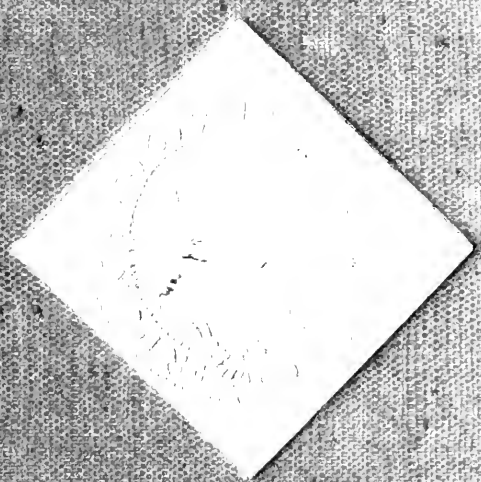
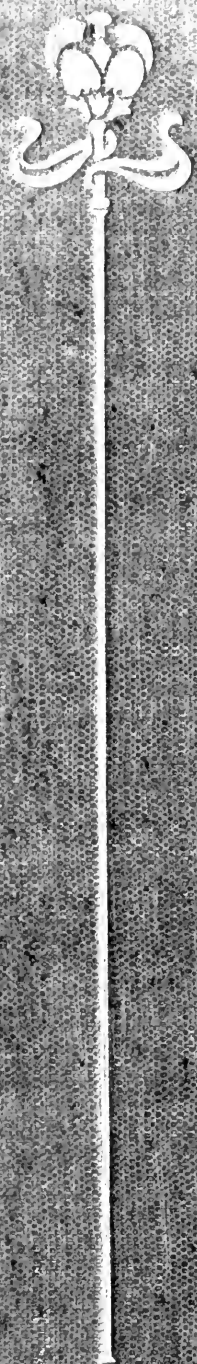


FROM SQUIRE
TO PRINCE





BY THE SAME AUTHOR

PIERS GAVESTON

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FROM SQUIRE TO PRINCE



COUNTESS THEFA,
WIFE OF ULRICH OF GIBSENA, FIRST COUNT OF EAST FRISIA.

*Portrait in the Town Hall
of Aurich.*

[Frontispiece.]

FROM SQUIRE TO PRINCE

BEING A HISTORY OF
THE RISE OF THE HOUSE OF CIRKSENA

BY

WALTER PHELPS DODGE

MIDDLE TEMPLE, BARRISTER-AT-LAW; FELLOW ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY;
FELLOW AMERICAN GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY; AUTHOR OF "PIERS GAVESTON"

ILLUSTRATED

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1901

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TO
MY COUSIN
JOHN CHESTER ENO

5-22019

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THE ANCIENT LORDSHIP OF
EAST FRISIA

THE ANCIENT LORDSHIP OF EAST FRISIA

JUTTING out into the North Sea, its low coasts beaten always by the harsh winds and stormy waves of the German Ocean, is the ancient Lordship of East Frisia. Now a part of the ever-widening kingdom of Prussia, memories of its former history as an independent land are growing dim ; and the stout old warriors of the House of Cirksena, Count Ulrich and his descendants, have almost vanished in the mist of the Middle Ages.

East Frisia, however, as a country, and the Cirksena as its Counts, may claim a place in history, for their qualities as men, as soldiers, and as rulers are worthy of careful consideration. There is something pathetic in the contemplation of this vanished state. Its rulers were men of eminence and renown in their day, and their

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position in the feudal German Empire under the Habsburgs was neither unimportant nor inconsiderable.

The story of the gradual rise of the Chief of Gretsyl, the Head of the House of Cirksena, to the dignity of Count and Prince of East Frisia, is well worthy of study, and is not lacking in elements of romance.

The origin of the House of Gretsyl or the House of Cirksena, as it is indifferently called, is referred to by Herr Ehrenreich Gerhard Coldewey, an East Frisian Councillor and Chancellor, in a rare "poem," written (to celebrate the twenty-sixth birthday of Carl Edzard, the last Count and Prince of East Frisia), on 16th January 1741.

According to the author, there is no need to prove "the blameless antiquity of the most noble and princely House of East Frisia."

The period of time between the accession of Ulrich as Head-Chief in 1441, his appointment as first Count of East Frisia in 1454, and the death of his descendant, Enno III., in 1625, is rich in incident and valuable to students of

THE ANCIENT LORDSHIP OF EAST FRISIA

history, as illustrating the inevitable forward movement so strongly marked in the German race during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The rulers of East Frisia knew their people, for they were of them. This, however, did not detract from their dignity. The fact that Enno III. issued, in addition to the ordinary coinage of the time, square coins, or *klippes*, which were both artistic and costly, is in itself significant and valuable as a testimony to his wealth and standing. Such square coins were, as a rule, struck only by Princes whose position and treasure enabled them by this means to satisfy their pride and desire for fame. These *klippes* were issued by several German Princes, notably by the Prince Archbishop of Salsburg.

As an independant state in the Holy Roman Empire, as a Prussian possession after the death of the last Prince Carl Edzard in 1744, as a conquest of the first Napoleon, as a part of Holland, again of Prussia, then of Hanover and now finally as a province of Prussia since 1866, East Frisia, the modern *Ost-Friesland*, the

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Frisia Orientalis of the old coins, is always to be regarded with interest.

Among its towns, Aurich is quaint and picturesque; while the smaller islands of Wangeroog and Spiekeroog are curious, and have a flavour of old German life. The Frisian people still preserve the qualities that sent many families (including some allied to the reigning House), in stout assertion of their principles, to England, and to the Connecticut Colony of 1628, when England was literally a sea-girt isle, the conquests of the present day undreamed of, and America was known as but a trackless waste. A study of the admirable series of portraits at Aurich, together with the busts on the Frisian coins, enable one to discover what manner of men were the Counts of the House of Cirksena.

Strong-featured, square-jawed, with prominent nose and haughty air, all show a striking family likeness, from the founder of the line in 1441 to the last Prince in 1744.

NOTE. —The ENOS of Simsbury in Connecticut are of Frisian ancestry.

THE ANCIENT LORDSHIP OF EAST FRISIA

The marriages of the Frisian Counts show in a way not to be mistaken, their position in those courtly days, when birth alone was regarded, and a morganatic union was held as little less than a crime.

In that age blood was more than wealth, and the modern Crcesus had not laid his vulgarising hand upon the marriage bed. Money was then regarded merely as means to an end, and not as the supreme end itself. Men had broader minds, and the modern petty sordid worship of gold for gold's sake was unknown.

The House of Cirksena was, as a rule, both fortunate and wise in avoiding matrimonial entanglements; the second Edzard, indeed, aspired to a Royal alliance, and married the Princess Catherine of Sweden, daughter of Gustavus I. Their son succeeded, as Enno III., in later days to the Frisian sovereignty. Possibly this strain of the Blood Royal of Sweden may account for the fact that Enno III., although unfortunate, was one of the bravest Counts of his House. Both

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he and his grandfather, Enno II., stand out notably as warriors in the long succession of Frisian rulers, although Edzard I. was greatest in statesmanship.

The position of *Ost-Friesland*, or East Frisia, on the bleak North Sea, wind-swept, and far from rich of soil, necessarily made the struggle for existence within its borders a hard and breathless one, and one in which the strongest could alone survive. This would account for the sturdy physique and great endurance of the Frisians, shown in many a grim campaign.

The country played no small part in the History of Europe, particularly during the Thirty Years' War from 1618 to 1648. Its records teach the value of that thrift which is so peculiarly Teutonic, and the prosperity that may come to a small country fortunate in its rulers, when, as in this case, they were typically German in their sturdy lives, in which the *sturm und drang* of existence was not lacking.

In fact, apart from its Counts, East Frisia had little history; for men like the first Edzard

THE ANCIENT LORDSHIP OF EAST FRISIA

and the second Enno were given to saying, like the Great Louis, "*L'Etat c'est moi*," and perhaps with more reason.

Masterful in temper, wielding over their small dominion a power ample in spite of its limitations, they owned a nominal allegiance to the "Romanorum Imperator," whose bust appears on the reverse of so many of their coins.

The Counts of East Frisia may be called the Fathers of their people. Their rule was no harsh despotism, it was a system of Government at once benevolent and firm.

The Frisians from the earliest times have given proof of a sturdy love of liberty, and while they have ever yielded a willing obedience to all reasonable commands of their ruling House, they could never forget that their Count was originally but Chief of the House of Gretsyl, a noble house in Frisia.

A leading characteristic of the Frisian people has been their constant but firm opposition to all aggressive interference with what they were wont to consider their rights. It mattered

FROM SQUIRE TO PRINCE

little to them whether this interference came from their enemies or from their kinsfolk. Their resentment in either case was keen, and apt to assume a form dangerous to the offender, although honourable to themselves.

It is a legitimate subject for speculation whether "the people," that patient mass of good and stupid workers who make a country, altogether approve of the changes in East Frisia during the last two hundred years, in which they have been in succession Free Frisians, Prussian, Dutch, French, Hanoverian and Prussian again. If the reigning House had not finally failed of issue in 1744, when the last Count and Prince died, the King of Prussia could not, as he did, have taken possession of East Frisia, in consequence of the reversion given to the Electoral House of Brandenburg in 1694 by the Emperor Leopold I.

There might still be Princes of Frisia, but for a trick of the *Bona Dea* who presides over births; and Carl Edzard, instead of having the somewhat dubious distinction of being the

THE ANCIENT LORDSHIP OF EAST FRISIA

last Prince, might have given a much-wished continuance to the line of Gretsyl.

East Frisia's record as an independent country is a respectable one. Three hundred years is a long period in which much may happen. There is much in what did happen during a portion of this time, from 1441 to 1625, to repay a little study of the history of the Imperial County; while the deeds of "derring-do" which signalled the reigns of the earlier Counts of the House of Cirksena are worthy to be recorded.

There is a curious and interesting similarity in the history of the Cirksena in Frisia and the Medici in Florence. Both Houses owed their origin to a noble of the State, the Cirksena to Ulrich, who died in 1466, and the Medici to Giovanni de' Medici, who died in 1428. East Frisia had its Edzard the Great, who died in 1528; Florence, its Lorenzo the Magnificent, who died in 1492.

Frisia had its religious reformer in Aportanus, Florence in Savonarola.

The Frisians rebelled against Enno III. in

FROM SQUIRE TO PRINCE

1601, as the Florentines had in earlier days rebelled against Piero de' Medici.

In 1454 Ulrich was made Imperial Count of East Frisia; in 1531 Alessandro de' Medici was created hereditary Duke of Florence; both under the supreme sovereignty of the Emperor.

In 1654 Count Enno Ludwig was made Prince of East Frisia, in 1569 Duke Cosimo (de' Medici) was created Grand Duke of Florence.

The House of Cirksena died out with Carl Edzard, the last Count and Prince of East Frisia in 1744. The line of the Medici became extinct at the death of the Grand Duke Gian Gastone, in 1737.

The broad outlines of history are made the more distinct by an occasional bit of shading in the form of an historical parenthesis; and the Edzards and Ennos of the House of Cirksena in East Frisia deserve at least a footnote in the archives of history.

EARLY FRISIAN HISTORY

EARLY FRISIAN HISTORY

THE first references to Frisia found are, as one would expect, in Tacitus and in the Latin chronicles of the Middle Ages; they fail, however, to distinguish East Frisia from Frisia as a whole. Indeed, up to the death of Louis the Child in 911 and for some time after, there was no real division into East and West Frisia.

Of all German peoples, the Frisians, as their national records prove, maintained longest their full birthright of national freedom. They were never slow to offer resistance to all attempted force and oppression, whether from within or without.

Their history is a record, often blood-stained, of constant struggle and infrequent success, and yet the indomitable Teutonic spirit is clearly visible in all their failures which were more

FROM SQUIRE TO PRINCE

like victories on account of their ignorance of the meaning of the word to fail.

The Frisians (*Frisii*, in mediæval Latin *Frisones*, in their own language *Frisan*) were originally a number of Germanic tribes who lived, at the time of the Roman Conquest, on the shores of the North Sea, between the Rhine and the Ems, to the east of the Bataver. Tacitus speaks of the greater and lesser Frisians, without defining their relative positions. "The Frisians," says Tacitus, "are an industrious people, gaining their living by agriculture as well as by fishing." According to Meyer, Drusus, on his expedition to the north-west coast of Germany, made the Frisians pay tribute to Rome; it appears that they even helped Drusus, and afterwards Germanicus, in various expeditions. The centurion Olennius, however, having ill-treated them, they revolted, and defeated the Romans in several engagements. Later on the Frisians took possession of some small sand isles formed at the mouths of the Rhine, Maas, and Schelde. In 57, becoming bolder, they took possession of a frontier district

EARLY FRISIAN HISTORY

which the Roman Governor ordered them to give up, unless they could obtain a concession from the Emperor. In order to obtain this, Verritus and Malorix, two Frisian leaders, went to Rome, and were so esteemed for their bravery and for their self-confidence that Nero made them Roman citizens. After bestowing this honour upon them, however, he commanded them to give up the district which the Frisians had annexed. They refused, and returned to Frisia to organise an armed resistance, which proved futile, as Nero drove them out by force. Henceforth the Frisians are seldom mentioned by the old chroniclers except now and then as bold sea-pirates. They took part in the Anglo-Saxon invasion of England, and several families settled in that country. In the early Middle Ages the name of the tribe spread far to the East. Frisia at that time extended along the North Sea from the River Sincfal (the modern Zwin which runs into the German Ocean near Sluis) to the Weser in the East. The country was divided into three parts: West Frisia, comprising the present provinces

FROM SQUIRE TO PRINCE

of Zeeland, South and North Holland, and a part of Utrecht; Central Frisia, which was the present province of Frisia; and East Frisia, which included the present Dutch province of Gröningen, the Prussian East Frisia, and part of Oldenburg. The Frisians, who were evidently given to exploration, are also mentioned by Meyer as being present in the West, and on the Isles of Nordstrand and Sylt, while there was a "Frisia Minor" in Denmark. In the sixth century the Frisians were engaged in a long and bloody war with the Franks. Christianity was not established among the Frisians without much storm and stress. The King of the Franks, Dagobert (622-638), being anxious for the conversion of the Frisians, founded in Utrecht a mission; but he seems to have met with little encouragement, for it was soon destroyed. Forty years later the Saxon Wilfred, Archbishop of York, a man of some tact, was more kindly treated by the Frisians, and their Chief, Aldgisl, gave him a grudging permission to preach as a missionary. Ratbod, the son and successor of Aldgisl, became involved in

EARLY FRISIAN HISTORY

a war with Pepin of Heristall, who defeated him at Wyk-te-Duerstede, and forced him to surrender West Frisia in 689. The next year St Willibrord appears to have come as a missionary to Frisia, and is said to have visited the island of Heligoland. After Pepin's death Ratbod, who was sulking under a sense of defeat, tried hard to shake off the hated Frankish supremacy. He regained West Frisia, went up the Rhine, and landed at Cologne. In the year 716 he defeated Charles Martell, and returned home with much rich booty. Under the influence of his advisers he destroyed the churches and re-introduced Paganism, quite in the manner of Julian the Apostate. He died in 719, and under his successor, Aldgisl II., West Frisia was again lost, and Willibrord, who had fled during the war, returned in triumph to Utrecht, which now became the seat of the Bishopric for the whole of the Frisian country.

As yet Christianity had not spread beyond the boundaries of Central Frisia, for the worship of the old gods was stirring in the hearts of the people. St Boniface was killed by the Frisians

FROM SQUIRE TO PRINCE

at the village of Dokkum, near Leeuwarden, in 755.

In the meanwhile Charles Martell, irritated by his previous repulse, had undertaken a second expedition against Frisia and gained a victory over Poppo, Aldgis's successor, although the Frisians fought as bravely as usual. After the date of this battle there is no mention for some time of one ruler who controlled all parts of Frisia. At the head of the single districts were Governors chosen by the people, who, it seems, had even then some absurd form of constitution. They were constantly quarrelling among themselves; indeed, Charles the Great (Charlemagne) once had to quell an inter-tribal rising among the Frisians who had taken part in the Saxon war, and, as a result of his interference, Frisia was for a time a province of the Frankish realm, and Christianity flourished in spite of strong opposition.

After the interference of Charlemagne—an interference necessary, but regarded by the Frisians with dislike—commerce and navigation became the chief occupations of the Frisians;

EARLY FRISIAN HISTORY

their ships sailed to foreign countries, and Frisian merchants met in different parts, even in England. Trade flourished, and piracy gave place to more peaceful methods of gain.

The Frisians accepted the Governors appointed by Charlemagne only on condition that they should still be governed by Frisian laws. Either at the time of Charlemagne, or perhaps even earlier, the *Lex Frisionum*, the Frisian code of law, was compiled, a code that may well challenge comparison with that of Edward I., the "English Justinian," although the Frisian code was, of course, less complete. These laws still exist in the *Asegabuch* in the old Frisian language (which occupies an intermediate position between Anglo-Saxon and Norse) and in Latin.

The Carolingian constitution was also introduced into Frisia during the period of Frankish domination, but many old customs and institutions of the Teutonic order were retained in deference to the strongly-expressed wish of the Frisian people.

FROM SQUIRE TO PRINCE

As a result of the curious Treaty of Verdun (in 843), Frisia formed for a time part of Lorraine. By the Treaty of Mersen (in 870), the north part of the country became a German province, while the south part remained a French possession; but in 880 even this south part was united with the German Empire. When in 911 Lorraine was taken from Germany and united with the West Frankish kingdom, Frisia remained faithful to Conrad I. The Frisians in all their varied changes of nationality have ever remained consistently Teutonic.

During the Middle Ages Frisia remained a "special province," the boundaries being the Weser, the Wapel, a straight line to the Ems, and in the south, the Maas and the Rhine. Subsequently West Frisia was separated from the other parts of Frisia, and its history was never again the same.

The real history of East Frisia begins with the accession of Edzard in 1430 as the first recognised head of nearly all East Frisia and the appointment of Ulrich in 1454 as the first Imperial

EARLY FRISIAN HISTORY

Count. Before that time a confused mass of legends does duty for historical record. Before, however, considering the work done by the Frisian rulers, it is wise to try to understand how they became rulers, and over what type of people they ruled.

THE ORIGINS OF GOVERNMENT
IN FRISIA

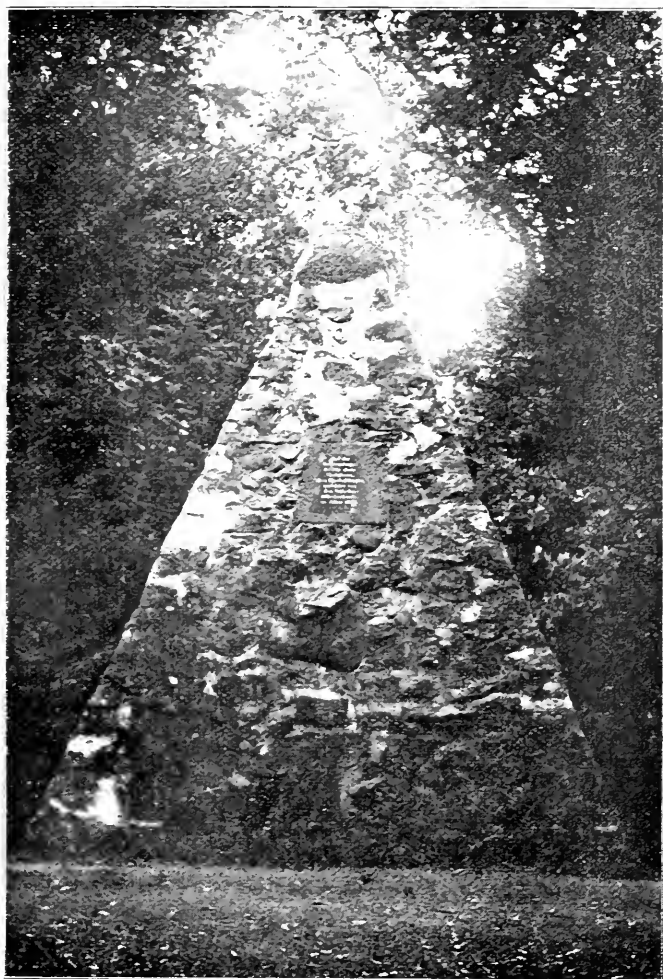
THE ORIGINS OF GOVERNMENT IN FRISIA

THE inhabitants of Frisia were from the beginning divided into three distinct classes—nobles, citizens, and peasants—who enjoyed on the whole almost equal rights and privileges in all things. In the course of time and in the interests of order, the people divided the land into districts, and each district elected for itself a ruler, who was called the Chief or *Grietmann*. This personage administered the law and was responsible for public order. He performed his magisterial duties strictly according to the ancient Frisian rights and customs, and was obeyed without question, although he claimed no sovereign rights. For the settlement of affairs which concerned the whole country, a General Assembly was held every year, on Whit Tuesday, at Upstallsboom, a place

FROM SQUIRE TO PRINCE

hidden in the woods about two miles west of Aurich. Three tall and broad oak-trees originally stood at Upstallsboom and gave the place its name, which may be rendered as "at the planted trees" (*ad statutas arbores*). A pyramidal monument at Upstallsboom commemorates this custom. At this Assembly special enquiries were made as to any disputes among the people, and all such disagreements were there and then determined. If any one wished for more privileges he was allowed to state his wish, and if, on investigation, it appeared reasonable, his desire was granted.

At this time also every year an earnest endeavour was made to lighten as far as possible any heavy burden imposed upon the people of a particular district. For the sake of general safety the seven coast districts made a league for mutual help and protection against the Normans and South Saxons, so that if one district out of the seven should be attacked the other six would come at once to its aid. This league was known as the



MONUMENT AT UPSIALLSBOOM

TO COMMEMORATE THE ANNUAL ASSEMBLY ON WHIT-TUESDAY.

From a photograph.]

[To face page 26.

THE ORIGINS OF GOVERNMENT IN FRISIA

“*Sieben Friesischen Seelande.*” It was a wise provision of this alliance that in case one of the seven should prove disloyal to the other six, and untrue to the alliance, the remaining six should compel the recalcitrant one to come to an agreement, in order that it might not allow itself to be united to any foreign power, nor be enabled to permit the general enemy to travel by land and water, or to trade freely within its borders. In these ancient privileges the Frisians were confirmed by the Emperor Sigismund in a comprehensive statute issued from Constance on 30th September, 1417, which contained the following provisions:—

1. That they, “the free Frisians” (as the Emperor explicitly names them), or all the dwellers in East and West Friesland, men and women, young and old, should continue to enjoy in perpetuity all their rights, honours, liberties, favours, and customs, in common with all other loyal and zealous subjects of the Empire; and that no Emperor should have right and power to take away, cut off, sell, pledge, or in any way alienate from them the whole or any part of their realm; also that all previous unlawful

FROM SQUIRE TO PRINCE

divisions, gifts, sales, or pledgings of the land on what pretexts soever, should be held null and void.

2. Although this realm (Frisia) might not be burdened with any rates or taxes either then or in future, it should nevertheless be obliged, in return for the protection afforded to it by the Empire, to pay yearly, on Ascension Day, an Imperial Penny (*Kaiser-Groschen*) for each hearth or family; which Imperial Penny should be stamped at Löwarden, and twenty of which should equal in value a half noble, and sixteen a Rhenish gold gulden. The Chiefs (*Grietmänner*) were strictly to levy this tribute in their districts and deliver it to the Imperial Treasury.
 3. In return the Emperor promised, to quote his own exact words: "We hereby promise that we will never place over or give as ruler or governor to the dwellers in or inhabitants of Friesland a prince either spiritual or secular, count, baron, nobleman, knight, or knightly person, patrician or plebeian, or any other person whatsoever, of what condition or under any circumstances whatever, but we hereby do confirm to them the full liberty to be ruled by their own Chiefs (*Grietmänner*), judges, and officials, according to their ancient customs and laws, as they have been preserved to this day."
- So Sigismund pledged his Imperial word.

THE ORIGINS OF GOVERNMENT IN FRISIA

The Chancellor Brenneysen, indeed, in his very confused and biassed "History of Ost Friesland" (vol. i. bk. ii. ch. 17, p. 32), attempts to weaken the meaning of this Imperial statute by stating that it applied only to West Frisia. It is impossible, however, to mistake the words: "To all our honoured and chosen dwellers in, and inhabitants of, both *East and West Frisia*, commonly known as the free Frisians," which occur quite at the beginning. This writer has ignored the word "East," apparently on account of his prejudice against the East Frisian rights and customs. He is also in error in attributing to the Frisian Chiefs (or *Grietmänner*) of that time an authority in their districts as great, if not greater, than that exercised by the counts and lords of other places in Germany. He asserts, too, that this authority was ratified by the statute. As a matter of fact, the statute confirmed the title of each and every inhabitant of the land to their ancient liberties and lawful rights. Had the Chiefs really been reigning lords, the Emperor

FROM SQUIRE TO PRINCE

would not have been able to promise the Frisians never to set a Governor over them. Where the Emperor could place a Governor there could have been no reigning lord. If the Chiefs of that time, whose very names the Emperor did not hold worthy of mention, had been the hereditary lords of the free Frisians, the Emperor would hardly say, as he did, "And because we believed it to be worthy, right, and reasonable that the before-named dwellers in and inhabitants of East Frisia, who form a part, and indeed a worthy and important part, of our empire, should recognise and reverence ourselves and our successors as their true, natural, and lawful lords, in token of their veneration and submission as subjects of the Empire, etc." One would hardly care to accuse the Emperor, in so many words, of untruthfulness, yet this is what the learned Chancellor practically does. The fact that the Imperial tribute was not paid by the Frisians direct to the Emperor, but first to the Chief, and by him passed on, is also brought forward by Brenneysen as a

THE ORIGINS OF GOVERNMENT IN FRISIA

proof that the Chiefs were sovereign lords like the Counts and Princes of the Empire. This, however, no more makes these Chiefs sovereign lords than it does the State Treasurer. It is rather absurd to consider these East Frisian country squires, for that was really the rank of the district Chiefs, as the equals of the Counts of the Empire! If the contention of the Chancellor is true, these Chiefs, equally with the Count of Oldenburg, must have been addressed as "Noble Sir." This was certainly not the case, and the Count of Oldenburg would have been quick to resent any such attempt to assume equality on the part of Frisian *Grietmänner*. As a matter of fact, there was no Chief of all Frisia before 1430 or 1441. Prior to that time the district Chiefs exercised all needed authority. After the many local rulers had fallen into the greatest possible discord among themselves, a discord that gave rise to feuds destructive to the interests of the country, the faults of the early system became very patent, and the need of a more centralised

FROM SQUIRE TO PRINCE

system of government was evident. The gradual disappearance of several powerful families gave to the remaining houses a marked increase of property and wealth, either through inheritance or by marriage. Under such circumstances, the family of the Chief of Gretsyl, the House of Cirksena, already of great influence, became important above all others. Gretsyl was a castle with a small estate, lying on the sea-coast, far to the north, in the district of Aurich. Its lords had, partly by marriage, partly by inheritance, and in various other ways, some say by force of arms, obtained the estates of different Chiefs, and were therefore, of all the Frisian nobles, the strongest and most feared. As the internal disorders continually increased, and the need for some remedy became daily more pressing, the nobles and heads of households in the land of Ems, of whom the more important were Enno Edzardna, Olde Imelen, Sibrant, Wiart, Grimersum, Edelsum, Uphusen, and Carrelspel, with other leading men of the land of Skaveren beyond the Jade, met on

THE ORIGINS OF GOVERNMENT IN FRISIA

St Martin's Eve, 1430, and united together to protect themselves by mutual help against all enemies. In this movement Enno appears to have been the leader; given the necessity the man usually appears, and in this alliance undertaken for the good of the whole land, Enno's eldest son Edzard proved himself to be both wise and brave; therefore he was accepted by certain nobles and some districts as their Chief. He was succeeded, in 1441, by his younger brother Ulrich, to whom was entrusted, in 1453, the administration of justice, the subduing of the unruly, the preservation of the common peace, and the right to make war for the good of the land. Upon this, the Chiefs of Osterhusen and Jever, with some others jealous of Ulrich, attempted to make trouble, and to obtain support from the Duke of Burgundy. This persecution compelled Ulrich to place in the hands of the Emperor Frederick III., as a fief, his various possessions, castles, and towns of Emden, Norden, Gretsyl, Behrun, Esens, Jever, Friedeburg, Aurich, Ehrort, and Stickhausen. The Emperor made

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the fief into a "County" of the Holy Roman Empire, on the Monday after Michaelmas, 1454, and appointed Ulrich Count. It is, however, to be noted that the Emperor declared that the land of East Frisia should retain unencroached upon and uninjured the rights and liberties properly belonging to it, and given by his predecessors in the Empire, "in nothing diminished, but in substance unchangeable."

The growth of East Frisia was also the growth of the House of Gretsyl. Within two and a half hundred years, from a country nobleman of the House of Cirksena, had grown a Count, and later a Prince of East Frisia. Such were the origins of the princely dignity conferred upon the House in 1654. It is well to note that the greater rulers of Frisia were Counts, and that the title of Prince was not conferred until both the country and the ruling House had fallen upon evil days, and were declining into the sere and yellow leaf.

It is not too much to say that the rulers of the Frisians were exceptional men. Count

THE ORIGINS OF GOVERNMENT IN FRISIA

Ulrich not only founded a line but a country. The history of ruler and subject alike proves that the Frisians were brave men bravely led. The Count of East Frisia was in one sense a patriarchal ruler, for he was expected to enter into the family life of the meanest of his subjects. The Count was a mirror of the County, and the County was less than a reflection of its Count. East Frisia sneezed to a man when the *Reichsgraf* took snuff, and who is bold enough to say its head was not cleared by the process? The record of East Frisia is found in the lives of its Counts, and in considering the one it is necessary to study the other.

THE EARLIER COUNTS.—ENNO I.

THE EARLIER COUNTS.—ENNO I.

THE long line of Counts and Princes of East Frisia, which died out with the last Prince (Carl Edzard), on the 25th of May 1744, sprang from Count Ulrich I., the real founder of the Cirksena sovereignty. The House of Cirksena flourished in all about three hundred and fifteen years (from the time of Edzard, the brother of Ulrich I., who was accepted as ruler by the greater part of East Friesland in 1430), and produced eight Counts and five Princes of the Holy Roman Empire. The ancient origin of this family has been clearly shown by Eilhard Loringa in his genealogical table, where he states that one Cirksena, a member of an old patrician family of Norden, who afterwards became Lord of Norden and Gretsyl, had a brave son Edzard, who, as the leader of a large troop of Frisians, fought with

FROM SQUIRE TO PRINCE

King Louis IX. in the crusade of 1249, and as a reward received from him the lilies quartered on his coat of arms.

The House of Gretsyl, from the earliest days, appears to have enjoyed a certain degree of eminence in East Frisia. In rather later times the head of the House was "Enno Cirksena, Chief in Gretsyl." To him succeeded Edzard, who died in 1406, and who married the heiress Doda-ten-Brook of Brookmerland; and Enno Edzardna, who flourished between 1406 and 1450. His wife was Gela Benniga of Manslagt. Then came Edzard, the first Chief of part of East Frisia, who was chosen in 1430 and died in 1441. It is said by a contemporary writer that he "dealt out peace to his people." With the death of this Edzard, the history proper of East Frisia begins, for on his death he was succeeded by his brother Ulrich, the first Chief of all East Frisia. Ulrich was, after his brother's funeral, elected "Regent" by the East Frisian States, and was made Lord of Emden, Aurich, and Norden. He was later (in 1454) created Count of the Empire (*Reichs-*



COUNT ULRICH I,
RULER OF THE CIRKSIYA SOVEREIGNTY.

From an old print.

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THE EARLIER COUNTS.—ENNO I.

graf) by the Emperor, when East Frisia was made a County of the Holy Roman Empire.

Ulrich, who was courageous, handsome, eloquent, and clever, espoused first the daughter and heiress of the gallant Wibeth of Stedesdorf, the beautiful Lady Foelke, the widow of Hero Omken of Esens. Of this marriage there was, however, no issue, to the grief of both Ulrich and his wife, and to the regret of the people.

Owing to continual and unfortunate quarrels with Hamburg, Ulrich was compelled, in 1446, to give up temporarily the town of Emden, a measure that did not commend itself to the townspeople. At Aurich he built a square fortress with four towers, which was rebuilt later as a palace. This building no longer exists. To reward his nephew Sibeth Attena of Wittmund, who had fought on his side, Ulrich married him to his own step-daughter Onna. This caused a certain amount of unfavourable criticism. To put a stop to malicious comment, several rebellious nobles who had been defeated by Ulrich were allowed to

FROM SQUIRE TO PRINCE

return about 1453, on condition that they gave up their right of jurisdiction, and promised to act as became loyal and true subjects of the Count.

About the same time the nobles agreed to regard Ulrich as their supreme Lord as long as he would honour their existing rights. When Ulrich had been a widower and childless for thirteen years, his nobles begged him to marry as his second wife Theda, the heiress of the House of Ukena, the daughter of Uko, and grand-daughter of Focko Ukena of Moormerland. The Pope gave him a dispensation, although Ulrich and Theda were related, and the wedding took place at the Castle of Berum in 1453, the long family feud between the Cirksena and the Ukena thus coming to an end. These families had been the Guelfs and Ghibellines of Frisia. Ulrich, after many diplomatic negotiations, and with the consent of the Frisians, informed the Emperor Frederick III. that he would hold East Frisia as an Imperial fief, if the Emperor would make him a Count of the Empire. The Emperor was willing, and in 1454, Ulrich became Imperial Count and nominal master of Emden,

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as well as Lord of Norden, Gretsyl, Berum, Esens, Jever, Aurich, Leerort, Stickhausen, all the land up to the Weser, with Budjadingerland and Stadland, and all islands near the coast. The Letter of Investiture also bestows similar rank upon his wife and his children, both male and female. Ulrich, who appears to have been a good son of the Church, built churches, and reformed several monasteries. He also, as at Aurich, built a fortress at Berum. His nephew, Sibeth, who was a favourite of his, defeated several rebellious nobles, and became (in 1458) master of Harlingerland. As he was on very friendly terms with Sibeth, Ulrich did not require of him the ordinary Oath of Allegiance, and this omission in later years led to much warfare, and was a fruitful source of trouble. Sirk von Friedeburg, a powerful noble, wished to be independent of Ulrich, and the Count thinking peace necessary for his country, made several concessions both to him and to others in order to prevent civil war. The Emperor renewed the grant of East Frisia as an Imperial fief to Ulrich as Imperial Count in 1464, and to

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mark the occasion the Imperial Ambassador, Palenstein, gave Count Ulrich a sword and a flag as emblems of the enfeoffment. This enfeoffment cost Ulrich 18,000 gulden, 9000 for the Letter of Enfeoffment, and 9000 for the Ambassador; a large sum at that time. Ulrich during his reign built many important castles; his expenditure, it appears, was considerable. His private means, however, were large. A writer of the time says of Ulrich: "He has transformed the sword into the plough-share, and by his wisdom he has laid the foundation of a well-governed state. He has worked for his House, but his work and that of his House tend to peace, order, public welfare, and education." He died at Emden, regretted deeply by his people, in 1466. His corpse was taken to Norden and interred with much ceremony in the monastery of Marienthal. At his coffin stood Gräfin Theda with six children all under age, a pathetic group enough, but as after events proved, Countess Theda craved no man's pity.

As the first recognised ruler of all East Frisia

THE EARLIER COUNTS.—ENNO I.

Ulrich deserves a word of praise. He governed, as he fought, wisely and well, and his memory is still held in reverence by the sturdy inhabitants of his country.

Ulrich made his wife, Gräfin Theda, as well as his nephew, Sibeth of Harlingerland, guardians of his children, of whom the eldest was his son Enno, six years old. This proved to be a most wise provision of the late Count, for Theda proved to be an admirable ruler, and there was peace in the land. The Emperor Frederick III. renewed the fief of Ulrich to his sons. East Frisia thus became a defined County of the Empire, and was separated from West Frisia except in times of danger.

Gerhard of Oldenburg, a bold soldier, anxious for conquest, invaded East Frisia in 1473, during the Regency of Countess Theda. He was defeated on his victorious home-march by Siweke of Heisfelde, and lost about a thousand men. His invasion was renewed in the following year with small success. In revenge Gräfin Theda, with the help of Henry

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of Schwarzburg, and the Bishops of Bremen and Münster, invaded the enemy's country and came as far as Oldenburg. Gerhard then allied himself with Duke Charles of Burgundy, and again invaded, in 1474, East Frisia. In the course of this expedition his son was taken prisoner, but he himself escaped. Sirk von Friedeburg, a dangerous neighbour of Gräfin Theda, who had given Ulrich much trouble, died at this time. Friedeburg, after protracted negotiations, was given up by treaty to Gräfin Theda. During her Regency commerce as well as arms did much for the country, the canal between Etzel and Jade was enlarged, and ships were enabled to go as far as Friedeburg. In 1476 the severity of the season was such that seals were often found in inland moats. During this winter the excessive cold caused great suffering among the poor. After the death of Ulrich, the Hansa claimed from Gräfin Theda the towns of Emden and Leerort, but were induced to make peace. From 1481 Count Enno took part in the affairs of state, and soon became sole ruler. Before settling

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down, he wished to see the world, and went to the Holy Land, where he became a Knight of the Holy Sepulchre. Before leaving, the chiefs of the country did homage to him and his brothers Edzard and Uko. Enno started in May 1489, accompanied by Folef von Kniphausen, and Victor Frese, a descendant of the family Frese von Weyhe of Bremen, who had come to East Frisia a short time before. During Enno's absence a romantic incident occurred in his family. Engelmann of Friedeburg, a brave knight, whom Theda had made Warden of the Castle, had fallen in love with the Lady Almuth, Enno's youngest sister, and a beautiful girl. As Countess Theda was strongly against this match, Almuth fled with her maid, in the winter of 1490, to Engelmann, and reached him at Friedeburg before Gräfin Theda heard of her flight. The Countess was much enraged against her daughter, and tried in vain to persuade Almuth to return, but met with a stubborn refusal. In despair she gathered her forces and besieged Friedeburg. Enno about this

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time returned unexpectedly and marched against Engelmann, who had boasted that Enno had promised to give him his sister in marriage. Enno was very angry at this, and challenged Engelmann to make his statement good. Engelmann repeated his words to Enno when he met him on the frozen moat before the Castle of Friedeburg. Enno was in armour, Engelmann was not, and during the dispute the ice of the moat which bore Engelmann broke under Enno, and he was drowned. The corpse was dragged out of the water and buried amid universal mourning. Gräfin Theda having in this way lost two of her children, was eager for revenge, and lost no time in making ready to attack the man she accounted her son's slayer. Engelmann, feeling unsafe, fled to West Frisia, and Friedeburg was retaken by Gräfin Theda, while the Lady Almuth was sent to Gretsyl. She was undismayed, however, and escaped in beggar's clothes. After some wandering she returned to Engelmann, to whom she was devoted. Engelmann now served under the Bishop of

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Münster against his mother-in-law, and made constant inroads into East Frisia. There is no record that he ever became reconciled to the Countess Theda.

Enno's brother Edzard, born in 1462, was now heir to the Imperial fief. At the time of his birth a mighty whale had been thrown on shore by the waves, and the wise people of Frisia had prophesied that he was destined for great things. He also, following his brother's example, went to the Holy Land, in 1491, with Victor Frese and Hicke von Dornum, returning in 1492, a mature man. The Bishop of Münster, a bold ecclesiastic, about this time laid claim to the customs and mint of the town of Emden. He invaded the country, spoilt Weener by fire, and stole the treasures of the religious houses. He was a good soldier and a firm believer in the Church Militant. Count Edzard hurried home, but the Bishop had returned to his country with the spoils of his sword, and Edzard was obliged to leave him in quiet for the time. Peace ensued for a few years.

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In 1493 Edzard and his brother Uko consulted with the Town Council of Hamburg and with the Bürgomeister at Gröningen in order to put an end to all strife as to the possession of Emden and Leerort. They decided that East Frisia should take the two cities, and as compensation pay 10,000 marks, a very reasonable sum, having regard to the trade of Emden alone.

The accompanying conditions were these: That Emden should keep all existing privileges; that on Hamburg beer, which was the chief article of export, a duty of no more than one guilder a barrel should be levied; that all wreckage should be sold to the shipwrecked people; and that the Hamburg fishermen should be allowed to fish on the Frisian coast, paying a certain sum for the privilege. The citizens of Hamburg believed that the Bürgomeister Langenbeck had been bribed by East Frisia, on account of the favourable conditions granted to the Frisians.

Gräfin Theda died in 1494, amid widespread sorrow, for she was much loved. There



COUNT ENNO I.

*Enno I. Count on the Town Hall
of Utrecht.*

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is a portrait of her in the Town Hall at Aurich, which shows a strong will. Among other wise acts, she added by treaty to the possession of the House the Fortress of Friedeburg, an acquisition that was to prove of great value in the stirring times that were close at hand.

Gräfin Theda deserved the gratitude of the Frisians, for she had ruled well as Regent. The loss of her son Enno was a great blow to her, coming as it did so soon after the flight of her daughter, but there is evidence to show that she sacrificed her own feelings in order to work for the welfare of her people, and for the purpose of increasing the rich heritage of her sons.

COUNT EDZARD I.

COUNT EDZARD I.

AT the death of Gräfin Theda, the nobility, the clergy, and the people, gladly did homage to Edzard and his brother Uko, but as Edzard was the more powerful, Uko is not often mentioned in the chronicles of the day. Edzard is described as being tall and dignified, keen in matters of statecraft, and very shrewd. It is important to note that at this period in East Frisia, the right of inheritance did not include the right of primogeniture; the reigning Count was as a rule chosen by the three estates of the realm. At this time there was no hint of the contentions between the reigning House and the people which began later, to the great disadvantage of both Count and country.

Edzard at once sought an alliance with the Butjadings, and required of them that they

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should build a stronghold, which would be of mutual advantage. They refused, and later repented of their refusal, for Edzard compelled them to do as he wished. Edzard gained much from an alliance he made with the turbulent peasants of Ditmarschen, who were noted for their bravery. In the early part of his reign Edzard had much trouble with his nobles, among others his cousins Edo Wimken of Jever and Hero Omken of Harlingen, refused to do him homage. At that time the Count was occupied in taxing the value of the current coins of East Frisia (which were unusually artistic in design and execution) and in damming one of the branches of the river Ems. Edzard, irritated at this refusal to recognise his paramount authority, and being not without some fear of its effect upon his other nobles, at once led his forces against the recalcitrants, took mercenaries into his service, and marched on to Jever. Hearing of the approach of this formidable force, Edo and Hero fled to Jever, and called, being in despair of any nearer assistance, upon the

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Bishop of Münster to help them, but the troops of Edzard broke down the bridges, pierced the dykes, and forced the Bishop to return home with his allies. In 1495 peace was declared between Edzard and the Bishop of Münster, who was anxious to return to the management of his own affairs. Edzard wishing to punish Hero Omken, besieged the fortress of Westerholt. His servant Hans seeing a gun aimed at his master, saved Count Edzard's life, but in doing so lost a leg. He lived, and later on appeared with a wooden leg at the Court of Edzard, where he gained the nickname of "Hans up den Trippen." He exercised much influence over the Count, who could never forget that he owed his life to his faithful servant. Edo made peace and acknowledged Edzard as overlord, but Hero was destined to give more trouble.

The Bishop of Münster dying, Graf Conrad of Ritberg was chosen in his place. This was eminently pleasing to Edzard, for the new Bishop was a friend of his; indeed Edzard married Conrad's sister, Elizabeth von Ritberg,

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in 1498. The wedding took place at Emden with great ceremony.

In the year 1500 the West Frisians declared war against the Emperor. Edzard, as in duty bound, took the side of his Suzerain, and the Frisians of the West were routed with great slaughter, owing chiefly to the assistance rendered by Edzard. The booty was so plentiful that the soldiers sold a sheep for a silver piece, newly coined by the Count of East Frisia. These coins still retain the name of "Sheep Thaler." The leader of the Imperial forces, Duke Albrecht of Saxony, died soon after in the old mint at Emden; in dying he expressed the wish that his sons should always listen to the advice of Count Edzard, whom he much admired. The heart of Duke Albrecht was buried in the "Grosse Kirche" in Emden, and his corpse was interred at Meissen. After Albrecht's death Freiherr v. Thorn was made Governor of West Frisia until the *Reichskammergericht* should decide the fate of the country. V. Thorn gave Count Edzard full power over the West Frisians, who appear to have resented

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this summary assignment of themselves and their destinies to the East Frisian ruler. They rose in arms against Edzard in 1501, but were completely defeated.

While Edzard was fighting in the West the Count of Oldenburg took possession of the district of Budjadingerland, but had to give it up in the following year, and after that time no Oldenburger was to be seen on Frisian soil.

Edzard was made General-in-Chief of the army of the Duke of Saxony in 1504. After some minor engagements he led the army against the town of Gröningen, which surrendered in 1506. Edzard secured to the citizens safety for their lives and possessions, and in return they gave him a piece of land on which he was to build a stronghold for himself. He held the town from 1506 until 1514. In 1507 his brother Uko died unmarried, and without lawful heirs. In 1512 died Elizabeth of Ritberg, Edzard's wife, a somewhat colourless individuality in public life, although personally attractive. She left three sons, Ulrich, Enno, and John, and several daughters. The grief of Edzard

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over his wife's death was so great that he declared he would soon die also, but time appears to have given him consolation. As he did not wish to divide the land of East Frisia among his three sons for fear of disputes and war, he introduced a new law of inheritance. He called his Councillors to Aurich, asked them to settle an appanage on the younger sons and acknowledge the right of primogeniture, which they did with some little demur.

During Edzard's reign there were several calamities. The sea pierced the dykes and flooded the country, and in 1508 Norden was burned to the ground. The material condition of the people, however, apart from these visitations of nature, was good, especially in Emden. Edzard had tried for some time in vain to improve the laws of the country, which were in need of amendment. As yet the office of judge was hereditary, for the Frisians elung to this old custom, not on account of any intrinsic excellence, for many of the judges were bad, but on account of the innate conservatism of the people. Edzard in the first years of his

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reign did not attempt to change this practice, but waited until he had gained the love of his people, in order that they might understand that he meant well by them, in any changes he might institute. The old laws had in many respects been greatly altered, partly by the influence of the Roman Law and partly by the system of government. Edzard did not wish to give his subjects a new code, but was anxious to revise the old laws and to add what the times required. This revised code was compiled about 1515, but was not printed until 1746.

To Edzard's distress the old feud with Hero Omken again broke out at Esens, and after another crushing defeat, Hero again promised allegiance to Edzard at the altar.

A quarrel as to the possession of the town of Gröningen now broke out between Edzard and the Duke of Saxony. The Pope sided with the Duke, and cited Edzard to appear before him at Löven, but Edzard took no notice of the Papal command. At a meeting at Paderborn and Münster, the Count was in 1513 advised by

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his friends to accept the conditions imposed by the Emperor in this quarrel, to give up Gröningen and retain West Frisia as a fief. Edzard, however, did not wish to give up the town to the revenge of the Duke of Saxony, and would not consent to the well-meant proposal.

The Emperor then commanded Edzard to receive East Frisia as a fief at the hands of the Duke of Saxony, who should henceforth be his overlord. As the Emperor deliberately ignored in this order the statute of Sigismund of 1417, Edzard very naturally refused compliance. In case of disobedience the Emperor threatened that he should be outlawed and regarded as a rebel. A terrible war raged until 1515, as a consequence of Edzard's refusal, between the Saxons and their allies on the one side, and Edzard on the other. During a truce of a year, Edzard sought help or mediation at the Burgundian Court, and from the Emperor Maximilian. Whenever and wherever he appeared in person he won all hearts by the grace and charm of his manner as well as



COUNT EDZARD I.

"EDZARD THE GREAT."

*Portrait of Count Edzard I. in the Town Hall
at Aurich.*

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by his gallant bearing. The threatened outlawry was finally withdrawn, and Edzard gained nearly everything for which he fought. The Emperor made him Governor of the country around Gröningen, with a pension of 4000 gulden a year, while his eldest son, Ulrich, became Chamberlain in the service of the King of Spain, with a yearly gage of 1000 gulden.

Edzard returned home in 1517. His subjects, who had been plunged in distress at having heard that their Count had been beheaded at Brussels, received him with great rejoicing and with grateful hearts. They refused to agree to the proposal of the Emperor that Edzard should hold his land as a fief of any noble, however great, a proposal objected to by Edzard himself. Charles of Burgundy, however, became Emperor in 1521, and acknowledged and confirmed the Letter of Enfeoffment given to Count Ulrich in 1454. Edzard re-took the Fortress of Friedeburg in 1517. Looking about for fresh conquests, Edzard resolved that the town of Jever, which until now had been in the hands of his enemy, Christopher von Jever, must be taken.

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Christopher died suddenly, some say of poison, and left three daughters, co-heiresses. Edzard asked the three girls in marriage for his three sons, and himself proposed to govern Jever until the marriages should take place. In this way ended a war which all historians of the day speak of as one that inflicted heavy burdens on East Frisia, and one which it would have been impossible for Edzard to carry on, had he not been able to depend absolutely upon his people. The war cost the Count of East Frisia some 800,000 gulden; but Edzard did not raise the taxes, and did not leave any debts. He was his own Chancellor of the Exchequer, and possessed financial abilities of no mean order.

The Frisian had always been a free man, free as a farmer, free in the town, free in the country, and only uniting with his folk in time of war, but towards the end of Edzard's reign the old order changed, giving place to the new; as the old Frisian language began to give way to the *platt Deutsch*. The old tongue, however, somewhat changed, is still used in the smaller North Frisian islands.

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Edzard had made a study of religion, and gave much attention at different times both to the polemics of Martin Luther and to the replies of his opponents. After some hesitation he appeared, however, to favour the tenets of the Reformer-monk, but he was cautious in his declaration of adherence to the reformed faith. The convents were, at that time, said to be hot-beds of vice, and Edzard, following the example of Ulrich, endeavoured to reform them. He sent his daughter Theda as a nun to the Convent of Marienthal in 1512, a somewhat dangerous experiment it would seem. A certain Ulrich von Dornum is quoted as saying a few years later, that the cloisters were worse than robbers' dens, and that monks were greater heathen than the Turks.

Count Edzard's people were good sons of the Church, but they were not devoted to their Bishops, or to the somewhat domineering priests of the land.

As the thunders of Luther's eloquence began to penetrate to Frisian firesides, a strong current of rather demagogic prejudice against the

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hierarchy of the Church soon set in. Orators like Johann Wessel became famous, and the monks were forced in many instances to leave their villages hurriedly. Edzard encouraged this agitation against the priesthood from motives resembling those that animated Henry VIII. of England in a like struggle. Among others who took a prominent part in these discussions was Rudolf Agricola, who was a native of Gröningen. His brother was a Privy Councillor of Countess Theda and of Count Edzard, and the family was possessed of some influence. Edzard, who was a good Latin scholar, wrote to Luther in either 1521 or 1522, and requested the Reformer to send him a learned clergyman who was capable of exerting some influence among the people. Luther sent him Jürgen-van-der Dare, who became the tutor of Edzard's children, and who proved to be a strong man. Jürgen, after the fashion of the day, changed his name to Aportanus, the Latin form. Aportanus, believing in the ideas of the Reformation, was refused permission to preach in a church by other clergymen, not so liberal.

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Undismayed by this refusal, Aportanus preached in the open air, Count Edzard sending him a troop of horse as a body-guard. The Reformation was in the early days of the movement accepted by the people, later by the nobles, who at first had scorned it. Ulrich von Dornum, the chief supporter of the Protestant faith, wrote an exact account of the religious dispute at Oldersum between Roman Catholics and Protestants in *platt Deutsch*, and gave it to Count Edzard and his three sons, Ulrich, Enno, and John, to read. This pamphlet is supposed to have had much influence with the reigning family. The Count and his family, after some hesitation, favoured the Reformation. No one at the time foresaw that these religious differences would, at a period soon to arrive, divide the country into two religious camps.

In the year 1522, Hero Omken, Edzard's cousin and bitter enemy, died, but his son Balthasar inherited the hatred of his father for the House of Cirksena. Balthasar, having signalised his accession by robbing and plunder-

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ing wherever he could, Edzard, in 1525, besieged the town of Esens, and forced Balthasar to make peace and to promise amendment in his ways, a promise he was destined to make and break often in the future.

In 1527 Edzard felt death approach, for he was a worn-out man, and longed ardently for a peaceful end. He endeavoured in vain to avoid a final war, and in 1527 his two sons, Enno and John, attacked the town of Jever. According to an old agreement, they were to look upon Anna and Maria, the daughters of the dead Christopher (Dorothea, the third sister, had died), as their future wives. They took, however, little notice of the expectant brides, but on capturing Jever made Boynek of Oldersum Warden of the town. Edzard had made an agreement, fifteen years before this date, with his subjects for the acknowledgment of primogeniture, but in the meanwhile Ulrich, his eldest son, had become weak-minded while in Spain. The exact cause of his insanity is unknown, but popular report said it was through a love-

COUNT EDZARD I.

potion given him by a dark-eyed Spanish beauty, whose love he had slighted. On account of this misfortune Edzard called the Council together again in 1527, and asked them to acknowledge his second son, Enno, as their Lord, because he was himself too ill to continue to reign, and because his eldest son was neither willing nor able to undertake all the duties of Government. An agreement to this effect between Count and people was drawn up, the document being signed by Ulrich, Enno, and John.

At Emden, shortly before his death, Edzard gave his sons the following wise advice: To adhere to the Protestant faith, not to impose taxes on the country which had been drained by many wars, and to keep peace with their neighbours. His strength decreased, and on the 14th of February 1528, he said: "Lord, now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace," and died at the age of sixty-six. His tomb is in the cloisters of Marienthal, at Norden, near that of his parents, Ulrich and Theda.

No Count of East Frisia was mourned as

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was Edzard I. He loved his people and was beloved by them; economical and temperate, both in private and public life, he had before the Saxon war taken no taxes, and did so only after the campaign, when he saw there was no other way to meet the necessary expenses of his Government. His people called him their father; he listened to the needy and helpless, and a love of justice was his chief characteristic. Evenness of mind in joy and sorrow was his distinguishing quality. He was very fond of his country, and hated foreigners or foreign servants. Ubbo Emmius writes of him: "Amabatur plus paene quam par erat." His subjects received the Reformation at his hands, and he seems to have deserved well of his people. East Frisia called Edzard "The Great," and if the love of his subjects is any measure of the greatness of a Prince, Edzard may in every way claim this name. A grateful country long remembered his brilliant reign.

ENNO II.

ENNO II.

THE record of the reign of Edzard I. was a noble one, and one indeed which rendered the task of his successor peculiarly difficult. This successor, Count Enno II., was the second son of Count Edzard I., by his wife, the Lady Elizabeth, and was born in 1505. When Enno's brother, Ulrich, after his return from Spain, had become imbecile, their father proclaimed Enno in his will of the 6th December 1527, as his heir and successor. Count Edzard, however, left directions that all his coined and uncoined gold and silver, as well as his magnificent plate, should be retained for the benefit of his land and his people. His strictly personal possessions, however, including clothing, jewellery, horses, and harness, were, by his order, to be divided equally between his three sons,

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Ulrich, Enno, and John. With regard to his eldest son, he stated in this will that Count Ulrich, although indeed highly fitted for the position of ruler, was not inclined to undertake the duties of the post, on account of the poor condition of his health, which unfitted him for the manifold difficulties, troubles, and unpleasantnesses inseparably connected with the government of the Frisian people.

Count Enno succeeded to his inheritance on 15th February 1528. After the remains of the late ruler were interred, the new Count was proclaimed as Enno II., and was duly acknowledged by the nobles at Norden. As his Chief Councillors, Count Enno chose Ulrich von Dornum, Hicke von Dornum, Omko Ripperda von Hinte, Fox von Pewsum, Poppo Manninga, and Folef von Kniphausen. Enno was at this time twenty-four years old, and apparently a man of parts. He passed through every town of his dominions to receive homage, and was then solemnly acknowledged as Lord of the Imperial County of East Frisia. In September 1528 the Emperor Charles renewed to Enno



COUNT LXNO II

ENNO II.

the enfeoffment given to Count Ulrich in 1454.

Enno's first care was to improve and enlarge the strongholds of his country, and several towns were fortified. The Ems was dammed in at Weener, and Aurich was surrounded by both wall and moat, traces of which still remain. Enno's next step would not have commended itself to his father. At this time the old faith (Catholicism) was not altogether destroyed, and the new doctrine (Protestantism) had not been completely established. This unstable state of affairs Enno made use of for his own purpose. All the cloisters and monasteries were robbed of their silver, altar silks, and even of their money, and in order to prevent popular clamour the minds of the people were pacified by the statement that the treasures of the Church were only collected for use in case war or any great calamity should break out, an explanation that satisfied their simple minds. At the Town Hall of Emden stood a heavy iron-clad chest, which now received the treasures of the religious houses. At a later period this treasure was

lost, and at the same time many valuable documents also disappeared. The monks were compelled to leave the empty monasteries, and Enno and his brothers took them for their own use. Enno rebuilt the Dominican Monastery at Norden, and lived there for some time. John chose the Monastery of Ihlo; the organ was taken to Aurich and the monastery was transferred into a hunting-box. Some years later it was rebuilt by Enno III. Poor weak-minded Ulrich, who had formerly been of such brilliant promise, lived until his death in the Monastery of Hasselt of St John. These deeds were in East Frisia the painful consequences of the Reformation. The stolen treasures of the monasteries had been given or bequeathed to them to be used for charitable purposes, either for the sick and poor, or to give the people a better education. In taking the money away from the monasteries, these purposes were, of course, defeated, and the minds of the people were sorely vexed. Only at Emden and at Norden was the money taken used for the good of the people.

ENNO II.

This legalised robbery was not done all at once. Bishops and priests were to be heard of as late as 1540, during the reign of Gräfin Anna, who gave the last seven monks in the country money, and sent them away from East Frisia. Emmius states that there were formerly thirty monasteries in Frisia.

A storm was brewing in a different direction. Luther had sent, among others, one Steevens to Norden, but he had proved to be a man of little influence. The more important German clergymen were grouped about Luther at Wittenberg, while, as a rule, the west of Germany followed separate leaders. Aportanus was the man of most influence among the East Frisians. He believed in non-substantiation, following Zwingli's doctrine, and not that of Luther, who believed in con-substantiation. Aportanus gave the Communion according to his doctrine. As Count Edzard had been always in close intercourse with Aportanus, who was his spiritual adviser, it is to be assumed that he shared his ideas; Enno's views were not so clearly known. In addition

FROM SQUIRE TO PRINCE

to Aportanus, Reese and Rhode, who taught the same doctrines, distinguished themselves as religious leaders. The strife between the followers of Aportanus on the one side and the Catholics and Lutherans on the other, did not break out openly, but existed in an underground state, in families and schools. Many of the followers of Aportanus who misunderstood his doctrine gave up going to Holy Communion altogether, and did not even have their children baptised, an omission that was a ground for scandalous attacks on their tenets.

Their creed, consisting of thirty-three Articles, was published in 1528; Aportanus and his followers signed it, and added necessary explanations to each Article. After this publication criticism grew less keen, as the real views of Aportanus became known.

The bitter feeling caused by this religious strife continued for some time in East Frisia, and had far-reaching consequences.

Of the character of the reigning Count there is little recorded. Count Enno was young and

ENNO II.

loved pleasure. He was fond of the chase and of sports generally, in which he excelled. He was brave and clever as well as good-hearted and easily led. He highly esteemed and loved his former tutor, Aportanus, and gave him a house and a small yearly revenue, but he took personally little part in the religious controversies of Aportanus and his followers. He would willingly have ignored the niceties of theological discussion had not the exigencies of politics required his mediation. Enno at this time was not sure which side he should favour; strong reasons made him wish to side with the Lutherans, for he knew that if the Emperor should decide to re-establish the Roman Catholic religion, the Lutherans would rejoin him. In addition to this reason, another, equally strong, existed: Duke Charles of Gueldres and the town of Gröningen were strongly Lutheran, and Enno did not feel that the support of his nobles in the event of war would be powerful enough to enable him to oppose Duke Charles, especially as he knew that Balthasar of Esens was his bitter

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enemy, and was on the watch to catch him off his guard. On the other hand, Enno wished to support Aportanus, his old tutor. Ulrich von Dornum, like a clever politician, advised Count Enno to get Luther's friend Bugenhagen, a very gentle and peace-loving man, to preach in East Frisia, in order to reconcile the two parties. Enno invited Bugenhagen to come to Frisia, and in the meanwhile went to the Diet at Speier, in order to consult the Landgraf Philip of Hesse, who urged him to put an end to party strife. Bugenhagen, however, for some reason, did not come in response to Enno's invitation, and gradually East Frisia came to be looked upon as a sort of no man's land, a retreat for all those who sided neither with Luther nor with the Catholic party. Among them was one Carlstadt, a miserable fanatic, who had tried in many places to raise a storm against the Lutherans. He had first wanted to preach in Emden, but this was not allowed, and he was responsible for much ill-feeling. Enno wished to harmonise all the discordant elements,

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but before attempting this he resolved to wait for the resolution of the dispute at Marburg. Other affairs, however, troubled Enno, and he was compelled to let theology and doctrine go by the board for the moment. The enmity between the Cirksena and Oldenburg still existed, chiefly because Oldenburg held the Budjadingerland, which really belonged to Enno.

Oldenburg felt insulted because Enno had appointed a Warden at Jever, thus ignoring the fact that to Oldenburg belonged the guardianship of the Countesses of Jever. Balthasar of Esens, the son of Hero Omken, whose mother was an Oldenburg Princess, seized this opportunity, and of course sided with his mother's relatives against his hereditary enemies, the Cirksena. The fugitive Danish King, Christian II., a near relative of Oldenburg, and Floris von Büren, with Count Egmond, the Statthalter of the Netherlands, a great friend of the old Count Edzard, wished to avert the chance of war, and endeavoured to act as mediators. The Archbishop of Bremen thought this a favourable time to complain that Enno had taken away his

FROM SQUIRE TO PRINCE

monastery revenues. By the advice of Floris, Enno and John made a treaty with the Archbishop of Bremen, and gave him back his revenues, until a Church Council should decide the matter.

The exiled King of Denmark, hoping to regain his throne, wished to gain the friendship of Enno, so that in case of war he might make use of the harbours of East Frisia. After discussions many and bitter a marriage seemed to be the best way of arrangement. The Ambassadors met at Utrecht, on the 26th October 1529, and it was agreed that Count Enno should marry Anna of Oldenburg, and the Count Anton of Oldenburg should marry Anna of East Frisia. The dowry of the brides was to be 10,000 gulden each, and Enno, in addition, settled on Anna the old mint at Emden for her dower. Enno gave up all claims on Budjadingerland, and Anton abandoned his claim on Jever. Enno promised to the two Countesses, Anna and Maria of Jever, a sum of money; to Maria, being the youngest, 6000 gulden, and to Anna 3000 gulden. According to Frisian law, the younger received the greater sum. The

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two Countesses feeling wronged, sought the aid of a stronger arm, but met with little satisfaction.

As far as the religious struggle was concerned, Enno had read the document drawn up by the Lutheran clergymen, and had signed it in 1529. He called all the clergymen together for a Council on the 13th January 1530, and had the edict read to them, saying that he wished them to sign it at once. The ministers begged for time to consider the matter, and asked to have a copy of the edict, a reasonable request, which was refused. They would not sign everything that the edict contained, although Enno wished them to agree to all the clauses; Ulrich von Dornum, however, wisely kept the Count from using severe measures. Many clergymen, as a result of this discussion, were driven out of the country, among them Carlstadt, who joined Zwingli at Zürich. The Landgraf of Hesse also begged Enno to treat the clergymen more kindly. The Count swerved from one side to the other, but at last fairly went over to Aportanus. He soon, indeed, took little interest in these religious disputes, as more worldly matters demanded his attention.

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In March 1530 Enno went with sixty followers to Oldenburg, where he made fierce love to his bride-elect. The marriage was solemnised, and Enno and Anna returned to Aurich, where the wedding festivities began. Countess Anna made Enno a good wife, and was "loved of the people."

Enno, wishing to follow in his father's steps, and to become a hero in battle, was anxious to find some pretext for war. His Councillors endeavoured to dissuade him from anything rash, but Enno wished to prove himself independent. Balthasar at this time, having grievously ill-treated some East Frisians, gave cause to Enno for a declaration of war. A troop of East Frisians under Enno's command took the Castle of Wittmund by surprise; then Enno drew up his forces and marched against Esens, the town and stronghold of Balthasar. Enno encamped near Esens at Nordorf. There seems to have been some lack of watchfulness in Enno's army, for Balthasar stormed the camp and inflicted a defeat for the time on Enno. Enno, how-



GOLD "ENNO" COINS OF EAST FRISIA.

(By permission of John C. Eno, Esq.)

NOTE: The inscription on the Gold-gulden of Enno I, in the upper right-hand corner is in Gothic characters, and reads, "Mo. Eno. Co. i. Fsie. oie;" meaning *Moucta Enonis Comit'is Frisiae Orientalis*. The figure is St. John the Baptist. The remaining four Gold-gulden are of Enno II, where the name is spelt with two n's.

ENNO II.

ever, at once levied new forces, especially paid soldiers; in order to do this he was compelled to open the chest of stolen Church treasure at Emden. Even his brother John, who in the meanwhile had been at the Burgundian Court, and had gone with the Emperor Charles V. to Italy, could not give Enno enough help to enable him to take Esens. After Enno had lost some 800 Frisians he gave up all attempts to storm the town. Determined to succeed, Enno changed his plans, and cut off the roads leading to Esens, in order that he might starve the inhabitants; and Balthasar at last surrendered. On St Michael's Day, in 1530, Balthasar gave up his cannon, and Enno and John entered the town in triumph.

The conditions imposed on Balthasar by the victorious Count of East Frisia were onerous but necessary. Enno obtained the promise of Balthasar to hold Esens as a fief of East Frisia, and he furthermore agreed to be, like other nobles of the land, faithful, peaceable, and obedient; he pledged his word not to write himself as "we," but "I," and

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placed himself under the Count's jurisdiction. Balthasar also promised that in case of his death without legitimate male heirs, the Lordship of Esens should revert to the Count of East Frisia as the rightful overlord. He further agreed that of the Esens possessions, the Isle of Harling, and the four parishes of Westerholz, Ochtersund, Dumm, and Wittum should remain in the hands of the Count. Balthasar was also compelled to give up Wittmund House, and to pay a sum of 18,000 Philip Thalers before Count Enno would completely withdraw his forces. Balthasar agreed to these terms with outward complaisance, but with hatred in his heart.

The short space of a year sufficed to prove the quality of his sincerity.

THE REIGN OF ENNO II.—(CONT.)

THE REIGN OF ENNO II.—(*continued*)

IN the year 1531 Enno resolved to pay a visit to the Burgundian Court at Brussels. Seeing in this proposed absence of Enno a long-sought opportunity, Balthasar, under pretence of paying a visit to his brother-in-law in Westphalia, went part of the way with Enno in apparent amity. Upon leaving him, however, Balthasar, who was labouring under a sense of injustice, sought help from the Duke of Gueldres at Arnheim. The citizens of Esens had, meanwhile, secretly rebuilt the fortress wall, and John sent the Warden of Friedeburg to Esens to preserve order, and to see that the treaty stipulations were observed. He was shot, and the war broke out afresh. Then Balthasar spread the rumour that Enno had fallen into disgrace at Brussels, and that Folef of Kniphausen, his trusted friend, had

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died of fever. The East Frisians, on hearing these evil reports, appear to have lost courage, and if Balthasar could have marched at once against Emden, he might have scored a victory with far-reaching consequences. He tried to collect money and soldiers, but men would not follow a landless Chief. To encourage his soldiers, Balthasar showed them a letter from Maria of Jever, in which she promised them they should have the Castle of Jever as a place of refuge in case of need. Maria was angry at what she considered Enno's perfidy, and showed an unbecoming readiness to embarrass him in any way possible. The Lady Maria of Jever was evidently a woman of some spirit; she secretly got together fifty *Landsknechts* (troopers armed with a lance), and stole a march on Enno by making Boyneck of Oldersum, whom Enno had appointed Warden of her castle, her own Warden, promising to marry him if they were successful. Enno, having heard of these doings at Brussels, hurried home, in order to prevent the dangerous foe of his house, Balthasar, from passing

THE REIGN OF ENNO II.—(*continued*)

through Frisia to Esens; but in this short campaign Enno's soldiers fought badly, and the expedition was unsuccessful. Balthasar took the church at Wittmund, and burnt the monasteries at Norden. An old chronicler says that the church tower at Norden, with its high spire, which could be seen far up the Elbe, was burnt down, "in spite of the woe-cries of the inhabitants," who loved it. The foundation stones were to be seen two centuries later. Enno, in Emden, for some time saw the sky reddened every night, by the many fires which Balthasar had lit. John in return invaded the country round Esens, pillaging, plundering, and burning wherever he could.

The Danish King, Christian, who wished to regain his country, and who for this purpose was anxious to take the Frisian soldiers into his own service, begged Queen Marie, the Statthalter of the Emperor Charles V. in Brussels, to mediate for peace. Her efforts were successful, and the treaty of peace restored, as such treaties usually do, the *status*

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quo ante, and gave to Enno, as well as to Balthasar, what they had had before the war. As soon as peace was declared, anxious for revenge, Enno sent Ubbo, the son of Folef von Kniphausen, to punish Boyneck, the disloyal Warden of Jever. The burghers of Jever sought refuge in the castle and burned their own houses, in order to prevent Enno's troops from occupying them. Boyneck escaped from the castle, and sought an audience at the Court of Queen Marie, where he made bitter complaints against Enno and John. Enno was forbidden, as a consequence of these complaints, to undertake any war against Jever for the next six years, a prohibition which he regarded with a light heart. Boyneck and Marie, not feeling safe, begged the Emperor, Charles V., in 1532, to give Jever to Maria as an Imperial fief, Maria claiming the right, if she died childless, to leave it to whom she pleased.

Balthasar in Esens, with the Cirksena as near neighbours, not feeling safe, exchanged Esens for the fief of Bosande in Gueldres.

THE REIGN OF ENNO II.—(*continued*)

In this way the Duke of Gueldres became master of Esens; without loss of time he sent Hackfort, who is described as a cruel, hard-hearted man, to fortify the town. Enno objected to this exchange, but his remonstrances were of no avail. In 1532 there was much excitement among the common people, caused by several unusual physical phenomena. A flood swamped the land and produced great misery, while the people believed that a fiery comet in the sky foreboded great misfortune both to themselves and the reigning House.

Hackfort, without excuse, made two East Frisian nobles prisoners; Enno, as usual, was anxious to take revenge, and the inevitable war broke out again. Meinhard von Hamm marched against Enno, and there was a fierce battle fought on the 12th October, 1533. Enno and John almost lost their lives on the field. Meinhard then pillaged the country, captured and sacked Leer, Oldersum, Petkum and Ihlo; passed by Aurich, which had been warned, and then went on to Gretsyl, the well-stored and well-fortified castle of the

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Cirksena. The Warden was Albert of Bake-moor, who was indebted to Enno for everything. This man, however, had no courage, and after the siege had lasted some time, he surrendered in spite of the remonstrances of the soldiers, who begged him to wait. Albert and his friends were later condemned to death by Enno, who could not forgive the loss of his family seat. To put an end to the war, Enno begged the Fürstenbund (Union of Princes) to pass upon the merits of the dispute. A Council was called at Höxter, where Enno hastened, giving John plenary powers to make peace with Balthasar. John wisely made peace, however, with Duke Charles of Gueldres, the master and friend of Balthasar, whom he knew he could trust. Duke Charles then claimed 12,000 gulden for war expenses, and Wittmund for his vassal, Balthasar. In return he promised to give up Gretsyl. It was further agreed that Count Enno was to aid Duke Charles in every war, except in contests against the Emperor or the Empire; while, on the other hand, it was understood

THE REIGN OF ENNO II.—(*continued*)

that the Duke was to help Enno in any war in which he might become involved as soon as the Duke felt convinced that the cause was a just one. Emden was to be the price, in case the treaty was broken.

It is certain that Enno gained little from his constant and bitter quarrels with Balthasar, who was evidently a man, shrewd, and of some skill in arms. At this time Enno's attention was again called to the internal disputes of a religious character that threatened his country.

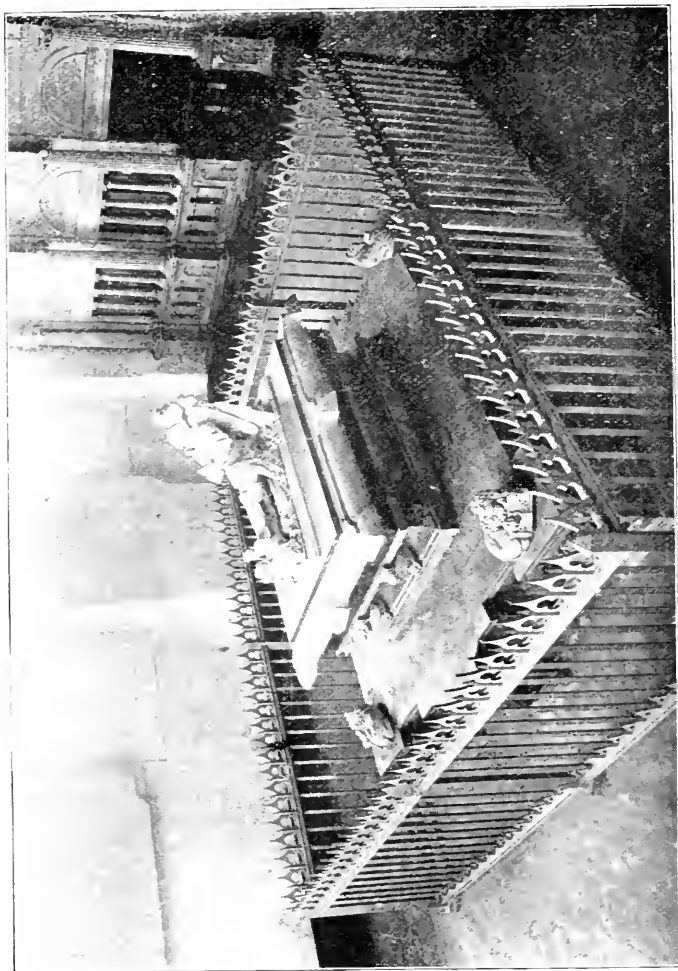
When Enno in 1530 had given up all attempts to force his clergymen to adopt the Lutheran theses of the Council of Bremen, these clergymen had gone on their own way, and a new sect was gradually evolved. The members of this party were neither followers of Luther nor of Zwingli. They were apparently Anabaptists, teaching that Christ will return and establish a new earthly kingdom, and that Christians must be baptised again to show themselves worthy of being His followers. These people are first

FROM SQUIRE TO PRINCE

mentioned as present in East Frisia in the year 1528. The chief Anabaptist was Melchior Hofmann, a furrier by trade. He was a man of some little learning, and appears to have possessed great eloquence. In some way he had gained the favour of the Emperor, who made him a clergyman. He caused much trouble, and was driven away from many places; he finally settled in East Frisia. The religious situation in Frisia at this time was peculiar, many giving themselves up to every form of unbridled pleasure and vice, while others looked upon the most harmless joy as sin. The latter party objected to the following proclamation of Count Enno, who was anxious to preserve the Frisian customs:

“We command that all our subjects dress their children according to the old Frisian manner, and *adorn* them with silver ornaments.”

The edict was interpreted by the more liberal party as conceived in their interest, and as directed against the stern and gloomy zealots who saw wrong in any innocent amusement.



TOMB OF COUNT ENNO II. IN THE "GROSSE KIRCHE" AT EMDEN.

From a photograph.

THE REIGN OF ENNO II.—(*continued*)

When Hofmann appeared at Emden in 1530, Count Enno took too little interest in religious matters to oppose him, and Aportanus was dead. Hofmann, having no opponent, by his fantastic preaching gained many hearts, and it is recorded that three hundred men were re-baptised in one day. Enno, upon hearing of Hofmann's success, sent for him, and it is said that the eloquent words of Hofmann moved him to tears. Hofmann came for the last time to Emden in 1533, for upon going to Strassburg he was imprisoned until he died. Emden, where the Anabaptists had never gained a very strong footing, and which never became over-fanatical, may be regarded as the foundation-stone of the present Dutch Church.

Enno upon his return from Hörter confirmed the treaty which John had made with the Duke of Gueldres. Then turning his attention once more to religion, he wrote to Duke Ernst of Lüneburg, who was the brother-in-law of the Duke of Gueldres, asking him to send to East Frisia some Lutheran clergymen. These men

FROM SQUIRE TO PRINCE

strengthened the practice of the Lutheran doctrine in the land, and any minister unwilling to sign the papers of the Church Council was forced to give up his parish. More clergymen preferred rather to give up their religious convictions than their rich livings.

Enno and John both hoped by the re-introduction of the Lutheran doctrine to pacify the land, although in later years John became a Roman Catholic. Up to this time the brothers had agreed in all important points.

According to the will of Count Edzard, Enno was to govern alone, but John, who was masterful in temper, had always taken part in the government, and Enno had always hesitated to assert his claim to the position of sole ruler. Enno, however, now wished to govern alone, and in order to gain his point asked Queen Marie's aid. She promised, at Enno's suggestion, to give John the County of Falkenburg, if the "Commons of East Frisia" would give him a considerable sum of money as compensation. This instance is the first in which "Commons" are referred to in a state document. After having considered the

THE REIGN OF ENNO II.—(*continued*)

matter, the Commons at Aurich, in 1537, decided to give John the sum required, *i.e.* 42,000 gulden, if he would for all time give up his claim to East Frisia, and if the ruling House would agree not to regard this incident as a precedent. Enno, who was glad to get rid of his brother, himself gave John a revenue of 2000 gulden, a generous provision. John, however, was not content, and in 1538, Enno called a Council at the Monastery of Sielmönken, where he asked the Commons to raise the sum given to John from 42,000 to 100,000 gulden, as Queen Marie wished him to marry Dorothea, the beautiful but illegitimate daughter of the Emperor Maximilian. The Council at last consented, after much discussion, on condition that John agreed to give up all claims on Frisia for himself and his children for ever. As a sign of gratitude, Enno, in 1539, raised Aurich from the position of a hamlet to the rank of a town, with town privileges.

Count Enno had long wished to regain Harlingerland, but he preferred peaceful measures. An ingenious idea occurred to his

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mind, and he sought the help of his wife in order to carry it out. Countess Anna, who was related to Balthasar, suggested to the old enemy of the Cirksena that he should marry Enno's sister, the Lady Armgard of East Frisia. Balthasar, who was rather astonished at the proposal, was willing, but insisted that Count Enno should first give him back the cannon which he and John had captured. Enno promised to do so *after* the marriage, as he had a wholesome distrust of Balthasar's promises, derived from bitter experience. But Balthasar was obstinate, and would not yield, and Enno sent the cannon back to Aurich.

Balthasar, always turbulent, even in time of peace, having captured two ships belonging to Bremen, was outlawed by the Imperial Council. On account of this check, he wished to form an alliance with East Frisia, yet in spite of his evil plight he first reclaimed his captured cannon, and then secretly collected a troop of some 1500 soldiers in order to carry out a long-planned expedition against Jever.

Maria of Jever had rebuilt the town of Jever,

had governed it with wisdom and care, and although a Roman Catholic, had taken some interest in the Lutheran teachings, and had not attempted to prevent their spread in her dominions. As age drew on, and the healing influence of time increased, Maria's hatred against Enno gradually diminished in intensity, while the Count of East Frisia had long wished to do away with the misunderstandings between the Chatelaine of Jever and himself. A meeting was arranged by mutual desire at Aurich, where the rival rulers met. Here, for the first time, Enno heard that Jever was regarded as a Burgundian fief. This meeting was productive of much good, and Enno promised to assist Jever if necessary. He was soon called upon to make good his promise, for Balthasar, eager for action, invaded Jever, and Maria applied to Enno for help. Enno at once sent his soldiers, while Balthasar retreated to the frontier. When Jever was again at peace, Maria made a treaty with Enno, promising to require of her heir that he should marry a Countess of the House of Cirksena. Enno, foreseeing fresh difficulties which might

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arise for his children by means of this treaty, wished to refuse, but Von Kniphausen, one of his nobles, persuaded him to accept in order to secure peace as soon as possible.

Balthasar died in October 1540, just after his cousin and life-long enemy had passed away, for Count Enno died at Emden on the 25th of September 1540, while still a young man, in the thirty-sixth year of his life, and in the twelfth year of his reign. He left a widow, the Countess Anna, and six children; three sons, Edzard, Christopher, and John, and three daughters. His body was buried in the Great Church at Emden, where a marble monument to his memory is to be seen. Anna at once assumed the reins of government, but with anxious thoughts of the times to come, for her husband's brother, John, called, after his county, John of Falkenburg, had taken up his residence at Emden, and lived there in splendour with a suite of fifty persons. He now claimed, on somewhat doubtful grounds, to be the guardian of his brother's children. He had become a Roman Catholic, and was not popular with the



EFFIGY ON TOMB OF COUNT INNO II

From a photograph.

Illustration, May 1924.

THE REIGN OF ENNO II.—(*continued*)

Frisians, whom he had renounced, but Charles V. and Queen Marie, the Statthalter of the Netherlands, favoured his cause.

The reign of Enno II., although short, was eventful, and his success as a war-lord was never in doubt. He compelled Balthasar to leave Esens, and he secured East Frisia for himself and his children, to the exclusion of his brother John and his heirs. He continued the work of the Reformation begun by his father, and died at an early age, mourned by his people; as a chronicler of the time aptly sums up his life work—*Bene fecit.*

EDZARD II., CHRISTOPHER,
AND JOHN

EDZARD II., CHRISTOPHER, AND JOHN

JOHN, of Falkenburg, the brother of Enno II., until the coming of age of his nephews, was at first regarded as the acknowledged feudal Lord of East Frisia by command of the Emperor. He lived at this time in Emden in splendid style. Upon the death of Count Enno, however, the Commons, Prelates, and Officers at Aurich took the Oath of Allegiance to Countess Anna and her sons, ignoring John. John tried in many ways and often to force the East Frisians to acknowledge him as their supreme Lord, but without avail, for these people remembered that he had renounced all his rights on receiving a large sum of money some years before. John à Lasco, born in 1499, a Pole and a fugitive from his country, was favoured by the Countess Anna, and being a man of some learning, eventually reformed the Church

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of East Frisia, which retains to-day as its doctrines those laid down by à Lasco. While John à Lasco was reforming the Church, Countess Anna turned her attention to legal matters, and reformed the civil laws of her country. Among other additions and improvements she introduced in 1545 the so-called "Police Laws of Countess Anna," which were designed to increase the power of the ruling House. Anna's eldest daughter, Elizabeth, married Count Johann von Schaumburg in 1555. In 1557, at Cologne, John of Falkenburg died a madman, made so by thwarted ambition and disappointed pride. Anna gave much attention to the education of her sons, and made one Gnaphæus the tutor of the young Counts, who studied at the University of Strassburg. In 1558, Edzard, the eldest, came of age. Anna preferred John, her youngest son, to his brothers, and begged the Emperor to make all three sons the Lords of the land. This was against the principle of primogeniture, recognised by Edzard I., in the agreement of 1527. The Emperor

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consented on condition that the Countess was to govern until the Council should choose one of the sons to be the reigning Count. Soon the question of Edzard's marriage began to be discussed. Duke Franz von Sachsen-Lauenburg, who was connected with the House of Cirksena as well as with the Swedish House, wished Edzard to marry the Swedish Princess Catherine, the daughter of Gustavus I., and in 1557 several Swedish Ambassadors were sent to East Frisia to negotiate the marriage settlement, and to arrange a commercial treaty. During this visit Edzard was asked by the Embassy to come to Sweden. Edzard's personality pleased the Swedish Royal House, as he was unusually attractive. The marriage contract contained a provision to the effect that Edzard's eldest son should be his eventual successor. The Princess's dowry was agreed on as 100,000 thalers and many jewels. Norden and Berum were to be her dower (widow's portion), as well as a revenue of 6000 thalers.

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John went with Edzard, his brother, to Sweden, and there fell in love with the gay Cecilia, Catherine's fair sister, who was a precocious girl. The ardent lover, then a youth of twenty, climbed into her room late one night through the window, some say by invitation, and was caught by Cecilia's eldest brother, Eric. He was thrown into prison and his life threatened, for Eric had reported all to his father, King Gustavus. Although Edzard begged to be imprisoned with his brother, John was hurried away to a castle far away in the country, where he was imprisoned. There is no doubt that much of the indignation of the Royal Family of Sweden was assumed, in order to place them in a better position in respect of the negotiations for Catherine's marriage with Edzard. Countess Anna was in despair at the plight of her favourite son, and begged all the Princes for help, especially the Elector of Brandenburg, at whose Court John had been staying. After much pleading John was set at liberty within the space of three months, on his promising

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not to take any revenge. This unhappy experience of his early life made him earnest and quiet, and a hater of women. Cecilia, forgetful of her first lover, married a Markgraf of Baden, and became a Roman Catholic. John returned to his mother, who was anxiously awaiting him, and then went to the Court at Brandenburg. The marriage of Count Edzard and Catherine took place in 1559. Edzard's wife stayed in Sweden until peace was restored between the Cirksena and the Swedish Court. Indeed, her first child, Margaret, was born in Sweden. Then coming with her husband to East Frisia, the postponed marriage festivities took place at Aurich, when the Lady Heilwig of Cirksena was betrothed to Duke Otto of Lüneburg. Catherine was a strict Lutheran, and very narrow in her views. Having come from a country that boasted but few towns and villages, she was astonished to see the Frisian cities with big houses, and a population comparatively dense. John returned to East Frisia in 1561, and from this date, state documents and coins bear the names of the

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three Counts, "Edzard, Christopher, und Johann." Christopher went to join in a crusade against the Turks, and unfortunately died of dysentery at Comorn, in Hungary, in 1566. Edzard and John were then anew enfeoffed, although as yet Anna was regarded by her two sons as the ruler of the country. Edzard obeyed her on account of her intellectual superiority and habit, John rather from inclination and sympathy.

East Frisia, to a certain extent, now became involved in the war raging in the Low Countries. Alba was sent to the Netherlands in 1567, where he was opposed by Prince William of Orange (called "the Silent"), the future founder of the independence of the Netherlands. This affected East Frisia to an important degree, because William's brother, Ludwig of Nassau, collected about him at Emden the Netherland fugitives. Alba, in order to disperse this embryonic force, sent Count Aremburg against Ludwig. Aremburg was defeated, and both he and Ludwig's brother, Adolf of Nassau, were slain, as report had it, by each other's

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sword. At the battle of Jemgum, however, Alba defeated Ludwig, who escaped in a boat to Emden. As a result of Ludwig's defeat, Alba took sixteen cannon. The Counts Edzard and John asked the Emperor for a compensatory sum of 300,000 gulden, for the harm done by Alba's soldiers during this campaign, but there is no record of the payment of any such sum.

Terrible floods took place in 1570, and much of the work of Countess Anna's Regency in the buildings of dams and dykes was undone.

English cloth had long been exported to East Frisia, and at this time many cloth-weavers, banished by Queen Mary I. of England, on account of their adherence to the Protestant faith, came to Emden. Anna, by the ill-advised favour which she had constantly shown towards Count John, her younger son, wrought much ill-feeling between the brothers. The Swedish Princess Catherine, Edzard's wife, who was a proud and haughty woman, refused to give way to the younger brother. A war broke out in 1570, as a consequence of this dispute, between Edzard and John. A series

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of brotherly quarrels seemed hereditary in the House of Cirksena.

Edzard II. was tall, well-mannered, and good at all sports, but he stammered in his speech, and was not quick at thinking. His wife, the Princess, gradually gained greater influence over him, and he became a Lutheran, while John remained an adherent of the reformed religion. The dissensions in the land were now represented by the two brothers. Edzard wished his brother John to give up his claims to the country, and, like his Uncle John, to take as a compensation a sum of money. John refused, for in his own interest he wished the country to be divided. The brothers went with their dispute to the Imperial Court at Speier. The Court desired the brothers to equally share in the duties of state. Edzard, not satisfied with this compromise, asked the King of Sweden to mediate. The Diet meanwhile announced that Edzard was sole heir, and that to divide the country would be to ruin it. Countess Anna died at Gretsyl in 1575. Edzard was not at her deathbed, for the

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relations between mother and son, never very cordial, had of late become much strained. She lies buried in the Great Church at Emden, where rest so many of the Cirksena. Edzard's wife came to the funeral, which was conducted with great ceremony. After Anna's death John became Lord of Gretsyl, Stickhausen, and Leerort. He fortified these towns and claimed half of the customs money levied at Emden. Edzard objected to these claims, particularly to the payment of any part of the customs dues, and asked the Emperor, Rudolf II., to help in this dispute. The Emperor, however, referred him to the Diet. The Diet, after some discussion, divided the country between the brothers, John keeping his three towns. Edzard asked the Hansa in 1576 to add Emden to their Union, which they, however, refused to do.

Maria of Jever died in 1575, and by the terms of her will Count John of Oldenburg became her heir. She stated that she wished Jever never to become the property of the House of Cirksena, forgetful of her promise to

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Count Enno II. Since then Jever has always belonged to Oldenburg, in accordance with Countess Maria's dying wish.

Balthasar's sister, Onna, Countess of Ritberg, had left a son, John, called "The Madman." He died in prison. His wife, Agnes or Agneta, a gentle patient woman, held his inheritance for her two daughters: Armgard (who became the wife of Count Erich of Hoya, and inherited the County of Ritberg), and Walburg, who was heir to Harlingerland. Edzard asked the Lady Walburg in marriage for his eldest son, Enno. After some discussion this union was agreed to, and Enno, when eighteen years old, married Walburg and lived at Esens. Edzard, wishing to mark this day as a special festival, entered Esens at the head of three hundred riders, a sight not altogether pleasing to the shade of Balthasar.

The Lady Armgard of Hoya died soon after, and Walburg inherited Ritberg. As a result of this inheritance, Enno was made Lord of the County of Ritberg by the Landgraf, William of Hesse. In 1586 the Lady Walburg bore





FRIDRICH ALBRECHT

a son, who died after a few days. Walburg did not live long after this unfortunate event, and, dying suddenly, left two daughters. East Frisia was a fief, and recognised only male inheritance, Harlingerland, on the other hand, was heritable by females, so that the provinces threatened to be again divided. The death of Walburg was a hard blow for Edzard and Enno. A rumour spread that Walburg had been poisoned, and three women were tortured to death to gain a confession, but in vain. She probably died from natural causes.

Edzard had his two younger sons brought up in the Roman Catholic faith. Religious discussions were growing more violent in the Netherlands at this time, and the Emperor advised the East Frisians not to favour the Netherlandets. Rumours spread that Edzard was in the paid service of King Philip II. of Spain, a report that injured the Count both with the Emperor and with his own subjects. In 1581 Count John sought help from Queen Elizabeth, who, with her well-known love of meddling in foreign politics,

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tried to reconcile the two brothers, but their religious opinions kept them apart. Margaret, the eldest daughter of Count Edzard, died in 1588, and her body was brought to the "Grosse Kirche" of Emden to be interred. The Lutheran clergymen, by Edzard's command, attempted to read the service in the church. The congregation, however, forbade him to go up the chancel, and he had to officiate in the private chapel. Edzard was now convinced that in religious matters he could not force his subjects to follow his own ideas, and at length abandoned the attempt in disgust.

Count Edzard, instead of choosing his Councillors from among his people, as his ancestors had done, took foreigners as his advisers. The Frisian nobles hated this practice, and would have little to do with the strangers. Edzard, nothing daunted, insisted upon the fulfilment of his orders, as he wished to show that he was supreme lord. This was due to the influence of his wife, Catherine, the Swedish Princess, who, after the manner of women in all times, and ever mindful that she was

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a King's daughter, could not forget that her husband was only a Count. Her brother often scoffed at her about her small country, and this appears to have touched her pride. The chronicles of the time call Catherine a "mischief-making woman." There is no evidence to show, however, any malice in her acts.

Edzard's daughter, Anna, whose first husband had been the Elector Palatine, wished to marry again, and Edzard asked the Council in 1582 to settle on her 20,000 gulden. The Commons asked Edzard to sign an agreement that this sum should only be paid once, a measure of precaution the Commons seem to have adopted as a habit.

Besides the civil war intermittently raging between Edzard and John, strife in the Netherlands threatened to break out again, and the Council, in despair at the divided state of the land, begged the brothers to arrange a reconciliation. This appeared impossible, in spite of much talk, and the two turned to the Emperor for help, as usual. In September

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1587 Edzard's two elder sons, Enno and John, took possession of the fortress of Stiekhausen. Count John, the uncle, was so enraged at this act, that Enno went to Leerort to pacify him, but he was not admitted to his uncle's presence. Menso Alting, by Enno's wish, visited Count John who was ill and melancholy, and was assured by John that he only wished for a just decision of the dispute between Edzard and himself. Edzard, still in some fear, however, forbade the gates of Emden to be opened to John in case he should come to the town. In 1589 Duke Julius of Braunschweig-Detmold and Count Simon of Lippe were selected to be the arbitrators in the quarrels of the two brothers. The Emperor's decree confirming their decision, which was really a compromise, is the first document in the East Frisian records.

The Spaniards at this time made inroads into Frisia, but the East Frisian Council would not grant money to levy soldiers, and the country remained unprotected. Edzard neglected to carry out the conditions of the

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compromise of 1589, and new troubles threatened to arise.

Count John, the brother of Edzard II., died on St Michael's Day at Stickhausen, in 1591. His portrait is that of a handsome man, with an air of melancholy. About midnight the news of his death came to Aurich, and two hours later Edzard was on his way to Stickhausen, while his son John hurried to Leerort to fortify the castles. Enno's whereabouts at the time of his uncle's death is not stated.

The corpse of John was brought to Emden, and Edzard and his wife, the Princess Catherine, went to the funeral. Menso Alting, the clergyman of the reformed party, preached, and hoped by his sermon to make an impression on Enno, a hope in which he was not destined to succeed, as Enno was not present; undismayed, Menso Alting had his sermon printed, and dedicated it to the heir. Enno, who liked clever men, enjoyed Menso's society, and spent much time with him. Menso hoped to win the future ruler over

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to the reformed cause, but Count Edzard, after John's death, expelled the reformed clergymen, and replaced them by Lutherans. Menso tried to influence Edzard through his son, Enno, but in vain. As time went on, Edzard grew more despotic. He even imprisoned six burghers without due cause, and set them at liberty only when compelled by the Emperor's commands. Among other arbitrary acts, he levied high taxes. For his Chief Councillor he chose one Ficinus, a man hated by the people, who believed him to be a Jesuit. Edzard wished the Council to settle a certain dowry on his daughters, but the Commons refused, and, as usual, the Emperor was asked to mediate. He called a Council at Norden, in 1593, but Edzard did not come himself, and in his place sent Enno. At this Council the taxes were fixed, and a poll-tax was required, but the people refused to pay.

After several more instances of the despotic use of his power the people began to be afraid that Catherine and Edzard inclined towards the Roman Catholic religion, and rumour

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declared that Edzard's younger sons were Roman Catholics. This rumour created much excited opposition, which was helped by the writings of Menso Alting, who had been asked by the Diet of Gröningen to reform their Church. Edzard wished to depose him, but he refused, saying that the Church of Emden had elected him, not the Count of East Frisia. The Magistracy could do nothing in the affair, although urged by Edzard to take some step. Menso said that if the Church wished him to give up his post, he would do so at once. In order to settle the difficulty Enno came to Emden, invited Menso several times to meet him, and tried to gather his view of the affair. Enno found that malcontents were numerous, and seeing that mediation was impossible, he returned to Aurich, and from there, washing his hands of the affair, went on a journey. As the Emden burghers did not fulfil Edzard's wish by expelling Menso, Edzard and Catherine sought aid from their relation, the King of Sweden, who promised to allow no Emden ship in the harbour of

Danzig. Upon hearing this the Diet of Emden called upon the Emperor for help. Ficinus, who appeared before the Emperor at Prague, succeeded in winning him over to Edzard's side, and a warrant was sent against the burghers of Emden; but even yet the obstinate burghers would not give in. Edzard claimed the alms collected in the churches, but the Church Council refused to give him the money. He called a Council together, but without avail. The famous Emden insurrection broke out on 18th of March 1595. All things at this time were of bad omen for Edzard. The Town Council was deposed and a new one chosen. The nobles assembled at Oldersum, and advised the Count to appear at a Council in person, and not to send his Councillors. They begged him, in addition, not to levy foreign troops, but this he refused. A new complaint, trivial in its nature, against Edzard, was sent to the Emperor at Prague. The Emperor by this time must have been rather tired of the unruly East Frisian people. Edzard, not to be outdone, asked the Netherlands to mediate.

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At last the Treaty of Delfzyl gave peace for a time to both Emden and the Count. Emden, until then a small commercial harbour, now increased continually in importance.

Enno wished to wed Princess Anna of Holstein after the death of his first wife, and negotiations for the marriage were duly carried out, so that Enno went, in June 1598, to marry the Princess of his choice.

The plague raged in Emden, Aurich, and Norden in 1597, an omen regarded as evil for the marriage of the Heir Apparent. Count Edzard had been unwell for some time, and on the 27th February 1599 had his relatives called to his deathbed. When they were all present he raised his head and blessed his children and grandchildren, making the sign of a cross. He asked his children for the sake of the love and duty they owed him to live in peace with their mother. Two days later, on the 1st of March 1599, he died, unregretted by his people.

When Edzard took the Government of the country into his hands, the people were

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attached to their Reigning House by a century of joy and sorrow which they had spent together. Enno II., although brave and popular, had been thoughtless and careless, but Countess Anna's protecting hand after his death had restored peace and prosperity to the country. She, however, by unduly favouring her younger son, had sown the seeds of dissension, and peace was destroyed. Of the Princess Catherine, who bore Count Edzard eleven children, it is said that she "abode until old age in the fear of the Lord." She established a Home for Widows at Haag. The people who had called Edzard I. their father, had little love for Catherine, and none for Edzard II. They had but small confidence in him as their ruler and lord. The Frisians looked on him rather as a stepfather, and regarded his lightest act with distrust. Edzard himself is described as "generous, pious, and learned." He ruled, co-jointly with his mother and brothers, for nearly forty-one years. Experience, however, shows that it is wiser to have a single head to a state. In this case Edzard and John

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(after Christopher's death) separated, and divided not only land, power, and religion, but also the hearts of their people. After John's death, the lands torn away rightly returned to Edzard, but in no sense can he be regarded as a great or even as a successful ruler.

It was a characteristic of the Frisian people to trust absolutely until they found their trust betrayed; when that happened, they were unsparing in condemnation. Slow to anger; when aroused, their passion was at white heat, and they showed neither mercy nor charity. "Nemo me impune lacessit," appeared to be their motto, and the man who disregarded its warning, did so to his sorrow.

THE LATER COUNTS.—ENNO III.

THE LATER COUNTS.—ENNO III.

WHEN the five sons of Edzard II. came together after their father's death, in order to sign the Treaty of Delfzyl, the people saw that, having regard to the state of things during former reigns, their brotherly love was very marked. After their father's death not one of the brothers thought of disclaiming their eldest brother Enno as their Lord. This was partly due to their mother's influence. The people hoped that Enno would really restore peace in his country; and were ready to receive him with open arms. Enno was in the prime of manhood at the time of his accession; he is described as brave, handsome, and charming in manner. The chronicles say that he often regretted his father's severity in dealing with the Commons, and that he had never approved the heavy taxes so

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arbitrarily levied by Count Edzard II. His adversaries complained of Enno's severity in Harlingerland, but the Harlingers, on the other hand, called him kind and indulgent. He was liberal in his views, and was respected by his enemies. In days of peace it is likely that his reign would have been a happy one, but the inheritance of strife and dissension left by his father carried its own punishment. It appeared to Enno necessary, that as punishment for the rebellion of its citizens, some measure of humiliation should be meted out to the town of Emden. Edzard had treated the three estates of Nobles, Clergy, and People with so little consideration, that the nobles still felt aggrieved, but Enno knew that their ambition would make them willing to join his cause. The nobles begged Count Enno to bring the corpse of Edzard to Emden, but they also required Enno to dismiss the foreign troops sent by his father. At the same time, the people of Emden begged the Count to help them punish certain pirates; the leader of the band was taken prisoner, but escaped,



COUNT ENNO III.

*From a portrait in the Town Hall
at Aunch]*

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some say by the Count's connivance. A deputation was sent to Count Enno, but he received it coldly, and affairs began again to wear an evil look in Emden. A new insurrection broke out, and a Council was called on the 2nd of June 1599. Several questions were discussed, among others the following.

Enno, as the first-born, and according to the system of primogeniture, called himself *born* Count. The Council would not agree to this assumption, and wished his title to be *elected* Count. Much time was lost in this trivial discussion, but at last the Assembly had to give up their preference for the word *elected*. Then followed a host of complaints, nearly all petty, relating to meadow-right, cattle, water, and other unimportant matters. In September 1599, the Concord of Emden was signed, but although the Assembly promised Enno 100,000 thalers, the peace secured was only temporary. The nobles did homage to Enno, and in November 1599, Enno entered Emden in triumph with thirty knights and twenty-two carriages. Menso Alting, now an old man, preached at the service

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held on the day of homage, and, with pointed reference to the new Count, chose David as the type of a good king. Enno and his brother Gustavus after the service, went to the new market, and Franzius, the Chancellor, made a speech in reply to the address of Menso Alting, in which he referred pointedly to the duty of *subjects*. Then the procession went to the Town Hall, where a banquet was held. In the evening bonfires were lit in front of the houses, and there was general rejoicing. The town of Emden gave as a gift the sum of 10,000 thalers to the Countess Anna, Enno's wife. Enno made William of Kniphausen Warden of Emden, an appointment that was popular. In many ways Enno tried to gain the love of his burghers; he often visited the citizens and dined with them. Enno, among other plans, hoped still to regain Jever from the House of Oldenburg. He also tried once more to arrange a reconciliation between the two religious parties in Frisia, but in vain. An indirect tax on corn, wheat, and salt, was levied, and, as a consequence, the people became more or less discontented.

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Princess Catherine, Enno's mother, had as a widow's portion Norden and Berum, where at least she was supreme mistress, and was not obliged to carry out Enno's wishes. She appears to have wished to exercise little influence on Frisian affairs after her husband's death.

Enno's two daughters were called Sabina Catherine, and Agnes. The Lady Sabina loved her uncle, John, Enno's brother, and did not hesitate to show her preference. Enno did not at once decide whether he could allow such a marriage, but he knew that as John was a Roman Catholic, the Pope could give a dispensation. Enno, in order to simplify matters, gave to his two daughters as guardians his two brothers; he then gave up all claims on Ritberg, and promised his daughters each 200,000 thalers as their dowry. His daughters in return gave him Harlingerland. The Pope sanctioned the marriage of Sabina and John, on condition that they should bring Ritberg back to the Roman Catholic Church. Sabina, it appears, espoused the Roman Catholic faith zealously; she was fond of her people and hoped to make them happier by bringing them back

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to the old faith. This change of tenets was gradually secured, and Ritberg became once more Roman Catholic. The Lady Sabina was very popular and much beloved in her country.

East Frisia was a country with a sea-coast, although a navy had been neglected in early days. Enno had always loved the sea. In the harbour of Emden ships of all nations found shelter; but in case of war, Enno could not defend himself and Germany, on account of his lack of ships, against the naval enemy. Enno proposed, in order to remedy this danger, to build men-of-war. The Chancellor Franzius, who had great influence with his master, had long wished the Emperor to make Enno Imperial Admiral. He said, in proposing this appointment, that Count Enno was a man learned in naval matters, and that East Frisia had a river with good natural harbours, not far from the sea, which could be made useful to Germany. The Emperor favoured the Chancellor's ideas, but this platonic approval was all the help given by the Emperor to the proposed Frisian fleet. The Chancellor, who

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disliked the Countess Dowager, advised Enno not to allow his mother too many privileges, as his father had done, for he pointed out, "It is not good to have two masters governing." The nobles were now at peace with Enno, as he had chosen his Councillors from among them. Franzius advised Enno to hear and remedy the complaints of the reformed party, advice which Enno wisely took. Emden mistrusted Enno, mindful always of his father's faults, and Enno was unwise enough to tax chimneys in 1601. At once a storm arose in Emden, and Enno tried to justify himself in a speech at the Town Hall, but in vain. The usual rebellion broke out at Emden, while Norden, the residence of Catherine, refused to acknowledge Enno as its master. The Emperor, after hearing Enno's complaint, gave the rebellious Nordeners thirty days' grace, when they were forced to acknowledge Enno. Emden suffered the same fate, but only after a very long and cruel war, which was ended by the Treaty of the Hague in 1603. The Treaty of the Hague unfortunately restored peace for a short time only.

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Many Emden ships were captured by Spain, and Enno was held responsible, on account of certain documents with his seal, which proved him to be the author of passports given to the enemies. Many think Franzius acted without Enno's knowledge in this matter. He did not dismiss his Chancellor in spite of many complaints and requests, and in this way gave his enemies cause to believe that he wished the Spaniards to act as they had done. After repeated disputes, the chief magistrate of Emden seized the Emden possessions of the Count, a measure unwarranted by circumstances, and satisfied the claims of those harmed by the Spaniards; at the same time, he forbade burghers to receive passports from the Count, or to acknowledge Enno as their master. A document embodying these impudent assertions of sovereignty was sent to Enno in May 1608.

Countess Anna, Enno's wife, whom the constant worry had made ill, consulted about this time a doctor at Emden, and there had a confidential conversation with Menso Alting, in which she informed him that Enno would

gladly make peace with the city. Menso told her that Enno could only regain Emden by reforming the jurisdiction and showing confidence in the good-will of the burghers. Anna, who had spoken only of her own accord, found Enno "hard-necked," according to a writer of the time; he hoped to gain help from the Hague, and intended going there himself, but the death of his brother prevented the journey. Enno was like wax in the hands of Franzius, whose influence overweighed that of Anna. The rebellious garrison of Emden attacked Aurich, which was still loyal, and acknowledged Enno as its Lord. The soldiers plundered the castle of the Count, took documents, plate, and jewels, and brought them to Emden; on this foray they captured several of the nobles as well as the son of Franzius, the Chancellor. Rendered reckless by their successful rebellion they took Gretsyl. These acts of violence and robbery caused many of the subjects of Enno to return to their allegiance. Count Enno was meanwhile in safety at Leerort. After a long illness, Countess

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Anna died there in the spring of 1610 at the age of thirty-six. Enno was deeply grieved, but neither he nor his sons risked going with the corpse to Aurich, as it was in the hands of the rebels. The promises of his relations, on which he had relied when daring to undertake so many expeditions, had failed of fulfilment, but he still hoped that peace would be restored by means of the mediation of the Hague; but he hoped in vain. At last, in despair, Enno promised to give Leerort for five years to the Netherlands, and they tried at last to restore peace. The *Osterhusische Accord*, dated May 1611, is one of the important documents in the history of East Frisia. This treaty arranged all questions at issue between the Count and his subjects, as to taxes, income, and laws, while Count Enno got back all his castles except Leerort, which was alienated for five years. This treaty was the foundation of the future constitution of the country. As a consequence of the signature of this convention, Enno dismissed Franzius, the Chancellor, whom the people hated mortally, and it seemed

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for the time that Enno and his subjects were henceforth to be on better terms with each other than ever before. He was often at Emden, and especially sought the society of Menso Alting, who was a man of great influence. This ecclesiastic, however, soon died, and with him Ubbo Emmius, one of the most celebrated learned men of his time, a theologian and historian. Fabricius, a celebrated astronomer, lived about the same time. In 1614 the lord of Oldersum died, and Enno laid claim to the castle through an old treaty made between his uncle and the former owner of Oldersum. The dispute was to be decided at Speier, where stood the Imperial Law Court, but Enno took the law into his own hands, and with his soldiers took possession of Oldersum. After several quarrels with his nobles, they rebelled against Enno, and he saw that he would have to give in. In revenge, however, he asked the States General (Netherlands) to incorporate his country with theirs. The nobles and Emden, both rightly indignant at Enno's treachery, then united against the Count, and

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he was taken prisoner at his own castle in Emden. When, however, news came that Enno's sons and brothers were approaching, he was set at liberty. This was in 1619.

The Thirty Years' War broke out in 1618. In spite of much temptation, Enno decided to remain neutral. In the year 1622, however, some Emden ships were captured by the Spanish, and Enno, with his usual ill-fortune, was again regarded as having aided the Spaniards. In revenge, General Mansfeld ravaged East Frisia, and Enno was captured and held until he should pay the heavy ransom of 600,000 thalers. The Diet declared that it was impossible to raise such a sum, and in despair Enno sent his eldest son Rudolf-Christian to the Hague, but it is not improbable that the plight of their Count was the cause of less sorrow to the East Frisians than he imagined. Nothing was gained, and the soldiers of Mansfeld were, in the meantime, treating the people shamefully and cruelly. Emden alone had withstood Mansfeld. At last, in June 1623, some burghers, relying upon promises of reward,



COUNT ENNO III.

From an old print.

[To face page 143.]

THE LATER COUNTS.—ENNO III.

helped Enno to escape, and he went to Emden, quite happy to be in personal safety. The Duke of Oldenburg, more fortunate than Enno, knew how to keep Mansfeld and his legions out of his lands, and Enno regarded him with unconcealed envy. Tilly, the new General of the Roman Catholic party, wished to drive Mansfeld out of East Frisia, to occupy Emden, and from here take possession of the Netherlands. As a result of all these campaigns the land was bare of all food. Fourteen months of Mansfeld's pillaging and plundering in East Frisia had ruined the country.

On the 19th of August, 1625, Enno III., at the age of sixty-two, died at Leerort, amid the lamentations of the few subjects still faithful to his fortunes. His life was a long succession of misfortunes, and every hard fate that can befall a monarch burdened this unfortunate Count, who was, after all, brave and loyal to his friends. He was unfortunate rather than foolish. His reign, apart from the purely personal ill-luck that followed him, was most important for the development of the East

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Frisian constitution, and even in the present day, the record of Enno's reign is to be found in the religious and communal systems of East Frisia, as well as in the law of landed property. Enno was disposed to favour the Spanish cause, and for this predilection he received much censure. He cannot, however, be reproached for this. It is apparent that he needed a strong ally, when both Emperor and Empire had forsaken him, and when he was fighting against his rebellious town of Emden. He was quite within his rights in what he did, however much his way of doing it is open to criticism.

Enno III.'s son, Rudolf Christian, called after the King of Denmark, was twenty-three at the time of his father's death. Norden and Aurich did homage to him, but Emden, ever rebellious, at first refused on account of the presence of Spanish troops within its walls. Imperial soldiers were now often quartered in East Frisia, and their presence cowed the burghers of Emden. Rudolf Christian, in the year 1628, was on a visit to a certain Count Gallas, when some dispute

THE LATER COUNTS.—ENNO III.

arose, more by accident than by real intention. The Count and his suite were in a meadow when the quarrel began, where there was a great crowd. In order to avoid further trouble, one Lieutenant Streif was sent to drive the people away. He did his duty, but so ardently, that, hastening with his sword to report to the Count, he came directly in front of Rudolph, who, not noticing the point, was stabbed through the eye, and soon after died, when but twenty-eight years of age. Rudolf was gentle and wise. He was anxious to give peace to his land above all things, and his reign promised well. He was betrothed to Anne Auguste of Brunswick, but died unmarried and without legitimate heirs. His brother Ulrich, who married the beautiful Juliane of Hesse-Darmstadt, succeeded him. The reigns of the later Counts chronicle few events of interest, and may be lightly passed over.

To Ulrich, who died in 1648, succeeded his son, Enno Ludwig, who was created first Prince of East Frisia in 1654, just two hundred years

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after his ancestor, Ulrich I., had been made Count of East Frisia. He died in 1660, and was succeeded by his brother, George Christian, who reigned from 1660 to 1665, and who left a son, Christian Eberhard, who died in 1708; he in time was succeeded by his son, George Albert, who was not unlike Edzard I., and who reigned from 1708 to 1734; and then came the last Prince and Count of East Frisia, Carl Edzard, who died without issue in 1744. After his death Frederick the Great, the then King of Prussia, took possession of East Frisia, in consequence of the reversion given to the Electoral House of Brandenburg by the Emperor Leopold I., in 1694. The last of his race, Carl Edzard is a pathetic figure. The inheritor of the glorious traditions of the House of Cirksena, he committed the one unpardonable sin in the eyes of his people, the failure, although married, to give the country an heir. The inscription on his coffin in the Mausoleum at Aurich, "Ite actum est," has a sinister significance to his House. The Principality was held by Prussia until

THE LATER COUNTS.—ENNO III.

the conquest of Germany by the Great Napoleon. East Frisia was given to Holland in 1808 (Frisian coins are extant bearing the head of Louis Napoleon); but in 1810 it was united to France as the Department of East Ems. In November 1813 East Frisia was again taken by Prussia, but was given up to Hanover in 1815. It formed part of the dominions of George IV. and William IV. of England, as belonging to their kingdom of Hanover. In 1866 it was again united to Prussia as an indirect consequence of the Battle of Sadowa. Its next change of country is still in abeyance, but if, as sometimes happens, the history of its past is repeated in its future, the end of East Frisia is not yet.

FRISIA OF TO-DAY

FRISIA OF TO-DAY

THE modern tourist is almost unknown in East Frisia, and no personally conducted excursions vex the soul of the quiet burghers of Emden and Aurich. Peaceful, uneventful lives are those led by the Frisians of the twentieth century, although they are not unmindful of the stirring past. As his country is incorporated in the kingdom of Prussia, the East Frisian is by law a Prussian, but he is none the less a Frisian, and he seldom omits the *Ost-Friesland* that follows the name of his town, in writing his infrequent letters.

East Frisia, geographically considered, is a flat and fertile stretch of country that borders on the North Sea; it is reached from Bremen in about four hours, or from Cologne in a day. Emden, once so rebellious, and some-

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what assertive in defence of its "rights," as Enno III. knew to his cost, is now a quiet, somewhat dingy town, existing chiefly on account of its harbour.

It is distressingly modern, taken as a whole, this Frisian town, with occasional redeeming touches in an old house of quaint design, or in an unexpected glimpse of the sixteenth-century Rathaus. The chief note in Emden, however, is its modernity. There is a curious suggestion of both Venice and Amsterdam in its canals, and the mental picture of dark alleys and mysteriously winding streets suggested by early Frisian history, gives place to the reality of a fussy little tug on a dirty stream. In Emden the people are indifferent to the history of their country, and betray a greater interest in their new harbour and in a promised visit of the Kaiser, than in their storied past. The views of Emden on old Frisian coins and medals suggest a metropolis with vast streets and towering cathedrals. The suggestion is hardly realised in the small seaport of barely fifteen thousand inhabitants.

FRISIA OF TO-DAY

The "Grosse Kirche" in Emden, with the large marble tomb of Enno II., which bears the effigy of the Count with the traditional hound at his feet, is worth a visit. There is a museum with a small collection of East Frisian coins, and with the shift of Gräfin Anna; but the Church, the Museum, and the Rathaus, once seen, there is little else of interest. Emden was ever a thorn in the side of the Cirksena, and the languid interest shown by the modern burgher in his former sovereigns is the present-day form of the old hate and feud felt by the greedy traders of the sordid little town. Emden was *in* East Frisia, but never of it.

It is not until one gets to the charming little town of Aurich, in the very centre of *Ost-Friesland*, that one begins to realise what the Cirksena were to the country. Everything in Aurich is redolent of the lost dynasty—from the *Ulriacum*, to the Mausoleum in the Cemetery, and the portraits in the Landshaft. This is as it should be. Aurich was the favourite residence of the Cirksena, and—Aurich does not

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forget. Here one finds the real *Ost-Frieslander* to whom the Kaiser is not the Kaiser, or even the King of Prussia, but *Fürst von Ost-Friesland*, by inheritance.

A small town, with but six thousand citizens, bowered in trees and surrounded by cool woods, in the midst of a fertile plain, Aurich is a delightful bit of still life. No factories poison the air, which blows in fresh from the distant sea, no throng of noisy travellers troubles the quiet of the shady streets, and no rattling wheels disturb the stillness of the night-watches. A peaceful, drowsy, restful place, keeping watch and ward over its dead Princes, Aurich is in the country of the lotus-eaters, where the pulse of life beats slow. It is the German "Poppyland," the land of *rest*, where *weltschmerz* is unknown, and worry is not.

The horde of tourists that rushes every summer to the Frisian Isles of Borkum and Nordeney go through Emden and leave Aurich untouched. Happy Aurich, for ever "off the main line," and secure in its cheerful inconspicuousness!

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A shaded walk between blossoming hedges brings one to the quaint and peaceful graveyard (or *Friedhof*), where, in a huge domed Mausoleum, each in a silvered coffin, in a separate niche, lie the dead and gone rulers of the country that was once marked as an independent state on the map.

They are all here (all but a few who are buried at Emden and Norden), from Enno III., who was the reputed father of a thousand children, to the wickedly beautiful Juliane of Hesse-Darmstadt, and the last weak prince, Carl Edzard.

The coffins are unusually large and heavy, and it is possible to observe the inscriptions and artistic carvings on the sides of several that are in a state of good preservation.

It is sadly impressive to stand among the bodies of this race that has passed—this House that rose and fell and has vanished like a dream, but which still reigns in the hearts of the people. The portraits in the Landshaft are fascinating—there it is possible to see the counterfeit presentments of all the Frisian rulers—a complete

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series, ranging from Count Ulrich and Countess Theda, the founders of the line, down to the last of his line, Carl Edzard; and then Frederick the Great, and William IV. of England, who, as King of Hanover, was overlord of East Frisia.

They are all there—the strong crafty face of the Great Edzard—the melancholy Enno, the first of that name, with more than a hint of his early doom in his gloomy air, the brave reckless features of the Second Enno, Countess Anna, who looks like a nun, the haughty Catherine of Sweden, the saturnine and sensual Second Ulrich, and the dark-browed Edzard “The Little.” Masterful men were the men of the House of Cirksena. They found a few small tribes without cohesion, in a poor country. They left a compact and flourishing state. It deserves its place in the History of Civilisation, does the House of Cirksena, and Posterity, always just, has so decided. Without the House, the State were no State. With all its faults, the House of Cirksena, of the line of Gretsyl, with its Edzards, its Ennos, and its

FRISIA OF TO-DAY

Ulrichs, did well for the state, the country, and for mankind.

In obedience to the inexorable law of nature, the House of Cirksena, having accomplished its destiny, and having done its work, disappeared from the scene.

Its work, however, was well done.

THE END

APPENDIX A.

LIST OF AUTHORITIES ON EAST FRISIA

1616. Ubo Emmius.

Rerum Frisicarum Historia.

1622. Pirius Winsemius.

*Chronique ofte Historische Geschiedenisse van
Vriesland.*

Sjved Pietar.

De Frisiorum Antiquitate et Origine.

1699. *Annalium Phrisicorum.*

1744. Köhler.

Wöchentlichen Historischen.

Munz Belustigung.

1846. Klopp O.

Geschichte Ostfriesland's.

APPENDIX A

1847-54.

Friesisches Archiv (Oldenburg).

Friedländer Ostfriesisches Urkundenbuch.

1874. *Graf Edzard II., Ostfriesisches Landrecht, 1515*
(Emden).

1868. *Die Ritter von Schulthess—Rechberg'sche Münz und*
Medaillen Sammlung (Dresden).

1877. H. Grote.

Stammtafeln (Liepsic).

1886. Dunkmann.

Das Mausoleum der Ostfriesischen Fürsten.
(Aurich).

PP
PRI

EMERLAN. CHIEFS OF JEVER.

sna, (Ostringen, Rustringen, Wangerland).
ok.

th Wimken Papinga, 1330.

DWimken (senior), 1353-1410.

m. Edz

in Grouwa, m. Lübbe Sibeth,
of Budjadingerland. + 1419.

Enno

ga,

Hayo Harles,
1433-1442.

Ul

Tanne Düren,
1442-1468.

l

Edo Wimken (junior),
1468-1511.

ristine Loui
John Lewis
Adolphus, C
of Wied Ru

knowledge



