#### **Chapter IV**

#### THE SIX EARLIEST GENERATIONS AT LAUBEN, LEUTKIRCH, & RAVENSBURG 1311 - 1489.

#### (Genealogical Tables I and II)

From early in the 14th Century onward there was increased migration from territory



which is now in Switzerland, into Swabian territory on the N. aide of Lake Constance. Whether members of the Haider family first arrived at Lauben during that period, or whether they had been established there from very much earlier times, must remain unproven. But, by a happy combination of chances, in particular the exceptionally good state of preservation of the Town Archives of Leutkirch, and the finding of documents at Ravensburg which yielded valuable supplementary information, it has been found possible to trace back the genealogy of

the Haider family without a single break from the year 1311 to the present day, a subject for satisfaction available to very few families.

The earliest recorded ancestor is

#### HAINRICUS dictus HAIDER

who is witness to a document signed at Ravensburg on 2nd July 1311. His son HAINZ HAIDER

received Burgher Rights at Ravensburg in the year 1339, when he is described as "ex Luben". Hainz Haider therefore was already settled at Lauben prior to the date when that farm was sold by the Abbey of Bregenz to Conrad Itter, Burgher of Leutkirch, 26th December 1346, as mentioned in the preceding Chapter. His son

#### CONRAD II (Conz)

appears to have married a **Lisa Goisz** in the year 1361, and he also received Burgher Rights at Ravensburg, like his father. He was succeeded by three sons,

#### HANS I PETER CONRAD III.

Their actual relationship and descent is established by the following two documents:

(1) In a document dated 1439, Hans Haider, Clerk to the Imperial Court of Assize, specifically mentions Peter as "my dear brother".

(2) in the Deeds of Re-grant of the farm freehold at Lauben for the years 1448 and 1449, Conrad and Peter are mentioned as being "the esteemed sons of the late Conz Haider of Lauben". Hans was not mentioned in those documents as he had already died, in August 1439.

Of the three brothers mentioned above, only Conrad III continued the line of the family at Lauben, and he was succeeded by his sons CONRAD IV and GEORG, and then by the grandson MICHAEL whose descendants, as already stated, still represent the Haider family at Lauben and many other places on the Leutkirch Heath, today, (see genealogical Table II).

Michael in Lauben Catharina i.e. v. die Witwe besitzt 1569 das Lehen	conrad III Georg 1465 11465 Inhaber Inhaber des Lehens des Lehens Lauben Lauben	Conrad II 1448 mít s. Bruder Peter Inhaber des Lehens Lauben			
Jacob II in Ravensburg gen. 1540. 1541. 1542 Magdalena Bischhalm	Jacob I Ursula geht nach Aebtissin des Klosters Ravensburg Villingen * 1413 in Leutkirch † 20. 1. 1498 Villingen	ben Peter ben 1438 Vogt der Ursula Ringlin 1448 Lehen Lauben utkirch) •••••Bet.	Conrad I (Conz) Inhaber des Lehens Lauben wird 1361 Bürger zu Ravensburg © Lisa Goísz	Hainz Haider in Lauben wird 1339 die Udaltici auf 5 Jahre Bürger zu Ravensburg "ex Luben"	Hainricus dictus Haider Zeuge in Ravensburg 2. 7. 1311
MartinHansJacobstudiertinLeutkirchin $1616-1517$ $1480$ Ravens $1616-1517$ $1480$ RavensinLeutkirchgen. 15Heidelberggenannt $1521$ $1525$ $1521$ $1529$ $\infty$ Magdal $1530$ $\cdots$ LutzBischh	Conrad stiftet 29. 1. 1489 Jahrzeit in Leutkirch Elisabeth	Hans Landschreiber der Reichsvogtey Oberschwaben <sup>†</sup> August 1439 in Leutkirch <sup>OD</sup> I) Anna Mietz <sup>OD</sup> II) Catharina Klotz <sup>(fhr</sup> Vater Conrad Klotz <sup>†</sup> 17. 11. 1439 in Leutkirch)	Inha wírd J	Conrad 1331 Zeuge in Ravensburg wird 13. 1346 Inhaber des Lehens Lauben Bürger 1	Leuge
Mathías I I Gen.: (Thyas) s 1528–1543 161 Zoller He VI Zoller He	Hans Priester 1423 in Herlazhofen V 1436 Kaplan am Maria Magdalenen-Altar in der Frauenkirche zu Ravensburg	Landschreif IV † (ihr Vater Con		II 1331 Zeu	Ι



Hans Haider I, who was probably the eldest of the three brothers, became Clerk to the Court of Assize in the Appellate Jurisdiction of Upper Swabia. We have numerous dates recorded for his life.

As previously mentioned, he had the family Chapel at Lauben rebuilt in stone about the year 1400. Following the tradition of his father and grandfather he received Burgher Rights at Ravensburg, in 1421, and he appears to have received these Rights at several other towns as wall, a circumstance which is hardly surprising, having regard to his official position.

On St. Walpurgis Day 1423, he attaches his seal armorial to a Decree of the Judge of the Court of Assize, Volk Seyfried, and in this seal we have the earliest example of the Arms of the Haider family. The Arms consist of a sprig of a plant with 3 leaves and 4 berries, probably heather or bilberry, and the inscription round the seal reads: S(igillum) Johannis dictus Haider. (The document and seal are now

in the Town Archives of Isny). The other three seals attached to this document are those of (from left to right), The Assize Court, Berchtold Pontius, and Hans Ritzner.

On 28th September 1424 Hans Haider purchases 4 acres of arable land at Lumpparstobel, from Haintz Rott of Huntzistobel, a Burgher of Ravensburg. The document runs as follows:

" I, Hans Rott of Huntzistobel, a Burgher of Ravensburg, by these presents declare before all men for myself and my heirs that by my considered will and deed I sell and give by sale to the esteemed Hans Haider, Clerk to the Court of Assize and Burgher of Ravensburg, to have and to hold for himself and his heirs now and forever by title of this Deed, my arable land at Lumpparstobel four acres in area, with all that pertains to them free and unencumbered with sole and rightful ownership, which are assessed for annual tax at 5 schilling and 4 heller ....etc. etc. ..... and he has paid to me as purchase price a sum of 18 Pfund Pfennig (about £36) in Ravensburg currency, now in my hands, and thus I Hans Rott and my brother and our heirs etc ...... and I have prayed the esteemed Burgomaster Jos. Huntppiss and Ulrich Broken, Councillor of the Town of Ravensburg to attach their seals to this Deed.....etc. Given on the day before St. Michel's Day in the Year of our Lord Fourteen Hundred and Twenty Four."

In the following year, on 15th June 1425, Hans Haider re-sells these 4 acres at Lumpparstobel to Anna Luprecht, widow of Cuntz Amman a Burgher of Ravensburg. The sale price was then 21 Pfund Pfennig (about £42) in Ravensburg currency, so Hans Haider thus made a profit of 3 Pfund Pfennig (about £6), i.e.17%, on the transaction. (Document in the Town Archives of Stuttgart).

In the year 1428 Hans Heider gives an Endowment to the Almshouse at Ravensburg, and in the year 1430 he endows a Requiem Mass, and he must have been getting on in years then, for he seems to have retired from his official post about 1436 and to have purchased a house in Leutkirch then in which he went to reside.

According to a document dated on the "Tuesday after St. Jacob's Day 1439", he sells to the Town of Leutkirch his rents from a moiety of

"the farm called Haid" (1 1/2 miles NW of Leutkirch)

"from the farm called Teufels Hofstatt, and from the farm called Allwisshofen" (2 miles S of Leutkirch).

The tenant of the latter farm is Hans Goisz, probably his nephew, from which it would appear that this farm had been inherited from Hans Haider's mother.

The document runs thus;

"I, Hans Haider of Ravensburg, Clerk to the Court of Assize on Leutkirch Heath, by these presents declare before all men for myself and my heirs that by my considered will and deed I do sell to the esteemed and worthy Burgomaster and Councillors of the Town of Leutkirch my annual rents of 3 Malters of oats Leutkirch measure in fairly threshed grain and 2 Pfund Heller (about £4) in sound and usual

currency from a moiety of the farm called the Haide between Leutkirch and Reichenhofen, and of the farm called Teufels Hofstatt, and of the farm called Allwisshofen of which Hans Goisz is the tenant and of which the other moiety belongs to my brother Peter Haider and his heirs etc..... and the rents of grain and money shall be paid regularly each year between St. Martin's Day and Christmas and shall be brought to Leutkirch and the grain weighed before the Treasurer in whatever place may be appointed etc.... in consideration for which the aforesaid officials of Leutkirch have paid me the price of 180 Pfund Heller (about £180) in good currency.....and they shall confirm this to my dear brother Peter Haider a Burgher of Leutkirch etc..... and to this Deed I attach my seal on behalf of myself and my heirs and I have acquainted Peter Haider with the purport of this Deed, and in accordance with my request the esteemed Hans Bissinger, a Councillor of Leutkirch has attached his seal thereto etc.....

Given on the Tuesday after St. Jacob's Day in the Year of our Lord Fourteen Hundred and Thirty Nine."

In anticipation of his approaching end, Hans Haider endowed his Requiem Mass in this same year, 1439.

The details of this endowment are to be found in the "Book of Requiem Masses" in the Registry of the Catholic Church at Leutkirch, and from that source we learn that Hans Haider was twice married and that his sons were named HANS II, CONRAD, and JACOB, and against the name of the eldest is written 'presbiter' (priest).

From a Requiem Mass endowed by Conrad Klotz who died at Leutkirch on 17th November 1439, we learn the name of Hans Haider's second wife. She was Catharina Klotz, for Conrad Klotz enumerated his children as under:

1. Catharina Klotz, wife of Hans Haider.

- 2. Adelhaid.
- 3. Margaret.
- 4. Ursula.
- 5. Berchtold.

(A seal of the Klotz family is attached to a document dated 1396, in the Town Archives of Leutkirch).

And from his Endowment of the Almshouse at Ravensburg we find the name of Hans Haider's first wife. She was **Anna Mietz**.

Hans Haider died in August 1439; soon after endowing his Requiem Mass.

#### Die Jahrzeitstiftung des Landschreibers HANS HAIDER (1439).

#### Anno domini MCCCCXXXVIIII

obiit Johannes Haider protonot [-arius] residens Ravenspurge, qui dum vixit pro remedio animae suae et duarum uxorum et domini Johannis, presbiteri, Conradi et Jacobi filiorum suorum et omnium predecessorum dedit II lib. hall. (= 2 Pfund Heller) perpetui census de prato sito in Grünenbach, quod jam colit Schmalenberg, de quibus procuratores tenentur dare singulis annis plebano V solidos denarios, socio V et magistro libet X Pfennig, hedituo V hall. idem inclusis leprosorii, cuilibet II Pfennig, pauperibus pro pane V sol. den., hospitaliensibus X Pfennig, reliquum sancto pro quo dictae personae tenentur cantare vigiliam et crastino missam pro defunctis hora prima eternaliter et plebanus tenetur ipsorum memoriam habere singulis domini diebus eternaliter, absentibus nihil sive partem absentium praesentes tenentur accipere et inter se aut in publ. usus pauperum distribuere.  $-^{84}$ )

("Seelbuch" im Kath. Pfarrarchiv zu Leutkirch S. 278b.)

The record of that Endowment runs as follows:

"In the year 1439 there died Hans Haider, Clerk to the Court of Assize, a resident of Ravensburg, who during his lifetime endowed a Mass to be celebrated annually for the Souls of himself, his two wives, and his sons, Johann the Priest, Conrad, and Jacob, and of all his forbears, with an Endowment of 2 Pfund Heller to be paid as a perpetual annual Rent-charge from the meadow at Grunenbach (2 1/2miles S of Leutkirch) which is at present farmed by Schmalenberg. Of this sum the Churchwardens shall pay annually to the Parish Priest 5 Schilling-Pfennig, to his Assistant 5 and to the Schoolmaster 5-10 Pfennig, to the Sacristan 10 Heller, to the inmates of the Leperhouse 2 Pfennig each person, to the poor for bread 5 Schillin-Pfennig, to the sick 10 Pfennig, and the balance to the Saint (Martin). And in consideration for this the above-named shall keep a Vigil on each Anniversary, and at Prime they shall sing a Dead Mass, in perpetuity, and the Parish Priest shall mention the names (of the deceased) every Sunday in perpetuity, and those who neglect the Anniversaries shall receive nothing. Those who are present shall take the portions of the Endowment pertaining to those who are absent, and shall either divide such portions among themselves or shall devote them to feeding the poor ".

2 Pfund Heller were equivalent to 1 Pfund Pfennig. At that time a Pfund Heller corresponded to the present-day Mark, but its value was about 20 times as great. Accordingly, in present-day (1911) money, the endowment was worth about 40 Marks (£2) per annum.

Of Hans Haider's sons, the eldest, also called HANS, was a priest. He entered the Church in 1423 at Herlazhofen, and in 1436 he was Mass Priest of the Mary Magdalene Altar in the Church of the B.V.M. at Ravensburg. In that year he sold his share in the Rents from the farms called the Haide, Teufelshofstatt, and Allwisshofen, to Heinz Goisz. According to the record in the "Book of Requiem Masses", he died on 31st October, presumably in the same year as his father (1439), and like him he endowed a Requiem Mass, which is entered as follows:

" October dies XXXI

Dominica post Michel, obiit Johea. Haider...... ad libera quotannls ordinario pro anniversario....sol. den. quotannis pro sancto IIII Pfennig albus.... IIII ad lumen, IIII Pfennig aliquid domui leprosorum de prato ultra fossam quod dicta Gruss colit at ze Stegen (Staig) in der Ow (Au) quod colit Joh. Fischere item Dei pl(acatione) deli(ctorum) albus VIII ".

The youngest son, JACOB I, returned to Ravensburg. We have no further dates concerning him, but we know that his son JACOB II (mentioned in 1540, 1541 and 1542) married **Magdalena Bischalm**. His grandson GEORG, born at Ravensburg, went to Nordlingen, where he received Burgher Rights on the Monday after All Saints Day 1519.

For the further history of his descendants, see the Chapter on The NORDLINGEN BRANCH, (*Genealogical Table III*).

The middle son, CONRAD, was the only one who remained at Leutkirch. He endowed his Requiem Mass on 29th January 1489. By his wife Elisabeth he had 3 sons,

MATTHIAS I MARTIN HANS III. For the furthe

For the further history of these, see the Chapter on the LEUTKIRCH BRANCH.

PETER, brother of the Clerk to the Court of Assize, married a wife whose family name was BER. We find him in 1438 as the Guardian of Ursula Ringlin, and in 1448 as joint holder with his brother CONRAD in the oldest extant Re-grant of the Lauben farm freehold, and also in the next Re-grant in February 1449. We find no mention of any sons of his, but on the other hand he had a daughter URSULA who attained to considerable fame, and the next Chapter will be devoted to her.



#### Chapter V



#### Die selige Äbtissin URSULA HAIDER

zu St. Clara in Villingen.

#### The Reverend Abbess URSULA HAIDER

of the ST. CLARE convent at VILLINGEN: 1413 - 1498.

Of the two Convents which existed at Villingen until near the end of the 19th Century, the Bicken Convent of St. Clare was the one of greatest importance in the town. It took its name from the adjoining Bicken Gate, and the latter was so called from the Bickenberg (Bicko Mountain) which lay opposite to it. The Convent was founded at some date in the 13th Century. As is well known, St. Francis of Assisi, with the assistance of his disciple and colleague St. Clare, founded the strictly Enclosed Order of Clares, as a Branch of the Franciscan Order and Friars Minor, and shortly afterward he founded a third Order, The Tertiaries, for lay persons. Both of these observed the Franciscan Rule and came under the direction of the Franciscan Provincial of the territory in which the Convents were situated. The Villingen Convent was in the Franciscan Province of Upper Germany.



In Villingen, the St. Clare Convent of Tertiaries was in existence as early as the year 1278, under the direction of a Mother Superior, and was called the 'Convent of the White Nuns '. The number of persons in this Convent was augmented in the year 1305 by inclusion of the Mother Superior and Nuns from a neighbouring Convent at Neuhausen, which had been abandoned owing to damage by fire, and because of the War and other disturbances which occurred about that time. For a very long time the Bicken Convent of St. Clare at Villingen continued to be under the Open Rule.

On the petition of a zealous Franciscan Provincial named **Heinrich Karrer**, a native of Villingen, who had discussed the matter at a Chapter of the Order held at Villingen in 1465, and in accord with the wishes of the townspeople of Villingen, Pope Paul II (1465-1471) sent an Edict on 7th June in that year to the Bishop of Constance, ordering the Convent at Villingen to be converted from the Open Rule to the strictly Enclosed Rule of St.Clare. Under the latter Rule no lay persons whatever were allowed to enter the Convent, and the Nuns themselves were not allowed to quit the precincts under pain of excommunication. The majority of the older Nuns in the Convent, and probably some of the others as well, found the Enclosed Rule to be unendurable, and so matters continued ineffective until the year 1479, when the

Provincial Karrer referred the matter again to the Pope, then Sixtus IV (1471-1484), and the latter confirmed the Edict of his predecessor, and directed that conversion to the strictly Enclosed Rule should be enforced. In order to give effect to this Edict, a change of personnel among the Nuns at the Convent was essential. On 11th November 1479 the Provincial came to an agreement with the Town Council of Villingen regarding future relations between the Town and the Convent, having in view the proposed change. Karrer, who had been re-elected as Provincial as well as Papal Visitor for the St. Clare Order, then cast his eye upon a St. Clare Convent which had a very high reputation, the Convent of 'The Golden Mill' at Valduna in the Vorarlberg (situated 1/2 mile SE of Rankweil, N. of Feldkirch. It was in the former Bishopric of Chur, and was in Austrian territory).

He undertook a personal visit to that Convent. But he was much disappointed to find considerable opposition there to the plans which he had in view, not from the Nuns, who were ready to submit to the call of duty to another place, but from the inhabitants of Feldkirch and from the Austrian Prefect of the District, Hans Jakob von Bodman. The Feldkirch people were afraid that removal of any of the Nuns would affect the Convent adversely, and they left no stone unturned to defeat the Intentions of the Provincial. In order to gain their end they made applications to the Bishop and even to their Prince Governor at Innsbruck, Archduke Sigmund of Austria. But without avail. On 3rd of March 1480, the Abbess and all the Nuns at the Valduna Convent affirmed to the Provincial Karrer that they were prepared to submit obediently to the demand made, and to render up one, or as many Nuns as were required, for transfer to the Convent at Villingen.

Amongst those chosen to go, and chief among them, was the Abbess herself, URSULA HAIDER. We have few details concerning her early life, but these are sufficient to indicate that she was a woman of outstanding personality. She was born in the year 1413 in the town of Leutkirch, on the historic Leutkirch Heath. Her father was Peter Haider, a Burgher of Leutkirch and joint-holder with his brother Conrad III Haider of the Lauben farm freehold. Her parents who were homely, pious Burghers, died whilst she was still very young, and her grandmother (Lisa Goisz) and her maternal uncle, a worthy priest named Johann Ber, (who was Chaplain of the B.V.M. Chantry in the Parish Church of Leutkirch) thereupon undertook to educate her, and when she was in her ninth year (1422) brought her to the Franciscan Convent of Tertiaries at Reute near Waldsee (about 15 miles NW of Leutkirch), at that time presided over by the worthy Elisabeth Achler, known as 'Good Beth', who both taught, and practiced herself, the leading of a good and useful life. (Note; there was a small Franciscan Convent of Tertiaries at Leutkirch, but it had no endowment or fixed establishment of Nuns, and the latter supported themselves by weaving). Here the child Ursula learnt many exercises of virtue, and reading and writing, for this child "had good intelligence, spoke well, was retiring in disposition, had many virtuous qualities, and withal was very pleasant and lovable". When the good Beth died, in 1430, Ursula returned to Leutkirch. She had then reached her seventeenth year and had many worldly temptations to contend with, some of which were indeed brought to her notice by her guardians. Many honourable Burghers' sons and eligible persons approached these surviving relatives with offers

for her hand in marriage, for "she was a very handsome girl, tall and graceful ". However her inclinations were otherwise, and she meditated constantly on the words of Our Lord, "Blessed are the pure in heart for they shall see God ". Accordingly, in 1431, when in her eighteenth year, she foreswore the world and entered the St. Clare Convent at Valduna. There she lived a steadfast, godfearing and pious life. It was therefore no matter for wonder that on the death of the Abbess in 1449, she was elected by the other Nuns to be her successor, being then in her 36th year. Everything which she had formerly learned from the good Beth, she now put into practice, with all humility, in her new office.

"She taught her flock not only by precept, but by example: she spoke little, and then only of religious matters, or of matters connected with the management of the Convent ".

Then came the call to a new sphere of action, but that call was neither sudden nor unexpected. The Chronicle relates that once, some fifteen years earlier,



Die Outkhige Unide Sauderie wurde 1425 zu Krietlich gehohren. 1422 zu Merkfe in aufer Geterlängt ärter natühringe der Unideblie konne ryggen. 1431 Legte Gete alle Rile imflerin zu Voldaum av Svil. Ordens andeble ab 1440 wärte in endblit zur Mibilflä gewählte. 1463 wärde Ster Derigt auf Bulange säch der Alfgenäng verberlächt. 3470 Geltich leit er Dillizuffe Math and Diezerkläft des Dille Stilfle zu rechneren och Arforniering wärde däre Starrer von Get Richt Schulert Cortie Weisseninger Urfälle hart beländer wäch wärd zu fange and Beder 27° und in Dillizupion mit digenären Armer von Get Richt Schulert Cortie Weisseninger Urfälle hart beländt, weich wäch zu Schuler und beste 27° und in Dillizupion mit digenären Armer von Get Richter Ost Start weisseninger Urfälle hart beländt, weider nich wich zu Schuler – beitesten an demonster aus seine angen gestaltauft. Schuler in Schuler Ost Schuler Ost im Bernigmant Urfälle fleri beste Schuler Schuler – beitester an aberneiten son Schuler schuler Schuler 2000 auf 2000 and 2000 auf 2000

when she was in the churchyard meditating on her 'spiritual burial' she heard a wellloved voice say " Thy burial will not be here, but in Villingen ". This astonished her greatly, for in all her life she had never heard of a place called Villingen.

On a second occasion, during her meditations, a beautiful sweet-smelling bush of red and white roses appeared to her, and the wind wafted it away and then brought it back to her. She now understood the vision, as meaning that "she must go to Villingen, and with great sorrow at heart be torn away from the rosebush, which was her beloved Convent at Valduna ". Of what followed we have an account from a

manuscript of one of the Nuns who accompanied her. This manuscript is in the Town Archives of Villingen, and the writer was probably Clara Wittenbach of Feldkirch.

" In the Year of Our Lord 1480, on the day following the Conversion of St. Paul (26th January), our worthy Father Provincial, Br. Heinrich Karrer, came to Valduna, and announced that by authority of the Pope and of the General of the Franciscan Order, he intended to take eight Veiled Nuns from Valduna, and send them to the Bicken Convent of St.Clare at Villingen, in order to raise the status of that Convent. When the news of this intention was spread about, the people of Feldkirch and the Prefect of the District, Hans Jakob von Bodman, attempted to turn our worthy Father Provincial from his purpose and prevent him from taking any Nuns away. And they became so incensed about the matter that they several times threatened his life. This opposition to his rightful authority grieved our Father Provincial very much and brought on an illness which lasted for nine weeks. After the people of Feldkirch had consulted the Bishop of Chur, Herr Ortlieb von Brandis, and other learned persons, and these had found no grounds on which the authority of our Provincial could be disputed, they laid the matter before our noble Prince Governor, Archduke Sigmund of Austria (Governor of the Vorarlberg and Tyrol Provinces), thinking that they would obtain support from him.

But when this came to the ears of the worthy Councillors of Villingen, these made haste to forestall the representatives of Feldkirch, and sent their Town Clerk, Adam Vogel, together with the Esquire Konrad Butzel, and Hans von Wil, Esquire to our Father Provincial, to interview the noble Prince at Innsbruck, and they induced His Imperial Highness to send an order to the Prefect of the District, Herr von Bodman, charging him to give safe conduct through his District for the Father Provincial and the eight Nuns. And so the reorganisation of the Bicken Convent at Villingen could now at last be undertaken, thanks to the intervention of His Highness the Prince. On Quasimodo Sunday (9th April) the Prince's order was delivered to us in the Convent at Valduna.

On the following Thursday (13th April) our worthy Father Provincial relieved us of our offices, and handed these over to other Nuns of the Convent. On Misericordias Sunday (16th April), we received the Holy Sacrament. After Vespers, the Father Provincial assembled the following Nuns who had been chosen from among us: Ursula Haider (Abbess) Agnes Butzel, Margaret Mottlin, Clara Ermler, Agnes Richart, Justina Dettigkofer, Lucia Stocklin, and Clara Wittenbach, and together he charged us to be obedient to the Rule of the Holy Order.

On the following day (Monday 17th April), at Prime an Office of Our Lady was sung to wish us Godspeed, and after that we took a sorrowing leave of our dear sisters in the good Convent of Valduna. They lent us the Convent Steward, Herr Sigmund Brugger, who had instructions to pay all our expenses on the journey between Valduna and Villingen, and also two lay-sisters, Christina and Els, to act as servants for us en route. The worthy apothecary, Master Jos. Remishub of Feldkirch, with most loyal devotion, volunteered to accompany us to tend any who might fall ill on the journey. The worthy and loyal Esquire Konrad Butzel, also rode with us throughout.

We arrived on this same day at the village of Rheineck, and stayed the night there. Next day (Tuesday 18th April) we went by boat down the Lake to the town of Constance, and there lodged at the house of a worthy widow, Frau Elisabeth Mundprat. (Note: she belonged to a wealthy patrician family of Constance). She accommodated us until Saturday (22nd April) and was most kind in her attentions to us, as also was Herr Lutfried Mundprat. We were allowed to use their private chapel in the Church of the Barefoot Monks (Augustinian Canons), where we pursued our daily devotions, and the good Barefoot Fathers sang two beautiful Offices for us, one for our holy Father St. Francis, and the other for our holy Mother St. Clare, to ask their blessings on the work which we were about to undertake. (Note: the former Monastery of the Barefoot Fathers is now the School in St. Stephen's Square).

On Saturday (22nd April) we departed from Constance, continuing by boat down the Lake, and arrived at the Paradies Convent (about 2 1/2 miles SE. of Schaffhausen). There we attended Vespers in the Church, standing outside the Sanctuary and singing the canticles alternately with the Nuns of the Convent. After this Service, our good Father Provincial took us within the precincts of the Convent, and there the good Nuns received us with the greatest kindness and showed us the most devoted attention. We remained in the Convent until the third day (Tuesday) 25th April), when we continued our journey in two covered wagons to the village of Hufingen (on the Upper Danube), where we stayed overnight.

Early next day we went on, and when we had got within half a mile of the town of Villingen, the Burgomaster Hans Staheli, the Magistrate Hans Hermann, and the chief persons of the town, a goodly company in all, rode out to meet the worthy Father Provincial and ourselves, they received us with great honour, and conducted us to the house of the esteemed Heinrich Keller. The latter and his wife, a member of the Walburg family, showed the kindest possible attentions to us in every way. They incurred considerable expense and much trouble in accommodating us and those who had accompanied us an the journey.

We also received much kindness and material provision from the Town Council. And above all our Good Father Provincial and the Franciscan Brothers showed us the utmost devotion and attention. The good Father allowed us to see the sacred treasures, many venerable relics and costly ornaments, which they used for their services, and also their valuable library. Our Father Provincial presented to us a golden altar-cloth, with a crucifix painted and embroidered on it and having figures of the Blessed Virgin and St. John below the crucifix, and he also gave us an embossed Crucifix. The Father Provincial had an Office of Our Lady sung for us, accompanied by beautiful music on the organ. After that he conducted us, together with the chief ladies of the town, all over his well-ordered Monastery and showed us every part of it. We then returned to the house of Herr Heinrich Keller. On Friday (28th April) we were taken to the Minster, where a Mass was said at the altar of the Biassed Virgin.

After the midday meal on this day the Father Provincial came with a procession which included members of the Town Council and a large number of the townspeople both men and women, and conducted us to the Bicken Convent of St. Clare, where we were enclosed and where we now are. When we entered the nave of

the Church, the Provincial, standing before the altar, delivered an excellent sermon to us, in which he bade us enter the strict Rule of the Holy Order, and therewith he, by virtue of the Papal Edict, placed this Convent forever under the Enclosed Rule whereby neither we nor our successors should ever leave the precincts, whether living or dead, in accordance with the Enclosed Rule of the holy St. Clare. Then we entered the Chancel of the Church and rendered praise to God by singing the Te Deum Laudamus. The Nuns of the Convent then received us with great friendliness. All of us, the Father Provincial, the members of the Town Council, the resident Nuns, and ourselves, then entered the Convent Parlour, where the Father Provincial bade the resident Nuns hand over in conformity with the Holy Rule, everything in the Convent, to us, and this they dutifully did. Next, the Father Provincial and the Town Council offered to the resident Nuns freedom of decision. Any one of them who wished to make trial of the Enclosed Rule was to hand over her personal possessions for a probationary period of three months, at the end of which she was either to take vows to observe the Enclosed Rule with community of property, or else she was to leave the Convent altogether. If any were unwilling now to make the trial, they should leave the Convent forthwith. The oldest of the resident Nuns decided then and there to do that. The remaining six of the resident Nuns surrendered their keys and remained in the Convent to make the trial. When a period of 7 weeks had elapsed, brother Johannes Isenburg of the Barefoot Monks Order arrived as papal Commissioner and Arbitrator, and with him came the Father Provincial and Master Jorg Summer, a lawyer, and Doctor Konrad von Bondorf, a Theological Teacher from Strassburg, and Father Peter Eggmann, the Sacristan of the Lake Constance Province, and several other reverend Fathers of the Holy Order.

On the Friday before the Octave of our Holy Father St. Anthony (l6th June), four of the resident Nuns jointly withdrew from the Enclosed Rule, and all their possessions, linen, clothes and domestic utensils, were handed back to them, but any settlement or endowment which had been made to the Convent on their behalf was withheld until they actually quitted the Convent. Two only of the original Nuns continued for the full three months of trial, and when the final day arrived, only one, Magdalena Wagner, asked to be allowed to remain with us, the other deciding to go forth, and she received back her personal possessions, as had the four Nuns previously mentioned. On St. Mary Magdalene's Day (22nd July), Magdalena Wagner took her solemn vows to observe the Enclosed Rule. Thus, of the original Nuns, the Convent lost first of all the oldest Nun, Margaret Hap, and then the four Nuns named Ster, von Falkenstein, Agnes Fall, and Anna Mayenberg, and finally Adelhaid Burgmayer ".

In this manner the reorganisation of the Convent was now completed, but many difficulties still awaited the Abbess, Ursula Haider. On her arrival she found only 300 Pfund (about £15) as the entire funds of the Convent, and to this sum could be added only 100 florin's which the Nuns of Valduna had presented to her 'for the reorganisation of the Villingen Convent '. But she placed her trust in God, remembering the words of the Evangelist, " Seek ye first the Kingdom of God, and all else will be added unto you". From contributions made by charitably minded people, means were provided, although not in abundance, which were sufficient to

provide for the most urgent requirements. It was even found possible to purchase some farm properties, namely 3 holdings at Gutach (near Waldkirch, about 25 miles W. of Villingen) in the year 1489. With the money then available, Ursula began to have a wall built around the Convent, and to carry out other structural alterations. As the good Nun who wrote the manuscript says, regretfully,

" this small Convent was built merely like one of the town houses, and was in a dilapidated condition, cramped and dark within".

The life there was so poor and miserable that it would have been small wonder if the Nuns, owing to the rigour of their life and lack of fresh air, had all become ill, for they had only one small dark room, and a parlour. There was no dormitory or infirmary, much less a refectory, all of which accommodation is especially necessary in an Enclosed Convent. The devoted and gentle Nuns had therefore to suffer with much resignation, frost and cold, even hunger and thirst, and lack of all essential requirements. During eight whole years of the greatest poverty, Ursula contrived to carry out repairs to the Church, to enlarge the transept, and to build a tiny sick-room.

The number of Nuns in the Convent was gradually augmented by the inclusion of pious young women who responded to the call of the Reverend Abbess, until it reached during her lifetime a total of 31. She herself instructed the Novices with great diligence and sympathy. She took great joy in the dignified celebration of Divine Services, for, as the writer of the manuscript informs us,

"she was herself a worthy ornament of the Services, with her skill and talents. And if she heard any of the young Nuns singing out of tune with herself, that grieved her much, although she gave no sign of this so as not to make any distraction or interruption of the Service. But after the midday meal, she would summon the offending Nuns to the Parlour and there cause them to sing loudly and clearly whilst she applied the necessary corrections, teaching them to enunciate the words distinctly and tunefully, singing together. She exhibited also the greatest love and devotion to the words of Holy Writ, and exhorted the young Novices thereto at all times ".

In order that they might be able to attend diligently the Service of the Holy Sacrament, the Bishop of the Constance Diocese, at her request, gave permission from the year 1484 onward, for Reservation of the Sacrament in front of lighted candles in the Chapel of the Convent. In this year also repairs to the Church had been so far completed that the Vicar-General of Constance was able to consecrate four new altars in it, three in the Nave and one in the Chancel. Some conception of the wealth of thought, and depth of the spiritual meditation which this remarkable woman brought to bear upon the secrets of " the eternal Divine Wisdom", and of the Life of our Saviour, is afforded by the number of treatises which she herself wrote, some privately, and which one of the Nuns has communicated to us, excepting one treatise of which she says, " I have omitted this treatise because the subject is far above my childish understanding". These writings show Ursula's spiritual kinship with the great mystics of the 14th Century, Johann Tauler (Strassburg 1300-1361) and Heinrich Suso (Constance 1295-1366), from whose works she doubtless derived inspiration.

If she was unable to raise the minds of her inferiors to her own spiritual plane, she nevertheless imparted to them that poetic quality expressed in their Cantata (still extant today) which was for long a feature at the Bicken Convent.

Those who aspire to attain the goal of Christian perfection and who would follow our Saviour, must like Him tread the path of the Cross Thus it was with Ursula Haider. In her fifth year of Office at this new Convent (1485) she was beset by severe illness which so enfeebled her physical strength that she was very frequently laid on a bed of suffering, and in the year 1489 she saw that it had become necessary to resign her Office, subject to consent by the religious authorities and the members of the Convent. Clara Wittenbach, her colleague of Valduna succeeded her as Abbess.

One heartfelt joy had been afforded to the aged woman, by the settlement of a matter which had long been her desire. This was the granting of an Indulgence which attaches to a Pilgrimage to the Holy Places in Palestine and the Seven Principal Churches of Rome. In the year 1490, at Ursula's instance, the Convent sent a petition to the Holy See at Rome for permission to install seven altars in the Convent cloister, so that by performance of the prescribed prayers at these, members of the Convent would become participants of the spiritual grace which attached to the Pilgrimages. On the 19th July following, Konrad von Bondorf, a Father of the Minorites and Theological Professor at Strassburg, who had attended a General Chapter of the Franciscan Order at Assisi as representative of the Father Provincial, and had subsequently visited Rome, returned to Villingen, and he was able to announce to the assembled Nuns in the Convent, who received him "with a hymn, the ringing of the bell, lighted candles, and the Sacred Emblems ", and to the aged Mother Ursula in her sick-chamber, that the Pope, Innocent VIII (1483-1492), had acceded to their request. The good Nuns ware deeply impressed by the fact that the Pope had recorded approval in his own handwriting on the parchment document of their petition. (Note: this document is still in existence, and on it is written in a different hand to the text; 'Fiat ut petitur'). In the year 1492 they laid the plan of the altars, which Ursula had "delineated on paper", before the Father Provincial Georg Sommer, for approval.

Ursula's life was now drawing to a close. The manuscript records the following:

"In the year of our Lord 1498 our beloved Mother was seized and beset by her last illness. She was not bedridden for long, but when she saw her last day of earthly life approaching she summoned all her hard-won spiritual children to her narrow cot, and took leave of them in motherly and cheerful affection, and said these last inspiring words to them. "My beloved spiritual children, I, your unworthy Mother, no longer will live among you, I exhort you to maintain your Holy Rule and Religious Order, and to bear love and friendship to one another, and to render obedience and honour to those who are set over you. Above all maintain diligence, love, and unabated zeal for the Service of God, by day and by night, and let my soul after its departure be in your keeping. I commend you to the protection and care of God ".

When she had spoken thus, all her beloved children broke into unrestrained weeping and lamentation. Indeed they all felt that their hearts would break if their dear Mother's presence were taken from them, and they expressed this feeling with pathetic grief, saying: "Beloved Mother, it will not be possible for us to bury you and maintain your grave according to our ritual, and that of our Order, if Heaven decrees that we shall not go with you ". But their compassion ate Mother comforted her weeping children with gentle words, and said "Beloved children, all things are possible with God, who will surely guide your hearts, so that after my spirit is gone there shall be little more weeping of tears, and you will able to do what is necessary peacefully and reverently, for my burial ". Then the beloved Mother with clear mind received all the Holy Sacraments of the Christian Church, and rendered up her pure and blameless soul into the blessed hands of her Creator, on the Day of St. Stephen the Martyr (20th Jan.) in the 18th year after the reformation of this Convent, and in the 85th year of her life. She was buried in her beloved Chapel of the Olive Mount, on the left-hand side, as she herself had wished."

At the beginning of the year 1591, the grave was opened and her skull was found, inscribed all over with large and beautiful lettering (from which it would appear that the grave had previously been opened at some earlier date), and again in the year 1688 it was re-opened.

The report on this says: "At the back of the cranium a swelling as large as half a hen's egg was found, which had probably been caused by a severe tumour of the bone. Further excavation in the Olive Mount Chapel was made, and the body of the deceased was then found, covered with lime; when the lime had been removed a pleasant odour was noticed, and all the bones were seen, in perfect order and corresponding with the skull. A spring of water was also found close by, and water from that was considered to be a remedy for many kinds of illness ".

In the year 1700, when this part of the Convent was pulled down and rebuilt, the Father Provincial, Anton Hammer, had the bones placed within a small copper casket, close to the altar of St. Anthony. In the present-day Church, which was reconstructed in 1737, the grave is near the altar on the right-hand side of the Chancel.

The St. Clare Convent at Villingen had to suffer many adverse blows of fortune, and the heaviest of these came in the year 1782, when, sacrificed to the new order of things then coming into force, it was secularised by Decree of the Emperor Josef II, together with all other Convents of religious meditation throughout the Austrian Empire. But it has not entirely ceased to exist, and in fact it survives yet at the present day. Although no longer constituted under the Rule of St.Clare, it flourishes in another function as a vigorous offshoot from the old stock, namely as an educational establishment conducted by the Ursulines. And it is noteworthy that in the modern Church there, reverent remembrance of the first Abbess who died in her holy calling , has not been wholly lost. The custom has continuously been maintained since her death, whereby during her Octave of 20th - 28th January, the residents in the Convent recite the 'Salve Regina' prayer after their evening meal, and during that period lighted lamps burn day and night on Ursula's tomb. And the

Sisters in the Convent still regard it as their duty to sing the 150th Psalm, (Laudate Dominum) daily throughout the year, as Ursula had ordained.

Note: The Edict of Toleration issued by the Emperor Josef II was really a fiscal measure. It furnished him with a moral title for dissolving religious institutions and confiscating their wealth. Within the Archduchy of Austria alone it yielded 12 1/2 million florins, the funds were intended to be used for making his Army the largest and most efficient in the world, and at all costs superior to that of Frederick the Great.

The actual wording of the Edict was as follows;

"The long existing evidence that those Orders which are entirely selfless cannot be pleasing to God, causes Me to order the Chancery to register in My Hereditary Dominions all those Institutions both for males and females which neither conduct Schools, nor care for the Sick, nor engage in Studies; their income and property, as in the case of the Jesuits, shall be taken over, and the individuals in them shall either be free (since they are not so numerous) to leave the country or to make application to the authorities to enter the secular Clergy. This is to apply to all the Carthusian, Camaldulensian and Eremite Orders, as well as to all the female Carmelites, Clarissians, Capuchins, etc, who do not educate the Young, maintain schools, or care for the Sick, and who, males as well as females, only lead a life of Meditation."

The money from these Orders was supposed to be utilised 'to benefit religion and benevolence'. There were at this date in the Austrian lands 2163 monasteries with almost 65,000 inmates. The property value was estimated at about 300 million florins. In the German lands (Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, and Austria) 309 institutions for males and 104 institutions for females, were suppressed. Altogether over 700 monasteries were abolished, and the numbers of monks and nuns were educed from 65,000 to 27,000. There remained however 1065 monasteries and 360 nunneries. Pope Pius VI (1775-1799) protested, but without effect.

**Note:** The Ursulines are a religious Order founded in 1535 by Angela Merici, primarily for the Education of Girls, and the Care of the Sick and Poor. The Order is under the Rule of St. Augustine, and the Patron St. Ursula is a legendary person supposed to have been martyred in early Christian times. At the present day, the Ursulines are similar to Sisters of Mercy.

"May the spirit of meditation and peace, the spirit of piety and devotion to God, the spirit of work and strenuous fulfilment of duty, still prevail in future in this House. Those indeed were the words of the last exhortation of that saintly Abbess who passed away 400 years ago, URSULA HAIDER." (*The above commemoratory tribute was written on the 400th Anniversary of her death, 20th January 1898, by Professor Dr. Roder of Ueberlingen*).



URSULA HAIDER Aebtissin zu St. Clara in Villingen geb. 1413 zu Leutkirch i. Allgäu gest. 20. 1. 1498 zu Villingen

So far as is known only one portrait of Ursula exists. It is in the Convent at Villingen and is a copy of an older painting. It represents the Abbess in prayer and by her intercession with the Mother of God, averting a terrible storm from the town of Villingen.

The Latin inscription on her tomb in the Convent Church can be translated as follows:

"Here lie the remains of the devoted Servant of God, Ursula Haider, First Abbess of the St. Clare Convent. In 1781 when the gracious Favour of Josef II permitted the Sisters of the secularised Convent of St. Clare to serve God and their Neighbours in this House according to the Ursuline Rule, this Inscription was made in Thankfulness by the last Abbess of St. dare, in Memory of Ursula first Abbess of this Convent, who interceded for us with God in that and other of our Necessities, as shown in the Picture which hangs above the Altar ".

It is noticeable that the mason who cut the inscription on the tomb has spelt the name as Hinder instead of Haider.

The following is a verse written by Ursula Haider:

**Greenfinch.** (Name of the Nun Cecile Bayer)

Greenfinch is my Name I am well known to You Children who serve God My Song helps to teach You Modesty and daily to increase in you, Virtue. So that You may Flourish Among the other Virgins Like the Flower which blooms In beautiful May.

(Taken from C, Greith's "German Mystics of the Dominican. Orders". published at Freiburg.1861.)



**Chapter VI** 



#### DER NÖRDLINGER AST

hierzu Tafel III A.

#### THE NORDLINGEN BRANCH. 1519 - 1868.

(Genealogical Table III A)

As previously mentioned, GEORG, son of JACOB II HAIDER of Ravensburg, went to Nordlingen, where on the Monday after All Saints' Day 1519, he received Burgher Rights. He was the founder of the extraordinarily prolific Nordlingen Branch of the Haider family.

Several of his descendants held office as Burgomasters of that town, thus, JORG HAIDER for the years 1569-1588, and his son CASPAR HAIDER, the apothecary, in 1606 and 1629. Their Armorial shields hang in the Parish Church (St. George's) at the present day.



St. George's Church. Built 1427-1505; remodelled 1877-87. The Tower ( called 'Daniel') is 295 ft high.

A Grant of Arms, dated at Augsburg 24th May 1566, was made by the Count Palatine Johann Ulrich Zasius to Burgomaster Jorg (Georg) Haider, and the Diploma for this is still preserved in the Town Archives at Nordlingen. The Arms are:

" On a field of gold, a blackamoor standing on the middlemost of 3 green hills, facing right and holding a shield and javelin. He wears a kilt of red and blue feathers and has 4 gold bands on his right arm. The Helm has black mantling lined with gold and the blackamoor rising from it, as Crest. "



(Note: A Count Palatine (comes palatinus) was originally a High Official at the Court of the Holy Roman Emperors. But at this later period, he was more usually the holder of an honorary Law Title which meant approximately 'Privy Councillor of the Emperor'. He had the Right to Grant Arms, at his discretion).

The brothers HANS, BALTHASAR, and TOBIAS HAIDER, also received a Grant of Arms, dated 8th May 1623, from the Count Palatine Kilian Reichert, but in their case the Arms are as follows:

" On a field of blue, standing on the middlemost of 3 green hills a whiskered Pagan wearing a conical red hat turned up with white, and a red tunic with silver collar and blue girdle, his arms partly and his legs wholly bare. He holds in his right hand an arrow with red & white feathers, in his left hand a bow, and on his back a quiver full of arrows. The Helm has blue mantling lined with gold and the Pagan rising from it, as Crest ".



Dated at Augsburg 26th March 1799, a confirmatory Grant of the earlier Arms of 1566, is given to JOHANN PHILIP HEYDER, Tinsmith and Saw Maker of Nordlingen, by the Count Palatine Zapf. According to his Arms, the Baron DE HAYDER of Munich, must also have originated from the Nordlingen branch of the family, for their Arms are granted to him for 'a special consideration of 600 florins', on 20th October 1719, by the Elector Maximilian Emmanuel of Bavaria. And they were also granted to JOHANN GEORG de HAYDER, Chancellor of the Bavarian Exchequer, presumably a son of the above, who in the year 1744 transferred from the Bavarian to Imperial service, and on 23rd October 1780 sealed his Will with the later (1623) Arms of the Nordlingen branch.

Connection with the Nordlingen branch is not so probable in the case of the HEYDER of the Bavarian Upper Palatinate who was ennobled in the year 1820 with the suffix 'VON VORBACH', and who on that occasion assumed the 1566 Arms of the Nordlingen Haiders, (vide Supplementary Notes P. 195 Chapter XVII).

No data are available concerning the majority of the members of the Nordlingen branch, but it is possible that many of them may have founded other branches elsewhere. Thus, we know that JOH. GOTTFRIED HEYDER, born at Nordlingen on 30th January 1745, moved to Merseburg and founded a family there on 27th November 1777. Approximately about this time too, GEORG FRIEDRICH HEYDER, born at Nordlingen on 11th Dee.1753, moved to Grossglogau and married there.

Most of the members of the Nordlingen branch were and continued to be craftsmen of various kinds, and only DANIEL. HAIDER, brother of the Burgomaster CASPAR, and son of the Burgomaster GEORG, and grandson of the JORG II HAIDER who originally went to Nordlingen from Ravensburg, studied at a University, and he later founded a very famous line of the Nordlingen branch, namely the von Haiders of Lindau, who were ennobled by the Emperor Ferdinand III.

Their history is given in the next Chapter.





The Play "1634" is performed in Nordlingen periodically. The scene portrays the Burgomaster of that year and his daughter, and Lt. Col. Daubnitz, Commander of the garrison.

Caspar Haider was Burgomaster in 1629, and in 1606. The staircase of the Rathaus was built in 1618.

"Unno 1634", 1. Utt – Der Rommandant von Nördlingen, Oberftleutnant Daubig begrüßt des Bürgermeifters Tochter Elfriede

Note: The Siege and Battle of Nordlingen, in the Thirty Years War, took place in the year 1634. In August of that year the town was garrisoned by 400 Swedish infantry under command of Lt. Col Erhard Daubnitz, a German Protestant. The town was besieged from 8th August to 27th August by the Catholic forces commanded by Archduke Ferdinand, King of Hungary and son of the Emperor Ferdinand II, who was joined towards the end of the month by Spanish and Italian troops under the Cardinal Infant Ferdinand, brother of King Philip IV of Spain, and the combined armies totalled about 35000 men. Protestant forces commanded by the Swedish Field Marshal Gustavus Horn, and Prince Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, totalling about 25000 men, endeavoured to relieve the town but were defeated by the Catholics on the hills S. of the town on 6th-September, and Nordlingen was surrendered.

**Chapter VII** 





#### DER LINDAUER ZWEIG DER FAMILIE HAIDER

VON HEIDER UND VON HEIDER ZU GITZENWEILER

hierzu Tafel III B.

# *The ennobled line of the NORDLINGEN branch, at LINDAU, 1601-1753.*

Von Heider and Von Heider zu Gitzenweiler. (Genealogical table III B)



Note; In all Towns, since the acceptance of Roman Law, the class of University Graduates in Law had come, through their indispensability to be considered as people of the first rank. Legal training was a necessary qualification for most of the important civic offices and greatly increased a man's chances of being elected to the Council. Doctors of Law enjoyed esteem as potential Councillors. They were of high importance in the development of German thought and literature, and they came to form a new 'Estate' between the landowning Nobility and the Merchants and better craftsmen.



Of all the Lindau families which have received high honour in their native Town, and of which some members have attained to an importance far transcending the limited sphere of local affairs, none have surpassed the Heider family.

As we have already seen, **GEORG HAIDER**, Cloth-weaver of Ravensburg, received Burgher Rights at Nordlingen on the Monday after All Saints' Day (7th Nov.) in the year 1519. His son, also named Georg and Cloth-weaver like his father, was Burgomaster of Nordlingen during the years 1569 to 1588. He died on 9th August of the latter year. His first wife was **Anna Lemp**, and after her death in 1561 he married as second wife, **Ursula widow of Wendel Lutz**, Town Clerk of Nordlingen. She belonged to a family named Ysenmann of Hall in Swabia. She died on 10th July 1581

The ninth child of this second marriage, **DANIEL**, was born on 13th November 1572, and he was the founder of the Lindau line of the Haider family.

When his father died in 1588, **DANIEL** was 16 years old, and his further education was undertaken by some relatives of his deceased mother, namely F. W. Lutz, Protestant Minister of Nordlingen, and Jacob Moser, Town Treasurer of Oetingen. He went to the Grammar School at Ulm, studied at Jena University in 1598, took his Degree as Doctor of Laws at Tubingen University in 1601, and on 13th September of that year was appointed as Advocate to the Town Council of Lindau.

From this time onward, until the death of **Dr. Gottlieb von Heider** on 16th June 1763, Daniel Heider and his descendants, for a continuous period of more than 150 years, devoted their services to the town of Lindau. From about the year 1628 onward a long-standing local dispute brought the Free Imperial Town of Lindau directly into the current of events of the Thirty Years War (1618-1649), and this afforded opportunity to Daniel for appearing publicly as the champion of his Town.

In the year 1275 the Emperor Rudolf I (the first Emperor of the Hapsburg dynasty) granted to Lindau the Rights of an Imperial Free Town, thus emancipating it from its original existence as an appendage of the Imperial Convent which had been established there) and in the year 1430 the Emperor Sigismund granted to the Town overlordship of the three hamlets of Aeschach, Hoyern, and Reutin, which had hitherto been part of the Convent's endowment, and thus the Town acquired a small hinterland of its own.

When, as an Imperial Free Town, Lindau embraced the Reformation in 1528, causes of dispute between the town and the Catholic Convent began to revive. In the year 1628, the Emperor Ferdinand II, whose armies were advancing victoriously and preparing for a third invasion of the Grisons country in the campaign for the Mantuan Succession, withdrew from the town of Lindau the overlordship of its little territory, and gave it to Count Hugo von Montfort. With the quartering of an Imperial garrison in Lindau, the infiltration of Catholic emissaries, and the arming of its townspeople this Free Imperial Town, owing to its strategic importance to the Austrians in their Vorarlberg campaign, seemed likely to suffer the same fate as befell Constance some 80 years previously (which lost its Rights as an Imperial Free Town in 1548), and more especially was this so when, in 1628, the overlordship of the 3 hamlets in the former Lindau territory was transferred to the Archduchess Claudia of Austria.

Note: War of the Mantuan Succession.



The Emperor Ferdinand II married as his second wife, Eleonora of Mantua (in N. Italy). Her father, the Duke of Mantua, died in 1628, and was succeeded by the French Duc de Nevers, his nearest relative. Ferdinand, at the instigation of Spain, sequestered the Mantuan Duchy, but this encountered opposition from the Pope, Urban VIII. However, Ferdinand sent his Imperial troops against the French Duke of Mantua in April 1628, and the Spaniards occupied the neighbouring Countship of Montferrat. The Pope took ecclesiastical action against Ferdinand, and amongst other things insisted that monastic lands should be given back to the Orders from which they had been taken, and not to the Jesuits. (Ferdinand was a Jesuit). The Mantuan crisis was the turning point of the Thirty Years War, for it precipitated the final division of the Catholic Church against itself, alienated the Pope from the Hapsburg dynasty, and made morally possible the calling in of Protestant allies by Catholic Powers, to redress the balance.

On March 6th 1629, Ferdinand II promulgated his Edict of Restitution, whereby the right of Protestants to buy Church land was denied, and the validity of all previous legal judgements in respect of Church land. The Imperial Free Towns all protested against this and Protestant pamphleteers issued broadsheets and protests everywhere.

From the 'The Thirty Years War' by C. V. Wedgewood. 1938.

**FIRE AT LINDAU TOWN HALL.** (from our correspondent.) MUNICH, Jan.29 1929.

A fire broke out early this morning in the Old Town Hall of Lindau, on Lake Constance. It was several hours before the flames could be extinguished, and in the meantime the Council Chamber had been partly destroyed, together with four historic paintings and a number of historical relics. The Old Town Hall of Lindau is over 500 years old, and is known for its facades and frescoes. The Municipal Museum, above the Council Chamber, which contains a collection of antiquities, was saved from the flames only with great difficulty.

In a treatise written during the years 1641-43, Dr. Daniel Heider makes an exposition of these abuses of power. The treatise is entitled "A detailed Exposition of.... the Imperial Grant which the Free Imperial Town of Lindau had by Right, to hold, use, and enjoy". In a previously compiled work entitled "The History of German Rights, being a detailed Examination of ancient Imperial Jurisdictions, comprising Hereditary Jurisdictions, Free Jurisdictions, and the Jurisdictions of the Free Imperial Towns, and also concerning the Religious Foundations and Convents ", which was published at Stuttgart in 1655 and republished at Ulm in 1732, Dr. Heider showed that he was an exceptionally able jurist and highly accomplished scholar, well versed in matters of historical research, and as the above Title sufficiently indicates, the subjects of his study were unusually profound for a writer of that period.

He discusses very fully the expenditures made by Religious Foundations in acquiring properties which, in view of the Towns' Rights as originally defined, belonged to the latter and were illegally got by the Convents, and he gives an interpretation of the 'Ancient Privileges of the Religious Foundation at Lindau ' which subsequently was a cause of the long dispute known as the 'Bellum diplomaticum Lindaviense ', originating from his writings of this period.

Besides serving the interests of his own town, Dr. Heider on various occasions placed his knowledge and skill at the disposal of nearly all the Free Imperial Towns in Swabia, and he was their most energetic representative in the Towns Assembly at the Diet of Worms.

Early in the year following his appointment as Advocate to the Lindau Town Council, Daniel married (23rd January 1602) Elisabeth, daughter of the Burgomaster Valentin Funk von und zu Senftenau, who held office that year. (Senftenau was a country-house about a mile N. of Lindau). Through this marriage he became a member of the leading patrician society of the town, the "Sunfzen" or Patricians' Guild and he was given command of the Company of Foot Soldiers which that body raised during the Thirty Years War, By his marriage he also became jointowner of the country-houses of Senftenau and Ganerbe. He was moreover a trusted Advocate of the Emperor Ferdinand II, and after the latter's death, his son Ferdinand III granted to Daniel a Diploma of Hereditary Nobility, dated at Augsburg 26th April 1641, with the right to assume the Style (suffix) of his territorial property This Diploma of Nobility is now in the Royal Archives at Munich.

A portrait of Dr. Daniel, which shows his fine head and his large reddish moustachios and beard, hangs in the Museum at Lindau. He died on 1st February 1647, whilst the town was still besieged by the Swedes.



#### DANIEL VON HEIDER

\* 13. 11. 1572 in Nördlingen † 1. 2. 1647 in Lindau

The inscription placed by the 'Senatus Populusque Lindaviensis' on his memorial in the Protestant Church of St. Stephen, pays honourable tribute to his merit and services. It reads as follows:



" D. O. M. S. Nobilissimo Juris Consulto Danieli Heideri Caesaris Majest. Consiliario Syndico Imp. Lindav: in quo judicium cum industria, doctrina cum experientia, pietas cum comitate, semper certarunt; ob eximia ejus, ac duorum filiorum, paternae gloriae Aemiliorum pariterque Syndicorum in Remp. Merita M. H. P. C. S. P. Q. L. ".

Dr. Daniel had eleven children; -

- 1. URSULA, born 1604, died 1682. Married David Konig of Kempten.
- 2. VALENTIN, born 25th March 1605. (See below)
- 3. SUSANNA, born 1606, died 1632. Married in 1625 Abraham Rehm;,

Doctor of Laws at Augsburg.

- 4. GOTTFRIED, died in infancy.
- 5. DANIEL, born 15th July 1609. (See below)
- 6. JACOB, born 30th April 1611. (See below)

7. **ELISABETH**, born 24th October 1612. Married **Christian Rudolfi** who was born at Erfurt, & was Doctor of Laws, Kaufbeuren.

8. GOTTFRIED, born 28th March 1615. Drowned in France in 1632, a.17.

9. CATHARINA, born 11th November 1616, died 1664. Married Engelhard Kurtz a Senftenau, at Lindau.

10. MARGARETHE, born 15th June 1620, died in childhood.

11. A boy who died in infancy.

The portraits of the whole family are shown on Dr. Daniel's Memorial in St. Stephens's Church at Lindau.



The third son, DANIEL, who was born on 15th July 1609, devoted his services entirely to his native town, and from 1666 until his death on 10th March 1681, he was Magistrate and Burgomaster. He married **Anna Eckolt**, who was born in 1613 and died 22nd December 1675, and by her had four children:

(1) AMADEUS, born 1649, died in infancy, and

(2) ELISABETH, his twin sister, born and died 1649.

(3) HELENE, born 22nd May 1651, died 1689. She married in 1676 Joh.

Matth. Rader who was subsequently Burgomaster of Lindau, born 1654, died 1719.

(4) **ELISABETH** born 5th October 1652, died 11th November 1708. She married **Gottfried von Amman**, Imperial Councillor, Patrician of Augsburg, and Commissioner for the Free Towns, born 1647, died 1716.

Excellent mezzotint portraits of these two sons-in-law of Daniel are still in existence.

Owing to the fact that the family of Daniel's wife (Eckolt or Eggolt) used a bird (dove) for their Arms, and combined also with the fact that the Heider family had a country-house called 'Die Lerchen' (The Skylarks) about 1/2 mile N. of Lindau, it has been incorrectly assumed in some genealogical workg, that the family styled themselves 'Heider von Lerchen', and a skylark was portrayed as their Crest. But that apart from that depiction of Arms, no evidence has yet been found, despite a very thorough search, that the family ever styled themselves 'Heider von Lerchen'.

Note: The Siege of Lindau, in the Thirty Years War.

The people of Lindau, as in all the Imperial Free Towns of Swabia, were mainly Protestant in their sympathies, and for that reason the Emperor Ferdinand II, head of the Catholic Powers, decided to maintain a garrison of his Imperial troops in Lindau, and that garrison remained there throughout the War. In 1620 he deprived Lindau of Magisterial Rights. During the years 1644-48 when the Westphalian Peace Congress was sitting at Munster and Osnabruck, sporadic war continued. In the summer of 1646 the Swedish Marshal, Count Karl Gustav Wrangel, led the Swedes in a victorious campaign against Bavaria, in co-operation with the French under Turenne. Johann von Werth, general of Maximilian of Bavaria who represented the Catholic Powers, gradually stemmed that advance, but it was not until April 1647 that the Swedes suspended their campaign, and agreed to a truce. The Swedish siege of the town of Lindau, January - March 1647, was part of the above operations. The Imperial garrison in Lindau under Count Waldburg, beat off frequent violent attacks on the town, until the Swedes eventually withdrew.
In the old Lindau Cemetery situated at Aeschach (closed in 1912), on the wall, to the left as one enters, the Memorial of Daniel Heider the Burgomaster, is still to be seen in perfect condition, together with that of his wife, and the heraldic Arms of both are portrayed on these Memorials. It is said that the remains of other members of the Heider family, including those of Dr. Daniel Heider (d. 1647) and Dr. Valentin Heider (d. 1664), also lie here, and that the latter's remains were brought here from their original resting place in St. Stephen's Church.

The fourth son of Dr. Daniel, **JACOB Heider**, was born on 30<sup>th</sup> April 1611, and died in the year 1655. Like his father, after completing his studies, he became Advocate to the Town Council of Lindau. and was a Doctor of Laws and Count Palatine (see note p. 43). He rendered a notable service to posterity by keeping a detailed and extremely interesting Diary throughout the siege of Lindau by the Swedes, 19th Dec.1646 (O. S. ) to 28th Feb. 1647 (O. S. ), and this Diary has been published by Reinwald in the Transactions of the Lake Constance Historical Society, Vol.1, 1872 (Verein fur Geschichte des Bodensees).

Jacob Heider married, probably at Kempten, **Sabina Dorner**, a member of a patrician family of that town, and by her he had 7 children

(1) **SABINA**, born 2nd June 1641. Married **Michael Praun**, Electoral Councillor of Bavaria and Wurttemberg.

(2)  $\ensuremath{\mathsf{DANIEL}}$  , born 1642, died 1702, unmarried. He too was Burgomaster of Lindau.

(3) **ELISABETH**, born 1644, died 1682. She married **Michael Kesel** at Kempten.

(4) **JOHANNES HEINRICH**, born 1645, died 1669 at Kiel, where he was studying Theology.

(5) URSULA, born 1647, died in Infancy.

(6) **JACOBUS**, born 1649, died 1696 at Vienna, where he was an Imperial Councillor, and Administrator of Quicksilver. He married **Susanna Maria von Scheidlin**, a member of the Lindau branch of that Swiss family. By her he had four children:

(a) **DANIEL ANDREAS**, born 1st Jan.1697, and apparently died young.

(b) **HELENE**, born 14th Sept.1699. She married **Christian von** Schubert in Vienna,

(c) **MARIA SUSANNA**. She married a **Von Praun** who was a Government Agent in Vienna,

(d) JOH. JACOB. He died unmarried at Regensburg in 1744.

(7) **SUSANNA**, born 1652, died 8th March 1685 at Leutkirch. Her husband was **Philipp Melchior Seller**, treasurer of that town.

The eldest son of Dr. Daniel, and the most distinguished member of the family, was **Dr. VALENTIN HEIDER**, who was born on 25th March 1605, at Lindau, and died there on 28th November 1664, and he like his father was an Advocate, and Doctor of Laws etc. He and his father have always been known as the great Heiders, and they rightly deserved that appellation.

VALENTIN began his studies at Strassburg, then went to Tubingen University, took his Degree at Altdorf University, and later spent some time at Vienna, and also enlarged his knowledge by visiting many places in France. In the year 1634 he was appointed Syndic (Recorder) of his native town, Lindau, and also about this date, Privy Councillor to the Duchy of Wurttemberg (Duke Eberhard III), and in 1635 he went to the Hungarian Court as Delegate from Lindau.

From then onward he continued almost without intermission to represent Lindau and other Free Imperial Towns of Swabia, at the Provincial Diets. It was in that capacity that he attended the Diet at Nurnberg (1636), and the Diet at Regensberg (1640-41), etc. But it was from the year 1645 onward that he entered upon activities which raised him from the position of being merely a local representative, to that of being a leading protagonist of the entire German Protestant movement. Thenceforward he represented the Free Imperial Towns of Lindau (pop. 6000), Kempten (30001, Esslingen (11000), Hall, Nordlingen (7000), Weissenburg (6000), Leutkirch (6000), etc, in the Swabian Protestant cause at the Peace Congress at Osnabruck, and at Nurnberg, and in the year 1649 he was also acting as Delegate for the Duchy of Wurttemberg.

His first wife was **Margarethe Pfister-Kreidemann**, who died in 1645, and whilst still afflicted by that bereavement, and leaving his two small children at home, he set out with heavy heart, to attend the Westphalian Peace Congress, where we next take note of his activity.

There he was pre-eminent among the Delegates, owing to his ability and energy, and more especially to the untiring enthusiasm with which he "directed the hesitant and wavering Protestant Delegates and repeatedly reviving their zeal for their cause, inspired them to further endeavours".

Meiern in his work "Acta executionis pacis Westphalicae", Vol. I, p. 56, praises the outstanding ability and sagacity of Valentin Heider, and mentions also that the highest appointments were offered to this Lindau Delegate, and that he could, if he wished, have become a Privy Councillor of the Empire, or a Judge of the Supreme Court, and that a King, three Princes, and four of the most important Imperial Free Towns, desired his services.

He must indeed have been a man of outstanding personality.

Note: The Peace of Westphalia which ended the Thirty Years War (1618-48 The Congress which negotiated the Peace was in session for four years, 1644-48. Sweden and the German Protestants sat at Osnabruck, and the Emperor Ferdinand III, the French, and the German Catholics, sat at Munster. There were about 150 Delegates at the Congress Apart from the settlement of territorial demands made by both sides, the main point of difference at the Congress concerning religious Right was that the Catholics claimed all land which the Church held in 1627, whilst the Protestants demanded a return to the position of 1618. Eventually they compromised, accepting the situation as at 1624. The Edict of Restitution promulgated by the Emperor Ferdinand II in 1629 was shelved forever.

The chief of the two Swedish plenipotentiaries at Osnabruck was Johann Oxenstierna, who had no claim to his position at all save that of being son of the Swedish Chancellor, Axel Oxenstierna; he was a large red-faced, and rather stupid man, easily rattled, very haughty, and too fond of wine & women. He signalised the hours of his rising, dining, & retiring at the Congress, by a fanfare of trumpets which could be heard all over Osnabruck. His subordinate, Johann Adler Salvius, was one of the few comparatively able men at the Congress, determined, clear-headed resourceful, and with a pleasant humour. Johann Oxenstierna was said to be against Peace because it would diminish his own and his father's importance. But Salvius had instructions from Queen Christina of Sweden to prevent him from needlessly holding up the negotiations; he Had her word for it that any peace would be pleasing to her, regardless of the private or public wishes of the Oxenstiernas, father and son.

The final signing of the Peace after the long years of negotiation, was greeted by 3 successive salvoes from 70 canon ranged on the walls of Monster. (Extracts from 'The Thirty Years War' by C. V. Wedgewood).

During his stay in Westphalia, Dr. Valentin received news of his father's death (1st Feb. 1647), and a further Job's Post informed him that the Swedes besieging Lindau (Jan-March 1647) had established their headquarters in his country-house (The Skylarks) at Aeschach, and from that it seemed likely that he would lose all his worldly possessions. (see note re siege of Lindau) But Valentin was not dismayed, and on receipt of these tidings, he wrote:

" I can face all these losses with resignation provided that I am permitted to attain success in more important matters ".

Count Johann Oxenstierna, and Johann Adler Salvius, (the Swedish plenipotentiaries at Osnabruck) evinced lively sympathy with him at all their joint interviews, and finally after prolonged negotiation, Valentin Heider was successful in getting his Article of the Peace Treaty drawn up in the form prescribed by Herwart, and on 23/24th March the 'Gravamina Ecclesiastica' (concerning Religious Right) clause of the Treaty was duly signed.

What had at first seemed unattainable had now, owing to Valentin's steadfast insistence, become an accomplished fact. It is in no spirit of boastfulness that he says;

" I swear before Almighty God that if this matter had been one concerning only my own children, friends, or clients, I certainly could not have persevered with it for so long. I do not wish to advertise my efforts, but my Chief, and please God, very many Protestants, both at the Congress and outside it, will doubtless affirm that they were astonished at the way in which Heaven aided me to stand immovable against the many difficulties, obstructions, and attacks, which continuously assailed me from all sides ".

In May 1647 Valentin Heider became betrothed to **Margarethe Elisabeth Gloxin**, daughter of his colleague David Gloxin, Doctor of Medicine, who was the Delegate for the town of Lubeck, at the Congress. He married her on 13th July of that year, and the Protestants of Augsburg testified their appreciation and gratitude for his services by giving him a handsome wedding present.

His wife Margarethe Elisabeth was born on 29th August 1629, at Lubeck, and she died on June 1671, at Augsburg.

The town of Lindau had already recognised his services by presenting to him the country-house at Aeschach called 'The Skylarks'. Now, on Saturday 24th October 1648, when the Peace of Westphalia was finally signed at Munster, they presented to him a large medallion and collar-chain of gold.



### Dr. VALENTIN VON HEIDER

\* 25. März 1605 in Lindau † 28. Novemb. 1664 in Lindau



### MARG. ELIS. VON HEIDER geb. Gloxinus

\* 29. August 1629 in Lübeck

† 25. Juni 1671 in Augsburg

During the year 1649 Valentin Heider was busily engaged at Nurnberg (note: this further Congress at Nurnberg lasted about two years and was concerned with disbandment of the Armies and the contributions to be levied on the country during the progress of disbandment), and it was not until 1652 that he finally returned home to Lindau. His first task there was to rebuild his country-house which had been bombarded into ruins during the siege, and that house now stands today in the form, more or less, in which he rebuilt it. There is a tablet inside, inscribed as follows:

" Soli deo gloria. Aedes haesce a Sueccio Exercitu in anno 1647 obsessa pene dirutas, post in anno 1652 ex Westfalica et Norico conventu reversi ita repararunt Valentinus Heider, Doctor Serenissimo Duce Wurttemb. et Reip. Lindav. a Consiliis, et Marg. Elis. Gloxina Lubicensis Conjuges ".

On the left of the inscription are the Heider Arms, and on the right the Gloxin Arms. In addition to this tablet, there is also in the house a large wooden shield with the Heider Arms painted on it in oils, and also two splendid life-size oil paintings, in a very good state of preservation, which apparently portray the Emperor Ferdinand III and his Consort, Anna Maria, daughter of Philip III of Spain, and it is very probable that these portraits were presented to Valentin Heider by the Emperor after the signing of the Peace of Westphalia.

The 'Skylarks' country-house subsequently passed into the possession of the Spengelin family, and from them it was purchased by a Jacob Weber. His son Martin Weber succeeded to it, and the present-day owner is Wilhelm Wilhalm, a son-in-law of Martin Weber. This family preserves the historical relics mentioned above with the greatest care and reverence.

In the Nordlingen Museum, there is an old bit of heraldic painting on glass, showing Dr. Valentin Heider's Arms, dated 1658. There is a magnificent Memorial to him, of great artistic merit, in the Protestant Church of St. Stephen at Lindau, placed there by his wife.

His portrait is in a medallion above the Memorial, and the inscription below reads:

"D. O. M. S. Rarae eruditionis, vitaeque probitate maxime conspicuo viro, Dn. Valentino Heidero juris consulto celeberrimo, Reip. Lindaviensis Consiliario et Syndico fidelissimo, ejusdemque, nec non aliorum evangelicorum statuum et rerum publicarum in universalis Germaniae pacis tractatibus Legato, de singulis optime merito paternarum virtutum, fidei et amoris in patriam maxime aemulo, prosingulari constantique, in pie defunctum adfectione constanda, monumentum hocce pont curavit ejusdem Vidua Margareta Elisabetha Reip. Lubencis P. T. Consulis Davidis Gloxini filia"



Herr von Pfister, Councillor of Commerce at Munich, who is a collateral descendant of Valentin's first wife, possesses two recently restored oil paintings of Valentin Heider and that wife.

At Lindau, proposals have been made on various occasions to erect a Memorial to Valentin Heider, one of the most distinguished of all her sons, but no action has yet been taken to effect this. However, on the occasion of the restoration of the Town Hall (Built in the years 1422-36, remodelled in German Renaissance

Style in 1578, and restored in 1885-7) a medallion portrait of Valentin Heider was placed on the south facade of the building.

(Note: the other medallion portraits on that facade are those of Count Waldburg, commander of the Imperial garrison in Lindau during the siege of 1647, and of Archbishop Berthold of Mainz, President of the Imperial Diet).



Valentin Heider had eleven children by his first wife, all of whom died young except two, viz:

1. JOHANN ANDREAS, born 6th January 1639. (See below)

2. ELISABETHA, born 29th March 1640, died in 1707. She married:

firstly: **Dr. Georg Gottfried Wagner**, Delegate for the town of Esslingen, born 30th October 1631.

secondly: **Dr. Joh. Balth. von Rhauw**, from Neustadt in Silesia. Delegate far the town of Esslingen, and Wurttemberg Councillor, born 15th April 1645, died 3rd May 1709.

By his second wife, Valentin Heider had eight children, viz:

1. MARIA CHRISTINA, born 16th May 1652 at Frankfort-on-Main. Married **Dr. Jacob Kolb** of Augsburg.

2. EBERHARD, died in 1714. Married at Augsburg on 14th September 1675 Sabina Koch von Gailenbach; of Augsburg. Lived at Lubeck.

3. a daughter, born and died at Osnabruck.

4. MARG. CHRISTINA, born and died at Nurnberg.

5. MARG. CHRISTINA, born at Lindau. Went to Frankfort-on-Main.

6. MARIA ELISABETHA, died young.

7. JOH. JACOB, died young.

8. DAVID AUGUST, born 8th August at Lindau, died 22nd August 1707 at

Kaufbeuren. He married, firstly: on 3rd December 1680 at Tubingen, **Maria Clara Bayer** (born 23rd June 1658 at Speyer, died 28th March 1695 at Kaufbeuren). He married secondly; in 1695, **Cath. Urs. von Furtenbach**. Children by first marriage were:

(a) Joh. David, b. 1682, d. 1706, as a Law student.

(b) Maria Regina, b. 1684, d. 1689. By second marriage:

(c) Valentin, b. 3rd March 1687, d. 4th April 1688.

JOHANN ANDREAS, the eldest son of Dr. Valentin Heider, was born on 6th January 1639, and he died on 28th June 1719. He studied Law and became a Doctor of Laws and Advocate to the Town Council of Lindau, and a Privy Councillor in the Duchy of Wurttemberg (Duke Eberhard IV). His portrait is in the collection shown in the Royal Library at Stuttgart. In addition to the above appointments, Johann Heider had annual contracts as Legal Counsel to several of the smaller Free Imperial Towns, thus on 10th February 1674 we find him as Counsel for the Town of Leutkirch, who paid him 30 florins at Candlemas in that year, and in connection with such work he prepared numerous Legal Opinions. His activities ware however confined almost entirely to local affairs. On 23rd March 1708 he received a confirmatory Grant and Augmentation of Arms.

Johann Andreas Heider married, probably in the year 1669, **Anna Regina von Ebertz** of Isny, member of a well-known patrician family of that town, and by her he had twelve children: -

1. DANIEL, born 27th May 1670, died 13th September 1700. Unmarried.

2. MARGARETHA, born 1672, died 1673.

3. ELISABETH, born 13th July 1673. Married firstly: in 1701, Joh. Mich.

Rader, who died in 1717. Secondly: on 25th October 1723, Abrah. Radar, Doctor of Medicine, and Burgomaster Lindau.

4. JOH. VALENTIN, born 10th October 1675, died 20th October 1676.

- 5. JOH. VALENTIN, born 29th January 1677, died 1679.
- 6. ANNA REGINA, born 3rd September 1678, died 23rd October 1705.
- 7. GOTTLIEB, born 24th December 1679. (See below)

8. MARIA MAGDALENA, born 18th September 1681, died in 1714. Married at Coburg, 24th October 1709, Joh. Leonhardi Fehlhorn, Regimental Serjeant-major of Cavalry.

9. SUSANNA, born 18th May 1683, died in 1706. Married, in 1702, Friedr Philipp Bilger, Doctor of Medicine at Esslingen.

10. JULIANE, born 5th April 1695, died in 1696.

- 11. JULIANE, born 25th November 1696.
- 12. POTENTIA, born in October 1699, and died the same year.



### Dr. GOTTLIEB VON HEIDER

\* 24. 12. 1679 in Lindau † 16. 6. 1753 in Lindau

The seventh child of the above **GOTTLIEB von HEIDER**, Doctor of Laws, was born on 24th December 1679, and died on 16th June 1753, at Lindau. Following the family tradition, he studied Law and entered the service of his native town in that profession. He styled himself 'Theophil', and with the full name of 'Heider von and zu Gitzenweiler', the right to assume a territorial suffix having been granted to him in a Diploma of Nobility which is now in the Royal Archives at Munich.

(Note: Gitzenweiler, or Gotzenweiler, is a grazing-farm about 4 miles NE of Lindau, which is mentioned as early as the year 1384. At the beginning of the 17th Century it was in the possession of a family named 'Reichlin zu Gitzenweiler' who held it as a freehold granted to them by the Town of Lindau. It is not known how the property came into the possession of the Heider family, but it seems that Johann Andreas Heider acquired it about the year 1700).

Gottlieb von Heider was Senior Burgomaster of Lindau, and President of the Church and School Councils. During his lifetime the great dispute between the Patricians of Lindau and the Trade Guilds of the town, occurred. Gottlieb von Heider, together with Thomas Weltz, was the leader of the Patricians.

**Note:** When the Trade Guilds demanded political authority in the towns proportionate to their numbers and importance, many of the wealthy old Patrician families, which had always had much in common with the Lesser Nobility in their ways of life and general outlook, converted their fortunes into landed estates and deprived the Towns of their capital and brains, and were often imitated in this by the more successful merchants.

In the course of the dispute, numerous compromises were made by both sides, but the Patricians did not succeed in staying the march of progress. Eventually the causes of dispute died gradually away, and one hears no more of it during the subsequent history of Lindau as a Free Imperial Town.



In the year 1730, the 'Sunfzen', or Patricians Guild, on the occasion of the Jubilee of the Augsburg Confession, had a medallion struck, on the face of which the Arms of

the 13 Patrician Families, together with the Arms of the Town, are grouped around the Imperial Eagle. On the obverse, are the Arms of the 'Sunfzen' or Patricians' Guild.

Among those family Arms, the Heiders' are in the second place on the righthand side. Their Arms, similarly placed, are also to be seen at the present-day, on the north facade of the old Town Hall at Lindau, and on the two old shields of Arms which still hang in the stairway of what was formerly the house of the Patricians' Guild.

Amongst the Church plate in the Protestant Church of St. Stephen at Lindau, there is a silver christening mug which shows the Heider Arms, and there is an inscription on it recording that Gottlieb (Theophilus) de Heyder in the year 1744 rediscovered this vessel, which had been originally presented to the Church by his grandfather Valentin Heider, and had later become lost, and that he had it repaired and again handed it into the keeping of the Church. There is also a silver crucifix in the Church, on which the Heider Arms are engraved, and that together with a large Altar Bible were probably gifts from the Heider family. Dr. Gottlieb von Heider was three times married, but had no children from any of his marriages. He married firstly, in 1706, **Anna Bilge Stack** of Goppingen, secondly, **Susanna Elis. Helfferich**, who was born on 20th April 1690, and lastly, on 4th September 1736, **Marie Elisa Strauss**, widow of Christian Peter Schilling, Doctor of medicine at Rothenburg-on-Tauber.

He died on 16th June 1753, the last of his line, and on 18th June he was buried in the grave of the Heider family. The epitaph is from Romans III, 23: "For there is no difference. For all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God ".

Grants of Arms and Augmentation of Arms for the Heider family of Lindau:

- 24.5.1566. Grant of Arms for Georg Haider, Burgomaster of Nordlingen. Given by the Count Palatine Josh. Ulrich Zasius, at Augsburg. (Nordlingen Museum)
- 26.4.1641. Diploma of Hereditary Nobility for Dr. Daniel Heider of Lindau and his sons Valentin and Jacob. Given by the Emperor Ferdinand III. (Royal Archives at Munich)
- 23.3.1708. Confirmation and Augmentation of Arms for Joh. Andreas von Heider, Dav. August. von Heider, and Joh. Jacob von Heider. Given by the Emperor Josef I and signed by Friedr. Karl, count von Schonborn. (Royal Archives at Munich).



### Chapter VIII.



# DIE EHEM. REICHSSTADT LEUTKIRCH.

### KURZER ABRISS IHRER GESCHICHTE.

### LEUTKIRCH, THE FORMER FREE IMPERIAL TOWN.

A BRIEF HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF LEUTKIRCH, A FREE IMPERIAL TOWN.



From Matthew Merian's 'Topographia sueviae' (page 117). Published at Frankfort-on-Main in 1643. Note on Matthew Marian (1593-1650).

He was a Swiss engraver, born at Basle. In 1618 he married a daughter of J. T. de Bry, publisher, of Frankfort-on-Main. In 1623 he took over his fathers-in-law's business, which remained then in the Merian family until 1726, when a great fire destroyed it. In 1625 Merian became a Burgher of Frankfort-on-Main. He published a series of 'Topographia'. The text was by Martin Zeiller, an Austrian, and the copperplate illustrations were furnished chiefly by Merian. He also published a series of illustrations of the Bible in 1625-30, and in 1635 he began the series 'Theatrum Buropeum'.

### The history of Leutkirch

From about the year 1400 until the year 1796, that is for a period of some 400 years, the Free Imperial Town of Leutkirch was the home of the Haider family, and it is therefore appropriate to give here a brief summary of that Town's history.

The undulating tract of country which was called by the Romans Rhaetia Secundus, corresponds in general to the later geographical area known as the Allgau (see note p. 2), and more especially to the parts of that area known as Nibelgau and Argengau.

About A. D. 500, Theodoric, King of the Ostrogoths, introduced into all that territory a part of the Alemannic peoples who were known as Suevi or Swabians, who were moved from country further North.

Alemannic settlements were not in the form of enclosed villages, but each individual family had its own homestead on its own separate area of land. (Note: this too was the type of the Saxon settlements in England.) For the purposes of assembly, conference, dispensation of justice, and general administration, there were certain meeting centres or folk-moots. In the Nibelgau district (roughly corresponding to an English Hundred), the folk-moot for all secular and religious affairs was held at a place called 'Ufhova' (in German, Oberhofen, meaning Upper Farm). Although the name Oberhofen has now disappeared from the district there is still a place called Niederhofen, a small hamlet midway between the town of Leutkirch and the hamlet of Lauben. The first recorded mention of the place 'Ufhova' occurs in a document which is dated at St. Gall Abbey 15th May 820.

In contradistinction from the private Chapels owned by the feudal nobility, Churches for public worship (ecclesiae publicae) arose at an early date, and were called in German 'Leutkirche', that is Churches of the Free People. It can be readily supposed that one of these Churches was erected at the place called 'Ufhova' where the folk-moot of the Nibelgau district was held, and at a very early date the name of this place 'Ufhova' was changed to 'Liutkirichin' (thus written in the years 827 and 843), that is to say Leutkirch, or the Church of the Freemen (living on the Heath).

It has been stated in a previous Chapter (p. 17) that as early as the year 797 the names of 19 people, and in the year 824 of 17 people, who belonged to Leutkirch, are mentioned in the documents at St. Gall Abbey

The town of Leutkirch, which was in a favourable situation and had its own defences, began at an early date to free itself from the overlordship of the Counts of the district, and to assert its independence. As elsewhere, this process of liberation was obtained by long continuing struggles. However, by the year 1293 matters had progressed so far that on 29th January of that year the King, Adolf of Nassau, granted to the town the 'Lindau Right', by virtue of which the Burghers of the town were freed from all feudal exactions, such as the 'Blood-Money', which was a levy upon a district in which any member of the feudal nobility happened to be killed, etc. But for a long time to come, Leutkirch did not attain the status of a Free Imperial Town, and the Count of the district still held the Jurisdiction in the town. A great hindrance to the gaining of independence was the fact that in the year 1311 the Emperor, Heinrich VII of Luxemburg, mortgaged the town to one Diethelm von Castell, a Thurgau knight who held the Overlordship of Upper Swabia, and he in

turn endeavoured to re-mortgage the farms of the Leutkirch Burghers in order to raise money to pay his own debts. However, in the next year, 1312, the Emperor Heinrich forbade this action, and in the year 1332 the next Emperor, Ludwig the Bavarian, renewed that prohibition. That Emperor also granted to the Burghers, on 29th February 1336, a particular Right whereby no man could bring them before the Imperial Supreme Court unless their town Magistrate had refused to dispense justice.

From that year onward the Burghers were released from the Jurisdiction of the Count of the district, and also from the Jurisdiction of the Imperial Court of Assize on Leutkirch Heath (see p. 15), and they had their own Town Court in which justice was dispensed by an Imperial Magistrate. In the year 1348 the Emperor Charles IV of Luxemburg (successor of Ludwig) not only confirmed the above Right, but also promised that the town should never be pledged for money or alienated from his own direct overlordship. As the town was in fact at that time already mortgaged to the Counts von Montfort, this seems to have been a somewhat hollow promise.

Note: The Council of a Free Town enjoyed the same rights and privileges as a Territorial Prince, though under much stricter supervision by the Imperial authority. Its Delegates represented the Town in the Reichstag (Diet of the Emperor) and Kreistag (Diet of the Province). It made laws, levied tolls and taxes, and could mint its own coinage. It administered Justice, and after the Reformation was responsible for the government of the established Church. The Towns however had actually little real power in the Reichstag. Even in the middle of the 16th Century they were heard only after the other sections had come to agreement. Their governments were apt to become reactionary, and the Town Council frequently consisted of two bodies that relieved each other at intervals, and filled vacancies from 'Ratsfahige Geschlechter' (Patrician Families). There were in many Towns hereditary posts, and even where this was not so, offices were chiefly valued for the pecuniary gain they involved, the reversion of every kind of office being a valuable form of legacy. The paid officials who replaced the older voluntary ones, especially after the spread of Roman Law, were often lawyers, and Jurists assumed important functions in almost all Towns and were often members of the Council, as experts. These remarks apply to conditions reached in the 18th Century.

In a further decree dated at Frankfort-on-Main in September 1366, the Emperor Charles IV re-affirms the Right held by the town, and also offers to it the privilege of joining the Alliance of Free Imperial Towns. Finally, in some year of the late 14th Century which cannot be precisely ascertained, Leutkirch instituted a Burgomaster to preside over its Town Council, and the functions of the Imperial Magistrate were confined thenceforward solely to dispensing Justice in the Town Law Court. The institution of Trade Guilds in the town also dates from about that time, and at Leutkirch they were composed of craftsmen and traders only, as there were no Patrician families in the town. During the Middle Ages there were four of these Trade Guilds and later on their number was increased to eight.

Further decrees of Imperial protection were granted in the year 1370 by the Emperor Charles IV, and then by his son King Wenzel the Fool, (note: not to be

confused with King Wenzel or Wenceslas of the Christmas Carol, who was King of Bohemia 925-929). Wenzel granted to Leutkirch the right to raise its own taxes and apply the proceeds. But the year 1397 was a particularly important one for in that year King Wenzel pledged the Imperial Magistrate's office to the town, against a payment of 200 Pfund Heller (about £200), and thus it obtained the Right of Capital Jurisdiction. It is true that this pledge only ran for a period of six years, but in 1401, before that period had elapsed, Wenzel's successor, King Rupprecht III (of the Palatinate) renewed the pledge, and later, in 1431, the Emperor Sigismund granted the Right in perpetuity. With the grant of that Right, Leutkirch became a Free Imperial Town.

The administrative system, until the town lost its independence in the year 1802, consisted of three Colleges, namely the Inner Council, the Court of Justice, and the Common Council. The Inner Council comprised the two Burgomasters, the Magistrate, three Aldermen, and nine Councillors. A Legal Advocate was attached to the Council, and he had a vote in its proceedings. The Burgomasters took office in alternate years. The Court of Justice consisted of the Magistrate and twelve Jurors. The Common Council consisted of ten Burghers, but it was only summoned on occasions of special importance, and for the annual election of the Inner Councillors. On Oath Day which originally was on the last day of December, but subsequently was altered to 21st September, all the Burghers of the town were assembled. The emblem on which the hand was placed for the swearing of the Oath (of allegiance to the Emperor?) is still preserved in the entrance to the Town Hall. As already mentioned, the acquisition by Leutkirch in 1431 of the Right of Capital Jurisdiction was the final attribute of its status as a Free Imperial Town. At the Imperial Diet in Augsburg in the year 1500 the Emperor Maximilian I incorporated Leutkirch in the Swabian Towns Assembly of 28 Towns, and there it occupied the twenty-first Seat, between Isny and Wimpfen. (Leutkirch at that date had about 4000 inhabitants).

The town originally had to pay an annual sum of 100 Pfund Heller in Imperial and Agricultural Taxes. But in the year 1417 52 Pfund Heller were abated, leaving the annual assessment at 48 Pfund Heller. In later days the contribution to the Imperial Exchequer was only 21 florins, plus a Council Licence of 42 Reichstaler (63 florins) and a contribution of 14 florins to the Swabian Towns Assembly.

The military contingent was six foot-soldiers and one horse-soldier. At an early date the Towns formed joint alliances for preservation of their interests, and for the purposes of defence and offence against the encroachments and extortions of the robber-knights who thrived exceedingly 'during the bad days of the Interregnum' (1254-1273). At Speyer on 29th April 1307, King Albrecht I, of Hapsburg, permitted certain individuals, the Holders of Imperial Justice, and subsequently twenty two of the Swabian Towns, to form a League for maintenance of the peace of the country, thereby originating the system of close alliance between the Nobles and the Towns, and indirectly encouraging the latter to seek support by alliances, and that they did later on between themselves and without aid from the Nobles.

Leutkirch was not included in the earliest Alliance of Towns, the reason probably being that it was then still mortgaged to the Count Hugo von Montfort-Bregenz (see p. 58). It was not until the year 1347 that Leutkirch first sent representatives to the Towns Assembly at Ulm, but thereafter it remained continuously a member of the Swabian League, and that League was frequently renewed, and held its Towns Assembly at Ulm on 1st May and 16th October each year. About this period, the Robber-knights of Upper Swabia were banding themselves together to check the increasing power of the Towns, and they waylaid merchants, especially along the trade-routes leading from southern Germany to Italy, and trade at Ulm, Memmingen, Kempten, Isny, and Leutkirch suffered much from this. In addition, during the years 1347-49 The Black Death passed through all Europe, and at Leutkirch it caused terrible havoc, as elsewhere.

In the latter half of the 14th Century there were constant fights against Count Eberhard II (The Quarrelsome) of Wurttemberg. And as a further burden, the Emperor levied heavy taxation to provide himself with means to gain possession of the Mark of Brandenburg, and from a group of eight Towns, to which Leutkirch belonged, a total of 55000 florins was mulcted.

The struggle between the Towns and the Nobles continued to increase in intensity, and in its course the alliances between the Towns became ever stronger. In the year 1376 fourteen Towns, Ulm, Constance, Ueberlingen, Lindau, Buchorn, St. Gall, Rottweil, Biberach, Memmingen, Wangen, Isny, Reutlingen, Ravensburg, and Leutkirch, combined in a still closer League for defence and offence, which continued until 23rd April 1380. At a later stage, Weil, Kempten, and Kaufbeuren joined this League, making seventeen Towns in all. It was in the year 1376 that King Wenzel laid siege to the Imperial Free Town of Ulm, but he was obliged to raise the siege in the month of October, withdrawing to Nurnberg, where settlement was reached on the causes of dispute. But Towns and Nobles continued fighting each other, with wild forays which laid waste with fire and sword. Cattle were stolen, fields ravaged, vineyards hacked up, and peasants were killed or taken prisoner, and all this continued during many years.

On 21st May 1377 a decisive engagement took place at Reutlingen (SE of Tubingen), in which Count Ulrich, son of Eberhard II of Wurttemberg, was taken prisoner after what was a most sanguinary contest even for those days, and more than 70 of his knights were killed.

The League of Towns continued to strengthen, and in that same year Appenzell, Huntwiel, Urnasch, Gais, and Teufen (in Switzerland), with Augsburg and several towns of Lower Swabia joined the League, in which there were now 33 towns, and it was sworn to continue until 23rd April 1385. This was known as the Great League of Towns. Other leagues of towns were formed elsewhere, e. g. at Speyer in 1381 where Mainz, Worms, Strassburg, Speyer, Frankfort-on-Main etc, joined in alliance.

On 22nd April 1384, ten towns of Allgau and the Lake Constance region formed a separate alliance with Count Heinrich von Montfort, who became their general and leader and himself contributed an addition of ten knights. And in that

year Leutkirch was declared free and released from the mortgage held by the Counts von Montfort.

In 1388 general war broke out and was carried on with the most frightful atrocities, especially in the Wurttemberg towns. The chief battle took place at Doffingen near Boblingen, where Count Eberhard II (The Quarrelsome) of Wurttemberg entrenched himself in the churchyard and was attacked by the forces of the Towns consisting of 800 horsemen and 2000 foot, Count Eberhard having about the same numbers on his side At first the conflict went in favour of the Towns, but after his son Ulrich had been killed, Count Eberhard succeeded in breaking the attack of the Towns forces, and part of the latter scattered in headlong flight and the remainder were taken prisoners. Among the numerous dead lying in the Square was Konrad Besserer, Captain of the Town Guard of Ulm. The Towns suffered further defeats in offensive operations undertaken against them, until 1389, when a treaty of peace between Towns and Nobles was signed at Heidelberg, in which the Towns were obliged to pay heavy indemnities and lose many of their privileges. On 2nd May 1389 King Wenzel declared the various Leagues of the Towns to be illegal, and dissolved them, and on 8th May he ordained a general peace which was to last for six years.

Despite that decree, as early as 20th November 1392 the Towns of Ulm, Nordlingen, Dinkesbuhl, Aalen, Bopfingen, Hall, Gmund, Biberach, Pfullendorf, Kempten, Kaufbeuren, Memmingen, Rottweil, Isny, and Leutkirch, formed a new League. And in 1397 all the Free Imperial Towns on Lake Constance, on the Wertach and the Alb, among which Leutkirch was included, formed an alliance with Count Eberhard III (The Mild) of Wurttemberg, to render mutual aid to each other.

Meanwhile on the other side, an alliance of Nobles, called 'The Sledgehammer' had been formed, but Count Eberhard III with the aid of the Towns in his League, defeated it and by 1396 the 'Sledge-hammer Alliance' had ceased to exist. King Wenzel next endeavoured to prop up his tottering throne by granting favours to both Towns and Nobles, and thus it came about that on 13th October 1397 he pledged to Leutkirch the Right of Capital Jurisdiction (see p. 59).

On the deposition of Wenzel at Oberlahnstein in the year 1400, Rupprecht III, of the Palatinate, was elected King of Germany, and he, on 10th August 1401, extended his royal protection to the Swabian Towns. Leutkirch received from him a confirmation of its Rights, and the pledge of its Jurisdiction was renewed against a payment of 200 fl.

In the so-called Appenzell War of 1401-1404 (see p. 10), Leutkirch was involved, together with other Free Imperial Towns in the Lake Constance region. During the progress of that war a new League of Towns was formed, comprising seventeen towns in Swabia, and in the year 1405 these allied themselves with the Electoral Prince Johann of Mains, the Marggrave Bernhard I of Baden, Count Eberhard III of Wurttemberg, and the town of Strassburg. This was called 'The Marbach League' and it was strengthened by the adherence of more and more towns. In alliance with Wurttemberg, the Towns fought the Lords of Geroldseck, Hohenzollern, and Weinsburg. In the course of the fighting, the castle of Count Friedrich von Zollern, after a blockade lasting two years, was taken an 12th May

1423 and razed to the ground by Countess Henrietta, widow of Eberhard IV of Wurttemberg, with the aid of the Swabian Towns. (King Friedrich Wilhelm IV of Prussia began rebuilding this castle of his Hohenzollern ancestors in 1850, and it was completed in 1866. The modern castle bears no resemblance to the original).

In order to check the boundless ambition of warlike aggressors of this period, and to protect themselves from the machinations of the Fehmic Court of Westphalia, the Towns continued their alliances. On 31st October 1428 Pope Martin V issued a Bull which exempted fourteen towns, among them Leutkirch, from the Jurisdiction of the above Court.

(Note: The Fehme was a Secret Association of Princes, Nobles, & Freemen which flourished throughout Germany in the Middle Ages, from 1180 onward. Its Tribunals exercised Jurisdiction in the name of the Emperor, and its Members were free from all other forms of Jurisdiction. The only punishment which its Tribunals could inflict was death. The Fehmic Courts were gradually displaced by other processes of justice, and were finally abolished in 1811)

In the year 1440 a great Alliance was formed between the Towns and the Nobles, which wag directed chiefly against the Robber-knights. In 1441, castles of these Robber-knights in the Hegau district were destroyed, and in the following year the country was laid waste as far as Thiengen. (There were 30 castles in the area around Engen, Singen, and Radolfzell, in southern Wurttemberg, held by the socalled 'Brotherhood of Free Knights'). Whenever a Robber-knight was captured he was immediately beheaded without trial.

Further Alliances ware made, and there followed in succession, the general War of the Towns, the War of the Empire against Bavaria and the Palatinate, the Crusade against the Turks (1453), and then on St. Valentine's Day 1488 The Swabian League was founded.

At the Imperial Diet at Worms in 1495 the Emperor Maximilian I issued an 'Edict of Perpetual Peace'. Armed independence and private wars were forbidden under penalty of banishment from the Empire, and the Supreme Court of Imperial Justice was instituted.

At the Imperial Diet at Augsburg in 1500 the town of Leutkirch was incorporated in the Swabian Towns Assembly (see p. 60). With the beginning of this new Century 'Perpetual Peace' did not however last for long. In 1519 the War of the Swabian League against Duke Ulrich VI of Wurttemberg began, and that ended with the defeat of the Duke. The Emperor Charles V placed his own brother, Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, in charge of the Duchy of Wurttemberg, and invested him with formal possession in 1530. (Note: Duke Ulrich VI however recovered his rights over the Duchy in 1534, with the aid of the Landgrave Philipp of Hesse).

Scarcely was the war against Wurttemberg concluded, when the Peasants War broke out. Smaller risings of the Peasants had already occurred in the years 1449, 1456, 1491, 1492, 1504, and 1514. In the year 1524 the Peasants of the Black Forest rose, and soon afterwards their comrades up country as far as Lake Constance, followed suit. In 1525 the Peasants of Allgau joined in, and in May of that year from the Tyrol to the Rhine there were some 300,000 men under arms.

Wendel Hipler, a former official in the Hohenlohe Duchy, who was one of the chief leaders of the rising, got so far as to pass a Resolution in the camp at Amorbach (35 miles N. of Heilbronn), to summon a Parliament at Heilbronn and there introduce a new Constitution, but that laudable intention was never realised. Although the leaders of the rising and the better elements in it wished to reform the Empire in accordance with the terms of their Resolution, their high aspirations were frustrated by their followers. The rabble majority which had attached itself to the Peasants' cause, wanted nothing better than blood and rapine, killing and burning. The Swabian League collected by degrees about 2400 horsemen and 6-7000 footsoldiers under the command of Georg Truchsess von Waldburg, and delivered battle to the assembled forces of the Peasants at Leipheim (near Gunzburg, 10m NE of Ulm) who lost about 4000 killed there. The town of Leutkirch had to provide their quota of men and money for this War, and in the Town Archives there is still preserved the form of 'Oath of Allegiance' which had to be sworn by the townspeople who were enlisted to fight. The Peasants finally were obliged to surrender unconditionally, and their district leaders and others who were held as hostages, had two fingers struck off from the right hand, and there were a great many executions. Altogether during the War, the Peasants lost about 100,000 killed, of whom some 10.000 were executed.

But with this internal war at an end the Empire did not enjoy much peace, for presently the Turks were knocking at the door. (Siege of Vienna by the Turks was in 1529). The town of Leutkirch had then to supply the following contingent of men, with equipment and provision money:

- A Sergeant and a Corporal, @ 10fl per month, for 3 mos.60 fl
- 9 Fuglemen (leading soldiers) with provision @ 6fl do. do.162 fl
- 10 Halberdiers with provision @ 5fl per month, for 3 mos.130 fl
- 22 Pikemen with provision @ 4fl per month, for 3 mos.264 fl
- 5 Matchlockmen, with cuirasses, tackles, tassets, shoes, morions, tinderboxes, and provision @ 10fl do. do. 150fl
- 1 butler @ 15fl and 1 cook-boy @ 5fl, per month, for 3 mos.60fl
- Total 50 men, for 3 months 846fl

The Guilds had also to provide the armour for this contingent. A complete set of armour consisted of backplate, breastplate, brassards morion, and gorget. One Burgher of the Weavers Guild had for instance to provide 3 sets of armour, and four other Burghers had to supply 2 sets apiece.

Burgomaster Melchior Freiherr, who represented Leutkirch at the Imperial Diet at Worms during the years 1542-45, presented many petitions for reduction of the military quota demanded from his Town. In 1545 the contingent was 1 horsesoldier and 14 foot-soldiers, annually, and also a tax of 40 florins for maintenance of the Supreme Court of Imperial Justice. The contingent was later reduced to a total of 10 men, and in 1681 on further petition from the Town, to 7 men. Leutkirch was involved indirectly with the War of the Schmalkald League (1546-7), for on 29th August 1546 the town lent a sum of 1000 florins, and again on 27th September, 500 florins, to the Protestant Princes far a period of 2 years. And it had

moreover to pay an indemnity of 4000 florins to the Imperial Forces, to escape being inflicted with an Imperial garrison. (Note: The Schmalkald League was inaugurated in 1531 at the small town of that name in the Thuringian Forest near Cassel. It was an alliance between 9 Protestant Princes and 11 of the Free Imperial Towns for defence of the Protestant Cause against the Emperor and the Catholics).

The first incident in connection with the Reformation occurred in the year 1525, when on 7th September, the last Bailiff of the Fehmic Court of Westphalia caused the Parish Priest of St. Lorenz near Kempten, whose name was Waibal, to be hanged on a beech-tree only half a mile from Leutkirch. Although the ideas of the Protestant Reformers received early acceptance over great parts of the country, introduction of the Reformation in Leutkirch itself was delayed for some twenty years owing to the special influence of Johann Faber, Bishop of Vienna, who was a native of the town. This prelate displayed great affection for Leutkirch, and he was indeed actually the incumbent of the Parish Living, although of course he had a representative acting for him, and he had endowed the Parish Church with numerous benefactions, which gave him considerable influence with the townspeople. And so the Reformation was not actually introduced there until the year 1546, when the Roman Catholic Faith was renounced and Protestant services were instituted in the Parish Church. (Hans Schelhaim of Memmingen came as the first Protestant Minister). But when the so-called 'Interim' was published on 5th May 1548 (this was the establishment of a half-and-half religion for all not adhering to the Roman Catholic Faith), the Parish Church reverted into the possession of the Roman Catholics. In 1549 Abbot Gerwickh of Weingarten reinstated a Catholic Church Council and dismissed the Protestant Minister. Finally, after a period of much indecision and many changes, one David Braun of Rothenacker, arrived in the summer of 1559 and was officially appointed Protestant Minister at Leutkirch, and from then onward the Faith of the townspeople remained continuously that of the Augsburg Confession, and the town had a Protestant Church Council.



A dispute concerning the ecclesiastical endowments continued for some 15 years, between the Town and the Abbot of Weingarten, but that came to an end by an agreement made on 27th April 1562. A further dispute concerning the Ecclesiastical Calendar was however a cause of fresh acrimonious quarrels between the two Confessions of Faith, from 1583-1603, and indeed that dispute continued intermittently right up to the outbreak of the Thirty Years War. What the town had to suffer during that War is abundantly shown by the records in the Town Archives As early as the year 1618, (the first year of the War), the expenses born by the town amounted to 785 florins 13 kreuzer 1 heller, incurred in the billeting of the regiment of Baron Moritz von Griesingen. In the next year expenses rose to 1500 florins, due to garrisoning of the town under Colonel Joh. Philipp von Bimbach, and further garrisoning and billeting followed. Then the general strike of the Weavers broke out on 9th October 1620, and during 1621 and 1622 that added greatly to the costs of living which had already been enhanced by the War. At this period costs were as under;

1 Malter (about 18 bushels) of wheat	121 florins
1 Malter of rye	109 florins
1 Quarter of oats	4 florins
1 Quarter of barley	5 fl.37 kr.
1 Quarter of salt	11 florins
1 Quarter of beans	4 fl.48 kr.
1 Pound of lard	1 fl.28 kr.

The value of money rose also, with the increased costs of living:

1 Reichstaler became equivalent to	9 florins
1 Ducat became equivalent to	14 florins
1 Doubloon became equivalent to	24 florins
1 Silver Crown became equivalent to	10 florins 20 kreuzer
1 Philippstaler became equivalent to	10 florins

The town next had a garrison under the command of Captain Martin Turkheimer, quartered in it for nearly 4 weeks, consisting of 212 soldiers accompanied by 65 women and 45 children, and that cost the town 1500 florins. In the following year, 1623, it had a garrison under the command of Colonel Count Joh. Bapt. Ladron, consisting of 3000 men, quartered in it for a full 3 months, and that cost the town 3309 florins 45 kreuzer, and so on and so on, without intermission.

The result of all this was that Leutkirch experienced poverty and misery in place of its former prosperity. During the years 1618 to 1627 the town was mulcted of nearly 11000 florins in expenses due to the War, but worse was to follow, for one demand came after another. In the year 1629 plague broke out, and within six months 121 persons had died from it. For the years 1628 to 1631 the war expenses amounted to a total of 57, 550 florins, a huge sum for such a small town.

On 17th April 1630 the Swedish Colonel von Taupadell arrived in front of the town, which at that time was garrisoned by Imperial Troops. The Swedes forced their way in and attacked the latter, of whom 7 were killed, and then the Swedes

plundered the town and within the space of two hours seized 45000 florins worth of goods and cash. Presently, on 26th May, Colonel Wolf von Ossa, the Imperial War Commissary, arrived unexpectedly with 6000 men and re-occupied the town, demanding delivery of 50 head of cattle, 69 malters of oats, and 1200 loaves of bread ration. Colonel von Ossa blamed the town for the defeat of the Imperial garrison by the Swedes on 17th April, and at 9 pm in the evening he arrested the Burgomaster Hieronymus Furtenbach (b. 1602 at Leutkirch), and the Burghers Gabriel Zollikofer, Melchior Hau, and Hans Albrecht, and took them off as prisoners to Lindau, where they were detained for 14 days until a ransom of 12000 florins, later reduced to 500 malters of wheat, had been paid. By way of change, the Swedes came back in July, and plundered the town once more.

Burgomaster Furtenbach, in his 'Chronicle of Woe', describes the insatiable demands of the military, and says there was not a single bundle of straw, nor bushel of hay, nor wheat, nor bread, to be found anywhere. To such an extent had all available food for man and beast been consumed, that they were obliged to cut unripe crops, thresh them as best they could, and use the straw for the horses.

Numerous quarterings of troops continued, and in August 1635 plague broke out again. In Leutkirch 700 persons died from it, and some places were completely depopulated. Famine was so acute, that people had to eat dogs, oats, and rats, and make bread from linseed. In the year 1637 a sum of 4550 florins demanded by a Captain Haas could not be raised by any means. In the succeeding years further burdens and requisitions were imposed, and in 1646 the Swedes again looted the town, for three whole days. The inhabitants fled in order to save their bare lives, some into the woods, and some to other hiding places. In December of that year (during Count Wrangel's campaign against Bavaria) the Headquarters of the Swedish Army, which included 14 generals, established themselves in Leutkirch and made renewed demands upon the town's resources. And thus things went on, until finally on 24th October 1648 the welcome news arrived that the Imperial Treaty of Peace had been signed at Munster and Osnabruck. Billeting of passing bodies of troops continued however until 1660.

The accumulated debt of the town amounted to 41,800 florins, and altogether more than 220,000 florins had been expended. At the beginning of the War, Leutkirch had a population of 450 Burghers whose combined income amounted to 7500 florins per annum. In the year 1653 there were only 184 Burghers with annual income of 3000 florins. In 1618, at the beginning of the War, more than 5000 pieces of bleached linen were exported from the town, but in the year 1653 only 300 pieces were exported. The sufferings and grievous burdens experienced by the ancestors of the Haider family in those days, were truly incalculable. The development of Germany was put back for centuries. (Note: between the years 1634-1645 the population of Wurttemberg was reduced from 313, 000 to 65, 000). Instead of flourishing prosperity, there remained poverty, instead of the former high standard of culture, there remained coarseness and lack of education.

Peace lasted for barely 40 years, and scarcely had the first beginnings been made in healing the terrible wounds caused by the Thirty Years War, when southern Germany became once more the cockpit of rival armies. Whilst the Imperial forces

were engaged in fighting the Turks, the French attacked southern Germany, and their invasion reached right into the heart of Swabia, and once more the town of Leutkirch suffered the hardships of war.

Then after a brief interval of four years of peace, the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714) broke out. During that war again Leutkirch had many heavy burdens to bear, with the garrisoning and billeting of troops in the town, and requisitions of goods and cash. The expenses incurred by Leutkirch in this war amounted to not less than 31,000 florins, and once again the town was reduced to poverty and misery. There followed next the two wars against the Turks, in 1716, and 1738-9, and the War of the Austrian Succession 1740-48. During the period from 1746 to 1756 Leutkirch was mulcted of 6732 florins 9 kreuzer, for expenses connected with the latter war, and in requisitions. During the Seven Years War, 1756-1763, Leutkirch was not directly involved, but it had nevertheless to supply monetary contributions which amounted to the high total of 14,312 florins 46 kr. In the French Revolutionary War of 1792-1797 the town suffered heavy requisitions, and paid altogether in military and general war expenses the sum of 53467 florins 19 kreuzer. This was followed by the French Revolutionary Wars of 1799-1803, during which Leutkirch had Allied troops quartered in it on innumerable occasions, and Tartars, Russians, and Cossacks were billeted in the town. On 31st October 1799 the old Russian Field-Marshal Count Alexander Suvorov, was quartered in the town, and with him was the young Grand Duke Constantine, second son of Tsar Paul I of Russia.

#### (Note: Suvorov

### From PROF. G. R. DE BEER, F. R. S.

Sir, Mr. Valisevski has mixed Suvorov up in the wrong campaign. Macdonald's picturesque but strategically unimportant passage of the Splugen in December.1800, was more than a year later than Suvorov's retreat. That was due to his inability, in September, 1799, to effect a junction with Rimski Korsakov. While Lecourbe and Molitor prevented Suvorov from debouching from the Alps, Massena routed Rimski Korsakov at the Second Battle of Zurich (Septem ber 25, 1799). Suvorov thereupon made his epic passage of the Panixer (October.6, 1799), and left Switzerland in the same month. He died on May 17, 1800.

### G. R. de BEER.

### Cheyne Walk. SW3)

At the end of April 1800 the French general, J. V. M. Moreau, crossed the Upper Rhine with 100, 000 men and defeated General Baron Paul Kray commanding the Imperial forces, in engagements at Engen, Mosskirch, and Biberach. On 7th May the first French troops reached Leutkirch, and Generals Vandamme, Lavalle, and Molitor took up their quarters there. The town had to pay an indemnity of 2200 florins, and supply 1200 loaves of bread, and 1000 quarts of brandy, and other heavy requisitions were made upon it. On 26th June the French brought 2000 prisoners of the Imperial forces into the town, and confined them in the cemetery, and the town was chock full of French soldiers. The requisitions were enormous, and the total expenses borne on account of the French troops came to 32, 653 florins.

In addition to all this the town lost its old independent status. On 28th August 1801, Leutkirch was provisionally taken over by Baron von Hertling, acting for the Government of Bavaria, and on 10th September, the Town Council and Court of Justice had to swear allegiance to that Government. On 25th February 1803, possession of the town by Bavaria, was confirmed by decree of the Imperial Commission. (Note: Max Josef, Duke of Bavaria, was made King of Bavaria as Maximilian I, by Napoleon in 1806. He was Napoleon's ally and admirer, but deserted him before the battle of Leipzig in 1813).

The accumulated debt of Leutkirch then amounted to 128,928 fls. In the year 1804 the Provisional Town Council wag dissolved, and the administration of the town was taken over by a Bavarian Commissioner named Jaeger. During Napoleon's campaign of 1805 against Austria, Leutkirch endured further days of trouble, for the French troops looted, stole and robbed, in the most appalling manner. According to the calculations of one Zorn, Treasurer of the town during the period that it was under the Bavarian Government, the expenses incurred on account of the Bavarian and French troops, which the district of Leutkirch had to pay, amounted to 25,6018 florins 31 kreuzer.

By the Treaty of Peace which was signed at Vienna on 14th October 1809, further changes and redistribution of territories were made among the Princes who formed the Confederation of the Rhine., and under those rearrangements the Town and Rural District of Leutkirch went to the Kingdom of Wurttemberg. On 10th-12th November 1810, the Wurttemberg Commissioner, Councillor Koch, formally took possession of the town on behalf of Wurttemberg.

And so it comes about that Leutkirch, the former free Imperial Town of ancient origin, is today a small market town of Wurttemberg, having a Railway Station, a District Administrative Office, and a Court of Justice. There are 3592 inhabitants, and the local industries are dyeing, tanning, linen and hose weaving, manufacture of agricultural machinery, and export of linseed oil, cheese, timber, fruit, cattle, and butter.



DER STADT LEUTKIRCH.