothek Zürich, but a copy is held nearby at the Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule.

No. 37, *Capitulation bey übergab der Stadt Rapperschwil*, contains in addition to the terms of surrender of Rapperswil those of Weesen and Gaster the day before. The pages are cropped. No. 38 is entitled *Fridens-Artikul zwüschen Lobl. Stand Zürich und Lobl. Stand Zug*. Among other things, Zug was compelled to supply nine leading citizens as hostages, presumably to forestall any further treachery. Their names are given at the end of no. 37, which tells us they were detained at the Stork in Zurich. No. 39 comprises yet another treaty, or rather armistice, namely between Zurich and Schwyz, dated 1 August, and also reproduces the contents of no. 37. Its overall title is *Vertrag zwischen Zürich und Schweiz, samt der Capitulation der Stadt Rapperschwil*.

No. 40 is an account of the Battle of Villmergen, *Relation von der bey Vilmergen ... vorgegangner Schlacht*. It was printed a few days afterwards, and was obviously intended as a piece of hot news. However, there are only seven pages of text, and the description of the battle proper occupies little more than a page: the rest is taken up mainly with lists of the dead and wounded, and with the peace treaty between Zurich and Zug (cf. no. 38). Another, even more direct, report of the battle is contained in no. 41, *Copia eines Briefs von einem beglaubten Officier, welcher der victoriosen Schlacht ... unweit Villmärgen ... beygewohnet*. A much more substantial, and gripping,



account of the battle is to be found in two different versions in another tract volume, 9305.bbb.1, which will be described in a later article. The latter gives a more complete picture, but naturally lacks the immediacy of nos. 40 and 41.

Also written under the immediate impact of events was no. 42, *Ferner und ausführlicher Bericht, mit was Ungründ von Seithen der Ständen Lucern und Uri die ... verübte Feindthätlichkeiten lediglich auf dero widerspenstige Underthanen und Bauren zulegen understanden werde*. Its theme is that Lucerne and Uri had tried to excuse their treachery by blaming the common people, who had refused to accept the peace already signed by their leaders. To prove the contrary, the contents of three letters found on the body of a Lucerne officer killed at Villmergen are reproduced. How far they prove the point is not entirely clear, beyond the already obvious fact that leading citizens of Lucerne took part in the campaign; much more interesting is the light they shed on logistical problems. Supplies of food and ammunition were being sent down the Reuss by boat as far as Mühlau, and thence by land to the army. But there was a constant shortage of carts. The bakers of Lucerne were working day and night, but still could not keep up with demand; and to make matters worse, the river was so swollen that the mills could no longer grind corn. The tone of the messages from Lucerne becomes increasingly frantic. This pamphlet was explicitly intended as a sequel to no. 35 and formed part of the same propaganda campaign. The Library holds another edition, with larger type on the title-page, at 9305.bbb.1(7), and a French translation, *Suite d'information qui fait voir avec combien peu de fondement les deux cantons de Lucerne et d'Uri tachent d'attribuer les hostilités faites de leur part ... à une prétendue rébellion de leurs paysans ou sujets* (9305.bbb.3(4)).

No. 43, *Kurtzer Vergriff dess jetzigen pündtnerischen Zustandts*, is entered in the General Catalogue under the heading 'GRISONS. – Appendix', and the title is qualified by the phrase 'in relation to the Toggenburg War'. The date is given as 1712 with a question mark. In fact the context is the rebellion of the Valtellina during the Thirty Years' War, and the work is dated by G.E. von Haller to the year 1624. It is followed by a fragment from another tract, not separately recorded in the General Catalogue, but which is clearly of similar date and shares the same subject matter. Incidentally, the Library holds many rare tracts on the history of the Grisons.

Apart from no. 4, the only poem in the volume is no. 45, *Die in Liebe erneuerte Eintracht und in Eintracht feurige Liebe*, which translates roughly as 'Unity renewed in love and ardent love in unity'. It was written in December 1713 on the re-election of David Holzhalb as mayor of Zurich, and is at the same time a celebration of the city's deliverance from danger the year before. The initials J.K.HM. stand for Johann Kaspar Hardmeyer (1651–1719), a clergyman who also wrote *Der schnöd Friedenfliker* – 'The snide stitcher-up of peace' (11517.de.1(6)). The title already conveys something of the poem's clumsy pomposity. Its theme is that the 'citadel on the Limmat' owes its salvation to trust in God.

No. 46 takes us beyond the war to the peace negotiations held in Rorschach in 1714. They failed because of the Abbot's intransigence, but he later tried to pin the blame on



the other side in a 'Manifest' issued from Neuravensburg in June of that year (not held by the British Library). In reply Zurich and Berne published this *Warhaffter Bericht, darauss erhället wie ... Zürich und Bern mit denen Stifft St. Gallischen ... Deputierten den Friedens-Tractat in Rorschach mit aller Bescheidenheit auffrichtiglichen behandeln helffen ....* Various sources indicate that Nabholz was the author.

This concludes the analysis of volume 9305.aa.8,<sup>9</sup> but we have by no means exhausted the British Library's holdings of contemporary works on the Toggenburg War. Apart from the translations and other editions already mentioned, the Library holds a superb account of the Battle of Villmergen; a banned book; an amusing dialogue in Swiss dialect; and several ballads, some of them with music. It is hoped to do justice to this remaining material in a subsequent article.

Gottlieb Emanuel von Haller's *Bibliothek der Schweizer-Geschichte*, pt. 5 (Berne, 1787), lists many, though not all, of the works held by the British Library, and provides much useful background information. The historical introduction to the present article is based partly on the items described above, and partly on the following sources: *Dictionnaire historique et biographique de la Suisse* (Neuchâtel, 1921-34); J. Gottfried Guggenbühl, *Geschichte der schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft*, vol. ii (Zurich, 1948), and *Zürichs Anteil am Zweiten Villmergerkrieg, 1712*, *Schweizer Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft*, vol. iv, no. i (Zurich, 1912); and Hans Jacob Leu, *Allgemeines helvetisches, eydgenössisches oder schweizerisches Lexicon* (Zurich, 1747-65).

- 1 The catalogue was published as: Peter Barber and curators of the British Library and the British Museum, *Switzerland 700* (London: The British Library, 1991).
- 2 Some of this information is taken from a typescript by Konrad Kahl entitled 'Gathering up some threads of Anglo-Swiss literary relationships after a conversation with Mr Ian Willison at the British Library in London, 13 September, 1978'.
3. Under the classification system formerly used in

the British Museum Library, the history of Switzerland was assigned to the press-mark ranges 9304 and 9305; hence most of the material under consideration has a press-mark commencing with one of these numbers.

- 4 Because most of the titles are very long, they have had to be drastically abbreviated. The original spelling has been retained, but not necessarily the punctuation.
- 5 See Ernst Gagliardi and Ludwig Forrer, *Katalog der Handschriften der Zentralbibliothek Zürich, 2: Neuere Handschriften seit 1500* (Zurich, 1931-49).
- 6 The title *Venner* is difficult to translate; originally it meant standard-bearer, but in time the holder of the office acquired other functions as well.
- 7 The compiler of the monumental *Allgemeines helvetisches Lexicon*.
- 8 It may safely be assumed that the Zentralbibliothek Zürich holds copies of all the printed texts contained in volume 9305.aa.8 (with the exception of no. 36), but not necessarily the same editions.
- 9 Because of its fragile condition, this volume will shortly be undergoing extensive restoration, and will therefore be temporarily unavailable.



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