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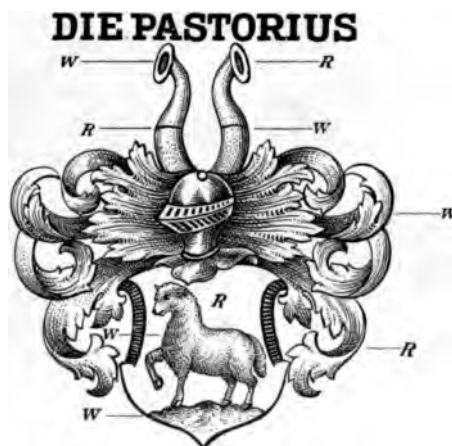
SEAL OF MELCHIOR ADAM PASTORIUS
(From a Letter in Warburg)



SEAL OF MARTINUS PASTOR
With part of the name gone
(From a Letter in Warburg)



SEAL OF FRANCIS DANIEL PASTORIUS
(From an Engraving made by Max Zeitler from an
Original Document.)



PASTORIUS ARMS
(As given by Weigel)

THE LIFE
OF
FRANCIS DANIEL PASTORIUS

THE FOUNDER OF GERMANTOWN

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Illustrated with Ninety Photographic Reproductions

BY
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at the
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WITH AN APPRECIATION OF PASTORIUS

BY
SAMUEL WHITAKER PENNYPACKER, LL. D.
Former Governor of Pennsylvania

PHILADELPHIA
WILLIAM J. CAMPBELL
1908
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PREFACE

This is a documentary life of Francis Daniel Pastorius and his times. It is the result of long and patient research in original sources in the Archives of Europe and America, and presents much new matter hitherto unpublished. The author has spared no cost and pains in gaining access to the original documents and other sources, many of which are indicated by the photographic reproductions.

The work is written in a style which, it is hoped, will prove readable, but at the same time keep the reader in touch with the sources. No statement has been made in the work without reference to a reliable source. The genealogist and critical reader will find in the footnotes the original authorities for the statements made in the text, and the reader unfamiliar with German and Latin will find the essential facts stated or translated in the English text.

The author wishes to make public acknowledgment to the following for the friendly assistance given him during the preparation of this work.

IN AMERICA: Ex-Governor Samuel W. Pennypacker of Pennypacker's Mills, Pennsylvania; Dr. Joseph G. Rosengarten of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Mr. Francis Daniel Pastorius of Colorado Springs, Colorado; Mr. Abram Bruner of Staunton, Virginia; Mr. George C. Thomas of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Mr. A. H. Ritter of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Professor M. G. Brumbaugh of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Professor D. B. Schumway, Professor W. R. Newbold, Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr. of the University of Pennsylvania; Mr. Albert Cook Myers of Moylan, Pennsylvania; Mr. G. J. Scattergood of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Mr. S. L. M. Rosenberg of the University of Pennsylvania; Dr. John W. Jordan, Dr. G. B. Keen, and assistants, of

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THE AUTHOR.

225th Anniversary of
the Landing of Pastorius.

APPRECIATION OF PASTORIUS.

There are many facts which tend to give Francis Daniel Pastorius a foremost position among the interesting characters in our early American life. He was the most conspicuous, if not the most important, figure in the settlement of Germantown, a movement marking the beginning of German immigration into North America and the first manifestation with respect to race of that broad and liberal catholic spirit which differentiated Pennsylvania from the other colonies and later made her the fruitful source of American institutions and modes of thought. The son of a judge and litterateur, he had been trained in the universities of Europe, and his powers had been broadened by travel and public discussion. It may well be doubted whether any other of the colonizers of America equalled him in intellectual cultivation and attainments. A linguist, he used with accuracy and fluency, the German, English, Dutch, Italian, Spanish, Latin and Greek languages. His Latin epigrams, poetry, and *jeux d'esprit* show a complete familiarity with that tongue and much literary facility. He may be regarded as the typical man of letters of his period in America, and his original productions are numerous. He permanently affected the growth and development of the nation, since it was he, who, together with Abraham Op den Graeff, Dirck Op den Graeff, and Gerhard Hendricks, began the struggle in America against the institution of slavery. He was a lawgiver, as well as pedagogue, who composed the first Pennsylvania primer. In modern times a great interest has been taken in his career. Dr. Oswald Seidensticker, of the University of Pennsylvania, studied his achievements and published an excellent Memoir. Considerable additional information concerning him was given in *The Settlement of Germantown*, by a later author. Whittier made him the subject of an epic, *The Pennsylvania Pilgrim*. Mr. Julius F. Sachse has also written

about him, but with less sympathy. It has remained, however, for Dr. Marion D. Learned, Director of the Department of German at the University of Pennsylvania, to make many discoveries in the libraries of Europe, throwing light upon his antecedents and early career, and to prepare what may be regarded as a complete biography. The results of Dr. Learned's investigations appear in the present eminently satisfactory volume, which must further enhance our appreciation of this eminent American colonist and scholar.

Samuel Tennyson

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FRANCIS DANIEL PASTORIUS

THE FOUNDER OF GERMANTOWN

CHAPTER I.

ANCESTORS.

Francis Daniel Pastorius, the founder of Germantown, the first permanent German colony in North America, was born in Sommerhausen, Franconia, September 26, 1651, three years after the close of the Thirty Years' War. He was the scion of a distinguished German family, whose history reflects the vicissitudes of the fierce religious strife of the times of Gustavus Adolphus, Tilly and Wallenstein. The wounds of the war were still unhealed and the bitterness of the strife still lingered in the adherents of the Catholic and Protestant cause, severing in the same family the strongest ties of kinship and blood.

Little has been known, hitherto, of the name and origin of the Pastorius family to which the founder of Germantown belonged. Even Macco, in his extensive and profusely illustrated *History of the Pastor Family*,¹ makes only a passing reference to "Pastor" (more correctly "Pastorius") in Windsheim and seems to know nothing of the earlier history of this family in Warburg, Westphalia.

In spite of the tradition that the Pastorius family came from Italy to France and thence to Germany, the family seems to have been one of the many whose German names were Latinized under the influence of humanism. The Latin form *Pastorius* would point to an original German *Schäfer* or *Hirt* or some com-

¹ Cf. H. F. Macco, *Geschichte und Genealogie der Familie Pastor* (published as vol. iv of *Beiträge zur Genealogie rheinischer Adels- und Patrizierfamilien*), Aachen, 1905.

bination of one of these names. A persistent tradition in Franconia connects the family of *Hügelschäffer* with that of *Pastorius*, deriving the former from the latter. It seems far more likely, however, that *Pastorius* is a Latinized form of an original *Schäffer*, to which *Hügelschäffer* is related. This would harmonize with the fact that the name *Hügelschäffer* appears in the records of an early period in other places and this family has the same coat-of-arms as *Pastorius*.^{1a}

It has been the good fortune of the present writer to unearth, through the aid of Antiquarian Fritz Quick^{1b} in Warburg, a mass of valuable material relating to the *Pastorius* family in that city. This material, consisting of the *Rathsprotokoll* and letters as well as a decision handed down by the Juristic Faculty of the University of Jena, sheds much new light on the history of the *Pastorius* family in Warburg. According to these sources, which will be treated in an appendix, the name "*Pastorius*" was formerly "*Pastor*," "*Schäffer*" and "*Scepers*," thus exhibiting the stages from Low German "*Scepers*" to the fullest Latin form "*Pastorius*."

The name "*Scepers*" appears in the City Council of Warburg as early as 1439 and continues with little interruption till the Thirty Years' War. The Latin form "*Pastor*" appears first in our records with Martinus Pastor (or *Pastorius*), who studied

^{1a} It is fitting to quote in this connection a letter of the Rev. S. Hanssleiter to C. Sharpless *Pastorius* in Florence, dated Sommerhausen, February 2, 1888: "Die hier (wahrscheinlich durch Vermuthung des H.E. Pf. Hofmann) verbreitete Ansicht, dass die hier ansässige, geachtete Familie Hügelschäffer — welche früher im Besitze des oben erwähnten Hauses [welches von M. A. *Pastorius* im Jahre 1655 erbaut wurde] gewesen ist, und wohl seitdem ein ähnliches Familienzeichen führt—directe Nachkommen von *Pastorius* seien, die mit Verdeutschung des Namens hier geblieben seien, entbehrt der urkundlichen Begründung und jeder Wahrscheinlichkeit, da erwiesenermassen der Name Hügelschäffer in früher Zeit schon in anderen Dörfern vorkommt, von welchen vielmehr die hiesige Familie dieses Namens ausgegangen ist."

^{1b} My colleague, Professor D. B. Shumway, kindly went to Warburg to look up the records for me. But the archives were in such a condition that a long stay would have been necessary to examine them. At this juncture Antiquarian Fritz Quick came to my assistance and dug out with the greatest patience the needed documents and had them photographed for me.



WARBURG IN WESTPHALIA, ABOUT 1650.
(By the Courtesy of Fritz Quick, of Warburg.)

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law at Mainz. This would seem to indicate that the name was German and then Latinized under Romanic or Humanistic influence.

In addition to the Pastors of Aachen, two branches of the Pastorius family were prominent in Germany in the seventeenth century, one in Silesia and the other in Westphalia, Thuringia and Franconia. It is to the latter branch that Francis Daniel Pastorius belonged.

The Silesian branch of the family is represented in the seventeenth century by Joachim Pastorius, who was born at Glogau in Silesia, Sept. 20, 1611,² and died at Frauenberg in Prussia, Dec. 26, 1681. He was the son of a parson and was reared in the doctrines of Socinus. He was a "Doctor medicinae" and distinguished for his writings on Polish history.

Joachim Pastorius was made "Stadtphysicus" of Elbing and in 1651 Professor of History at the Gymnasium in that place. In 1652 he became Rector of the Gymnasium. Having gone over to the Lutheran Church, he took up his duties as Professor of History in Danzig, January 28, 1655. He was made "Historicus Regius" in 1656, and was named "Indigenat" by the Polish Diet in 1662 and took the title "ab Hirtenberg." In 1665 he was made "Secretarius Regius," but resigned his post and went over to the Roman Catholic Church. Although married, he received high offices in the Catholic Church, having been Vicar General of Pomerania Minor and Canon of Frauenberg. His extensive History of Poland was finished and published by his son, Georg Adam Pastorius, after his death. The following works were published from his pen:

1. Joachimi Pastorii Florus Polonicus | seu | Polonicae Historiae Epitome Nova | Lvgd. Batavor. | Apud Franciscum Hegerum Ao 1641.

The second edition appeared in 1642 with the following title:

²Or in 1610, according to other authorities (cf. Michaud, *Biographie Universelle*).

2. *Flori Polonici | seu | Polonicæ Historiæ | Epitome Nova | Authore | Ioachimo Pastorio. | Editio secunda | à mendis repurgata. | Lvgd. Batavor. | Apud Franc. Hegervm, | Ann. MDCXLII. 12º.*

The title-page of the second edition has a woodcut representing the pelican feeding her young (as old tradition falsely had it) from her own blood, an emblem which is found also on the tombstone of Melchior Adam Pastorius in the St. Johannes Kirchhof at Nürnberg.

Another enlarged edition appeared at Amsterdam, 1664, and even a fifth edition with a continuation was published ("Gedani et Francofurti") in 1679.

3. *Joachimi Pastorii . . . Heroes Sacri, Musa Peregrinans, Flos Poloniæ, et Epigrammata Varia. 12º. Daniel Vetter: Lesnæ Polon. [1644.]*

Second, corrected and enlarged edition with the addition of his "Character Virtutum" Danzig, 1653, 12 mo.

4. *Aulicus inculpatus. Ex Gallico auctoris anonymi [Eustache de Refuge] traductus a J. Pastorio. Apud. L. Elzevirium: Amsterdami, 1644. 12º. [Another edition in 1649.]*
5. *Peplum Sarmaticum. Dantisci, 1645. 4º.*
6. *Aquilæ Sarmaticæ super Augustis Nuptiis Johanni Casimiri Applausus. 1649.*
7. *Bellum Scythico-Cosacicum seu de conjuratione Tartarorum Cosacorum et Plebis Russicæ contra regnum Poloniæ ab invictissimo Poloniæ et Sueciæ Rege J. Casimiro profligata, narratio plenioris historiæ operi præmissa. Sumptibus G. Försteri: Dantisci. 1652-1659. 4º.*
8. *De juventutis institutionis ratione. Dantzig, 1653.*
9. *Palæstra Nobilium. 1654.*
10. *Vita I. Crellii a I[oa]chimo P[astorio] M[edicinæ] D[octore] descripta. 1656 fol.*

11. *Stella Aurea, seu fax virtutis ex natura stellarum accensa.* Dantisci. [1656.] 8o.
12. *Sylvarum pars prima* 1656, *pars secunda* 1657.
13. *J. Pastorii Orationes duæ.* Quarum prima . . . de præcipuis historiæ autoribus, altera de potissimis eiusdem argumentis agit. Gedani [1656]. 4o.
14. *Panegyrica Gratulatio . . . Carolo II . . . Londini festivitate solennissima inaugurando scripta a J. Pastorio.* Gedani, 1661. 4o.
15. *Ministri status, seu considerationes super vita Nicolai Neovilli.* Jena, 1644. 8o. [Translation of the *Remarques* of P. Matthieu.]
16. *Historia Polonica ab obitu Uladislai IV, usque ad annum 1651.* Dantisci, 1680-1685. 2 vols. 8o. Published by his son, Georg Adam Pastorius, closing with a dissertation: "De Originibus Sarmaticis."]
17. *Joachimi de Hirtenberg Pastorii Character Virtutum variis, aliorum etiam qua veterum, qua recentium auctorum, coloribus adumbratus* [1st edition, Danzig, 1650, and 4th edition, with the appendix: "Opusculum, Lucem Virtutem et natura stellarum explicans, &c." [Gratulatio paregorica . . . ad Regem Joannem Casimirum, etc., pp. 36-80. D. F. Rhetius, Dantisci [1680]. 8o.
18. *J. ab Hirtenberg Pastorii Historiæ Polonæ pars prior, de Vladislai IV extremis, secutoque inde interregno, et Joannis Casimiri electione ac coronatione. Interserta Cosacorum et Tartariæ simul gentis descriptio, etc.* Typis T. Reinigeri: Gedani, 1680. 8o.
19. *J. Pastorii ab Hirtenberg Historiæ Polonæ plenioris partes duæ: ejusdemque dissertatio philologica de originibus Sarmaticis.* Sumptibus S. Beckensteinii: Dantisci, 1685. 8o.
20. *Aurora pacis: Diarium pacificationis Olivensis, ex Bibliotheca Zalusciana nunc primum prolatum, Oliva pacis.*
21. *Acta pacis Olivensis inedita.* Breslau, 1763 and 1766. [Published by J. Gottlob Boehme.]

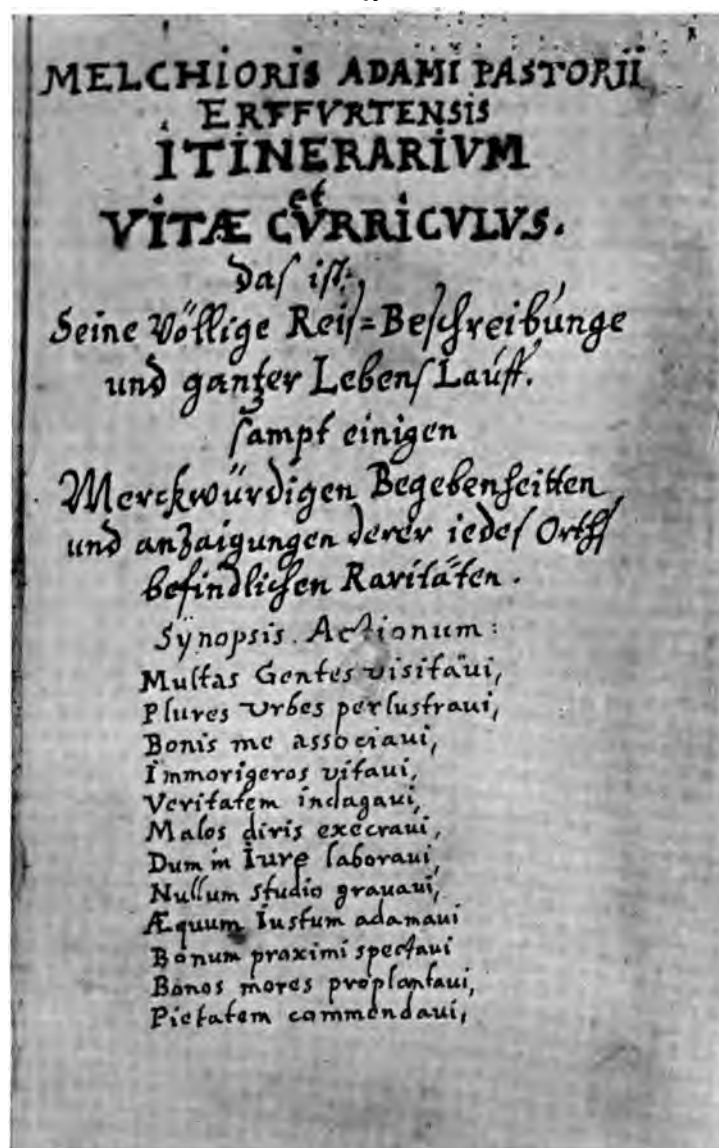
Other minor works are mentioned in Chr. Sandius' *Bibliographia Anti-Trinitariorum*.

Although neither Melchior Adam Pastorius nor his son Francis Daniel seems to have been aware of any relationship between Joachim and themselves, there are striking coincidences in the history of the families which point to the kinship of the Silesian and Westphalian-Thuringian branches of the Pastorius family. The use of the pelican emblem has already been mentioned. The title "ab Hirtenberg" of Joachim Pastorius is closely allied to the baronial title "von Hirtenfels" which the German Emperor conferred upon Johann Augustin Pastorius, brother of Melchior Adam Pastorius of the Thuringian line. Both titles indicate a compound form of the name in the original German. Now the coat-of-arms, as found on the datestone of Melchior Adam Pastorius' house in Sommerhausen and handed down in the Hügelschäffer family of the same place, has a sheep pasturing on one of three hills, which would suggest the "berg" in "ab Hirtenberg" and the "fels" in "von Hirtenfels," and thus lend a new presumption in favor of the theory of the connection of the "Pastorius" and "Hügelschäffer" families.

In his brief account of the family, Francis Daniel Pastorius begins with his great grandfather Christian Pastorius, a citizen of Warburg in Westphalia. This baptismal name Christian, however, does not agree with the account of Melchior Adam Pastorius, who gives the name of his grandfather as Fridericus not Christianus. It is possible, but not very probable, that his name may have been Christianus Fridericus or Fridericus Christianus. Melchior Adam gives the following account of the origin of his family:

"Origo Familiæ Pastorianæ ex Ciuitate Warburgensi Westphaliæ provenit, Vbi Fridericus Pastorius Ciuis et Senator erecto animo uixit, et filiū unicū Martinū progeniuit, ac post se reliquit."

Having thus traced the Westphalian origin of the family and added an anagram, he continues:



TITLE PAGE OF M. A. PASTORIUS' "ITINERARIUM."

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"Obijt Warburgi in Westphalia, ibidemque apud parentes et prædecessores sepultus Anno Christi. 1640. postquam filium Martinum Pastorium in Literis et liberalibus artibus bene educasset, et in Vniversitate Moguntinensi in Iure Iustinianæo imbui fecisset."^{2a}

Martinus Pastorius, the son of Fridericus, was born in 1576, and, after finishing his education in liberal arts and the study of the Justinian Code at Mainz, he took up his residence in the city of Erfurt and was made Tribunal Assessor (or Assessor of the Electoral Council) in that city. He married as his first wife, Eva Rödiger,³ who bore him one son, Caspar. His second wife, Brigatta Flinsberger (or Flinsberg), bore him six children—Margaretha, (Johann) Augustin, Heinrich, Rebecca, Melchior Adam, Balthasar.

When the Swedish troops of Gustavus Adolphus entered the city of Erfurt in 1629, during the Thirty Years' War, Martinus Pastorius' "several houses therein with all his goods" were burned in one night and he set out from the city to seek protection of the Elector of Mainz. He sought shelter for the night "in a barn under some straw," in a village occupied by Swedish soldiers, but was betrayed by his own servant to the Swedes, who inflicted such severe wounds with their bare swords that he died a few days later, leaving his widow and her

^{2a} Cf. *Itinerarium*, p. 111a. Martinus Pastorius gives the date of his father's death as Easter, 1620 (see page 301).

³ There is a discrepancy between Melchior Adam's account and that of his son, Francis Daniel, at this point. Melchior Adam mentions only his own mother, Martin's second wife, while Francis Daniel states clearly that Martin married Eva Rödiger, as his first wife:

"I shall only tell them [my children], that he [Martin] was twice married, that his first wife, Eve Rödigers, brought him a son called Caspar, who became a Popish priest and so a voluntary Eunuch, and of his second wife Bridget (Brigida), a daughter of Christian Flinsberger, inhabitant of the Imperial city of Mulhausen, in Thuringen, he had six children, viz., Augustin, Margaret, Henry, Rebecca, Melchior Adam and Balthasar".

Melchior Adam's account in his *Itinerarium* (p. 111b), runs thus:

"Martinus Pastorius Assessor Tribunalis siue Iudicij ArchiEpiscopalis Moguntinensis in Ciuitate Erffurtensi. Natus Anno 1576. duxit vxorem Brigittam Flinsbergerin ex qua progeniuit sequentes Liberos: Casparum, Margaretham, Augustinum, Henricū, Rebeccā, Melchiorem Adamum, Et Balthasarum."

six children in dire destitution. Melchior Adam⁴ and Francis Daniel⁵ have both left us a graphic description of the event.

Thus in one brief night the family was bereft of hearth and home. Francis Daniel Pastorius speaks of his grandfather Martin as "a man of good estate," and Melchior Adam describes the home in Erfurt as "opulenta domus" in some verses in memory of his father:

"Diripet inde domum miles, spoliaturque Penates
Inque atrum Nati trudemur Exilium
O si mansisses forsitan superesses et ipse
Et superesset adhuc nostra opulenta domus."⁶

Brigitta Pastorius was the daughter of Christian von Flinsberg, a member of the Council of the Imperial City of Mühlhausen in Saxony,⁷ a man experienced in practical as well as military affairs, having taken part in a campaign against the Turks. Melchior Adam dedicated to him the following verses:

"Nicht Hochgelehrt in Künsten zwar
Ich Christian gestigen war,
Doch ziemlich in der Welt uersucht
In Fried und auch in Kriegen Zucht.
Ein Türcken Zug ich stunde aus
Drauff ruhig lebt in meinem Haus
In Gottesforcht ohn Heüchel schein
Und thät auch guths dem nechsten mein."⁸

Brigitta's memory was fondly cherished by her son Mel-

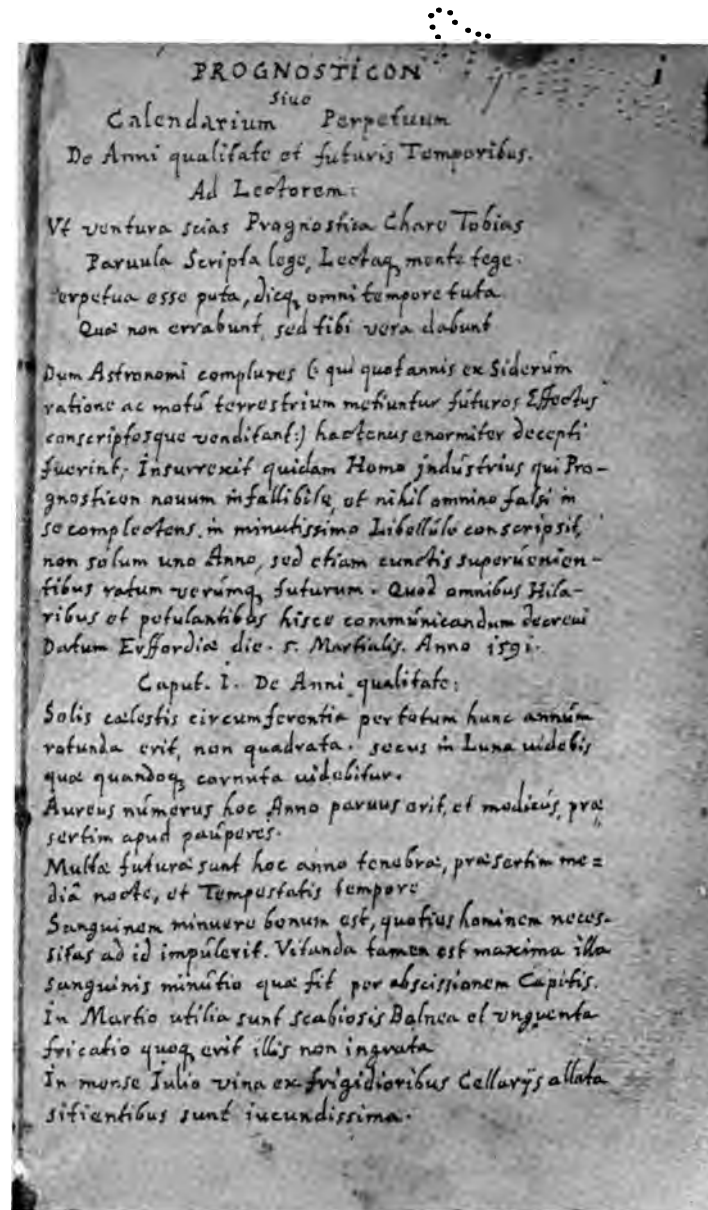
⁴In his *Itinerarium* (p. 11b): "Adventante Gustavo Adolpho Rege Sæcra conabatur hic Martinus se fugâ subducere Erfurto et Moguntiam ad Archiepiscopum conferre, ut hospitacionem militum evaderet, sed in itinere in præto à militibus interceptus horrendum in modum verberatus, spoliatus et vestibus exutus nudus domum redijt, et vulneribus interiit."

⁵In the Genealogical Sketch (*Briefv.* p. 221ff); cf. also *Beschreibung*, p. 104-5.

⁶In his *Itinerarium*, p. 112a.

⁷*Ibid.*: "Dieser Brigitte Vatter war Christians von Flinsberg des Raths in der Reichs Statt Mühlhausen in Sachsen."

⁸Cf. *Itinerarium*, p. 112a.



TITLE PAGE OF M. A. PASTORIUS' "PROGNOSTICON."

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chior Adam as well as by her grandson Francis Daniel Pastorius. The former dedicated some German verses⁸ to her and the latter this touching paragraph:

"His [Martinus'] poor Widow (my Grand-mother,) lived several years after his Decease, however, destitute of all outward means to do much for her Six Orphans: When my Father [Melchior Adam Pastorius] at his going to the University bade her Fare well, she could give him but one Ducat (or two pieces of Eight,) besides her good Blessing, neither did he ever get more (no not a farthing,) of all his patrimony, which made him the oft'ner remember the great Vertue or Efficacy of a Ducat given by a well wishing Mother."⁹

The eldest son, Casparus Pastorius, entered the service of the Catholic Church and became curate of the town of Bingen on the Rhine, as we learn from Melchior Adam, his brother, who wrote some distichs to him and left a brief notice of him in prose."¹⁰

Johannes Augustinus Pastorius, the second son of Martinus, finished the course in philosophy at Mainz, presenting his theses in June, 1631, and then went to Rome, where he took the degree Juris Utriusque Doctor, and was made "Protho Notarius Apostolicus."¹¹ He seems also to have been a "Licentiatu in Theologia."¹² July 7, 1647, Elector Philipp Christoph von Zöteren¹³

⁸ Cf. *Itinerarium*, p. 112a.

⁹ Cf. F. D. P.'s Genealogical Sketch (*Beehive*, p. 221ff), and the *Beschreibung*.

¹⁰ Cf. *Itinerarium*, p. 112b: "Erat iste Casparus Sacerdos Curatus siue Parochus Oppidi Bingensis infra Moguntiam (: nit weith uon dem Mäus Thurn:) dumque inibi contra petulantiam Veneficarum siue strigarum acrius concionaretur, Vna post peractum Sacramentum Biptismatis in Conuiuio ipsi haustum vini venenati porrexit, quo sumpto illico male habere cepit, et domum rediens intra paucos dies expirauit. et dixerat haec Saga: ich habe dem Herrchen eins bracht, er wird nit uiel mehr predigen."

¹¹ Melchior Adam Pastorius devotes to him also some distichs and gives the following notice of him in the *Itinerarium*, p. 113b. "Ioannes Augustinus Martini Pastorij secundo genitus Filius Moguntiae Philosophiam absoluit iuxta Theses impressas mense Iunio Anno 1631. Inde Romam se contulit ubi peractis Studijs. Iuris Vtriusque Doctor promotus et Protho Notarius Apostolicus creatus est."

¹² Cf. F. D. P.'s Genealogical Sketch.

¹³ *Ibidem* and *Beschreibung*, p. 104.

gave him the "Præpositur" of Gmünden, and July 28, 1658, Elector Johann Georg II of Saxony made him Historiographer of the Royal Family and Keeper of the Royal Arms (Rex Armorum). In 1660 we find him called "Principis Holsatiæ Cancellarius Oblegatus."

In his capacity as Notarius at Rome in the service of the Elector of Mainz and other princes he acquired great wealth, having received from the Emperor the baronial title of Augustin von Hirtenfels and an estate in Hungary in recognition of his services. He was an influential and zealous Catholic and remained a celibate.¹⁴ His jealous zeal for the faith of his family is attested by Francis Daniel Pastorius in the incident in which he relates that his uncle Johann Augustin came with a "couple of fiery Jesuits" to Sommerhausen to win back his brother, Melchior Adam, from the Evangelical faith to the Catholic Church.¹⁵

The following works were published under his name:

1. Der europaische neue teutsche Florus [published partly in Frankfurt a, M. and partly in Vienna]. 1659-1661.
2. Scharfsinniger Adler, mit der europaischen Flori historici Continuation. Von allen denckwürdigen Geschichten, &c. Pp. 465. Franckfurth, 1659.¹⁶
3. J. Pastorii . . . Gratulatio sub ipsum Academiæ [at Kiel] natalem scripta. [See Torquatus A. Frangipani Auspice D. T. O. M. . . . Academiæ, &c.] 1665. Folio.¹⁶

The other work, *Römischer Adler*, which Schnorr von Carolsfeld erroneously attributed to (Johannes) Augustin Pastorius, is by Melchior Adam Pastorius, his brother, as will be seen later.

The eldest daughter of Martin Pastorius, Margaretha, kept house for her older brother, Casparus, until his death and then

¹⁴ Cf. *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, sub nomine.

¹⁵ Cf. F. D. P.'s *Beschreibung*.

¹⁶ Titles from the *Catalogue of Printed Books in the British Museum*.



MELCHIOR ADAM PASTORIUS' "RÖMISCHER ADLER",
(Frontispiece.)

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married a "chirurgus of Ellfeldt" near Bingen, but died at the birth of her first child, a daughter. Melchior Adam, her younger brother, has left us some very touching German verses in memory of her. The first four of these verses describe the perils of wedded life:

"Vermählet sein, ist so ein Sach
Die nach sich zeücht uel Weh und Ach
Gebähren bringt der Schmetzen uel,
Ia manchmal gar des Todes Ziel."¹⁷

The third son, Henricus Pastorius, served as a soldier under the Dukes of Lüneburg, but died at the early age of twenty-five years. The only information we have found concerning him is that given by Melchior Adam,¹⁸ his brother.

The modest Rebecca, who entered the cloister at Erfurt and became a "harmless nun," is mentioned by her brother, Melchior Adam, who dedicated an anagram to her, together with a few lines of Latin. The anagram runs:

"EN CRVCIS ISTA PROBA.
EIA ROBVR IN PECCATIS."

Her nephew, Francis Daniel Pastorius, relates a touching story of his first and only meeting with her, as he passed through Erfurt on his way to Jena:

"Mine Aunt Rebecca J saw when J passed through Erford towards Jena, one Mr. Winter, an ancient Canonicus of the Cathedral in the sd City of Erford, sending for her out of the Cloister wherein she lived to his dwelling house, where he among many pretty discourses also admired the great difference of the Sundry Gifts, which God bestows upon his Creatures; For, said he, Augus-

¹⁷ In his *Itinerarium*, p. 113a.

¹⁸ In his *Itinerarium*, p. 114a:

"Henricus Martini Pastorij tertio genitus filius Martiale caput, sub Ducibus Luneburgiacis miles conscriptus, rei Tormentariæ seruijt, in conflictu autem Tormenti globo tactus præmature interiijt annum uix complens vigesimū quintum."

tin Pastorius in deed received Five Talents, as appears by his extraordinary Writings, (shewing unto me the *Reichs Adler* & other Books by him published,) Melchior Adam but two, and this harmless Nun (pointing to my sd Aunt,) hardly one, &c. And really she look'd to be extreme Jnnocent, & if not meriting Heaven through her self-conceited good works, J thought, it would be a pity she should deserve hell."¹⁹

In discussing the two youngest sons, Melchior Adam and Balthasar Pastorius, our interest centres about the former, as little more than the name is known of Balthasar.

Melchior Adam Pastorius.

The life and writings of Melchior Adam Pastorius shed much important light upon the career and works of his son, Francis Daniel Pastorius, the subject of our study, justifying the detail of this chapter.

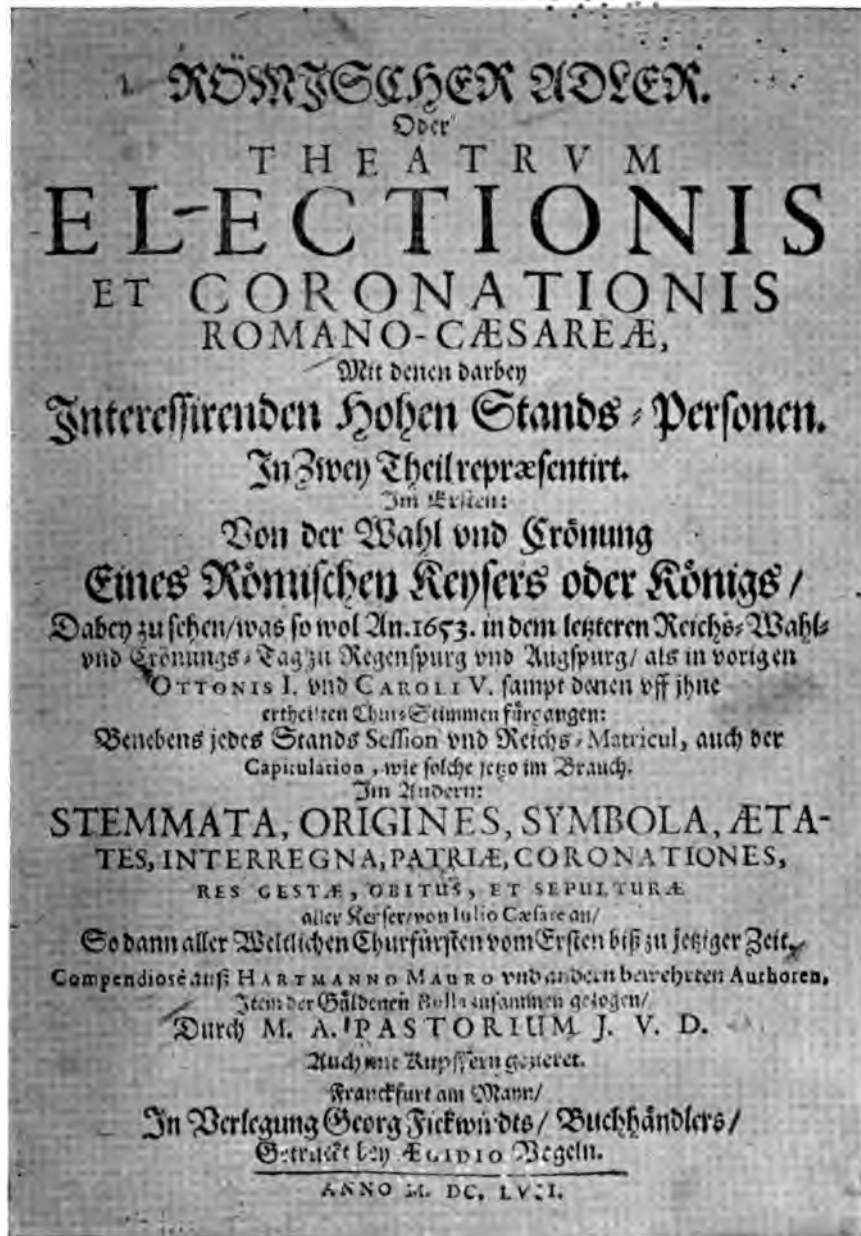
Melchior Adam Pastorius was born in Erfurt, Sept. 22, 1624, and received his early education in his native city. Having finished his study of the "humaniora" he left Erfurt, Sept. 3, 1643, to enter the University of Würzburg. In the account²⁰ of his travels he has left us the names of those nearest to him in Erfurt in the following distichs:

"Hi sunt quos charos mihi Patria iunxerat olim
Dresanus, Roland, Dorstius Hunger, Aper
Demar, Riess, Fleischmann, Iunemañ, Iunckerque, Weserque
Mente alij dudum iam cecidere meo.
Quam bene vixerimus sub eodem sidere nati,
Præceptor Dunhos carmine testis erat.
Testis erat Petri Mons, quem defendimis vnà
Contra oppugnantes quotquot adusque forent."²¹

¹⁹ The Genealogical Sketch.

²⁰ The Latin title is: Melchioris Adami Pastorii | Erffvrtensis | Itinerarium | et | Vitæ Cvrrievlvs (quoted as *Itinerarium*).

²¹ The poem is entitled: "De Bonis Amicis | Melchioris Adami Pastorii | In diuersis Mundi Partibus | repertis | 1^o. De Patriotis Erffurtensibus."



TITLE PAGE OF M. A. PASTORIUS' "RÖMISCHER ADLER."

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Among his other farewell reminiscences of Erfurt are to be found a poem in praise of Thuringia and the city of Erfurt "Encomium Thuringiæ et Urbis patriæ Erffurtensis" in distichs, and another entitled "Materna Dimissio, Et omnis felicitatis apprecatio ad Melchiorem Adamum Pastorium cum absolutis studijs humanioribus Erffurto ad Academias progredieretur, die 3 Sept., 1643," recalling the parting words of his mother.

As it turned out, his journey to Würzburg was but the prelude of a still longer journey to Switzerland, Rome, Vienna and Paris, during a period of six years. The description of these travels ("Itineris Descriptio") is full of the most interesting detail, rivalling the classical autobiography of Thomas Platter.²² The full text is well worthy of publication, but a bare synopsis only can be given here. The itinerary led from Erfurt to Eichsfeld, where he visited the Mons Adjutorii, the famous abode of a demon, according to a legend going back to the time of St. Boniface; to Gotha, where he saw Schloss Friedensstein; to Fulda, where he visited the splendid cathedral with its hundreds of bells and cymbals; to Frankfurt-on-the-Main, where he saw the beautiful stone bridge over the Main to Sachsenhausen and heard the story of the "Pfeiffer Gericht," which he describes; to Mainz, the home of Gutenberg, the inventor of printing, to whom he devotes a few distichs, and the seat of the cruel Bishop Hatto; to Aschaffenburg, the residence of the Elector, by way of Frankfurt and Hagenau, on through the Spessart by way of Wertheim and the monastery Triffenstein to Würzburg, where he found the Canon Philipp von Ried, whom his brother Johann Augustin, as Resident of the Elector of Trier at Rome, had aided in his suits against Anselmus Casimirus, the Archbishop of Mainz. The Canon received him kindly and gave him permission to take up the study of philosophy at the University of Würzburg.

At this juncture in the itinerary he interjects distichs in

²² Cf. *Thomas Platter's Selbstbiographie... Hrsg. von. Heinrich Boos, Leipzig, 1878.*

honor of Philipp von Ried and the following epitome of his own career and aspirations:

"Erffurt me genuit, docuitque fideliter artes
Addidit artipotens Herbipolis Sophiam
Post Sophiæ studium præceps me confero Romam
Visurus quicquid continet illa boni."²³

When the summons was issued for the conclave to elect a new successor to Pope Urban, who died Aug. 29, 1644, Carolus Rosetti, Apostolic Nuncius of Cologne, who had but recently been made cardinal, set out from Cologne for Italy, stopping over at the Prince's residence at Würzburg. Philipp von Ried took Pastorius to Prince Johann Phillip von Schönborn, and both presented him to the cardinal and recommended that he study seven years with free tuition at the German College in Rome. Pastorius accordingly accompanied the Cardinal on his way to Rome.

The description of the journey is given with rich and interesting details. From Würzburg they went to Kitzingen, spending the night at the monastery; thence by way of Neustadt-on-the-Aisch to Emskirchen, where they had a poor dinner; to Nürnberg, where they were guests at the German Court and saw the relics of the Hospitalkirche, the Castle and the City Hall; thence by way of Schwabach and Gmünd to the German House in Oettingen by way of Pappenheim and Monnheim to Donauwert; thence by way of Wesendorf and Obernhausen to Augsburg. A half hour out of Obernhausen they met two wagons laden with straw. The wagons halted on each side of the Cardinal's coach and twenty peasants crept out of the straw with rakes, pitchforks and flails, and gave the Cardinal a vocal serenade. Then throwing down their farm implements, they took musical instruments from the straw and played an open air concert.²⁴ In describing Augsburg, Pastorius repeats the old legend

²³ In the *Itinerarium*, p. 12a; cf. also p. 114a..

²⁴ The original passage in the *Itinerarium* runs:

"Und als wir uon dar [Obernhausen] kaum eine halbe stunde gegen

that the city was built 500 years before Rome and mentions the promulgation of the Augsburg Confession in the presence of Charles V at the Imperial Diet in 1530. After two days in Augsburg the journey continued by way of Mittelfeld, whither the Elector of Bavaria sent two silver-mounted coaches²⁵ with some cooks to meet and feast the Cardinal and his retinue on their way to Munich. Here they spent some days in feasting as the guests of the Elector. The electoral escort accompanied the Cardinal by way of Landsberg to the borders of Tyrol. The journey now led past Seefeld, where the Cardinal was met by the Archepiscopal envoys of Innsbruck, the religious ceremony having much interesting detail. Leaving Seefeld they journeyed on over the mountain to Innsbruck, where they were guests in the Residence. Pastorius notes that he saw here for the first time a live eagle. From Innsbruck they passed on to Schwatz, where they "saw the snow on the mountain in the midst of the dog-days," past Lug over the Brenner, by Sterzingen, Brixen, Bozen, Trient, where they could hear German in one street and Italian in another. In Trient they took ship for Verona-on-the-Etsch, once the residence of Dietrich of Bern. The next day they arrived at the villa (Palatium) of Cardinal Rosetti's brother, Count of Ferrara, who appeared to Pastorius strikingly selfish and stingy, as he did not give the Cardinal's retinue even a morsel of bread to eat.²⁶ The next day they came to the city of Ferrara, where the Cardinal's family resided. Here likewise the retinue

Augspurg zue gefahren waren begegneten vns zween Wägen mitt stroh beladen die hielten uff beyden seitten des Cardinals Kutschen und krochen aus dem Stroh heraus 20 Augspurger Bauren mitt Rechen, Hewgabeln, und Treschflügeln, praesentirten eine überaus herrliche Musicam vocalem, dann warffen sie ihre Bauren Instrumenta hin, und namen dargegen allerhand instrumenta Musicalia aus dem strohe und spielten im freyen Felde uber alle massen lieblich." (p. 12b.)

²⁵ The original has "Silberwägen." The silver coach and livré was that reserved for the clergy.

²⁶ In his own words: "Der sich zwar mit seinem Hn. Brudern ergetzete, aber keinem Raisgefahrden keinen Bissen Brod anbote, also das ich hungrig in einer scheuren schlaffen muste." (*Itinerarium*, p. 14b.)

were left to shift for themselves in the inns. Pastorius was cared for by the Cardinal's father confessor, Hieronymus Piombinus (Plumbinus), who took him along to his native city, La Terra Cento. The confessor took Pastorius with him to the cloister to visit the nuns, who were much astonished at finding that a different language was spoken in Germany, and that the stranger could not understand their language. They sent Pastorius afterwards a platter of sweet cakes and other dainties,²⁷ and the confessor returned to Ferrara, leaving Pastorius in his new quarters. In a few days word came that the Cardinal had resumed his journey to Rome. Pastorius, not able to join them at Ferrara, had to follow them alone. He accordingly hurried on after them by way of Bononia (Bologna), noting particularly the ancient university which was founded, as he relates, by Emperor Theodosius and confirmed by Carolus Magnus;²⁸ passing through Imola, Faenza (where was to be seen the splendid cathedral in which Cardinal Rosetti had officiated as bishop), Cesena, Alla Catholica, Pesaro, Fano and Senegallia (where he was about to dip up salt sea-water with his hat to drink, when an Italian stopped him, motioning to him to put his finger into the water and lick it with his tongue). He journeyed on to Ancona, where he recalls the famous proverb:

²⁷ He writes: "auch muste ich mitt ihme [dem Beichtvater] in ein Nonnen Closter gehen allwo er seine Schwestern besuchte, die verwunderten sich sehr das in Teütschland die Leüte anderst redeten als sie, und das ich ihre spraache nicht konte, sie sendeten mir nachgehends in mein quartier eine gute Schüssel voll von Gewürtz und Zucker gebackenen Brods." (*Itinerarium*, p. 15a.)

²⁸ His account runs thus: "Kayser Theodosius hat wider die Vniversität gestiftet welche Carolus M. und viel Pábste confirmiret, so auch lange Zeitt der massen floriret das die Statt daruon den Nahmen bekommen Bononia Mater studiorum, und: Bononia docet. Nach deme aber ein Gubernator sub Gregorio XIII einen Teütschen studenten, Vmb das mann zu Nachts Waffen bey ihme gefunden, hatte Wippen lassen, hat sich die gantze Teütsche Nation zu gleich auffgemacht und die Rempubicam Venetianam ersuchet ihnen einen Orth zu Vffrichtung einer Vniversität zu assigniren da ihnen dann die Statt Padua eingeräumt worden, welche noch heutiges Tages in flore ist, dagegen das herrliche Collegiü oder Vniversität zu Bononia fast ganz leer stehet." (*Itinerarium*, p. 15b.)

LIBER
INTIMISSI-
MVS OMNIVM
SEMPER MECVM
CONTINENS
THESAVRVM THESAVRORVM
IESVM
QVEM DILIGO SOLVM.
IN QVO VIVO
ET
IN QVO MORIAR
EGO

MELCHIOR ADAM PASTORIUS. I. C.

natione Erfurtensis. vocatione Consul se-
nior et Pryctor Windsheimensis. Aedilis
Scholarcha et Xenodochy Sancti Spiritus

Administrator.

Scripsi hunc Libellum Anno Christi 1697. et fi-
nivi 7. Iunij. 1701.

TITLE PAGE OF M. A. PASTORIUS' "LIBER INTIMISSIMUS."

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"Vnus Petrus in Roma
Vnus Portus in Ancona
Vna Turris in Cremona."

Leaving Ancona he passed on to Loreto, the city with but a single gate, and its legend of the angels of Nazareth and other historic curiosities, to Racanati, to Macerata, with its university and monastery, to Tolentino, Foligno, Spoleto, through the Valle della Strettura to Narni, Otricoli, over the Tiber to Civita Castellana, Rignano, Castelnuovo, through the Prima Porta into the city of Rome, arriving Aug. 28, 1644, on St. Augustine's Day, the saint day of his brother Johann Augustin Pastorius, who was then practicing law in Rome and here saw his younger brother for the first time.

Not having overtaken the Cardinal on the way, Pastorius, after his arrival at Rome, drove with a friend ²⁹ to the palace of the Cardinal to pay his respects and thank the confessor, Plumbinus, for his friendly services in Terra Cento. He devotes a number of distichs to his brother, to Cardinal Rosetti and Plumbinus.

At the German College in Rome.

The following day his brother Augustin accompanied him to the German College and presented him to the Rector, Pater Antonius Casilius, of the Society of Jesus, who accepted him as a prospective student. Pastorius' own account of his initiation and life at the college is so interesting that it is given here in translation as an important picture of student life in Rome in the middle of the seventeenth century:

"The next day my brother accompanied me to the German Col-

²⁹ Presumably Christophorus Bernier, to whom he dedicates some pre-prandial distichs, to which is appended the following:

"Nach eingenommener Mittags Mahlzeit fuhren wir in einer Kutschen spaziren, und kamen in des Cardinals Rosetti Pallast besuchten dessen Beichtvattern gegen welchem ich mich wegen empfangener Gutthaten à Terra Cento bedanckete." (*Itinerarium*, p. 17b.)

lege and recommended me to the Rector, Father Antonius Casilius, of the Society of Jesus, who received me kindly and ordered me to be taken care of as a guest for three days by Peter Philipp von Dernbach and Johann Philipp von Walderndorff, who washed my feet the first evening, and then took their meals with me alone, for three days, engaging me in friendly conversation. On the fourth day I had to take a room to myself but was permitted to appear two weeks in my secular garb, after which they cut off my hair and put a red coat on me, such as the others wore, and I had to live in accordance with the rules which they had taught me these two weeks:

*Rules of the German College.*³⁰

1. In the morning early, at break of day, the usual bell gives the signal for rising, dressing, and making the beds, which one must do himself, while the one on duty³¹ for the week brings fresh water to the usual place, where each one must go to wash; all of which must be done in half an hour.

2. After this the bell gives the second signal, for prayer and religious meditation. Each one kneels before his shrine and table, offers his morning prayer, and meditates on the passion, suffering, birth and resurrection of Christ, as the calendar and feast days direct. This prayer and meditation last at the most a quarter of an hour.

3. Then the bell sounds a third signal, to prepare for the Academic studies, for which there is about half an hour.

4. The fourth signal is given, to go into the Refectory, or dining room, where each one sits at his accustomed table and partakes of a glass full of good old wine, and four or five rolls, so that one need not go with an empty stomach through the bad air into the Roman College.

5. Then the seventy students assemble themselves in the Atrium or Court, and go two by two into the Jesuit College, each one to his appropriate class, and write what the Professor dictates, discuss, argue and dispute,³² at certain set periods. The lectures close about ten o'clock in the morning, and the students return home in the same order as they went.

6. They look over at home that which has been dictated, and

³⁰ "Regulæ Collegij Germanici."

³¹ The term used is "Wöchner," translated here: "the one on duty," "waiter."

³² In the original: "arguiren, argumentiren und disputiren."

think over it to find out what doubts or objections can be raised against it.

7. After this the bell gives the signal to go to the Refectorium for the midday meal, when they all go together into the ante-chamber of the Refectorium and wash their hands, handing each other the dry towel out of politeness.

8. Then each one goes to his place at the table, till prayer is offered by a priest.

9. Then they take their seats in silence, and all the while the one on duty has to read from the rostrum accounts of the Holy Martyrs as long as they sit at table.

10. Each room has a special table and a special one on duty each week as waiter, who brings fresh spring water in the morning for washing, and serves the meals at midday and evening, at times sweeps the rooms, and on Saturday brings each student clean linen from the wardrobe.

11. When the food is served, those on duty have round disks, of the size of a plough wheel, with a raised stem or handle in the middle to take hold of. Around this are arranged as many little platters, or dishes, as there are persons sitting at the table. This round tray with the dishes is held over the middle of the table, and each one must take that dish which is directly opposite his place, and must not reach past it to take another.

12. While they are eating the first course, the waiter goes into the kitchen and brings the second course in the same number of small dishes, holds the tray above the table, and each takes the full dish and sets the empty one on the tray, so that the waiter can take it away; and the same is done with the third course and with the postpast, or fruit.

13. The serving of the drink is somewhat easier, for above the table are two double rows of steins, one with wine, the other with water. Each student may pour out for himself as often as he wishes, and may mix the water and wine or not, as he wishes. When the wine vessel is empty, the waiter must fill it again.

14. On Fridays and Fast days, there is but one meal, and in the evening a few apples or pears or olives, and a glass of wine.

15. When the meal has been finished in silence (for no one is permitted to speak a word aloud with his neighbor), they all stand up at one time and a priest returns thanks. Then they go into their own rooms for half an hour, when they may walk around and talk in the recreation hall.

16. Then the bell sounds the signal to take up the books again and prepare for school, for the students must appear daily at one

o'clock in the Roman College, and remain there for three hours, with exercises and writing dictation.

17. At four o'clock the students go quietly to their rooms again, and go over their dictation as in the morning, until the bell rings for supper, which is served in the same way as dinner. After supper the students again have half an hour for recreation and conversation.

18. Then the bell rings for evening prayers and spiritual meditation, and recalling all that has been done during the day, whether good or bad. Then each one makes his bed himself, and goes to rest, to await the sound of the bell the next morning.

19. Every Wednesday is a special day for recreation, for walks outside of the city, in the beautiful garden of the College in front of the Porta Populi, in which there are all sorts of games with balls, with the ring, or in the halls on tables, or the students may eat fruit and take their meals in the garden on this day.

20. On Sundays and Feastdays, the seventy Alumni must appear in the church and sing the Horæ in the mass, just as the Canonici Regulares, and an Alumnus must preach at appointed times in German.

The Hungarian Church, Santo Stephano Rotundo, with its prebends, is connected with this German College. In it, yearly at the Church Festival, the Alumni are splendidly entertained, receiving wild boar to eat.

The 15th of September, 1644, Innocentius X was elected Pope; then we were permitted to go outside the College and to see from the banks of the Tiber the fireworks at night in the Castle of Saint Angelo. Such a splendid display I had never before seen in my life.

In like manner we were permitted to witness the Papal procession from St. Peter's to St. John Lateran where we took our position at a certain corner of the street and besought the blessing of the Pope, which he gave us with a smiling countenance.

After I had spent three months in this College, and the time of probation was passed, I was expected to take the vow and subscribe to the rules in the same manner as if I wanted to become a priest; but this mode of life was entirely against my nature, and I had no desire for the priestly order. So I asked for dismissal and permission to study law with my brother. Moreover, I wished to see something [of the world] at the same time, which was impossible in this place of seclusion. Accordingly, I was released, and turned my attention to the study of the law, attending the secular University Alla Sapienza. I went to see all the curiosities and places of amusement, both within and outside of Rome, and also learned the Roman .



MELCHIOR ADAM PASTORIUS' "FRANCONIA REDIVIVA".
(Frontispiece Title.)

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language, which would never have happened in the secluded College among the Germans.

The Rector, Father Antonius Casilius, was well disposed towards me, and would gladly have kept me in the College, had I been willing to remain."

The Rector of the German College and other friends of this period are the subjects of poems written in distichs. From these verses we take the following names:

Antonius Casilius (the Rector of the German College), Laurentius Cöler, Athanasius Kirchner, Count Ioannes Baptista Lodron (whom he calls "Amicissimus mihi in Collegio Dominus Comes"), Baron Ioannes de Hedruar, Paris à Zürletto, Petrus Philippus de Derenbach ("Exceptus meus charissimus in Collegio"), Ioannes Philippus a Wallderndorf ("Alter Exceptor meus Papæ Defensor et Cultor").

In Rome Pastorius spent altogether during his first sojourn about one and a half years. While he seems to have made good use of his opportunity to study the theory and practice of jurisprudence, he was most diligent in viewing the sights and rare treasures in and around the Eternal City, which are minutely described in his "Descriptio Romæ."⁸³

Early in 1646, as appears from his *Itinerarium*, Pastorius left Rome to return to Germany. The journey was by way of Caprarola, Viterbo, Montefiscone, Siena, Florence, Bologna, Ferrara, Mantua (the birthplace of Vergil), Verona with its theatre holding 2500 persons, Trient,⁸⁴ Schwatz and Sterzingen with their mines and cutlery, Hall with its salt springs, and Innsbruck, arriving in Munich, March 6, 1646, where he

⁸³ An important chapter in the *Itinerarium* (pp. 21a-27b). In striking contrast to other accounts of the time such as *Abgebildetes | Altes Rom. | aus dem Italienischen ins Hochteutsche | mit Fleiss übersetzt von | Alberto Reimaro Lubecense. | Gedruckt zu Aernhem | In Verlegung Johan Friedrich Haagen; | Buchhändlers. | Anno MDCLXII*, because Pastorius lays more stress on the survivals.

⁸⁴ Here he remarks (*Itinerarium*, p. 29a): "in diser Gegend viel Mandelkern Bäume und der köstlichste Wein wächst."

spent some months in rest and sight-seeing. To the reigning Duke of Bavaria, Maximilian, he composed an anagram.

On the 19th of August, 1646, he took ship down the Isar and sailed toward the Danube, passing Freisingen that day; Landshut, with the highest towers in Germany, on the 20th; Pfädingen, on the 22d; Passau, on the 23d; arriving in Linz on the 24th, where Emperor Ferdinand III was holding his court in the imperial palace.³⁵

While here Pastorius witnessed some significant historic events, as his own account will show :

"Four miles from Linz is the city of Steier, where there is an imperial castle also, which I visited together with the monastery S. Florian and Steiergersten at the time when the Emperor was leaving to take Ferdinand IV to Prague to be crowned King of Bohemia, and had issued the decree that only a few should go along.

"Meanwhile I busied myself with poetry and composed a *Carmen Gratulatorium*, had it printed and presented it after the return [of the Emperor and the new King] in the open court, and was rewarded with 30 Reichsthaler.

"Soon after this the Empress Eleonora, Infanta of Spain, died at Linz. Her body lay in state for several days in the great hall of the palace, and was then placed on board a ship draped in black and escorted to Vienna by a fleet of many ships and a large retinue. The Swedish fortification at Kornneuburg fired upon the fleet with cannons, for which act of disrespect the Emperor dispatched an envoy to Sweden, whereupon the Swedish commander was discharged."³⁶

At the end of August, 1647, the Imperial Court left Linz for Vienna and Pressburg to participate in the coronation of Ferdinand IV, as King of Hungary. As there was a lack of ships, Pastorius was unable to join the suite, but on the 8th of September he took passage with a number of clerics on a raft

³⁵ He relates the following interesting incident reflecting on the law practice of the time (*Itinerarium*, p. 29b): "Ich hatte über 3. Tage nicht im Würtshause gezehret, da wurde ich bey dem Hn. Graffen Marradas conditioniret, deme ich seine concepirte italienische schrifftten in Latein und Teütsch vertiren muste, dann er keinem iuristen trawete sondern er selbst alle seine Rechts process selbstn führete."

³⁶ See the *Itinerarium*, p. 29b.

FRANCONIA REDIVIVA.

Das ist:

Des Hochlöblichen

Fränckischen Graises

So wohl Genealogische/
als Historische

Beschreibung/

In welcher enthalten:

1. Derer Fränckischen Könige und Herzoge Ankunft.
2. Deren Hochstifter und Bistthümer Origines.
3. Derer Durchl. Hochfürstl. Häuser Brandenb.
4. Des Hochlöbl. Hoch- und Teutsch Meisterthumbs.
5. Derer Hochst. Successoren des Hauses Henneberg.
6. Des Hochfürstlichen Hauses Schwarzenberg.
7. Des Hochgräfflichen Collegii in Francken.
8. Derer Fünff Kaiserl. Frey- und Reichs-Städte.
9. Derer übrigen Städte, Flecken und Klöster.
10. Derer Gebürge, Wälder, und Wasser-Flüsse.
11. Nebst einem Anhang von Hochlöblicher Ritterschaft in Francken, und andern Hochadelichen Geschlechtern.

Alles mit Strich colligirt und in publicum
gegeben durch

MELCHIOREM ADAM PASTORIUM,

J. U. D. Hochfürstl. Brandenb. Bayreuth. Rahr
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and shipped up the river Enns to the City of Enns, where the Enns empties into the Danube. Passing Ipsstein, Grembs, and Kornneuburg, he arrived in Vienna on the 12th of September, and continued his journey on the 15th by way of Fischbach to Pressburg, where he met his old fellow-student in the German College, Baron de Hedruar, who treated him magnificently and introduced him to a number of magnates and counts, among them Palfi, Nadasti, and Hommonai. September 27th the coronation of Ferdinand IV took place and the Imperial Court returned to Vienna, whither Pastorius also went with Count Hommonai. The Count offered Pastorius the hospitality of his table.

As the events of the war had become more ominous, Pastorius was warned by his brother to return at once to Rome. Accordingly, on the 20th of November, he left Vienna, going by hackney-coach to Steier, and thence by way of Seekirchen and Sanct Georgen whence the prelate sent him by horseback to the Monastery at Salzburg, where he had free entertainment. Here he met again his old friend Zürletto. Thence he continued his journey to Waidering, Brixen, Bozen, Trient, Verona, Ferrara, Bologna, Loreto, Macerata, Tolentino, Foligno, on to Rome, where he was greeted by his brother at the end of December, 1647.

Here he continued the study of jurisprudence, practicing in the Roman trials with his brother, and informing himself in the details of his brother's cases, particularly in the cases of Philippus Christophorus of Zöteren, the Elector of Trier, taking his brother's place in the business. On the 26th of April, 1648, his brother returned to Germany, leaving Melchior Adam Pastorius in his place as Resident at Rome for the Elector of Trier. This position Melchior Adam held for a period of five months, at the end of which, on the 12th of September, he left Rome in the company of Bartholomaeus Nagel, M. D., passing by way of Rignano to Otricoli. The next day they went by way of Narni and Terni to Spoleto, on the 14th by way of Foligno to Sera-

valle, the 15th by way of Vallemara to Tolentino, the 16th by way of Macerata to Loreto, the 17th to Ancona, the 19th by way of Fano to Pesaro, the 20th by way of Alla Catholica to Savignano, the 21st by way of Forli Grande to Faenza, the 22d by way of S. Nicolo to Bologna, where he remained four days. On the 27th in the evening he took ship for Ferrara, arriving the next day at noon. Here he met his old student friend of the German College, Bartholomaeus Dannazoll, who had meanwhile become a priest and now entertained him at the inn. On the day of his arrival at Ferrara, he met his old friend, the painter Andreas Petri of Prague, who had painted for him and his brother at Rome. This same day he took a coach for the river Po, where he embarked for Venice, arriving the following day. On the 31st of September he reached Padua, with its old University and splendid city hall, meeting here Dannazoll again. He then continued the journey on the 2d of October to Passano, Pass Kobol, by the rapid Brenta, to Primolano, Castelnuovo, arriving at Trient the 4th of October. Leaving Trient he passed on to Tramin and Solurn. On the 5th of October he came to Bozen, where met another old friend, Otto Moritz von Kraus of Krauseck, who entertained him several days. On the 9th of October he journeyed on by way of Collmann to Brixen, on the 10th to Sterzingen, on the 11th to the Brenner Pass, on the 12th by way of Steinach and Materan to Hall in the valley of the Inn, where he met his old friend Wolfgang Eber who had been his messmate in Rome, and who had taught him how to boil "kupfferweis."^{36a} On the 13th of October he journeyed to Innsbruck, on the 14th, 15th, 16th by way of Ziel to Landeck, on the 17th to St. Jacob, on the 18th over the Adlersberg to Nenzig, the 20th-21st by way of Rastriz, Neuburg, Ems to Monnheim, where they crossed the Rhine. On the 24th they sailed across the Bodensee to Costniz, meeting there another old com-

^{36a} "Der zu Rom. bey mir im convictu gewesen war, und mich das Kupfferweis zu siedlen gelehret hatte" (*Itinerarium*, p. 35b).

panion of the German College, Franciscus Drocken, then a canon at that place. On the 26th of October he came to Schaffhausen, where he met his old acquaintance, Johannes Wepfer, M. D., who took him to see the Falls of the Rhine. On the 29th of October he reached the Monastery Klingenuau, and went the following day by ship to Laufenberg, where he and his friend Bartholomaeus Nagel were entertained by the Ensign Emanuel Schönauer. He now journeyed on past Rheinfeld, arriving at Basel November 1st. On the 3d of November they reached Breisach, where they received the first news of the Peace of Münster and Osnabrück. Having secured passes, they went on to Strassburg, November 5th, where they were entertained by a student of Rothenburg, and visited the Münster. In Strassburg they bought a small boat and hired a boatman to take them to Mainz. The Tutor (Hofmeister) of the Polish Prince Razzivill went along with them, paying half the expenses. On the 7th of November they left Strassburg, at Philippsburg on the 9th they were held up by a Jew, who demanded toll, but producing their passes were allowed to proceed, and reached Speier the same day. On the 10th of November they went by way of Eigelsheim to Mannheim, where they found but six houses standing, the rest of the city having been razed to the ground.⁸⁷ On the 11th they reached Worms, noting particularly the inscription on the old tower, "Specula Vangionum." On the 12th of November they reached Oppenheim, viewing the beautiful pyramid erected to Gustavus Adolphus in memory of his crossing the Rhine. That evening they arrived at Mainz, where they ate their Christmas goose ("Martins Gans"), and took leave of Razzivill's tutor, who wished to take Pastorius with him to Poland, promising to make him a great and rich lord. This offer Pastorius foolishly declined, because, as he says himself,

⁸⁷ This is a particularly interesting fact in contrast with the now large and flourishing city of Mannheim, which celebrated the Tercentennial of its elevation to cityhood in 1607.

he had determined to see that accursed France.^{37a} On the 14th Pastorius journeyed to "Elvell and Erbach, in Willens," to see his sister Margaretha and her husband Laurentius Bebler, but she had died meanwhile at the birth of her first child, Anna Maria, whom they showed him, lying in the cradle. On the 16th he proceeded to Bingen, and on the 17th down the Rhine passing the old castles on the way to Coblenz, where they were entertained from the wine cellars of the Elector of Trier. On the 19th they reached Münster, on the 21st arrived at Trier, going to the house of Lucas Roerich, M. D., who had been their guest at Rome. Their meals they took at the Court table at Trier. On the 12th of December Pastorius reached Diethofen, on the 14th Metz, on the 15th Pontimossion, on the 17th Nancy, on the 20th Toul, on the 24th Bar-le-Duc, Nagel having accompanied him on the journey. On the 28th of December they passed out of Lorraine into France, by way of Sendisi, reaching Vitry on the 29th and Chalons on the 31st. On the 3d of January, 1649, they left Chalons, but lost their way in the darkness and rain and were unable to find a bed to sleep in, until a barber took them in and gave them a place at his fireside. On the 6th of January they reached the city of Momiell, where they remained six days. On the 13th they journeyed to Forté where they were taken for spies, but were finally liberated through the intervention of a grain dealer, who secured a boat for them, and had them set over the river secretly. They then proceeded to Meaux and arrived in Paris the 17th of January, 1649.

To Paris Pastorius devotes the following verses:

^{37a} Pastorius writes: "Nam ich uon dem Razziuillischen Hoffmeister Vrlaub welchem fast die augen übergiengen und mich gerne mitt in Pohlen gehabt hette mitt Versprechen Einen grossen und Reichen Herren aus mir zu machen, aber ich schlug es vnvorsichtiglich ab, und rennete in mein eigen Vnglück, in deme ich mir all zu feste vorgenommen hatte das vermaledeyte Franckreich zu besichtigen." (*Itinerarium*, p. 38a.)

"Laus Lutetiae Parijsiorum.

Se laudent aliæ, pro me modo Fama loquatur
 Si poterit uero murmure Fama loqui
 Nam mea Maiestas non uno cernitur anno
 Ampla nimis spacium longius illa cupit
 Ipsa mihi uix nota, vias, Turresque Domosque
 Non numero, immensi singula Nomen habent
 Tam grandem bifido scindit me Sequana cursu
 Tectaque Pontigera Regia lambit aqua."^{37b}

The city of Paris was at this time in a state of siege and disorder. Prince Condé had blockaded all the thoroughfares, and famine threatened the city. The friendly offices of a Member of Parliament secured Pastorius his personal liberty. He took quarters at the home of a Dr. Heilmann in Saint Germain and laid in his own provisions, living quietly to avoid the dangers of the tumult. He left Paris on the 17th of June, 1649, with Lucas Kleilein,^{37c} as his traveling companion, and journeyed by way of Corbeil, Myli, Montagni, St. Jean, Briard, Soleil, Molin, Poroin, and Palaise, arriving at Roan July the 1st, and passed on thence to St. Martin and La Brelle and Lyons. On the 5th of July he proceeded to Burg without Kleilein, who had escaped with some of Pastorius' manuscripts and other effects, avoiding a board bill in Lyons; thence, July 8th to Nantua; July 9th to Cologne and Geneva, the 12th to Newis, the 13th to Lausanne, the 14th to Orbon, the 15th to Solothurn, the 16th to August, arriving on the 18th at Basel. On the 1st of September he left Basel for Germany, passing St. Blasius in the Black Forest, where he met an old fellow student of the German College, Father Blasius Sarwei, who gave him the freedom of the Monastery. He journeyed thence to Villingen, Rothweil, Tübingen, Hohentwiel and Stuttgart, where he had an interview with Dr. Johann Vallentin Andreæ, who was Court Preacher there, and wished to give him a position at Court,

^{37b} Cf. *Itinerarium*, p. 40b.

^{37c} Nagel had been dropped by Pastorius, because he had paid back the money Pastorius lent him with doubtful paper.

which he, however, declined. On the 27th of August, he left Stuttgart for Cannstatt, Marbach, Bottwar, Jaxthausen, Habhausen, Röttingen, Lauda, Reigelsberg, Ingolstadt, and Winterhausen, where he was kindly received on the 29th of August by Wilhelm Trew, the Pastor of the place, and stepfather of his former traveling companion, Bartholomaeus Nagel. He asked Trew to give him money on Nagel's paper, but failing to receive cash upon his note from the parson, who put him off with the proffer of wine not yet sold, he returned to the Electoral Court at Würzburg, whence he had set out on his journey to Rome five years before.^{87d}

Pastorius was weary of this aimless wandering and wished a prominent position for the practice of his profession. He sought an audience with the Elector Johann Philipp, Archbishop of Mainz, explained to him his change of plan from the study of theology to that of jurisprudence, and asked his favor and commendation. As the Court was then being held in Würzburg, Pastorius was told to wait patiently until it was over. He took quarters with the City Captain ("Stadthauptmann") and had his meals at the Electoral table. He then had a cask of the Winterhausen wine sent to his quarters to enliven his spirits. His *Itinerarium* contains a most interesting account of the events at the Electoral Court at this time. Pastorius then sought another audience with the Archbishop and asked for a recommendation to the Count of Limpurg. The Archbishop gave him the following letter:

"Iohann Philipp uon Gottes Gnaden Ertz Bischoff zu Meyntz u. Churfürst.

Wohlgebohrner Lieber Getrewer aus der Innlage hastu zu ersehen was der Hochgelehrte vnser Lieber Besonder Melchior Adam Pastorius an vns gelangen lassen gleich wie wir nun dessen Wohlfart gerne befördert sehen möchten, also zweiffelt vns nicht Du werdest diese vnser Recommendation so weith gültig sein lassen

^{87d} The names of smaller places are given in the form found in the *Itinerarium*. A brief sketch of his journey is found also in his letter to his grandsons (cf. *Beschreibung*, p. 108ff). In this letter he relates the story of his finding a dead man under his bed in an Italian inn.

RECORD OF THE MARRIAGE OF PASTORIUS' PARENTS
(From the Church Book in Sommerhausen)

Anno 1657.
 Magdalena, h. d. Pastorin eliche briefte mit dem ch. r. g.
 u. w. von La Frotte, Herrm J. Winterstein, in meiner Frankf.
 Anst. v. solch J. grad geleitet v. eingefachelt worden, Ita:
 Jörg Lorentz, Lorentz Brägel, fänger v. geloffen.
 Dänen Jäger mit eigenen Wunden, am 29. Merz.

BURIAL RECORD OF PASTORIUS' MOTHER
(From the Church Book in Sommerhausen)

damitt selbiger nach seinen qualitäten bester massen möge untergebracht und befördert werden. Das begehren wir in dergleichen fällen in Genaden (:Wormitt wir Dir forderist wohl bey gethan verbleiben :) zu erkennen willig. Vnd versehen vns der Willfahring. Datum vnserer Statt Würtzburg den 27. Nou. 1649."^{87e}

This document secured Pastorius the desired appointment in the service of Count Georg Friedrich of Limpurg, in Sommerhausen. His joy over the prospect of a new life is expressed in many of his poems dedicated later to Count Georg Friedrich and Franciscus, the new heir apparent, and to the members of the Sommerhausen circle, which he now entered.

Important changes took place in Pastorius' religious and social life during the first weeks of his sojourn in Sommerhausen. He laconically sums it up as follows (in English translation):

"With these recommendations I betook myself to Sommerhausen, was well received by his Lordship Georg Friedrich of Limpurg, and married the estimable and virtuous Lady, Magdalena Dietz; composed in writing my Evangelical Confession of Faith, left the Papal tenets and together with his Lordship of Limpurg partook of the Holy Sacrament on Christmas Day, 1649."⁸⁸

The order of events is reversed in the *Itinerarium*. We learn from the *Actus Nuptiales* of Sommerhausen that he married, January 22, 1650. The entry runs as follows:

"Dn. Melchior Adamus Pastorius Erphordensis, I. V. D., welcher mit vorhingelegter Bäpstischen religion, sich zu vnserer allein seeligmachenden Evangel. religion v. einer vngeänderten Augspurgisch. confession mit hertz v. mündt öffentlich bekandt, auch bald darauf das hochw. abentmal in zweyerley gestalt, nach Christi selbst eigner stiftung, vf vorher empfangr privat absolution, genossen, nachgehents auch öffentlich, vff beschehene dreymalige offene proclamation v. gehaltener hochzeitpredigt, christ-ehe-v. ehrlich copuliret worden, mit der Ehr- v. Tugentsamen Fraw Magdalena, Weyland Hn. Johann Johms, Limp. Schultheiss allhier hinderlassener Wittib, den 22. Januarij."⁸⁹

^{87e} Cf. *Itinerarium*, p. 48b.

⁸⁸ Cf. his *Itinerarium*, p. 48b. The original is in German.

⁸⁹ The original is presented in photographic reproduction from the part of the church record or *Kirchenbuch* with the superscription: "Sequuntur Actus nuptiales in ão 1650."

Magdalena, wife of Melchior Adam Pastorius, was born February 2, 1607. She was the daughter of Stephan Dietz, Bailif of Main-Nordheim in Brandenburg.⁴⁰ November 17, 1629, she married Heinrich Frischmann, Steward of Workhausen, and bore him three children, all of whom died young. After the death of her first husband, November 17, 1634, she married Johann Johm, Steward in Sommerhausen, February 18, 1639. The issue of this union was four children, but two of whom, Margaretha and Ludwig, lived to any considerable age. January 3, 1648, Johm died,⁴¹ leaving her a widow for the second time. She married Melchior Adam Pastorius January 22, 1650. The only child of this union was Francis Daniel Pastorius, the subject of this work. Magdalena died on Good Friday, March 27, 1657, and was buried in the graveyard in Sommerhausen, by the pastor of Winterhausen, her own pastor being ill at the time of the funeral.⁴² Both Melchior Adam, her husband, and Francis Daniel, her son, have left loving and tender words touching her character. The former has the following verses in an anagram:

"Von kindheit auff im Creutz und Nothstand must ich stecken
 Mich thät der Kriegesschwall und manche plündrüg schrecken
 Mein's Vatters Haus und Hoff, auch was erwarb mein Mann
 Must mitt dem Rücken ich als Wittib schauen an.
 In solcher Creutzes Schuel lernt ich die Welt uerachten
 Vnd deren Eyttelkeit vonn innern grund betrachten
 Ich sprach: O SPARE DA Mein Gott einst doch die peyn
 O IESV AN DIR HANGT MEIN Gantze Lieb allein."⁴³

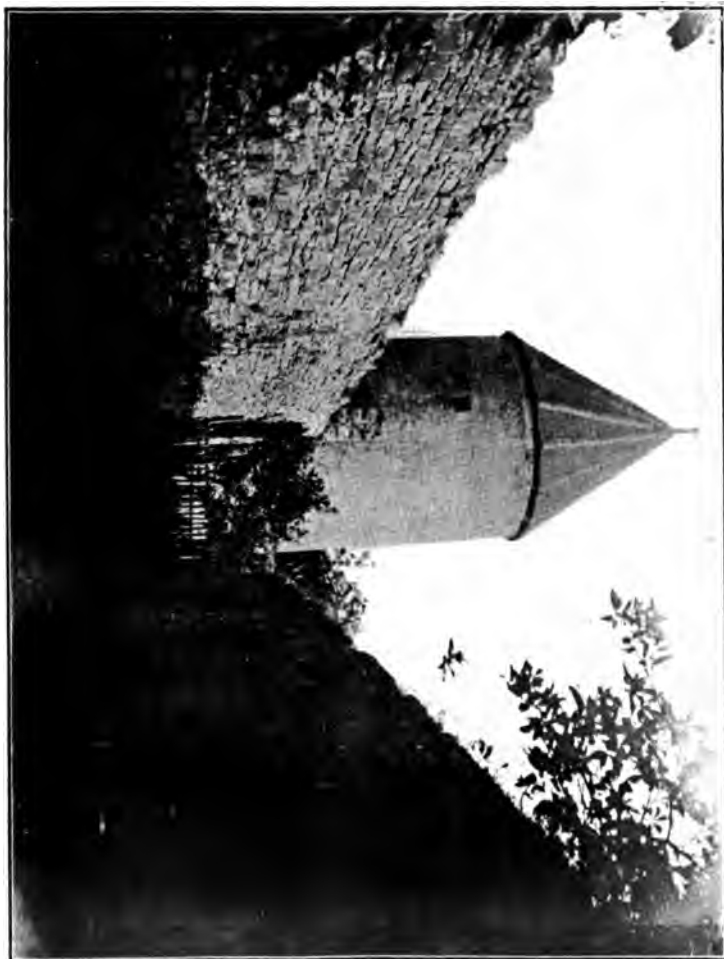
⁴⁰ F. D. Pastorius' Genealogical Sketch and M. A. P.'s *Itinerarium* (p. 114b).

⁴¹ Cf. the *Totenbuch* of Sommerhausen for 1648:

"G. Johann Johm, Praetor allhier, hat das zeitliche gesegnet, ist auch mit christlichen Ceremonien zur erden bestattet worden, den 4 Februarij."

⁴² The record in the *Totenbuch* for 1657 is as follows: "Fr. Magdalena, Hn. D. Pastorii eheliche Hausfr. mit dem choro musico, vom Hn. Trewen, Pfarrer zu Winterhausen, in meiner [des hiesigen Pfarrers Nikolaus Hoehn] Krankheit christl. v. ehrlich zu grab geleitet v. eingesarket worden * * * am 29. Martii."

⁴³ Cf. *Itinerarium*, p. 114b and p. 115a.



SOMMERHAUSEN IN 1903.
(Inner and Outer Wall with a Round Tower.)

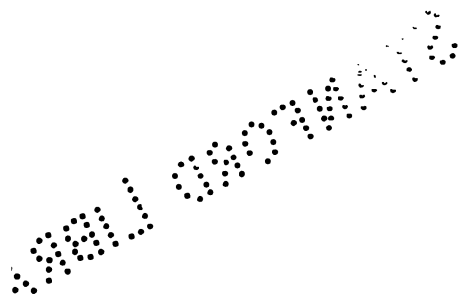
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ENTRANCE TO WALL TOWER IN SOMMERHAUSEN (1903).



Her husband, Melchior Adam Pastorius, gave public expression to her virtues in a printed sermon, as we learn from her son, Francis Daniel:⁴⁴

"My sd father testifying his sincere & constant affection towards her in a printed Funeral Coñment upon the words of Holy David, Psal. 73: v. 25. & 26. which were in a mañer her Symbolum, Motto or Device, and found according to Martin Luther's Dutch translation verbatim thus: When J have but thee, J care not for Heaven and Earth, And though my body & Soul do pine away, yet art thou, O God, always the Comfort of my heart & my Portion. She was a Woman fearing the Lord, and ready to help the poor and the Sick as much as in her lied, having for that end a small Apothecary-shop in her own house, being herself pretty skilful in Physick. &c. J shall say no more of her, whom J lost too early, but 6. years & 6. months old."

At the time when Pastorius went to Sommerhausen, Franciscus, the young son and heir apparent of Count Georg Friedrich of Limpurg, was but twelve years of age, and was under the instruction of tutors. Although *Der Limpurgische Ehrensaal*⁴⁵ mentions only one of these tutors, Georg Düring of Kitzing, a student of theology, it is quite likely that Pastorius had an important part in the young count's education. Before Franz reached his majority his father, Count Georg Frederich, died, October 5, 1651, and the young count was placed under guardians.

The efficiency of Franz's tutors, as well as his own native ability, was soon to be put to a test. As Count of Limpurg it was his office to serve as hereditary Imperial Cupbearer at the coronation of the new Emperor, in default of older representatives of the house. In the year 1653 Emperor Ferdinand III. summoned the Imperial Diet at Regensburg for the coronation of his newly elected successor, Ferdinand IV. As the older representatives of the house of Limpurg, Erasmus and Johann Wilhelm,

⁴⁴ Cf. F. D. Pastorius' Genealogical Sketch.

⁴⁵ From an extract kindly furnished me by her Ladyship, Christine Erbgräfin v. Rechteren Limpurg, from *Der Limpurgische Ehrensaal von Georg Salomon Ziegler, Limpurg 1739*.

were unable, because of age or infirmity, to perform the office of cupbearer, it was decided that young Franz, though only sixteen years of age should assume the office. Arriving at Regensburg after a twenty-four hours' ride in a diligence, he found that the order had been changed in favor of 'Count Sinzendorff, in the Maase'. Franz, nothing daunted, made open protest to the assembled knights, was restored to his rightful place and on the 8th of June served as cupbearer at the coronation, and on the 25th of July, in the same capacity at the coronation of the Empress. Notwithstanding the fact that he was at first refused horse, saddle and armor for the ceremony, he finally obtained his full equipment and returned home with honor and distinction to continue his studies in preparation for the university. In the autumn of 1655 he entered the then flourishing University of Altdorf,⁴⁶ as the following matriculation will show:

D. 25, Oct., 1655. Franciscus, Baro in Limpurg, S. R. I. Pincerna hæreditarius semperque Liber.⁴⁷

In June, 1656, Franz returned home, but set out the following September, accompanied by his tutor (Hofmeister) Rudolph Graf, J. U. D., for France, returning April 26, 1658, to Sommerhausen. On the 27th of October, 1659, he went with one servant to Italy, where he learned the Italian language and saw with his own eyes "des Pabstums Greuelwesen," at Rome.⁴⁸ After his return from Italy, in 1660, he collected a large library and assumed the rule of his domains. In 1663 he married Fr. Maria Juliana geb. Gräfin von Hohenloh-Langenburg, widow of Johann Wilhelm of Limpurg-Schmidefeld. Count Franz ruled twelve years and died at the early age of thirty-six, November 16, 1673. Pastorius has left us a touching tribute to

⁴⁶ Near Nürnberg.

⁴⁷ Cf. Georg Andreas Wills, *Geschichte und Beschreibung der Nürnberghischen Universität Altdorf*. Altdorf, 1795, p. 244.

⁴⁸ Cf. *Der Limpurgische Ehrensaal*, l.c.

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HOUSE OF MELCHIOR ADAM PASTORIUS.
SOMMERHAUSEN.

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Real Control

Count Georg Friedrich, both in German and Latin verses.⁴⁹
The first four of the German verses give a portrait of the count's personal appearance:

"Ob ich zwar uon Gestalt was scharff bin anzusehen
So in Soldaten Stand so pflaget herzugehen
Bin ich doch im Gemüth der Demuth zugethan
Vnd hat bey mir Gehör, so Klein: als Grosser Mann."

The Latin verses bespeak Pastorius' own loss in the death of the Count, Georg Friedrich:

"O quantus mihi Fautor obit! quantusque Patronus!
Protector Patriæ dum Fridericus obit
O mea pars animæ, meus Vltor, et Altor opimus
Dum mea mens super est, Te super astra feret."

Also for the young Count Franz, Pastorius had a like affection, as the following verses will show:

"Quantum inimica Patris Fridridi Fata dolorem
Mœstitiamque animo contribuere meo
Tantam lætitiā de Te Francisce recepi
Qui meus et Patriæ factus es ipse Parens
Intrepidus Patriæ Patrem tunc sicce precabor
Da ius, Da requiem Da populoque Cibum."

Notwithstanding the departure of Count Franz for the university and his long journeys to France and Italy, the position of Pastorius in Sommerhausen must have promised permanency, for in 1655, the year of the young Count's departure for the university, he built a substantial house in Sommerhausen, which is still standing (1903) in a good state of preservation. The inscription on the datestone, not at the corner of the house but at the left of the front door, runs thus: ⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Cf. *Itinerarium*, p. 50b and p. 51a-b.

⁵⁰ The author is indebted to the present (1903) occupant of the house for the privilege of examining the interior and of having the house and datestone photographed, and to Lehrer Friedrich Gutmann and his son, of Sommerhausen, for assistance.

MELCHOIR ADAMUS PASTORIUS ANNO DOMINI 1655
SVO AERE EX FVNDAMENTIS HOC HABITACVLVM
SVO SVORVMQUE VSVI PARAVIT.

Translation :

"Melchior Adam Pastorius built this dwelling from the foundations with his own money for the use of himself and his family. Anno Domini 1655."

As may be seen from the accompanying plate, the inscription is cut in capitals about the coat-of-arms of the Pastorius family.

The happiness of this new home was interrupted by the death of Magdalena, in 1657. The father, left alone with his little Franciscus, married as his second wife, Eva Margaretha, maiden daughter of John Gelchsheimer, J. U. D. and Jur. Consul. of the Imperial City of Windsheim, February 9, 1658.⁵¹ The first child of this union, Susanna, was born December 7, 1658, but lived scarcely four months. The second daughter, who was given the same name, was born June 10, 1660, but lived only nine days. On May 31 a third child was delivered, still-born, by a Caesarean section made by a skillful barber or surgeon (Balbirer) named Georg Appoldt. The mother succumbed to the operation on the 19th of the following June.

It was through his marriage with Margaretha Gelchsheimer that Pastorius transferred his residence from Sommerhausen to Windsheim. On the 3-13 of May, 1659, Johann Gelchsheimer died. His son-in-law, Melchior Adam Pastorius, was elected his successor and became a citizen of Windsheim, taking the bur-

⁵¹ The *Itinerarium* (p. 116a) contains Pastorius' own account: "Melchior Adam Pastorius hatte in dieser Erstern Ehe gelebt 7. Jahr und 10. Wochen. Vnd nach deme es sein Zuestand nicht leyden wolte mit seinem Söhnlein Francisco Daniele in die Länge In Sommerhausen zu verharren, hat er sich an des Wohl Edlen und Hochgelehrten Herren Iohann Gelchsheimers der Rechten Doctoris und des Heyl. Röm. Reichs Statt Windsheimb bestellten Consulents Jungfraw Tochter Euam Margaretham verheurathet den 9. Febr. 1658."



DATESTONE OF THE PASTORIUS HOUSE.
SOMMERHAUSEN.

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gher's oath on the 1st of August, 1659. The *Bürger und Siebnerbuch*⁵² of Windsheim contains the following entry :

"Hr Melchior Adam Pastorius Jurium Doctor von Erfurt ausz Thüringen, so sich zu Hn Dr Johann Gelchsheimers, consulenten alhie ehl. Tochter verheirathet, ist bürger worden, und hat die gewöhnliche Pflicht abgelegt, den 1. Aug. 1659."⁵³

Having thus entered deeply into the official life of Windsheim with his only surviving child, Francis, still in need of maternal care, Pastorius married as his third wife widow Barbara Greulich, of Hüttenheim, January 21, 1662. Barbara's maiden name was Heider. This union was without issue. Barbara died March 26, 1674. The city chronicle,⁵⁴ of Windsheim has the following entry for this year and month (in translation) :

"The 29th Lady Barbara, the beloved wife of Burgomaster Pastorius was buried, aged 68 years."

Now that the only son, Francis Daniel, was prepared for the university, the father, Melchior Adam, married, September 22, 1674, as his fourth and last wife, Dorothea Esther Volckmann, maiden daughter of Adam Volckmann, J. C., of the city of Nürnberg.⁵⁵ The City Council of Windsheim voted ten Reichsthaler

⁵² Excerpted from the original MS. vol. of the *Bürger und Siebner Buch* in Windsheim.

I wish to acknowledge the kindly assistance of his Honor the Burgomaster, of the City Accountant, Matthias Geuder, and of the Rev. Rud. Herold, resident Deacon, of Windsheim.

⁵³ Pastorius himself gives the following account in his *Itinerarium* (p. 122a) : "Den 3-13 maij. 1659. starb Herr Iohann Gelchsheimer I. V. D. und Consulent des H. Röm. Reichs Statt Windsh. An dessen stelle sein Tochtermann Melchior Adam Pastorius Ordentlich Beruffen worden lauth Bestallungs-Notul, und Beschreibung der Aduocatur Verrichtungen. Den 30. Sept. Anno 1659. wurde Melchior Adam Pastorius durch Ordentliche Wahl in den Eüssern Raths Stand gewöhlet."

⁵⁴ Cf. *Chronica Windsheimensis* II. 163 (March, 1674) : "Den 29. ist begraben worden Frau Barbara Herrn Bürgermeisters Pastorii Eheliebste war 68. Jahr alt."

⁵⁵ The *Chronica Windsheimensis* II. 163 (Sept., 1674), has the following : "Den 22. Hat Herr D. und Bürgermeister Pastorius mit Jungfer Dorothea Esther, weiland Herrn Adam Volckmanns, gewesenen Hoffraths und Lehenvorstehers zu Bayreuth nachgelassene Tochter in Stadt Nürnberg Hochzeit gehabt und sind Ihnen von einem Hoch Edlen Rath 10. R. thaler verehret worden."

as a wedding present. This union had an issue of four children: Johann Samuel, who was born October 15, 1675, and died much lamented in the bloom of youth, October 18, 1687; Anna Catharina, born March 20, 1678; Margaretha Barbara, born August 14, 1680, and Augustin Adam, born August 5, 1682.

The birth of Johann Samuel had revived the hopes and family pride of Melchior Adam. His eldest son, Francis Daniel, was away studying at German universities, and the father could now lay plans for rearing another son to comfort his advancing years. When the light of this young life was prematurely extinguished, it seemed as if the father's heart would melt with grief. He pours out his sorrow in eight anagrams and devotes to his son's memory a dozen or more poems in German and Latin verses. In like manner Magister Georgius Leonhardus Modelius, Rector of the school in Windsheim, gives expression in a Latin eulogium⁵⁶ to his grief over the early death of the youth full of hope and promise. The most pathetic verses of the father are those entitled: *Genommener Abschied Johannis Samuelis Pastorii von seinem Herrn Vatter, den 18 Aug., 1687*:

Ach hertzgelibter Vatter mein
Seh't doch an dise hauth und Bein
Könt ihr mir dann gar helffen nicht
Eh' mir mein mattes Hertz zerbricht.

Der Vatter antworttet:

Ach Liebster Sohn ich seh dein qual
Du iammerst mich ohn maas und Zahl
Von hertzen grund ich helffen wolt
Wann ich nur wüste wie ich solt."⁵⁷

In Windsheim Melchoir Adam Pastorius spent the best years of his life. He rose rapidly to the highest position of trust in the Imperial City, and distinguished himself in the execution of his duties as well as by his pen. The circle of colleagues and friends

⁵⁶ Cf. *Itinerarium*, p. 130a.

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, p. 133a and b.

with whom he had closest association may be seen in the following poem entitled:

"Salve Windshemium.

clamat pius Aduena Pastor:

Hi sunt, quos veniens (:ducturus in Vrbe maritam:)
 Inueni Patres præpositos Patriæ
 Mercklinus tum Prætor erat. Ramminger et Eisen
 Cum Neuber Consul Stellwagiusque simul
 Postmodo Knör, Kilian, Vitus, Keget, atque Ioachim
 Seufferlin, Strampffer, Iann Vogel, atque Nagel.
 Dienst, Mercklein, Vogel et Stellwag, Zinck, Scheller Idolū
 Mercklein cum Weyknecht, Neuber, Egoque simul."^{57a}

Pastorius' honors followed in quick succession from "Consulent" and membership in the "Aeusserer Rath" to "Aelterer Bürgermeister" and "Oberrichter," as the following calendar drawn from the records of Windsheim will show:

1659, August 1, took oath of citizenship as "Consulent."

1661, September 30, elected member of the "Aeusserer Rath."

1670, September 27, elected Elder Burgomaster.⁵⁸

1670, September 29, made Auditor of Church Accounts and Landassessor.⁵⁹

1671, October 17, made "Wassergraf."⁶⁰

1681, made Director of the Hospital.^{60a}

^{57a} Cf. *Itinerarium*, p. 61a.

⁵⁸ The *Chronica Windsheimensis* (Bd. II. p. 133) has the following entry for September, 1670: "Dienstag den 27 ist. Herr Melchior Adam Pastorius J. U. D. zum ältern Bürgermeister erwehlet worden."

⁵⁹ Cf. *Chronica Windsheimensis* (II. 138), Sept. 29, 1670: "Den 29 sind Herr Simon Sigmund Nagel und Herr Otto Kunz Feuerstatt, wie auch der letztere Baubesichtiger und nebst Herrn Johann Georg Müller Caspar Mercklein, Siebner Herr Georg Müller Würzschauer und Herr Bürgermeister Pastorius Gotteshaus Rechnungs-abhörer und Landsteuerer worden."

⁶⁰ Cf. *Chronica Windsheimensis* (II. 163), October, 1671: "Herr Bürgermeister Pastorius und Herr Andreas Strampffer Wassergrafen."

^{60a} In his letter to his grandsons, M. A. Pastorius gives a list of 23 different offices and capacities in which he served the city of Windsheim (cf. *Beschreibung*, pp. 118-119).

1692, September 30, elected "Statt Ober Richter." This election was confirmed by the Emperor,^{60b} with the award of the usual diploma, May 18, 1693.^{60c} The oath of office, recorded in the Kreis-Archiv in Nürnberg, with Pastorius' seal affixed, runs as follows:

"Ich Melchior Adam Pastorius J. C. dess Innern Raths und älterer Burgemeister allhier in des heyl. Reichs Statt Windsheim thue kunth mitt disem Brieff allen denen die ihn sehen, lesen oder hören, Als mir das Ober Richter Ampt zu ietzt bemelten Windsheimb, (:darzue ich durch die wohl Edle Veste fürsichtige und hochweise herren Burgemeister und Rath diser Statt Windsheimb erkieset und erwöhlet,:) verlihen, vnd fürter durch den Allerdurchleuchtigsten Grosmächtigsten und vnüberwindlichsten Fürsten und herrn herrn Leopoldum dieses Nahmens den Ersten Römischen Kayser zu allen Zeitten Mehrern des Reichs Meinen allergnädigsten herren allergnädigst zuegesagt und verwilligt ist. Bekenne in krafft dises Brieffs das ich mich gegen denen herren Burgemeistern, Rath und Gemeiner Statt Windsheim der hernach beschribenen Stück und Articul Verpflichtet, Verbunden und Verscriben habe, Verpflichtete, Verbinde, und Verschreibe mich also in krafft dieses Brieffs, das ich mehrgenanter Statt Windsheimb dero angehörigen Leuten und Güthern getrewlich Vorstehen will, mitt gutem, Trewen und besten Vermögen Ihren frommen zu werben und ihren Schaden zu warnen, auch alle gute Recht und gewohnheiten derselben ihrer Statt helffen zu halten, zu mehren und nicht zu mindern in keine Weis, vnd insonderheit meines Vermögens daran und darob sein das alle Freyheiten und Begnadungen Gemeiner Statt von Römischen Kaysern und Königen gegeben, gehalten, und darwider nicht gehandelt, Auch Einem ieden Arm: und Reich gebührendes Rechtens gestatt: und mittgetheilet werde. Vnd ob sich künfftig Verfügte, das ich uor mehrwohlgedachten herren Burgemeister und Rath zu ihrer gelegenheit Von demselben Ampt entsetzt würde (:welches Sye dann ieder Zeit zu thun, auch mich zu entsetzen, und Einen andern an meine Statt nach ihrem wohlgefallen und nach ausweis ihrer Priuilegien ihnen darüber gegeben, zu erwählen und

^{60b} *Chronica Windsheimensis* (II. 571), Dec., 1693. "Dienstags den 29. ist Herr brgstr Pastorius zu einem Ober Richter eligiret, und den 18 Maji, 1693. von Ihro Kayln. Majeste confirmiret worden. Die Confirmation hat 47 fl. 30 kr. gekostet. Quò factò ist den 14ten 7br. 1693. Er Pastorius, bey ganzem Rath altem Herkommen nach unter hand gegebner Treü Herrn bgrstr Karneffern an Aydesstatt bestättiget und in die Function eingesetzt worden."

^{60c} Cf. *Liber Intimissimus*.



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auff zunehmen macht haben das ich ohne irrung und Eintrag Mein: und männiglichs uon meinetwegen, dessen gewärtig sein, mich auch mit Keinem Behelff noch Auszug wie mann die erdencken und fürnehmen möcht, darwider nicht suchen. Auch Einen Wohl Edlen Rath an Ihren Rathshandlungen, Ordnungen, Wahl und in andere Weg keinen Eintrag widersprechen oder hindernuss nicht thun, sondern mich allein dess halten soll und will, was mir in Krafft meines Ober Richter Ampts zu thun, und auszurichten gebührt, getrewlich und ohne alles gefährde.

Vnd das Jch obgenanter Melchior Adam Pastorius Alles was hierinnen geschriben, Vnd Eines wohledlen Raths habende Freyheiten einuerleibt, steth, Vest, und Vnuerbrüchlich halten soll und will, habe ich offtermelten Burgemeister und Rath zu Windsheim mitt hand gebenden Trewen gelobt, Auch zu wahrer Vrkunth disen Reuers mitt eigenen handen Vnterschriben, und mein gewöhnlich eigen Insiegel hier Vorgeedruckt.

So geben und geschehen Donnerstags den 15. September Jm Jahr nach Christi Vnsers Erlösers und Seligmachers Geburth 1693.

L. S. Melchior Adam Pastorius J. C.

Revers

Burgemeister Ober Richters

Melchioris Adami Pastorij."

All efforts to locate the house in which Pastorius lived in Windsheim proved fruitless. It is said that the house stood near the city wall, which has been torn down. The following references were found to property held or used by him. The first is from January of the year 1680, stating that two vacant places alongside the armory, where formerly the dwellings of Barthol Diepolt and Melchior Schwartz stood, were turned over to Burgomaster Pastorius for his use under certain conditions.⁶¹ The second is from November, 1695, stating that this ground is ceded to Pastorius with the understanding that he build a small house on it.⁶²

⁶¹ Cf. *Chronica Windsheimensis* (II. 427), January, 1680: "Den 9. sind Herrn Brgstr Pastorio, nach einem ausgefertigten Versicherungs Schein, die 2: öden Hausplätz, neben dem Zeughaus, worauf ehedessen Barthol Diepolts und Melchior Schwartzens Behausungen gestanden, auf gewisse Condition zu usurpiren, und Dasz Ihnen ein Dill Darumb zu machen erlaubt seyn solle, überlassen werden."

⁶² Cf. *Chronica Windsheimensis* (II. 616), November, 1695: "Den 1. sind Herrn Ober-Richtern Pastorio die biszhero von Ihm usufructuarie in Besitz gehabte öde Hofraith bey dem Zeughaus, gegen die offerierte Aufbauung eines Häusleins, eigenthümlich cediret worden."

The last years of Melchior Adam Pastorius in Windsheim were fraught with domestic troubles, which finally led to official friction and forced him to change his residence.

The account given in the *Chronica Windsheimensis*⁶³ allows us to read much between the lines. In the first place we see evidence of local, social and religious cabal. The first mistake was made by his wife Dorothea Esther (Volckmann) when she circulated pasquils and induced her husband to interfere in the religious affairs of Windsheim, for which he paid severe and humiliating penalty. The social-religious strife naturally passed over into city politics, and Pastorius, now advanced beyond his three score years and ten, was unable to make aggressive defense. It is in a word another illustration of the danger of female squabbles and corroborates the adage, "Cherchez la femme."

The result of this unpleasantness and humiliation was that Pastorius squared his account with a 1000 reichsthaler and moved away from Windsheim, going first to Neustadt-on-the-Aisch, and thence to Nürnberg. Here he took up his residence in a small villa outside of the city wall, in front of the New Gate, belonging to the Marquis of Brandenburg.⁶⁴ His two daughters⁶⁵ married and lived in Nürnberg during the last four years of his life. Pastorius died in this villa, February 4, 1702, at the ripe age of 77 years. He lies buried in the old St. Johannes Kirchhof, in Nürnberg, between the chapel and the nearest gate, in a place described locally as "Ta man predigt" (Wo man predigt, i. e., where the funeral sermon is preached). The grave is marked by

⁶³ Cf. *Chronica Windsheimensis*, October 1-28, 1696.

Christian Wilhelm Schirmer in his *Geschichte Windsheims und seiner Nachbarorte* (Nürnberg, Riege in Wiessne 1848) says simply that Pastorius moved to Nürnberg "wegen Verdriesslichkeiten mit dem hiesigen Rath." Schirmer's statement that Pastorius first met his wife, Eva Margaretha Gelchsheimer, at her father's funeral is incorrect. Dr. Gelchsheimer died May 3, 1659, nearly a year after Margaretha married Pastorius (Feb. 9, 1658).

⁶⁴ Cf. F. D. Pastorius' Genealogical Sketch.

⁶⁵ Anna Catharina, who married Matthias Wehrseim, Secretary of Nürnberg, December 6, 1698, and Margaretha Barbara, who married the same day Georg Richard Hammer, J. U. D., of Nürnberg (F. D. Pastorius' Genealogical Sketch).



TOMBSTONE AND EPIGRAPH OF MELCHIOR ADAM PASTORIUS.

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a thick sandstone slab, upon which the following epitaph is to be found enclosed in an oval in the old style of the Nürnberg patri-cians:

"Der Wohl Edle Vest und Hochgelährte Herr Melchior Adam *Pastorius* Vornehmer Jctus, Wie auch Hoch Fürstl: Brandenburg-Bayreuthischer Rath ist seelig in den Herrn entschlafen Ao. 1702. den 4 Februarij seines Alt: Jahr ü. 19. Woche."⁶⁶

The career of Melchior Adam Pastorius is remarkable, not only for the fifty years of long service in the practice of his profession in Sommerhausen and Windsheim, but it is significant, because of his literary activity as a writer of prose and verse. His verse reflects, in a most interesting manner, the literary traditions of the first Silesian School of Poets, and in point of smoothness compares favorably with the best poetry of Martin Opitz of Boberfeld, or Simon Dach, or Paul Fleming. In spirit he approaches most nearly the lyric tone of Fleming, while in his fondness for occasional themes he suggests Dach.

Pastorius was a very prolific writer both in Latin and in German, and left in addition to his printed works much matter in manuscript. In his *Liber Intimissimus* we find a list of some seventy books, presumably the essential part of his library.⁶⁷

PRINTED WORKS.

The following works by M. A. Pastorius were printed:

1. Römischer Adler. | Oder | Theatrvm | Electionis | et Corona-tionis | Romano-Cæsareæ, | Mit denen darbey | Interessirenden Hohen Stands-Personen. | In Zwey Theil repräsentirt. |
Durch M. A. Pastorium J. V. D. | Auch mit Kupffern gezieret. | Franckfurt am Mayn, | In Verlegung Georg Fickwirdts, Buch-händlers, | Getruckt bey Aegidio Vogeln. | Anno M.DC.LVII.⁶⁸

The first suggestion of such a work may have come to

⁶⁶ Cf. accompanying illustration.

⁶⁷ Cf. the list at the end of the chapter.

⁶⁸ The full title may be seen in the photographic reproduction included in this work.

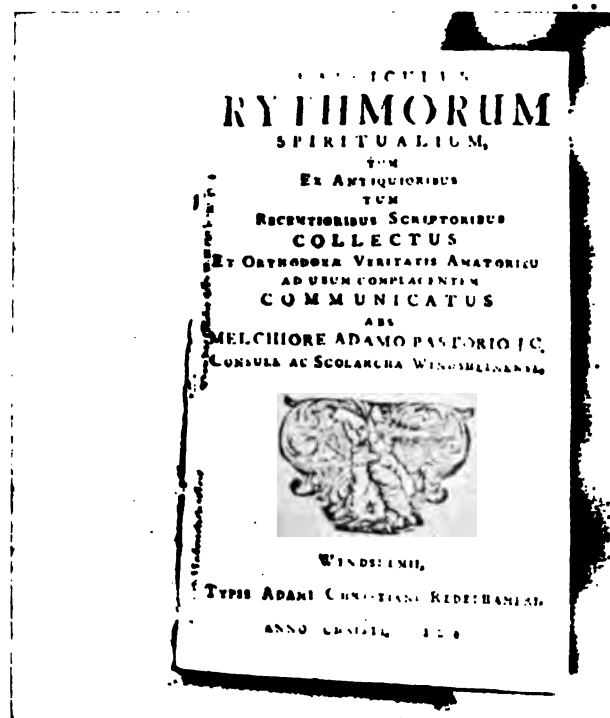
Pastorius during his sojourn in Austria at the time of the coronation of Ferdinand IV as King of Hungary in 1647, and revived when young Franciscus, Count of Limpurg, went as Imperial Cupbearer to the coronation of Ferdinand IV as Emperor at Regensburg, 1653. The *Römischer Adler* gives an interesting and detailed account of the coronation of a German Emperor, with special particulars relating to the coronation of 1653, as well as to that of Otto I and Charles V. This work was regarded by Schnorr von Carolsfeld as a production of Johann Augustin Pastorius, as the following remark will show:

“Bedarf aus dem Grunde besonderer Erwähnung, weil der Verfasser auf dem Titelblatte M. (wol nicht=Magister) A. Pastorius genannt ist.”⁶⁹ Schnorr von Carolsfeld was evidently not acquainted with the name of M(elchior) A(dam) Pastorius, which is the name that settles his doubt and at the same time corrects his mistake.

2. Fasciculus | Rhythmorum | Spiritualium, | tum | Ex Antiquioribus | tum | Recentioribus Scriptoribus | Collectus | Et Orthodoxæ Veritatis Amatoribus | ad usum complacentem | Communicatus | Abs Melchioris Adamo Pastorio J. C. | Consule ac Scholarcha Windsheimense | Windshemii, | Typis Adami Christiani Redelhameri. | Anno Christi, 1689.

This collection is dedicated to Heinrich Förster and Christopher Schütz. The dedication gives some important facts concerning the collection, stating among other things that the author has added some of his own poems, “nonnullos ex meis addidi.” The longest poem of the author included in the collection is his “Sterb-Lied,” which is a penitential lyric of nearly four hundred four-stressed iambic verses in rhymed couplets and alternate

⁶⁹ Cf. *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, sub. nom.



TITLE PAGE OF MELCHIOR ADAM PASTORIUS'
"FASCICULUS RYTHMORUM".

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rhymes. A short specimen will suffice to illustrate the character of the poem.⁷⁰

3. Kurtze | Beschreibung | Des H. R. Reichs Stadt | Windsheim,
| Samt | Dero vielfältigen Unglücks-Fällen, | Nürn-
berg . . . 1692.⁷¹

This is a succinct account of the imperial city of Windsheim from its earliest beginning to the author's own time, giving a list of the Burgomasters and other high officials of the city. In the Archives of the city of Windsheim there is a manuscript of this work, which is evidently the original draft of the matter now found in the printed book. This manuscript^{71a} bears the date of 1670, thus showing that the work antedates the printed book by a period of twenty-two years. It was in the year 1670 that Pastorius was elected Elder Burgomaster, Auditor of Church Accounts, and "Landassessor." The work is thus an evidence of his growing interest in the affairs of the city of Windsheim.

4. Franconia | Rediviva | Das ist: | Des Hochlöblichen | Fräncki-
schen Craises | So wohl Genealogische, | als Historische | Be-
schreibung, | in welcher enthalten: | | Alles mit Fleisz
colligirt und in publicum | gegeben durch | Melchiorem Adam.
Pastorium, | J. U. D. Hochfürstl. Brandenb. Bayreuth. Raht |
und Historicum. | In Verlegung desz Authoris. 1702.

In the *Chronica Windsheimensis*⁷² we read that this book was printed in Schwabach, but was confiscated by the censor,

⁷⁰ "Ach HErr und GOTT. Sih an die Noth
Wie ich hier steck in Sünden Roth,
Mich armes Kind Sehr quält die Sünd
Die ich im Gwissen starck empfind."

⁷¹ Cf. the photographic facsimile for full title.

^{71a} Cf. the photographic facsimile.

⁷² Cf. *Chronica Windsheimensis*, October 1-28, 1696: "In Nürnberg hat Er dem fränckn. Crays, unterm Prædicat alsz Hoch Fürstl brandenburgr Rath und Historicus einen Tractat sub Titulô: Franconia rediviva: Den er zu Schwabach drucken lassen, dedicirt; Dieses Opus, worinnen aller windsheimische Unterthanen und geistliche Vorfälle, wieder seinem ausgestellten Revers public gemacht ist von Craysseswegen confisciret worden."

because Pastorius had made use of the title "Hochfürstl brandenburghr Rath und Historicus."^{72a} In this statement we see traces of the old trouble in Windsheim. The extant copies of the book bear the press mark of 1702, and make no mention of Schwabach as the place of printing. It seems doubtful that there was an earlier printed edition of the work. If the extant edition is the same as that which was confiscated, it must be said that the Secretary, who made the entry in the *Chronica Windsheimensis*, seems never to have read the work, as it is difficult to find such objectionable passages as he mentions. The passages reflecting on Windsheim are to be sought either in the chapter entitled "Einige Merckwürdige Begebenheiten in der Stadt Windsheim," or in the rather strong statement touching the decadence of the city, which the author tucked away in the chapter entitled "Von Einigung und Bündnissen." The few "Merckwürdige Begebenheiten" are of much earlier date than the troubles in Windsheim and for the most part too trivial to be considered. The passage referring to the decline of Windsheim runs thus:

"Und aus diesen und noch vielmehr dergleichen Begegnussen leicht abzumercken ist, worum diese alte Reichs-Stadt in eine solche fast unbeschreibliche *Decadents* gerathen ist, woraus sie sich in einem gantzen *Seculo* schwerlich wieder schwingen wird."⁷³

It is evident from the context, however, that Pastorius has in mind here the damage done by the Thirty Years' War, and does not intend the slightest reflection upon the Windsheimers of 1690-1700. It must be noted too that the *Franconia Rediviva* of 1702 has his title, "Hochfürstl. Brandenb. Bayreuth. Rath und Hirtoricum," on the title page. Hence we are inclined to look critically upon the rather severe account of the *Chronica*

^{72a} Melchior Adam Pastorius made application, in 1697, for the Imperial privilege of using the title: "Historicus et Comitum Palatini" (cf. Macco, *Familie Pastor*, p. 8).

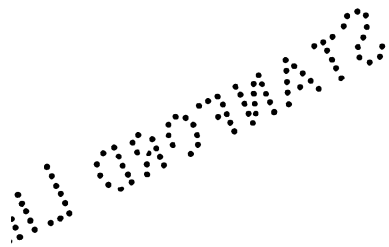
⁷³ Cf. *Franconia Rediviva*, p. 339.



TITLE PAGE.—MANUSCRIPT.

Original Form of Pastorius' "Kurtze Beschreibung" of Windsheim.
Published in 1692.

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Windsheimensis. It is more likely that some of the incidents published by Pastorius in his *Kurtze Beschreibung Des H. R. Reichs Stadt Windsheim* in 1692 had given offense and were still remembered by the censor.^{73a}

UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPTS.

A great part of the writings of Melchior Adam Pastorius seems to have remained in manuscript. It has been our good fortune to unearth a number of these manuscripts in the preparation of the present work. It is not at all impossible that others may exist and yet come to light. It will suffice here to indicate briefly the general character of the contents of these newly-discovered documents. Three different volumes of manuscripts have been found, all in small octavo of the time, bound in leather with gilt or stained edges and clasps, evidently bound for the author himself for permanent preservation. The writing is in the author's fine clear hand and easily legible for those acquainted with German script. The volumes are here designated by the short titles (1) *Itinerarium*, (2) *Prognosticon*, (3) *Liber Intimissimus*. The fuller titles follow below:^{73b}

- I. Melchioris Adami Pastorii | Erffvrtensis | Itinerarium | et | Vitæ Cvrrievlvs. | Dast ist: | Seine Völlige Reis-Beschreibung | und gantzer Lebens Lauff. | Sampt einigen | Merckwürdigen Begebenheiten | und anzaigungen derer iedes Orths | befindlichen Raritäten.⁷⁴

This is the most important of all the three unprinted manuscripts of Pastorius, as it deals largely with his own life and

^{73a} Francis Daniel Pastorius mentions in his *Res Propria* other printed works of his father:

1. Melch. Ad. Pastorij Contemplatio terrestr. Vanitatum.
2. M. A. Pastorij Soliloquia.
3. Ejusd. Institutio Xtiana.

^{73b} The *Itinerarium* and *Prognosticon* were bought by Dr. Joseph G. Rosengarten, of Philadelphia. The *Liber Intimissimus* came to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

⁷⁴ The verses following the title on the same page may be seen in the photographic reproduction.

times. The blank leaf has some records of births on the front page. The first numbered leaf contains the title with verses on both pages. Leaves 2-5 contain a description of the city of Erfurt: "Kurtze Beschreibung der Statt Erfurt." Leaves 6-7 treating of the Jesuits are torn out. Leaves 10-48 give a description of Pastorius' studies and long journeys, interspersed with anagrams on his friends and acquaintances. The rest of the volume, leaves 49-243, is taken up with anagrams on members of the Pastorius family and historical personages and with biographical notes.

2. Prognosticon | Siue | Calendarium Perpetuum | De Anni qualitate et futuris Temporibus.⁷⁵

This manuscript contains 406 leaves, many of which are blank. In addition to the prognostical part in the first 22 pages, the book contains a great amount of matter too miscellaneous to describe in detail, such as proverbs, a dictionary of common places in Latin verses, national characteristics, Aesopian wisdom, rhyme dictionary, generation of plants, and the last part of the book in German, entitled: "Schatz-Kammer Melchioris Adami Pastorii."

3. Liber | Intimiss | imvs Omnivm | Semper Mecvm | Continens | Thesavrvvm Thesavrorvm | Jesvm | Quem Diligo Solvm. | in qvo vivo | et | in qvo moriar | ego | Melchior Adam Pastorivs. I. C. | Nazione Erffurtensis. Vocatione Consul senior et Prætor Windsheimensis. Aedilis | Scholarcha et Xenodochij Sancti Spiritus | Administrator. | Scripsi hunc Libellum Anno Christi 1697 et finiui 7. Iunij, 1701.

This volume is devoted largely to poetic reflections and confessions growing out of the troubles of the last years of

⁷⁵ The rest of the title page is filled with Latin verse and prose relating to the calendar and seasons.

Kurze
Beschreibung
Des H. R. Reichs Stadt
Windsheim /

Samt
Dero vielfältigen Unglücks-Fällen/
und wahrhaftigen Ursachen ihrer so gro-
ßen Decadenz und Erbarmungs-wür-
digen Zustandes /

Aus
Alten glaubwürdigen Documentis und
Briefflichen Urkunden (der igo lebenden lieben
Burgerschaft / und Dero Nachkommen / zu guter
Nachricht) also zusammen getragen / und in
den Druck gegeben

durch
Melchiorum Adamum Pastorium,
ältern Burgemeistern und Ober-Rich-
tern in besagter Stadt.

Gedruckt zu Nürnberg
bey Christian Sigmund Froberg.
Im Jahr Christi 1692.

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the author's life, interspersed with autobiographical and personal notes, such as his last will and testament, his spiritual epitaph and his preparation for death. The lyric poems are deeply religious, and much of the book has an eschatological tone. There is an interesting exception in the case of a collection of proverbial rhymes, the best of which may serve as a specimen :

“Demuth bringt vns zu ehren

Wer sich nidrig hält zur Erden
Wird uon Gott erhöht werden.

Als Adam hackt und Eua spann,
Wo war damals der Edelmann?

Als Iacob hüth des Labans Schaff,
Wo war damals Baron und Graff?

Als Abraham gieng aus seim Land,
Erhub ihn Gott zum Hohen Stand.
Vnd als sein Glaube ward bewehrt,
Gab er durch jhn das Heyl der Erd.”

The details of this chapter on the ancestors, and particularly on Melchior Adam Pastorius, will form an important background for the life and works of Francis Daniel Pastorius in the following chapters.

The following copperplate prints of the following title pages of books by M. A. Pastorius are found pasted into the *Liber Intimissimus* (whether the books were printed or not has not been ascertained) :

Melchioris Adami | Pastorii Amorosa Divina | Dast ist | Der von JESU geliebten u. | JESUM verliebten seelen | Innerliches und vertrauliches Gespräche.

Melchioris Adami | Pastorii Ars Moriendi | oder | Schatzkammer der Klugheit | Einsten Frölich von dieser Welt ab | zuscheiden.

Melchioris Adami Pastorii | Meditatio. | De Extremo Judicio. | oder | Betrachtung der Letzten Rechenschaft | von einem jeden Unnützen worte.

LIBRI MELCHIORIS ADAMI PASTORIJ MANUSCRIPTI.

In Folio.

1. Historia Vniversalis et Pontificum Vitæ. In fol.
2. Loci Communes Bibliorum. In fol.
3. Veritas una sola et simplex. In fol.
4. Annotata super Struuium. In fol.
5. Oeconomia Melchioris A. P. In fol.

In Quarto.

6. Loci Communes ex Corpore Iuris.
7. Compendium Postillæ Lutheri.
8. Controversiæ Fidei.
9. Alphabetum Poeticum.
10. Icones Mortis et alia Emblemata.
11. Ioannis Tauleri notabilia dicta.
12. Aquila Imperij.

In Octavo.

13. Icones Bibliorum Veteris Testamenti.
14. Icones Bibliorum Noui Testamenti.
15. Icones super Epistolas Petri, Pauli, etc.
16. Alphabetum Biblicum. Loci Communes.
17. Postilla manuscripta Omnium Prima.
18. Postilla manuscripta Secunda.
19. Postilla manuscripta Tertia impressa.
20. Bibel Bilder Veteris et Noui Testam.
21. Schola amoris diuini.
22. Gebet Buch das Erste unter allen.
23. Memoriale Biblicum.
24. Beicht und Communion Buech.
25. Vermehrtes Beicht Buch.
26. Casus Conscientiæ.
27. Aller Künste Kunst.
28. Sacra Carmina.
29. Memoria Studiorum.
30. Quod libitum sentent.
31. Policeij Beschreibung.
32. Entraden Beschreibung.
33. Fränckisch Crais Recess.
34. Instrumentum Pacis.
35. Rechtliche Bedencken.
36. Bibliorum Compendium.



TITLE PAGE OF M. A. PASTORIUS' COPY OF HIS "WINDSHEIM".
(Now in the Library at Windsheim.)

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37. Biblion Icones et Comp.
38. Omnia In oi [?] aliquid.
39. Evangelistar Cōcordātia.
40. Vita IESV Christi.
41. Historia Universalis.
42. Lebens Lauff M. A. P.
43. Intimissimus omnium.
44. Carmina in Amicos.
45. Curiosa Mundi.
46. Titular Buch.
47. Process Buch.
48. Türckisch Buch.
49. Historica Nouellen.
50. Monetæ valor.
51. Amorosa Diuina.
52. Morituri Preces.
53. Vade mecum.
54. Vanitas Mundi.
55. Eremitorium.
56. Italiæ Descriptio.
57. Reis Beschreibung M. A. P.
58. Icones Mortis.

In Duodecimo.

59. Poesis Artificiosa.
60. Matricula Imperij.
61. Amorosa Diuina.
62. Liebes übung.
63. Compendium Iuris.
64. Process Buech.
65. De Regno Gallia.
66. De Religione.
67. De Alchimia.
68. Stamm Büchlein.
69. Filij Gebet Buch.
70. De Maleficus.

Nützliche Büchlein: Thomæ de Kempis Vnterricht uon der Nachfolgung Christi per Ioannem Olearium.

Gedancken von der Ewigkeit des Herren de la Serre Durch M. Petrum Sartorium. Franckfurt, 1684.⁷⁶

⁷⁶ Cf. *Liber Intimissimus* (last leaf).

CHAPTER II.

EARLY YEARS AND EDUCATION.

The traditions into which Francis Daniel Pastorius was born were the most enlightened of the epoch. Descended on his father's side from a family which had long been prominent factors in the Roman Catholic Church, but with his father Melchior Adam Pastorius passed over to the Lutheran (Augustan) confession, his lot fell among the most stirring intellectual events of the seventeenth century. The vast information and professional experience of his father as jurist and burgomaster of the imperial city of Windsheim opened the broadest horizon for young Francis, as he looked out with eager gaze into the stirring life of his time. Nature, station and fortune united in giving him talents, influence and opportunity.

On the mother's side Pastorius descended from sturdy, honest burgher stock, his maternal grandfather, Stephan Dietz, having been bailiff of Nordheim.¹ Melchior Adam Pastorius gives the following sketch of Dietz in an anagram:

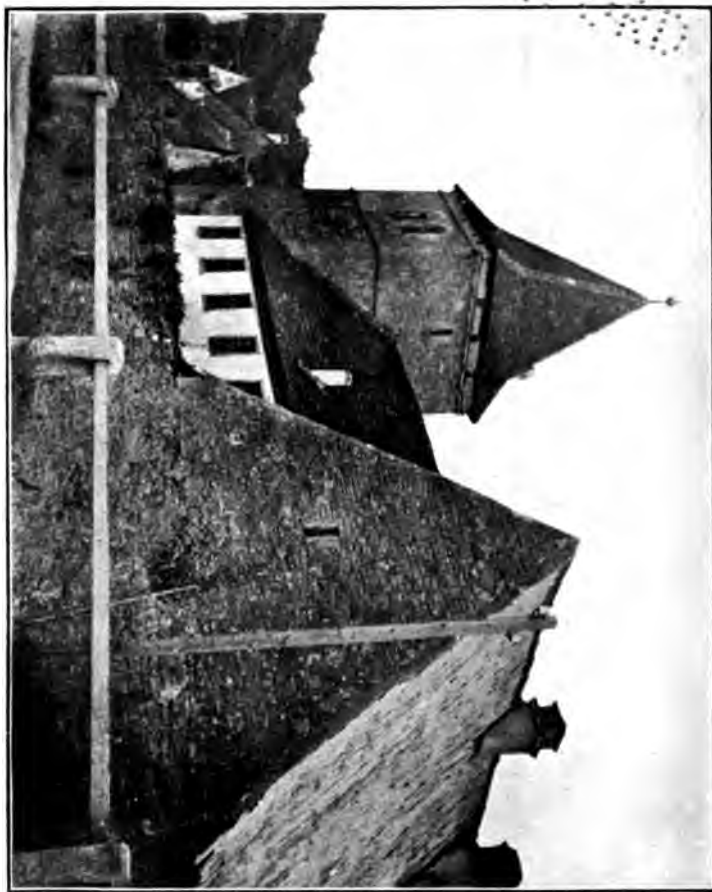
"Stephan Diez
anagramma

STEH DEN SPIZ AUS

Allstets der grimmig Tod sein Stachel hat gewetzt
Wann er seis Pfeiles Spiz dir an das Hertze setzet
So must du mitt ihm fort steh nur den Spitz wohl aus
Er zaigt dir nur die Thür zu ienem Himmels Haus.
Ich lebte Still und Trew vor Gott und andern Christen
Verlangte Niemals nicht zu g'winnen was mitt Listen
Maynnortheim weis es wohl wie ich mein Guth gewann
Maynbernheim hiesse mich den Redlich Teutschen Mann.
Doch hat dess Krieges Schwall mein Häuser weggenommen
Das meiner Kinder keins derselben Eins bekommen
Ein ieder lern daraus das wir allhier nur Gäst
Auff Gott und nicht auff Welt vns sollen gründen fest."²

¹ Cf. *Beehive*, p. 222.

² Cf. *Itinerarium*, p. 49b.



SOMMERHAUSEN IN 1903.
(Outer Wall with Square Tower.)

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In Sommerhausen.

The town of Sommerhausen, in which Pastorius was born September 26, 1651, lies on the right bank of the Main some eight miles above Würzburg and opposite the twin town of Winterhausen, situated on the left bank of the Main. The beautiful valley of the Main with its gentle slopes and fertile meadows early attracted the eyes of Alemanni, Bajuvarii, Romans, Goths, Huns and Franks, and became a fruitful part of the Agri Decumates of the Romans, the primeval forests yielding submissively to the inroads of Roman agriculture. It was in this sunny region, too, that St. Kilian heralded the gospel a generation before St. Boniface, the Apostle of the Germans, stretched out his organizing hand over the hills of Franconia and Thuringia, and Boniface's kinswoman, the Anglo-Saxon nun Liobgytha, planted the first German convent for girls at Bischofsheim-on-the-Tauber. In the course of time the region came under the episcopal administration centred at Würzburg, a thriving city on a great European thoroughfare, whose bishop attained the rank of an ecclesiastical prince, with the outlying towns, like Sommerhausen and Winterhausen, as his tributaries.

How Sommerhausen appeared in the time of Pastorius we learn from his father Melchior Adam Pastorius:

"Sommerhausen, a beautiful spot on the Main opposite Winterhausen, belongs to the Hereditary Cupbearers and Semper Free [Counts] of Limpurg, but they have it as a fief ['Mann-Lehen'] of the Bishop of Würzburg. It has a baronial house and beautiful church, also wine vaults and bailif, pure water and a specially good growth of vineyards and productive fruit trees."³

A corresponding picture is given of Winterhausen in the same period:

"Winterhausen quite a large place, but without the privilege of a market, belongs to the Hereditary Cupbearers and Semper Free

³ Translated from the German of M. A. Pastorius' *Franconia Rediviva*, p. 431.

of Limpurg, and these have it together with Sommerhausen as fief from the Bishop of Würzburg. It is good grapeland but somewhat rough on this side [of the river]."⁴

Sommerhausen is still one of the best preserved German towns at the present day, bearing all the marks of Pastorius' and earlier times. Among the survivals are the old double wall with its well preserved square and round towers and gates, the baronial Castle⁵ of the Counts of Limpurg in excellent state of preservation, and with the old building of the last quarter of the sixteenth century still intact: the old City Hall (Rathaus) in the same style as the castle, the quaint wells ("gesunde Brunnen" mentioned by Melchior Adam Pastorius) and interesting vessels (large tanks⁶) for carrying the water, the Pastorius house still well preserved, and the same narrow streets and ancient houses about which the Founder of Germantown played as a child.

The first six years of Pastorius' life were passed in Sommerhausen. The house in which he was born and spent his infancy, before the erection of the new house in 1655, has not been located, but we have some interesting details of his early childhood. The record of his birth is found in his father's *Itinerarium* and in his own Genealogical Sketch, and is given in both with great particularity.

The father's account, written in German, runs thus in English translation:

"In the year of Christ 1651, the 26. of Sept. Old Style, early in the morning between 1 and 2 o'clock in the sign of the crab, Franciscus Daniel Pastorius was born, and the following day baptized under the sponsorship of the High Wellborn Franciscus of

⁴ Cf. *Franconia Rediviva*, p. 448 (misprinted 348 in the book).

⁵ This castle is still occupied by representatives of the Limpurg House. The lower part of the castle, once used as a stable, is now turned into a summer dining room. Her Ladyship, Countess Christine, graciously invited the writer to partake of her hospitality and gave him access to the Chronicle of the Limpurg Family.

⁶ See the illustration showing a woman with such a tank on her back.



CASTLE AT SOMMERHAUSEN IN 1903.
(Residence of the Counts of Limpurg.)

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Limpurg Hereditary Cupbearer of the Holy Roman Empire and Semper Free, and of the most worthy and erudite Daniel Gering Doctor of Laws.”⁷

Pastorius himself gives this account :

“J Francis Daniel Pastorius was born at Sommerhausen in Franckenland the 26th of September between 1. & 2. a Clock [!] in the morning, Anno 1651. & had (after the Lutheran fashion,) for my God-fathers Franciscus, Semperfrey of Limburg, and Daniel Gering, J. U. D. living at Segnitz.”⁸

It was from these two distinguished godfathers, young Baron Franciscus Count of Limpurg (then 14 years of age), and His Excellency Dr. Gering of Segnitz, that Pastorius received his two baptismal names “Franciscus” (Franz) and “Daniel” respectively.

The official record of Pastorius’ baptism is found in the German *Taufbuch* of Sommerhausen, where it was copied and photographed for this work. The original runs thus :

“Sequuntur Baptisati in ao 1651

Franciscus Daniel, Hn D. Melch : Adam Pastorij D. J. Sönlein getauffet, haben es aus der H. Tauffe gehoben, oder es daselbst verantwortet vnd ihren Christl. nahmen mitgetheilet der Wohlgeborne Zeuge Herr, Herr Franciscus H. z. Limpurg etc. ; Wie auch Ihre Excellenz H. D. Gehring zu Segnitz etc. Den 27. 7bris.”⁹

Two events of Pastorius’ childhood in Sommerhausen were deeply graven upon his memory. One was a sad tragedy in the boy’s life, the death of his mother, Magdalena,¹⁰ whose piety and gentleness of spirit followed him into the wilds of the new world

⁷ Cf. *Itinerarium*, p. 115a.

⁸ Cf. *Beehive*, p. 222.

⁹ The old Church Book has three divisions, containing *Baptisms*, *Burials* and *Marriages*, entered in this order. The part of the baptisms extends from 1648 to 1747. The photographic reproductions were secured through the kindness of Mr. Sol. Rosenberg of the University of Pennsylvania, and Lehrer Fr. Gutmann of Sommerhausen.

¹⁰ Cf. p. 30.

and remained a benediction to him till the end of his days. The other event was of a more trifling nature, but interesting because it reflects the fondness which the young Baron Franciscus, his godfather, cherished for him. The account is here given by Pastorius in his own words, which reflect the pietistic spirit of his later years in Germantown:

"At the Removal of my Father from Sommerhausen to Windsheim the sd Semperfrey [Franciscus] clothed me in red Scarlet, giving me also a little Sword, a hat with three plumes of feathers & a pair of white boots, &c. making a fool of me, even in my tenderest years."¹¹

In Windsheim.

The removal from Sommerhausen to the imperial city of Windsheim in 1658 was an event of great significance in the life of young Pastorius. While Sommerhausen as a tributary of the Archbishop of Würzburg and the residence of the Count of Limpurg was a town of great provincial importance, Windsheim was a strongly fortified walled city of the empire with special chartered privileges and dignities and in close touch with the affairs of the empire.¹²

Windsheim is situated on the Aisch and is a very ancient city, dating from the time of Emperor Honorius. It was laid out by Windegastus, Privy Councillor of King Pharamundus I. in the year 422. According to Sigebertus Gemblacensis¹³ it was named after Windegastus and meant "Windegastsheim." Melchior Adam Pastorius relates that in his time the following verses were still to be read on the wall of the central room of the old Rathaus:

¹¹ Cf. *Beehive*, p. 222.

¹² Cf. M. A. Pastorius, *Kurtze Beschreibung Des H. R. Reichs Stadt Windsheim*, and also in later more condensed form *Franconia Rediviva* in the chapter entitled "Chronica Des H. Röm. Reichs Stadt Windsheim," pp. 315-340.

¹³ Cf. his *Chronographia*, fol. 492.



WINDSHEIM IN 1644.

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“Pharamundus der Francken Herr /
Bath vier gelehrter Männer sehr /
Um G’setz dem Volck zu statuirn
Nach den’ sichs hätt zu regulirn
Windegast der verständig Mann /
Fieng Windsheim druf zu bauen an.”

The town became an imperial city (“Reichs-Stadt”) in 1172 by a decree of Friedrich Barbarossa, who granted it the “Privilegia Libertatis.” M. A. Pastorius describes the city as having consisted of an inner or older town, surrounded by a wall, the remains of which were visible in his time, and the outer town, which was added to the older part in 1424 for protection in the Hussite wars. In 1410 bridges of squares of red sandstone were erected on the road toward Lenckersheim. The first watchtower was built on the Weinberg in 1428. In 1555 large stone bridges were built over the Aisch to secure the Royal Road, or King’s Highway (Via Regia), for travelers. There were three gates: The “Rotenburger Thor,” the “See-Thor,” and the “Johannser-Thor,” all of which were fortified with towers and defenses in 1587. The thick wall was surrounded by a double water-moat. As early as 1582 a tile roof was constructed over the wall, so the inhabitants could go around it sheltered from the weather. The original Rathaus, built very early of wood, was enlarged in 1564 and renovated and painted in 1580.

The city contained in Pastorius’ time five churches and chapels:

1. Die Pfarr-Kirche S. Kiliani, begun in 1190.
2. Die Hospital-Kirche zum Heiligen Geiste, built 1318.
3. Die Capella B. M. Virginis im See, built 1403.
4. Die Capell Aller-Heiligen im Haug, the oldest structure in Windsheim, then no longer in use.
5. Die Capell der Kärnder (Kärnter), founder not known, not in use.

A sixth church, founded by Albrecht von Gailing in 1291, was turned over to the city council in 1525; and its collection of

93 books made the nucleus of the City Library,¹⁴ which numbers now (1903) some 6,000 volumes. This library is one of the most valuable among the provincial collections of books in Germany, its archives running back to 1400. In Pastorius' time the city had a German school ("Deutsche Schule") and a Latin school (Gymnasium). Both schools were in a flourishing condition, much attention being given to education.¹⁵

The inner administration of Windsheim is described by M. A. Pastorius as "almost aristocratic, yet with a certain inclination toward democracy."¹⁶

Among the notable events¹⁷ which Pastorius must have witnessed in Windsheim, his father mentions the following:

1659. February 16.—Leopold King of Hungary and Bohemia arrived in Windsheim with his cousin Leopold Wilhelm, Archbishop of Austria, and remained there two days.

1663. October 21.—Margrave Christian Ernst and Georg Albrecht of Brandenburg with their spouses and a retinue of sixty horse visited the city and gave a collation in the Ramminger House. Count Christian von Hohenlohe and Count von Castell were present. Seven pieces of artillery of the "See-Pastey" saluted them on their arrival and departure.

1664. January 19.—The Elector of Trier, Carl Caspar von

¹⁴ Cf. M. A. Pastorius, *Franconia Rediviva*, p. 322 ff.

¹⁵ Cf. M. A. Pastorius, *Kurtze Beschreibung Des Reichs Stadt Windsheim*, p. 61 ff.

¹⁶ "Diese Stadt wird fast Aristocratish, jedoch cum aliquali declinatione ad Democratiam guberniret, durch zwey Raths-Collegia, ein Inneres und ein äusseres: Das Innere bestehet in 13. und das äussere in 12. Personen, unter denen in jedem Collegio 4. Burgemeistere. Die Innere erwählen die äussere, die äussere Herren aber werden von beeden Collegiis conjunctim gewöhlet aus der Burgerschaft." (*Franconia Rediviva*, p. 325.)

¹⁷ In 1632 many of the great figures of the Thirty Years' War met in Windsheim: "1632. Mense Julio der Schwedische Generalissimus Carolus Gustaphus Pfaltzgraffe bey Rhein. Carl Ludwig, Churfürst zu Heydelberg, und sein Bruder Philippus. Item zween Pfaltzgrafen von Sultzbach. Zween Marggrafen von Baaden. Item die Generales Axel, Lilie, Dugglas, Horn, Graf Magnus de la Garde, General Wrangel etc., etc." (*Franconia Rediviva*, p. 335.)



STREET SCENE IN WINDSHEIM (1903).

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der Lay, with a hundred and sixty horse spent the night in the city.

1664. January 26.—The Prince von Fürstenberg of Paderborn went around the wall on foot with a hundred horse.

1664. May 28.—Christoph Bernhard of the House of Geleen, Bishop of Münster, lodged in Windsheim with sixty horse.

The weather conditions and fire department of Windsheim are graphically reflected in the following account of a storm which occurred May 3, 1666. We give it in Melchior Adam Pastorius' own words:

"1666. Den 3. May gantz zu Abends war zu Windsheim ein sehr grausames Donner-Wetter, dass von denen vielen Blitzen es schiene, als ob die gantze Stadt im Feuer stunde, endlich schlug ein grosser Schübel Feuer zu oberist, in den Pfarr-Thurn, der Flurer, so zu Wetter leutete, blieb vom Halle tod, bald darauf fieng der Thurn an von obenherab zu brennen, und hatte man zwo Stunden lang zu thun, bisz man das Feuer dämpffete. Auswendig konte man mit keiner Wasser-Kunst hinauf langen, inwendig war es so eng, dasz nur einzelte Personen übereinander auf der Laitern stehen konten, da trug man alle die Milch aus dem Hospital und sonst zusammen, diese reichte man in ledernen Eymern einander zu, und warff der letztere die leere Eymen durch die Luft hinunter, bisz das Feuer endlich mit Gottes Hülffe gedämpffet wurde."¹⁸

Unlike Sommerhausen, Windsheim has been the prey of fire and of the ravages of time. The old City Hall and other buildings in the centre of the city were burned and rebuilt, and the splendid wall of Pastorius' time has almost entirely disappeared. Notwithstanding these changes much of the city still stands, retaining its antique appearance, as the accompanying views will show.

At the time of his father's removal from Sommerhausen to Windsheim in 1658, Pastorius was a boy not yet seven years old, just ready to attend school. He entered the Latin School, or Gymnasium, and felt the reviving touch of humanism in the person of its Rector, Tobias Schumberg, a Hungarian, who, un-

¹⁸ Cf. *Franconia Rediviva*, pp. 333-334.

able to speak German fluently, forced his pupils to converse in Latin. In his Genealogical Sketch Pastorius gives the following account of his study in this Gymnasium:

"Jn Winsheim J had a good Schooling, & mostly twenty or more young Earls, Baronets & noble mens Children for School-fellows, there being then an excellent Rector of the Gymnasium, by name Tobias Schumberg, a Hungarian by birth, who could speak almost no Dutch [German], so that it was not allow'd to use any other Language but the Latin, &c."¹⁹

It has not been exactly determined when Schumberg became Rector of the Gymnasium at Windsheim. Melchior Adam Pastorius gives the following list of the Rectors for this period:

"1656 M. Joh. Wolfgang Gilg
16 Tobias Schumberg
1681 Daniel Caspar Jacobi."²⁰

As we see, the first date of Schumberg is left blank.

Rector Schumberg was evidently a brilliant Latinist of the late Humanist type and an important character in the history of the Windsheim Gymnasium. Melchior Adam Pastorius, the father of Francis Daniel, and Scholarch of Windsheim, devoted the following significant Latin anagrams and an acrostic to the Rector:

*"Tobias Schumbergius."*²¹

anagramma

HIC SVBSISTAM VRGEBO.

Salve Windshemium, salve pia Curia, salve
Cum Templo Verbum, cumque Scholâ artis opus.
Gressu hic subsistam post deuia longa uiarum
Hocque Opus vrgebo sicce volente Deo.
Intrepidus faciam quæ Recta, sed impia pellam
Gnarus amare Bonos et reprobare Malos."

¹⁹ Cf. *Beehive*, p. 222.

²⁰ Cf. *Kurtze Beschreibung Des H. R. Reichs Stadt Windsheim*, p. 11.

²¹ Cf. *Itinerarium*, p. 70b.





HOTEL "ROTES ROSS" IN WINDSHEIM (1903).

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The second anagram runs as follows in the original:

"Tobias Schumbergivs Pannonivs²²

Anagramma

BONE BONVM PANGAS IVSSV CHRISTI.

Ingenij Dotes Schumbergi sæpe probasti
Chare Bonis, hinc te Gloria tuta manet.
Vir Bone perge bonum tibi fœdus cū Ioue pangas
Et iussu Christi commoda nostra iuues.

Acrostiche

Tantum quisque capit laudis mihi crede Tobia
Optime, demonstrant quantum cuiusque Labores
Blanda pares nunquam Fortuna negavit honores
Ingenuis ausis, superi nihil absque labore
Artibus addictis diuendunt adiuuat ausus
Sobria mens, veroque ardens industria amore
Sit Labor hinc cardī, Dominus post nubila Phœbum
Credenti cordi reuehit, metuendaque mergit.
Hinc iussis confide sacris sectansque labores
Vir Bone perge Bonum tibi fœdus cum Ioue pangas
Melleus et jussu Christi bona publica pandas
Blanda docens Benefactor eris, studiumque iuuabis
Et te Castalides redamabunt, addet Iesvs
Robur, ut inceptum recta ratione geratur,
Gaudia sic capies, ibisque per ora Virorum
Iustorum, Phœbusque tuos resonabit honores
Viues sic vindex Virtutum, olimque beatus
Sedibus æthereis sancita salaria [?] sumes."

Still another Latin poem by Melchior Adam Pastorius attests the esteem in which the Hungarian family was held in Windsheim:

"In Fatum Inopinatum

Tautoque id durius, quanto præmaturius
Svsannæ Margarethæ Shumbergianæ.²³

Quid fletis natam, quam scitis ad Astra leuatam
Sit licet orba Solo, gestit at illa Polo.
Spes equidem flentum fuit illa tenella Parentum
Intar formosæ splenduit atque Rosæ

²² Cf. *Itinerarium*, p. 74b.

²³ Cf. *Itinerarium*, p. 94a.

Blandaue subrisit, quoties Pater Hancce reuisit
 Perfixitque oculis carda [?] paterna suis
 Tolibus at cunctis docuit nos ordine punctis
 Quod nihil hacce domo stabile gestet Homo
 Omnis in hoc æuo spes est plenissima næuo.
 Spinis formosæ cinctaque forma Rosæ
 Et brevis est Risus, prius euolat quam bene visus
 Per momenta Oculus clauditur ipse tuus.
 Talibus hinc rebus multis superesse diebus
 Nostra *Susanna* nequit. *Margaris* *Astra* petit
 Hinc pie *Schumbergi* quid fles hanc funere mergi
 Terræ splendori prætulit ipsa mori.
 Quam gemis ablatam nosti super æthera natam
 Quæ nunc Angelici pars micat usque Chori
 Idque scias tutus quod tu quoque morte solutus
 Alloquio Natæ sæpe fruere tuæ
 Interea totus tua consolatio IÆSVS
 Discutiat lachrimas à facie Ipse tuas."

The poetic epistle written by Francis Daniel Pastorius to his old preceptor Schumberg, Rector of the Gymnasium at Windenheim, may be regarded both as a tribute of respect and devotion and a modest effort on the part of the disciple to emulate the Latin style of the preceptor. The Latinity of the epistle shows that the master's instructions produced fluency and graceful rhythm at least, and may serve us as a choice specimen of the Latin style of the great German pioneer in America:

"Literæ Francisci Danielis Pastorii,
 ex Pensylvania.
 Ad Tobiam Schumbergium, quondam
 Præceptorem suum."

*De Mundi Vanitate.*²⁴

VAlle Mundi gemebundi coloratâ Gloria
 Tua bona, tua dona sperno transitoria
 Quæ externè, hodiernè, splendent pulchra facie,
 Cras vanescunt & liquescunt sicut Sal in glacie.
 Quid sunt Reges? quorum Leges terror sunt mortalibus,
 Multi Locis atque focis latent infernalibus.
 Ubi Vani, crine cani Maximi Pontifices?

²⁴ Cf. *Umständige Geographische Beschreibung Der zu allerletzt erfundenen Provinz Pensylvaniæ*. 1700. pp. 62-63.



LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES IN WINDSHEIM IN 1903.

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Quos honorant & adorant Cardinales supplices.
 Quid periti? Eruditi sunt Doctores Artium,
 Quid sunt Harum, vel Illarum studiosi partium?
 Ubi truces Belli Duces? Capita militiæ?
 Quos accendit & defendit rabies sævitæ.
 Tot & tanti, quanti quanti, umbra sunt & vanitas,
 Omne Horum nam Decorum brevis est inanitas.
 Qui vixerunt, abierunt, restant sola Nomina,
 Tanquam stata atque rata nostræ sortis Omina.
 Fuit Cato, fuit Plato, Cyrus, Cræsus, Socrates,
 Periander, Alexander, Xerxes & Hippocrates,
 Maximinus Constantinus, Gyges, Anaxagoras,
 Epicurus, Palinurus, Dæmonax, Pythagoras.
 Cæsar fortis, causa mortis, tot altarum partium,
 Ciceronem & Nasonem nil juvabat Artium.
 Sed Hos cunctos jam defunctos tempore præterito,
 Non est è re, recensere. Hinc concludo merito:
 Qui nunc degunt, atque regunt Orbem hujus seculi,
 Mox sequentur, & labentur velut Schema speculi.
 Et dum mersi universi sunt in mortis gremium,
 Vel Infernum, vel æternum sunt capturi præmium.
 Hincce Dei Jesu mei invoco Clementiam,
 Vt Is sursum, cordis cursum ducat ad Essentiam,
 Trinitatis, quæ Beatis summam dat Lætitiā.”²⁵

These Latin poems to Schumberg are introduced here to suggest the Latin atmosphere of the Gymnasium of Windsheim in which Pastorius acquired his preparation for the university. Pastorius dedicated to his old preceptor Schumberg his first book bearing an American imprint, entitled:

Vier kleine | Doch ungemaine | Und sehr nutzliche | Tractätlein
 | * * * * Germanopoli | Anno Christi M.DC.XC.²⁶

²⁵ That this Latin epistle attracted attention among Pastorius' fellow Germans in America even after his death, is seen from a copy of the major part of the letter found written in David Schultze's copy of Christoph Sauer's *Calendar* for 1756, now in the possession of Ex-Governor Samuel W. Pennypacker, who kindly permitted the writer to compare the text with the original print. The copy was evidently made from the *Beschreibung*, as it agrees, as far as copied, with the print, except that the Schultze copy has "Preceptorem" in the title.

Two MS. copies of this poem are extant, one in *F. D. P.*, the other in the *Beehive*. The *F. D. P.* copy exhibits very considerable variants, and seems to be an original draft of the poem.

²⁶ The imprint, "Germanopoli," is generally recognized to be fictitious. (Cf. S. W. Pennypacker, *The Settlement of Germantown, Pennsylvania, etc.*, pp. 118, 121.)

Another indication of the intellectual alertness of Windsheim at this period is found in the rich collection of books stored in the library previously referred to in this chapter. Here are found many vellums that bespeak the scholastic intelligence reflected by Schumberg. Among the books of particular interest to us are a copy of Tentzel's series of publications, *Monatliche Unterredungen einiger guten Freunde von allerhand Büchern und andern annehmlichen Geschichten*, etc. (1689-1706), containing the earlier accounts of Francis Daniel Pastorius²⁷ describing the province of Pennsylvania and the conditions in the new world, the original manuscript draft of Melchior Adam Pastorius' *Beschreibung des H. Reichs Stadt Windsheim*²⁸ and a printed copy of his *Fasciculus Rhythmorum*.²⁹

The association of Pastorius with the sons of many old and influential German families, while a student at the Gymnasium of Windsheim, must have been of inestimable advantage to him in after years, had he remained to practice his profession in his native land. It is clear that he enjoyed the best educational opportunities which his country afforded, and that he must have had his eyes opened to the newest knowledge demanded by those, who were afterwards to take foremost rank in the world of affairs.

At the University.

The German student of the seventeenth century had two periods of journeying ("Wanderjahre")—the years at various universities, and the years of foreign travel, the "Grand Tour." The university study was not confined to one institution, but was pursued at a number of universities as at the present day. After finishing his university studies, the young Licentiate or Doctor went on a long journey into other lands to study the life and languages of

²⁷ Cf. Julius Goebel, *Zwei unbekannte Briefe von Pastorius* (GERMAN AMERICAN ANNALS, N. S. II, 492-503).

²⁸ Cf. *Life of Francis Daniel Pastorius*, p. 43.

²⁹ Cf. *Life of Francis Daniel Pastorius*, p. 42.



GYMNASIUM IN WINDSHEIM IN 1903.

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other peoples before entering upon his professional or academic career at home. Thus men like Martin Opitz, Paul Fleming, Andreas Gryphius spent the most profitable years of their lives in travel. The countries usually visited were Holland, France, Italy, Switzerland and England. Even the father of Pastorius visited most of these countries and we shall find Pastorius himself taking a Grand Tour with Johann Bonaventura von Bodeck.

Pastorius attended four great universities of his time—Altdorf, Strassburg, Basel, Jena—beginning and finishing his studies at his home university, Altdorf. It has been possible, with the sources still extant, to trace with considerable detail his course at these universities.

1. *At the University of Altdorf.*

In the year 1668 Pastorius left Windsheim to enter the university of Altdorf. Here he matriculated with three of his fellow Windsheimers, July 31, as the following entry in the Matriculation Book³⁰ of the old university of Altdorf will show :

"M. Iulio.

31.	Johannes Matthaeus Stellwag.	} Windshemio-Franci
	Johan. Joachimus Merckling.	
	Georg. Leonhartus Modelius	
	Franciscus Daniel Pastorius, Sommerhusanus. ³¹	
	10916 [Number of matriculant]."	

³⁰ The Matriculation Book of the University of Altdorf is now found in the Library of the University of Erlangen, where the Librarian kindly and most promptly placed them at the disposal of the writer in 1903. The heading under the year 1668 runs thus :

Designatio | Studiosorum, qui sub | Rectoratu Plurimum Reverendi
atque Excellentissimi | Viri. Dn. M. Lucæ Friederici Reinharti S. S. Theol.
| Prof. Publici et Ecclesiæ Ministri S. Sunt inscripti a. d. 29 | Junii 1668.
usque ad. d. 30 Junii, 1669.

The Matriculation Book has the following title :

In Nomine Nostri | Jesu Christi | Matricula | Facultatis Juridicæ | in
Universitate | Altdorphina | Feliciter incipit | Ao Chi. | MDCXXIII [A copy
of the original is found in the Germanic Museum in Nürnberg.]

³¹ According to custom Pastorius matriculated as from Sommerhausen, the place of his birth. This explains the term "Sommerhusanus."

The university of Altdorf, or "Nürnberg University of Altdorf," as it was often called, had its origin in Nürnberg in the epoch of the Reformation, when the old city of Nürnberg was the centre of German handicraft and poesy under the influence of Albrecht Dürer and Hans Sachs. The institution had five distinct stages of evolution:

1. The *Gymnasium Aegidium* in Nürnberg, organized by Philipp Melanchthon, the great colleague of Martin Luther, in 1526. Among the early teachers in the Gymnasium were Joach. Camerarius, Hel. Eoh. Hessus, Mich. Roting, Joh. Schoner and Joh. Böschenstein.

2. The *Gymnasium at Altdorf*, 1571-1575. With the decline of the Gymnasium in Nürnberg it was found advisable to move the school to the country. The proposal was made by Camerarius from Leipzig. Three places were suggested: Hersbruck, Engelthal and Altdorf. The last named was selected. The first Rector of the Altdorf Gymnasium was Valentin Erythræus, who was called from Strassburg. The old Gymnasium in Nürnberg passed from a "Quadrivial" to a "Trivial" School.

3. The *Altdorf Academy*. In 1578 the Altdorf Gymnasium was granted academic privileges and in 1580 reinaugurated as an academy, with Philipp Camerarius, son of the above mentioned Joachim, as its first Procancellarius, and Joh. Thom. Freigius as its first Rector.

4. The *University of Altdorf*. The number of students at the Altdorf academy in the years 1620-1621 rose to some seven hundred. Accordingly the city fathers of Nürnberg in 1622 requested and obtained of Emperor Ferdinand II. the privilege of raising the academy to the rank of a university with authority to grant degrees in the faculties of Philosophy, Law and Medicine. The university was formally inaugurated in 1623.

5. *The Completion of the University by the Addition of the Faculty of Theology*. The privilege of granting degrees in Theology, at first withheld because of the turmoil of the Thirty



THE UNIVERSITY OF ALTDORF IN 1723.
(From "Acta Sacrorum Saecularium".)



THE UNIVERSITY OF ALTDORF IN 1795.
(With the addition of the Front Building.)

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Years' War, was finally given in 1696, thus completing the four faculties of the university.

Thus we have the explanation why the great city of Nürnberg, the centre of German culture in the sixteenth century, had no university within its walls. It had a university, but this was located at Altdorf. Hence the term: "Nürnbergische Universität" for the University of Altdorf.

The University of Altdorf in Pastorius' time was one of the foremost academic schools of Germany, attracting to its halls not only the most select youth of Bavaria and neighboring countries, but from foreign lands as well. Students came from France, Lorraine, England, Scotland, Ireland, Sweden, Denmark, Poland, Prussia, Livonia, Bohemia, Hungary, Transilvania and even from Greece and Egypt.⁸² Here the afterwards famous Wallenstein of Schiller's great drama *Wallenstein* matriculated under his proper name Waldstein in the year 1599, as the following record shows:

D. 29. Aug. 1599. Albertus a Waldstein, Baro Boh. [Dux Megapolitanus factus tandem violentam (sic!) mortem obiit Egræ 1634, 15. Febr.]⁸³

The house in which Waldstein lived was still standing in 1903 much as it looked in 1600. Many anecdotes of Wallenstein's career as a student have been published by Wills.⁸⁴ Some fifty princes, counts and barons had been enrolled from the beginning of the university to Pastorius' time. Among them was the name of Franciscus, Baron in Limpurg, godfather of Pastorius. The university celebrated in grand style its centennial, in 1723, after the manner of Wittenberg (1704), Frankfurt-an-der-Oder

⁸² Cf. Wills, *Geschichte u. Beschreibung*, p. 141.

⁸³ Cf. Georg Andreas Wills, *Geschichte und Beschreibung der Nürnbergerischen Universität Altdorf*. Altdorf, 1795, p. 142. The note in brackets was added by Wills.

⁸⁴ In *Historisch-Diplomatisches Magazin für das Vaterland und angrenzende Gegenden*, I, 221 ff.

(1706), Giessen (1707), Leipzig (1709), and Rinteln (1721). The account of the centennial was printed in a separate tome,³⁵ with a number of fine copper engravings. The prosperity of the university of Altdorf began to wane after the founding of the universities of Halle, Göttingen and Erlangen, and was finally discontinued or rather transferred and united with Erlangen in 1809. The old buildings still stand at Altdorf in a good state of preservation, little changed in external appearance, but are now used as a Pædagogium or Teachers' Seminary. A number of views will illustrate the buildings as they appeared in Pastorius' time and later.

The inner life of the university in the time of Pastorius will be of interest here. The Rector at the time of Pastorius' matriculation was Lucas Friedrich Reinhart. He was succeeded by Ernst Cregel (1669), Moritz Hoffmann (1670). The Rector in 1673, when Pastorius entered Altdorf the second time, was Johann Conrad Dürr. The Dean who presided at his disputation was Johann Anton Geiger, J. U. D. The Procancellarius for the years 1666-1692, including the period of Pastorius' studies, was Magnus Fetzner.

Wills³⁶ gives the list of Rectors for the years 1668-1676 as follows:

Lukas Friedrich Reinhart.
D. Ernst Cregel.
D. Moritz Hoffmann.
Christoph Molitor.
Johann Conrad Dürr.

³⁵ The book has the following title:

Acta | Sacrorvm Saecvlarium | qvae | Favente | Deo Immortali | svb |
Avspicatisimo Gloriosissimoqve Imperio | Caroli VI | Avgvstissimi atqve
Invictissimi | Romanorvm Imperatoris | ex Avctortate et Mvnificentia |
Illustris | Senatvs Norimbergensis | A. D. III Kal. Qvinctil. A. S. R.
CICICCCXXIII | Pio Solenniqve Ritv | Celebravit | Academia Altorfina. |
Excvdibat | Iodoc. Gvil. Kohlesivs Acad. Typogr.

A copy of this book is to be found in the Library of the University of Pennsylvania.

³⁶ Cf. *Geschichte und Beschreibung*, p. 41; also *Acta Sacrorum Saecularium*, fol. 56.



ENTRANCE TO UNIVERSITY OF ALTDORF,
With Mural Paintings Inside the Court (1903).

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D. Georg Reichart Hammer.
D. Jakob Pancratius Bruno.
Johann Christoph Sturm.
D. Johann Saubertus.

The faculties of Altdorf were composed of many men of world-wide fame. The Professors of Jurisprudence⁸⁷ were particularly noted for their erudition. It is only necessary to mention the names of Joh. Thom. Freigius; Hubert Giphanius (or von Giffen), jurist, philologist and philosopher all in one; Hugo Donellus (or Doneau), of Chatillon-sur-Saône, France; Peter Wesenbeck, of Antwerp, who won renown in Jena and Leipzig; Scipio Gentilis, an Italian and pupil of Donellus; Conrad and Nikolaus Rittershausen, father and son; Matthias Hübner, the Pommeranian; Wilhelm Ludwell (or Ludweil), whose opinion was sought by nearly every court of the empire; Ernst Cregel,⁸⁸ of Pastorius' own time, who had been the first Professor of Public Law at Altdorf since 1657, Altdorf having had the distinction of being the first university in Germany to establish a separate chair for Public Law (*Jus Publicum*); and Christoph Wagenseil, who received a pension from Louis XIV., King of France, was a great authority on Rabbinical lore, the inventor of the "Wassertretter," and author of an encyclopedia, *Pera Librorum Juvenilium*, in six volumes.

The professors of Pastorius' time at Altdorf who were most prominent were: Reinhart (Theology, died 1688); Hoffmann (Medicine, d. 1698); Dürr (Ethics, Poetry and Theology, d. 1677); Cregel (Jurisprudence, d. 1674); Molitor (Oriental Languages, d. 1674); Bruno (Medicine); Textor (Jurisprudence, called to Heidelberg, 1673); Wagenseil (Jurisprudence and Oriental Languages, d. 1705); Sturm (Physics and Mathematics,

⁸⁷ The details of the careers of Altdorf's great jurists may be found in *Vitae Professorum Iuris qui in Academia Altorfina inde ab eius iactis fundamentis vixerunt descriptae a C. S. Zeidler*. Nor 1786, 1787. 4.

⁸⁸ Cregel married the widow of the Augsburg patrician Anton Welser, who died in 1642. Cf. Wills, *Geschichte und Beschreibung*, p. 293.

d. 1704); Hammer (Jurisprudence, d. 1697); Saubert (Theology, d. 1688); Linck (Jurisprudence, d. 1696); Geiger (Jurisprudence, d. 1685); Moller (Oriental Languages and History, d. 1712). Pastorius mentions Reinhart, Dürr, Linck, and Geiger particularly in his manuscript accounts.

The custom of requiring the students to take the oath was in vogue at Altdorf. A different form of oath was administered to the students of the several faculties—one for Law, another for Medicine, still another for Theology, and even for the Masters and Poets Laureate. The following was the oath required of jurists:

“Iuramentum Candidatorum in utroque Iure.

Ego N. N. juro, me ornamenta Doctrinæ, posteaquam ea hodie accepero, nequaquam amplius petiturum, nec ultro, a quibuscunque oblata, denuo recepturum: Largitione illicita, profusioneve, honoris huius consequendi gratia, nec usum esse, nec posthac usurum: Inclytæ Reipubl. Norimbergensis, ut et Vniversitatis Altorphinæ, filiæ ipsius, Ordinis præsertim Iurisconsultorum, honorem, commoda, utilitatem, quovis loco, quocunque tempore, pro virili procuraturum: dignitatem comiter conservatarum: ornamenta honorum, a Iurisconsultis tribui solita, non collaturum, nec consensurum, ut tribuantur ei, quem eius gradus decore indignum ex fide mea arbitratus fuero: Nec etiam communi auctoritate probatum, sine consensu voluntateque ordinis, insignibus aucturum. Quod superest, boni viri officio in legibus potissimum interpretandis, jure respondendo, profitendo, advocando, agendo, defendendo, judicando, functurum: uti id juris, æquitatis, justitiæque consultum facere oportet et par est. Ita me Deus adjuvet!”²⁹

Students at Altdorf seem to have enjoyed very unusual academic freedom, especially in the earlier period. The excessive “Pennialismus,” which had assumed alarming proportions, was quite effectually checked at Altdorf by the radical measures instituted against it in 1661, so that students were less subject to inhumanities than before. Traces of it were still in vogue, however,

²⁹ Cf. Wills, *Geschichte und Beschreibung*, p. 366.

A glimpse into the academic life of Altdorf can be found in B. Hartmann's *Kulturbilder aus Altdorfs akademischer Vergangenheit* (in *Mitt. d. Ver. f. d. Gesch. d. Stadt Nürnberg*. 1886).





TOWER AT ALTDORF IN 1903.
(Church End of the Town.)

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in Pastorius' time, as he speaks of the students initiating novices "with abundance of impertinent ceremonies." The carcer penalties were less severe here than at other universities. The life at Altdorf was especially agreeable, and living cheap. The climate was most favorable and the vicinity even romantic, because of its beautiful walks, such as the *Via Philosophica*, *Via Scipionis*, *Via ad Ruperti Fonticulum*, *Poetenwäldgen*, *Löwengrube*, and *Pfaffenthal*.⁴⁰ The dress of professors and students before the second half of the seventeenth century was very simple. The wig was not worn by the professors before 1650. Even as late as 1671 the students demolished the wig which one of their number ventured to wear. The wig, however, came into vogue in the last decades of the seventeenth century. Both professors and students wore red gowns even to the lectures, and the older students carried swords and canes. The radical change in the costume about Pastorius' time may explain his leaving the university in 1673 to go to Jena, as he says, because "not liking the place for some reasons."

The economy of Altdorf student life in the seventeenth century must have been strikingly in contrast with that at most universities of to-day. In 1785 Professor König wrote that the Altdorf student could procure the necessities, exclusive of clothing, for 300 florins a year, could live well for 400 florins, and sumptuously for 500 florins.⁴¹

The Altdorf students had little social diversion in the way of amusements, except such as they extemporized in amateur performances, and dances.

The spirit of Altdorf seems to have been exceptionally good. Wills writes more than a century after Pastorius' time even of the professors, that they had always lived harmoniously together and that the lecture room never became here, as at many other universities, a scene of personal hostility.

⁴⁰ Cf. Wills, *Geschichte und Beschreibung*, p. 41.

⁴¹ Cf. *Das akademische Lehrbuch für studierende Jünglinge*. Nürnberg, 1785, p. 406 ff., and Wills, *Geschichte und Beschreibung*, p. 273.

Pastorius gives the following brief but interesting account of his entrance to the university of Altdorf:

"Anno 1668. the 31st of July J went with some others to the University of Altdorf, there to be Jnnitiated among Students (which they call Deponiren,) giving to those Novices with abundance of impertinent Ceremonies the Salt of Wisdom, Sal Sapientiæ, &c. and año 1670. the 11th of August to the University of Strassburg, where J studied the Laws & likewise made a beginning to learn French."⁴²

The "some others" mentioned by Pastorius were, of course, the three Windsheimers, Stellwagen, Mercklein and Modelius, who matriculated the same day. Just what Pastorius studied at Altdorf he does not tell us in detail, but the fact that he specifies the "Laws" as his chief study at Strassburg would lead us to believe that he devoted himself to a more general curriculum, law and the humanities, at Altdorf, the course quite generally pursued by German students in their first years at the university, and one to be strongly recommended to American students of our own time.

2. At the University of Strassburg.

According to the above cited account Pastorius left Altdorf in 1670 and entered the university of Strassburg in Alsace.

The Strassburg Matriculation Book contains the following entry:

"Matricula Studiosorum Philosophiæ
98. S. R. Saltzmann D.

1670

Sept. 2 [2929] ⁴³ 18. Johannes Matthæus Stellwagen, Windsheimio-Francus

2 (2930) 19 Franciscus Daniel Pastorius, Somerhusano-Francus."⁴⁴

⁴²Cf. *Beehive*, p. 222. It will be noticed that Pastorius has translated the Latin *Jura*, German *Rechte*, literally by the English plural "Laws," to designate both kinds of law, Canon Law and Civil Law, a conception still surviving in our title LL.D., Doctor of Laws, and the more discriminating English titles D.Cn.L. and D.C.L.

⁴³Number supplied here from the series by the present writer.

⁴⁴Cf. *Die alten Matrikeln der Universität Strassburg 1621 bis 1793, bearbeitet von Gustav C. Knod.* Strassburg, Trübner, 1897 (I, 364).



TOWER AT ALTDORF IN 1903.
(University End of the Town.)

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He informs us in an unprinted manuscript ⁴⁵ account that he went to Strassburg with Stellwagen and Rosstauscher and took lodging and meals at the house of Johann Gumprecht. The same manuscript contains two accounts of his university study, one a more general sketch, the other full of interesting detail,⁴⁶ from which we draw the following facts:

After matriculating under Rector Magnificus Saltzmann, September 2, 1670, he began, September 28, a course in the Institutes ("Collegium Instit.") given by Ulrici; October 3, another in Ethics and Politics by Reinhard; in November he began to take French instruction of Monsieur Ritter; January 16, 1671, a course in the Institutes by Obrecht; March 16 he took lodgings with the Bookseller (Antiquarius) and meals with Frau Lucretia, but soon returned to Gumprecht, where he continued till his departure from Strassburg. In the months of April and May he continued his French lessons with Monsieur Mirabeau. On the 13th of August he, together with Reinhard and Mercklein, began private lessons with Dd. Schmaltz, paying 22 Reichsthaler for the year.

At Strassburg he entered a new academic atmosphere, for this city then, as in Goethe's time and to some extent even now, formed the cultural gateway between the German and French speaking peoples, in a word, between Germany and Western Gaul. That the French traditions were then strong in Strassburg is apparent from the fact that Pastorius devoted much time to the study of the French language, with the evident determination to master it, for he kept up the study till the end of his stay in Strassburg, taking instruction of three teachers: Ritter, Mirabeau, Duttrue and possibly also Schmaltz, although he does not say explicitly that the "privat Information" given by Schmaltz was French.

* *Francisci Danielis Pastorij Res Propriae*, now in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

* Entitled: "Additamenta zu vorgehendem meinem Lebens-Lauff von pag. 5."

It will be noted that Pastorius matriculated in the Faculty of Philosophy at Strassburg, although he distinctly states that he "studied the Laws." While he may have devoted some time to strictly philosophical courses, we find him busy from first to last with Jurisprudence. In addition to the courses in the Institutes under Ulrici and Obrecht, and the course in Ethics and Politics under Reinhard, he seems to have laid particular stress on the course in Public Law (*Jus Publicum*) under Böckler. He refers to this as of service to him later in his study of the Imperial Code at Regensburg, where the Imperial Diet was held:

"J travelled unto Regenspurg, where the Diet of the Empire was then kept [held], in order to be the fullier instructed in Jure publico, whereof J formerly was taught some certain principles by the renowned Dr. Böckler at Strassburg."⁴⁷

3. *At the University of Basel.*

Pastorius states that he "visited" the University of Basel in July, 1672:

"July 13th 1672 made a tour with Mercklein, Litzheimer and Reichmann to Schlettstatt, Colmar and Basel."

It would appear from the use of the word "tour" ("Reis") and the fact that he took up a three months' course of French with Dutrue in Strassburg in the following August, that he must have returned to Strassburg by early August. He employed the English term "visited" evidently to translate the German "hospitierte," i. e., attended lectures without matriculating. This is further corroborated by our failure to find his name among the matriculants of the University of Basel.^{47a} In his own account of the journey to Basel he relates an incident which affords an inter-

^a Cf. *Beehive*, p. 222.

^a

Basel, den 16. Januar 1904.

Herrn Marion D. Learned, Philadelphia, beehre ich mich ergebenst mitzutheilen, dass der Name Franciscus Daniel Pastorius in den Jahren 1665-1676 in der Matrikel nicht vorkommt.

Hochachtungsvollst

Dr. C. Ch. Bernoulli, Oberbibliothekar.



STREET SCENE IN ALTDORF (1903).

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esting view of the propaganda made by Roman Catholics to reclaim Protestants. It is quite likely that the Prior in this case was aware that Pastorius' family had apostosized and gone over to the Lutheran confession. The account runs as follows:

"Anno 1672. mense Julij J visited also the University of Basil, & was by the way (at Schletstadt) strangely attack'd by the Prior of a Monastery, to stay & to read over the Books of St. Augustin & these Patres that might convince me, &c."⁴⁸

The incident reminds us of the futile effort of Pastorius' uncle, Johann Augustin Pastorius, and "some fiery Jesuits" to reclaim his father Melchior Adam Pastorius in Sommerhausen.⁴⁹

4. *Again in Strassburg.*

In August, 1672, Pastorius began a three months' course in French under Monsieur Dutrue. September 10th Professor Böckler died in the midst of his lectures on Lampadius. November 25th Pastorius left Strassburg with Mercklein, Tauber and Flach and arrived on the 7th of December in Windsheim, where he remained until the following April.

5. *Second Period at Altdorf.*

Having spent the winter 1672-1673 at home, Pastorius returned, April 13th, to the University of Altdorf to continue his studies. He reached Altdorf April 14th and took lodgings with Heldmann and meals with Dr. Castner. Here he matriculated a second time under Rector Magnificus Johann Conrad Dürr.⁵⁰ In the Matriculation Book of Altdorf we find the following entry for the year 1673 under date of April 16:

1673
Aprilis 16. Franciscus Daniel Pastorius, Sommerhusâ-
Francus.⁵¹

[No. 11311]

⁴⁸ Cf. *Beehive*, p. 222.

⁴⁹ Cf. Chapter I, p. 10.

⁵⁰ Cf. *Res Propriae*, p. 12.

⁵¹ Cf. *Designatio Studiosorum*, etc., for 1673.

This time he was matriculated as No. 11,311, showing that, since his first matriculation on the last day of July, 1668, five years before, 395 students had matriculated at the University of Altdorf.

Either the old student life at Altdorf or the old student himself, or both, had changed, for Pastorius was no longer contented with the uneventful life of the little university town.

6. At the University of Jena.

Accordingly he left in July to seek more congenial associations elsewhere. July 2nd he accompanied Burgomaster Bühler to Nürnberg and continued his journey thence, reaching Erfurt July 8th, where he visited the "simple nun," his aunt Rebecca, and arrived in Jena on the 13th of July. Here he took lodgings with Frau Hofrat Mansonin and meals with the printer, Bauhöffer. He matriculated under Rector Magnificus Johann Frischmuth, the Orientalist.

There seems to be a discrepancy between Pastorius' account of his going to Jena (July, 1673), and the official record of the Matriculation Book of the University of Jena. The latter gives the date of his matriculation as February 6, 1673, as the following letter from the Director of the Library at Jena informs us:

Universitäts-Bibliothek Jena.

Herrn Marion D. Learned, Philadelphia, beehre ich mich mitzutheilen, dass in der Universitäts-Matrikel folgender Eintrag sich vorfindet:

Pastorius, Franz Daniel, aus Windsheim i/Franken. 6 Febr 1673.

Der Direktor:

Dr. Brandis.

Jena 15/xii. 03
Ausl. No. 440

In Jena Pastorius continued his study of Jurisprudence under Dr. Linck and began the study of Italian. He has left the following brief summary of his doings at this time:

"The 25th of November, eodem año [1672] J returned to Wins-

heim, where J stay'd all that winter, and the next 13th of April 1673. J went again to Altdorff, but not liking the place for some reasons, left it the 2d of July, going to Nurnberg, thence to Erford, and so on to Jena, where J arrived the 13th of the aforesd month of July & continued the Study of the Laws, learning moreover of Dr. Carolo Caffa, the Italian Tongue, in which J publickly Disputed the 18th of April, 1674. upon some printed Theses inscrib'd dalle Leggi, as J had done before mense Januar. sub præsidio Doctoris Linckij ad lib. 3. Pandectarum."⁵²

In his "Additamenta"⁵³ he furnishes the following details, which we give in abstract:

August 1st, after having made a short tour to Naumburg, he began lessons in fencing under Monsieur Ebart. On the 3d of August he began the study of Italian under Carlo Caffa, and on the 7th a course in Chiromancy (Chiromantik) under Höpping. November 1st he entered a *Collegium in Scotani Exerc. Juris* by Dr. Heinrich Linck. In January, 1674, he disputed publicly *Ad Lib. 3 II*, also under Linck. March 1st he went to the blind M. Schmidt for both lodging and meals. April 18th he disputed *Dalle Leggi* in the Italian language, as we have seen above. May 13th he took a trip to Gotha, meeting Cancellarius there and others. June 1st he began courses under Dr. Tillemann *Ad Schnobelium ad II* and *Fibigij Processum Jud.*

It will be a new and interesting fact to many that a student at the university of Jena disputed in the Italian language, and that such opportunities were afforded for the study of Italian at that time in Jena. The fact sheds much light upon the literary conditions of Germany at the time of the vogue of Marinism in the Second Silesian School of Poets—Hofmann von Hofmannswaldau, Caspar von Lohenstein and their disciples. The case of Pastorius was then not an isolated one to be explained by the fondness of his father, like Goethe's father, for things Italian, but must rather be regarded as typical, reflecting the interest of

⁵² Cf. *Beehive*, p. 222.

⁵³ Cf. *Res Proprie*, p. 11f.

the Jenensians in the Italian language and literature in the epoch of the Marinistic movement in German poetry.

At Jena we see Pastorius rapidly approaching the close of his juristic studies, disputing under Dr. Linck, in January, 1674, and, as it appears, repeating the same disputation in Italian under Dr. Caffa on the 18th of the following April.

7. At Regensburg.

An important stage in Pastorius' studies, after leaving Jena, was his sojourn in Regensburg, where he had an opportunity to study the practice of the Imperial Code, as the Imperial Diet was convened in Regensburg at that time. His own account of the change from Jena to Regensburg and his return to Altdorf is quite explicit:

"Having from hence [Jena] viewed Naumburg, Gotha and other Towns of that Countrey, J travelled unto Regenspurg, where the Diet of the Empire then was kept,⁵⁴ in order to be the fullier instructed in Jure publico, whereof J formerly was taught some certain principles by the renowned Dr. Böckler at Strassburg. So therefore J lodged the greatest part with Dr. Völcker, Embassadour of Nurnberg and the rest of the Imperial Cities of Frankenland."⁵⁵

In the "Additamenta" he furnishes the following facts concerning his stay in Regensburg:

"July 31st left Jena and August 4th arrived at Nürnberg. August 10th reached Regensburg, took quarters in the Green Wreath ('im grünen Krantz') and went with a number of Secretaries to a widow for meals till October 1st, when I went to the family of the Nürnberg Ambassador for both meals and lodging, where the Ambassador and his wife treated me very kindly. Here I continued French with Louys Brialmont for six months."⁵⁶

⁵⁴ The word "kept" here is a Germanism, being a translation of the German word "gehalten." That the "Reichstag" (Imperial Diet) was in session is stated in the following:

"Nachdem ich nun von daraus [Jena] Naumburg, Gotha etc. besehen, reisete ich 31. July. nach Regenspurg, umb auff daselbstigem Reichstag *Jura publica* desto besser zu ergreifen" (cf. *Res Propriae*, p. 6).

⁵⁵ Cf. *Beehive*, p. 222.

⁵⁶ Cf. *Res Propriae*, p. 12. The original is in German, but here translated into English.

In April of the next year (1675), after a sojourn of some eight months, Pastorius left Regensburg for Bayreut and Windsheim, meeting his father and stepmother in Bayreut, as the following account informs us:

"April 16th 1675 left Regensburg by stage, arrived the 17th at Bayreut, found my last stepmother [there] and attended the wedding⁵⁷ of her sister. April 26 arrived with my father and aforementioned stepmother at Winsheim."⁵⁸

8. *Third Period at Altdorf.*

After spending the remainder of the spring and summer of 1675 at home in Windsheim, Pastorius went the following September for the third time to the University of Altdorf to finish his study of Jurisprudence and take his doctorate or licentiate diploma. He gives the following succinct account of his last period at Altdorf:

"Sept. 27. went to Altdorf, had meals with Dr. Linck and lodging with Abr. Klinger, an armorer ("büchenschiffter").

Nov. 10th began a course with Dr. Linck on Eckoltus and a "disputatorium über Exercitat Ludwelli."

1676 March 29th, transferred my lodgings to the Körnerhansa. May 31. made a "circularem Disputat" under Dr. Linck. July 20 went to Nürnberg because of sickness. Aug. 22 to Gnadenb[urg ?], and Sept. 26 returned to Nürnberg. Oct. 26 appeared before the Dean Dr. Joh. Ant. Geiger and the other Jurists, also Nov. 2nd before the Procancellarius Magnus Fetzer, after which the two examinations followed the 7th and 8th, and J disputed the 23d *de rasura Documentorum* for the doctorate."⁵⁹

It will naturally seem strange that Pastorius on the eve of

⁵⁷ More specific details of this wedding are given in the Genealogical Sketch:

"Anno 1675. the 16th of April J rode the post to Bayreut, where Anna Maria Volckman's (the eldest Sister of my present Stepmother,) was celebrating her Marriage with [Georg] Roth, Lehens-Secretary of that Marquisate of Brandenburg, and thence in a Coach with my parents down to Winsheim" (*Beehive*, p. 223).

⁵⁸ Cf. "Additamenta" (*Res Propriae*, p. 12). The original is in German.

⁵⁹ Cf. "Additamenta" (*Res Propriae*, p. 12). The original is in German.

his doctorate at Jena, should have returned to the University of Altdorf, which he had left in disgust two years before. At least two explanations may be found for this return. The first is that Pastorius left Jena for the opportunity to study the practice of the Imperial Code in the Diet at Regensburg. The second that his favorite professor at Jena, Dr. Linck, was called to a professorship at the University of Altdorf the last day of March, 1674, and succeeded the renowned Cregel in 1675 as Professor of Pandects.⁶⁰ This was doubtless the chief reason for Pastorius' return to Altdorf, even though he may have cherished a patriotic fondness for his first choice, the "Nürnberg University" of Altdorf, while studying at other universities. This is corroborated by the fact that Pastorius took quarters with Dr. Linck and finished his studies under him at Altdorf.

It may be that he found other reasons, during his study of the Jus Publicum at Regensburg and his associations with the Nürnberg Ambassador, for returning to Altdorf.

In the year 1676 we find the following entries in the Matriculation Book of the University of Altdorf:

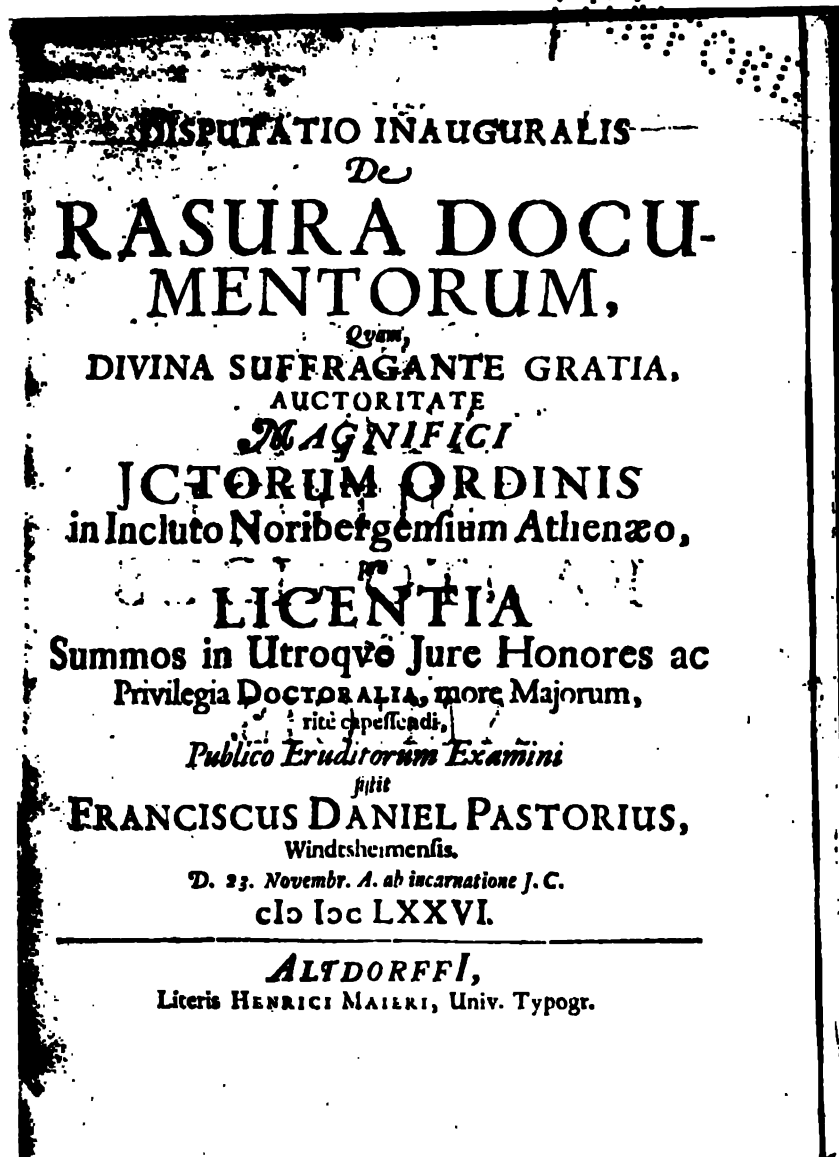
"1676. 1677. Johanne Antonio Geiger V. J. D. et Inst. Imper. Prof: Publ: primum Decano, Candidati sequentes nomina sua in hanc matriculam retulerunt:

D. 9. 9br. 1676. 236. Franciscus Daniel Pastorius, Sommerhusâ-Francus, Disp: De Rasur Documentorum. d. 23. 9br: cod. 777. 3."

The dissertation or inaugural disputation, as it was then called, was published by the university printer Heinrich Maier in Altdorf in 1676 with the following title:

⁶⁰ Cf. the following sketch of Linck's career:

Dn. Henricus Linck, Sorbiga Misn. I.V.D. Ex Academia Ienensi, in qua per sexennium privatim docendo Iuris Studiosis suam exhibuit fidem, a Perstrenuis ac Nobilissimis inclutae Reipubl. Noriberg. Scholarchis, Dominis suis benignissimis, ad functionem vocatus atque ult. die Mart. 1674, in numerum Dnn. Professorum cooptatus est. M. April. ejusdem anni, præmissa oratione inaugurali, ad Institutionum, subsequenti vero anno 1675. post obitum. Dn. Cregelii, ad Pandectarum Professionem pro virili exornandam cum Deo se contulit. Obiit Ao. 1696. (Wills, *Geschichte und Beschreibung*, pp. 334-335.)



TITLE PAGE OF FRANCIS DANIEL PASTORIUS' DISSERTATION OR DISPUTATION.
(Photographed from a Copy in the possession of
Ex-Governor S. W. Pennypacker.)

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Disputatio Inauguralis | De | Rasura Docu- | mentorum, | Qvam.
 | Divina suffragante Gratia, | Auctoritate | Magnifici | Jctorum
 Ordinis | in Incluto Noribergensium Athenæo, | pro | Licentia |
 Summos in Utroque Jure Honores ac | Privilegia Doctoralia,
 more Majorum, | ritè capessendi, | Publico Eruditorum Examine
 | sistit | Franciscus Daniel Pastorius, | Windtsheimensis. | D.
 23. Novembr. A. ab incarnatione J. C. | CIDIIC Lxxvi. | Alt-
 dorffI, | Literis Henrici Maieri, Univ. Typogr.

The first twenty-one pages are devoted to the dissertation proper and the remaining three pages to the "Corollaria," or theses, twelve in number, and the poetic close of twenty-two Latin verses. The Corollaria are so arranged as to form the following acrostics with the initial of each corollary:

M. A. P. (I, II, III) = Melchior Adam Pastorius (the father).

D. E. V. (IV, V, VI) = Dorothea Esther Volckmanns (the stepmother).

F. D. P. (VII, VIII, IX) = Franciscus Daniel Pastorius (the author).

J. S. P. (X, XI, XII) = Johannes Samuel Pastorius (the brother).⁶¹

COROLLARIA.

I

Maritus in casum defunctæ uxoris alteri matrimonium absq' infamiæ maculâ neqvit promittere; licet illius mortem lugere Legibus haud obstringatur.

II

Adolescens, qvi invitæ Virgini osculum infigit, actione injuriarum non tenetur; Imo eum teneri responsum est in Scabinatu Lipsiens. Anno 1624.

III

Pactum, ut uxor imperio & dominatione gaudeat, nuptiarum contractui adjectum Naturæ refragatur atq' contra bonos mores est.

⁶¹ In Pastorius' copy of the *Disputatio*, now in the possession of Ex-Governor S. W. Pennypacker, the key of the acrostic is given on the margin in Pastorius' own hand.

IV

Delictum occultè patrando nonnunquam augetur, nonnunquam minuitur, juxta hoc Apuleji: Qvod nemo novit, penè non fit.

V

Etiam citra confessionem reum de crimine testibus convictū capite posse puniri nullus dubito.

VI

Vini à convivatore convivis in convivio traditi dominium ad ipsos eequidem transit, sed revocabiliter.

VII

Frater meus meam Sororem, cum ejus Soror non sit, legitimè in matrimonium sibi adsciscit.

IIX

Dari homines, qvi patrem non habent, in proclivi est.

IX

Professores, Advocati, Doctores Literativè alii fabros, vietores & hujusmodi streperæ artis opifices, si secundum illorum ædes domos conducere aut mercari velint, officio Judicis non iniquè repellunt.

X

Justinanus Imperator Christianissimus, uti vocatur in l. 8, C. de Sum. Trinit. pœnam adulterii in fœminis Nov. 134 c. 10. minus convenienter mutavit.

XI

Servos quosdam esse naturâ, cum Aristotele, & servitutem esse contra naturam inductam cum JCtis adserere, non implicat contradictionem.

XII

Propter osculum uxori Senioris libatum Vasallus feudo potest privari.

RAsuram loqueris scienter: Unde ars
Radendi hæcce TIBI venit? profare.
Tonsor non es, & ars novaculam non
Tractandi est TIBI, nec puto capillos
Posthac *radere* velle filiis TE
Papæ; Tum neque habes caput gerisve
Rasum, sicut adulter olim habebat,
Ac omnis sceleratus & nefandus;
Rasurum loqueris tamen bene sic.



THE OUTSKIRTS OF WINDSHEIM IN 1903.
(Wheat and Poppy Fields in the Foreground.)

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Radendi ars TIBI quæso habetur ista
Unde? Nempe, TIBI rei capilli
Nil *rasura* facit, capit vel ipse
Hanc Mopsus: DOCUMENTI amas docere
RASURAM. Plato nunc eat, docendo,
Et *Rasam Tabulam* esse nunc Tuammet
Mentem, Discipulusque dicat ejus
Nudam! Nam neque *rasa nudave* est Mens,
Pastori, Tua: Plena quidpe Juris
Doctrina: *Documenta* magna præsto:
Quid Lector dubitas? Docent *Honores*
Novi, quos Themis Ipsa sancta confert.
Voti haec sint documenta vera nostri
Sic Nobil. & Clarissimi Dn. Candidati,
Honoribus Novis iisque plane summis &
egregiis, vera & re adplaudendo, adsurgebant,^{61a}
Ejusdem Syssiti Linckiani.

^{61a} The italics of the original print have been reprinted only in the closing verses.

CHAPTER III.

YEARS OF PRACTICE AND TRAVEL.

The years of study had given Pastorius a wide acquaintance with men and books. At Altdorf he had come into touch with some of the greatest scholars of the German Empire and with that spirit of inquiry which had made Nürnberg famous among the South German cities in promoting the knowledge of geography and history, letters and arts. The enterprise and progressive spirit of Altdorf are attested by the fact that this university was the first in Germany to establish a special academic chair for Public Law (*Jus Publicum*), separating this subject from the professorship of history with which it had hitherto been associated. This newly created chair was occupied for twenty years (1654-1674) by the renowned Professor Cregel (*Ernestus Cregelius*), closely connected with the great patrician family of Welsers of Augsburg, having married the widow of Hieronymus Anton Welser, who died in Altdorf in 1642 and to whose memory a tablet was erected in the archway of the Memorial Chapel of the University with the following inscription:

“Ein edler Welser schläft hierinn
Der wann er wachte Herz und Sinn
Auf seinen Heyland stellt
Und darum geht er auss der Welt
Dem Himmel zu da er recht lebt
Und für sei'm Heyland ewig schwebt
Der du dies liesest merk es wohl
So lebst du wie man leben soll.”¹

The attention given to Classic and Oriental languages at Altdorf, doubtless, quickened Pastorius' interest in these tongues,

¹ Cf. Wills, *Geschichte und Beschreibung der Nürnbergischen Universität Altdorf*, p. 293.



REAPING WITH THE SICKLE OUTSIDE OF WINDSHEIM.
(1903)

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Visual C++ 6.0

and his subsequent study of French at Strassburg and Regensburg and of Italian at Jena furnished him with that extraordinary facility in the use of these modern languages, noticeable in his later writings. In like manner the live interest in the philosophical and ethical questions of the time at the university cultivated in the young jurist an alertness in observing the significant signs of the new religious regeneration, which was then taking shape in the Pietistic reform of Jacob Spener. In a word, the new licentiate passed from the halls of his alma mater, Universitas Altorfina, to the practice of his profession with the best academic equipment and fairest prospects of success.

Lawyer at Windsheim.

November the 25th, 1676, Pastorius with his diploma in hand left Altdorf and returned to Windsheim to begin the practice of his profession, the law. Information concerning his practice here is meagre. The most detailed account which we possess is that given in the following brief paragraph of his Genealogical Sketch:

"Here [in Windsheim] I practised [Law] above two years & an half, keeping mine own horse, marching from one Nobleman's house in the Province unto the other, (auff der Wurst herumb,² as they use to speak,) and in short making nothing but work for Repentence."³

It is clear from this account that the practice of law became distasteful to him, at least in his later years. This may be due to his unfortunate experience with the affairs of the Frankfurt Company in Germantown, nevertheless he was evidently out of sympathy with much that he encountered in his profession even

² In his "Additamenta" (*Res Propriae*, p. 12) he gives the following variation of this account:

"25. Nov. reiste ich nach Nürnberg, u. den 29. nach Winsheim, woselbst ein pferd hielt u. auff der Wurst unter den [des?] lands Reichs freyem Adel herum ritt."

³ Cf. *Beehive*, p. 223.

in Windsheim. An interesting and unexpected corroboration of his dissatisfaction with the law is found in one of the manuscript volumes of Melchior Adam Pastorius, his father. The passage states that Francis Daniel Pastorius dissuaded his young half-brother, Augustin Adam Pastorius,⁴ from selecting law as his profession:

“IVRISTA. Omnis Homo

[Followed by a cut pasted into the book, representing the traditional male figure holding a lobster in his right hand and a serpent in his left, bearing respectively these inscriptions: SI LAXES, ERE-PIT (over the lobster), and: SI STRINGAS, ERVMPIT (over the serpent).]

Vff alle Sättel gerecht
Häng den Mantel nach dem Wind
Gibts kein Ochsen; gibts ein Rind.

Studium Iuris dissuasit Franciscus Daniel Pastorius suo Fratri Augustino Adamo, weilten Er in der that befinde Das solch Studium nichts anders seye als Ein Lusus de alieno corio, oder wie es Die Heylige Schrift nennet: Eine Kunst die Hader zwischen Brüdern anrichtet, welches Dem Herrn ein grewel ist.”⁵

Although Pastorius does not say in what respect his law practice was a “work for Repentence,” we have the explanation in his father’s words, that Franciscus considered the law: “Ein Lusus de alieno corio” (a game at another’s expense). It is then safe to conclude that the methods pursued in the practice and perhaps also the unpleasant associations into which the practice brought him, were not such as he could harmonize with his best professional ideals. Indeed it would seem that Pastorius even at this early period exhibited pietistic inclinations, which explain his strong sympathies with the religious views of Speier and his associates in Frankfurt, and may indeed furnish a motive for his going thither.

The passage cited above from the *Beehive* indicates also the

⁴ Born Aug. 5, 1682 (*Itinerarium* of M. A. P., p. 137 b).

⁵ Cf. “Schatz-Kammer” (*Prognosticon*, p. 343 a).



HOP FIELD NEAR WINDSHEIM (1903).

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character of his clients in the Windsheim period and the territory and manner of his practice. The clients were the landed gentry, some of whose members he may have known at the Gymnasium in Windsheim or at the University of Altdorf or other universities during his student years. It is quite likely that his practice was confined for the most part to the gentry owning estates in the villages under the jurisdiction of Windsheim and that "marching from one Nobleman's house in the Province unto the other" is to be understood in this more limited sense of "Province" as judiciary district. Naturally his business might occasionally take him beyond the immediate jurisdiction of Windsheim. This *saddlebag practice of law* affords us an interesting glimpse into the primitive conditions of the life of the country lawyer in Germany in the second half of the seventeenth century. It gave the young jurist, the future founder of the first German colony in Pennsylvania, a foretaste of pioneering, which must have stood him in good stead afterwards in the primitive conditions of early Germantown.

In Frankfurt-on-the-Main.

After some two years and a half of practice in Windsheim, Pastorius decided to seek a wider and more congenial field of labor. It is not necessary to suppose he was unsuccessful in his Windsheim practice, but rather desirous of a more agreeable social and religious atmosphere. This is apparent from the fact that he sought and followed the advice of his good and pious friend, Dr. Horb, as he tells us in his Genealogical Sketch:

"Año 1679. the 24th of April J went (by perswasion of Dr. Horb,⁶ a godly Man & good Friend of mine,) to Franckfort upon the Meyn, where J still plaid the Lawyer & kept⁷ [gave or held]

⁶ The proper form, to judge from the Latin "Horbius," would be "Horbe."

⁷ A Germanism for *gave*. See the note on the same word, p. 76. It may be that Pastorius was employing the old use of *keep*, p. 76, as in "keep kirk," etc. (Cf. *Century Dictionary*, sub verbo.) William Penn in his *Journal* uses *keep* in a sense similar to this in saying that the General Meeting was "to be kept" in such a week.

Collegia privata Juris to some young Patricijs of the sd City, having my Lodging for a while with Dr. Schutz, and then with an old & merry-hearted Gentleman call'd Juncker Fichard, as likewise good Opportunity to see Worms, Manheim, Speyer & other places of the Neighbourhood."⁸

This information is supplemented in the "Additamenta" by the further details, that Pastorius after his arrival in Frankfurt first took his meals with the notary, Christian Fenda (Fende or Fend) in the Saalhof and his lodgings with Captain Daniel Reñepage and taught some young students the Institutes, finally going to Junker Fichard for both lodging and meals.⁹

The Dr. Horb here referred to was Johannes Henricus Horbius, to whom Pastorius' father, Melchior Adam Pastorius, dedicated the following anagram:

"IOANNES HENRICVS HORBIVS.

Anagramma

INI, VERBO CVRES INSANOS
CHARVS INES IESV, NON ORBI
HIC RESONA INNISVS VERBO
EN SACRI VERBI SONO VNIS
I, RESONANS VINCIS VERBO.

Quid canis est mutus domui? quid cæcus Ouili
Pastor? nonne Ouibus deperitura salus?
Mentibus ægroti languemus, opemque precamus
Sed qui nos curet nemo Machaon est
Prosper ini, pie Serue Dei verboque potenti
Insanos cures mentis opemque feras
Non Orbi sed charus ines tu totus IESV,
Hinc, en inis Verbi Charus adusque sano [?]
Sæpius hic resona, tardantes pelle, moneque
Inissus Verbo, spandeo Victor eris.

⁸ Cf. *Beehive*, p. 223,

⁹ Cf. *Res Proprie*, p. 12:

"1679. 24. April reiste ich auff Horbij anrathen nach Franckfurt, hatt den Tisch bey Notario Christian Fenden im Saalhof, mein logiment bey Capitain Daniel Reñepage, &c. hielt einigen Jungen Studiosis Collegia Instit. bisz zu Juncker Fichard ins Haus u. an den Tisch kam, woselbst auch verblieben."

I resonans vincis diuino pectora Verbo
Instar id est penetrans ancipitis gladij
Quamuis dissideant animi, mundanaque tractent
En sacri Verbi tu vnus adusque sono
Perge bonis auibus fac fructus undique multos
Donec conspicias Horrea plena Dei.
Effice ut æthereo cuncti iungamur amore
Fiat et vnus amor Iesus Homoque simul."¹⁰

In Dr. Horb we have a most important link between Pastorius and the Frankfurt Pietists. Dr. Horb was an intimate member of this circle of enthusiasts, who gathered around Dr. Spener, and was closely related to Spener, having married his sister.

Johann Heinrich Horb (or Horbe, Lat. Horbius) was born in Colmar, Alsatia, June 11, 1645. In 1661 he entered the University of Strassburg, taking his Master's degree in 1664. His teachers here were Balthasar Bebel, Johann Konrad Dannhauer (both rigid Lutherans), Philipp Jacob Spener, the Pietist, who had returned to Strassburg in 1663, and Johann Heinrich Böckler, the historian, with whom Pastorius studied Public Law, and who died in the midst of a course on Lampadius, before Pastorius left Strassburg in 1672.¹¹ Horb then attended the universities of Jena, Leipzig, Wittenberg, Helmstädt and Kiel, spending some time in Leipzig as "Assessor of the Philosophical Faculty." In 1669-1670 Horb accompanied Johann Sebastian Müller, of Leipzig, and others as tutor (Hofmeister) on a journey to Holland, England and France. In Utrecht he met Justus Theodor von Münchhausen, of Hamburg, and made arrangements to accompany him in France, a transaction which resulted in great disaster to Horb and aided not a little in intensifying his persecution by the orthodox Theologians. In 1671 Horb returned from Paris to Strassburg, where he became docent at the university while Pastorius was there as a student. Soon afterwards Horb was appointed by the Palzgraves-by-the-Rhine as Court Preacher

¹⁰ Cf. *Itinerarium*, p. 83 a & b.

¹¹ Cf. p. 73.

in Bischweiler and later transferred to Trarbach-on-the-Mosel, where he remained till his suspension because of persecution in 1678. He had married Spener's sister, Sophie Cäcilia, in the year 1671, and openly allied himself with the Pietistic party by defending the teachings of Spener's *Pia Desideria*. In 1679 he was called as superintendent and pastor to Windsheim, where Pastorius was then practicing law and his father, Melchior Adam Pastorius, was Burgomaster. Here Horb was attacked savagely by Georg Konrad Diefeld,¹² Deacon of Nordhausen, for sharing Spener's views of the education of theologians. In 1684, in spite of strong opposition, he was elected Chief Pastor of St. Nicholas Church in Hamburg. But having circulated unwittingly, as it seems, a German translation of a pamphlet by Peter Poiret among his congregation, he was bitterly assailed by Johann Friedrich Mayer and others, and finally forced to leave his charge in 1693 and seek refuge in Schleims. His health broke, and he died in 1694, a martyr to the cause of Pietism.

Thus, in the person of Dr. Horb, we have established the connection between Spener, the leader of the Pietistic movement in Frankfurt, and Windsheim, Pastorius' home, and found a natural explanation for Pastorius' introduction to Spener and his immediate entrance into the Pietistic circle in the Saalhof at Frankfurt. It is not improbable that Pastorius knew Horb even in the Strassburg days. This would seem to be corroborated by Pastorius' statement that he left Windsheim to go to Frankfurt "by persuasion of Dr. Horb, a godly Man and good Friend of mine." This language seems to imply a longer acquaintance and friendship than that which could have been formed with Dr. Horb in Windsheim between January, 1679, the date of Horb's arrival in Windsheim, and April 24, 1679, the date of Pastorius' departure for Frankfurt.

No further explanation is now required to show how Pastorius fell in with the Pietists. Dr. Horb, as the brother-in-law of

¹² In a work entitled *Theosophia Horbio-Speneriana* [Strassburg], 1679.

Dr. Spener, naturally gave Pastorius a personal introduction to the great Pietist in Frankfurt. Naturally, too, Pastorius found his way to the Saalhof, the great assembling place of the Pietists, and took lodgings with Dr. Schütz,¹³ one of the Pietists, who afterwards appears in the records of the Frankfurt Land Company.

While it has been impossible to find any record of Pastorius' law practice in Frankfurt during this early period, we are fortunate in having an interesting account of at least one case which he conducted. Some four months after his arrival in Frankfurt he found a profitable client in the person of a Jew by the name of Samuel, as we learn from the following:

"5. Sept. [1679] wie auch 1680. 12. Mart. und 28 Apr. vor den Juden Samuel zum Kost zu Mañheim am Churfüstl. Hof gewest, und reichl. bezahlt worden."¹⁴

Although further details of the case are lacking, we may infer, first, that it was one of considerable importance and, secondly, that Pastorius brought the matter to a successful issue. This record shows that he was esteemed highly enough to present a case before the Electoral Court at Mannheim, which city was then in the second period of its prosperity under the renewed and extended privileges granted by Elector Karl Friedrich in the year 1652.

It may be inferred from another account in the *Res Propriae*, that Pastorius had other professional commissions to neighboring cities, as he speaks of practicing a little while giving private instruction in the Institutes and of having occasion to visit Worms, Mannheim, Speier, etc. At Speier he was with Dr. Fuchs, March

¹³ This is doubtless the Johann Jacob Schütz, U. J. Licent'us, of Frankfurt, whose name with those of Jacob van de Walle, Daniel Behaghel and Caspar Merian appear on the Power of Attorney given to Francis Daniel Pastorius, April 2, 1683. (Cf. S. W. Pennypacker, *The Settlement of Germantown*, pp. 80-81.) The abbreviation in the *Beehive* seems to be Dd., not Dr., but may be explained as used for "Doctorand." Pastorius not infrequently writes this abbreviation.

¹⁴ Cf. *Res Propriae*, p. 12.

22, 1680,¹⁵ as it seems on his return from Mannheim, where he had represented Samuel, the Jew, on the 12th of March.

Thus the young jurist had justified the confidence which the Frankfurt Company later imposed in him in making him its legal agent in America.

Grand Tour with Johann Bonaventura von Bodeck.

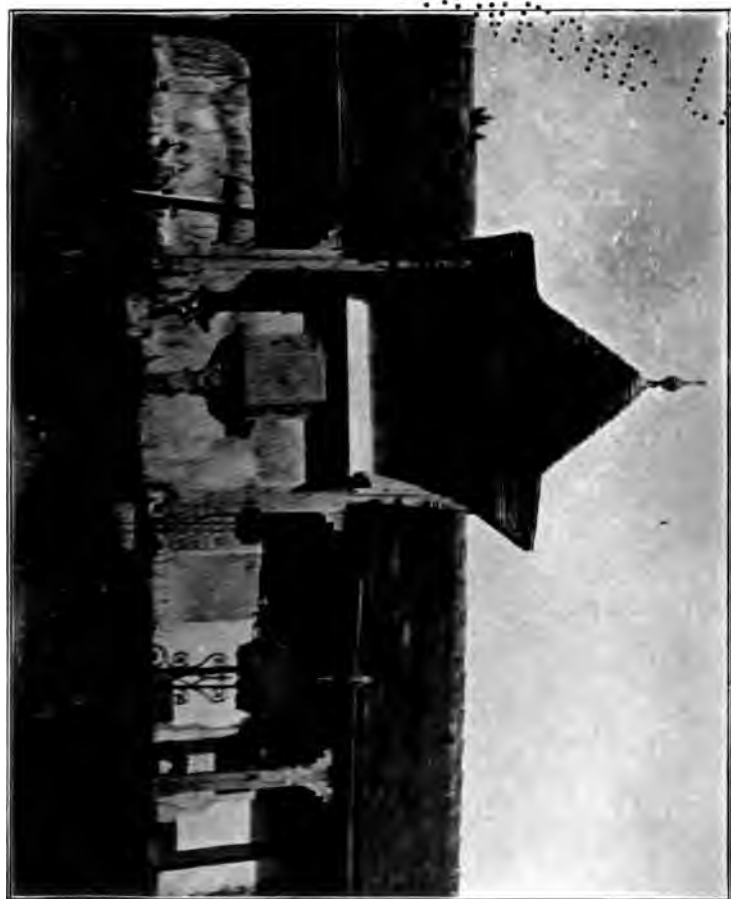
While the years of study at the universities of Altdorf, Strassburg, Basel and Jena had been in a sense a period of travel also, the education of Pastorius was incomplete without a journey into some of the lands with which Germany was in closest cultural touch—Holland, England, France, Switzerland and Italy. Many young jurists, physicians, theologians, philosophers and poets took such a journey on their own account at their own expense, while others, like Horbius and Pastorius, accompanied some young prince or magnate as tutor and thus saw the world without personal expense. The opportunity came to Pastorius, soon after his arrival in Frankfurt, to go on such a journey with a young nobleman, Johann Bonaventura von Bodeck. It was the Pietist, Dr. Spener, who recommended Pastorius as tutor to von Bodeck. Pastorius gives the following all too brief account of the journey in his Genealogical Sketch:

"Anno 1680. the 26th of June, I upon the recommendation of Dr. Speñer (that brave Patriarch of the Pietists,) undertook to be (Hoffmeister or) Conductour & Guide to a Noble young Spark called Johañes Bonaventura von Bodeck in his Travels through Holland, England, France, Switzerland, &c. & so went to Mentz, where we did meet, and happily perform our sd Voyage, as does appear by a peculiar Manuscript Journal¹⁶ of mine in 8^o arriving again at Francfort in perfect health & Safety, the 18th of November 1682."¹⁷

¹⁵ Año 1679, 24. Apr. reisete ich nach Franckfurt am Mayn, hielte alldar einigen *Studiosis privat. collegia Juris*, u. practicirte anbey ein wenig, da daß gelegenheit bekam, Worms, Mañheim, Speyer etc zu visitiren. logirte vom 1. Dec. 1679. bisz 26 Jun. 1680 bey Juncker Fichard. 1680. 22. Mart. mit Dr. Fuchsen zu Speyer gewest" (*Res. Propriae*, p. 6).

¹⁶ This *Journal* seems to be hopelessly lost. All that survives is a handful of extracts in the *Beehive* (see further on).

¹⁷ Cf. *Beehive*, p. 223.



VIEW OF THE CEMETERY IN SONNENHAGEN.
(1903)

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In another account given in the "Additamenta"¹⁸ we learn something more of the particulars of this journey. Pastorius had evidently met von Bodeck in Frankfurt in the society of Günterod (Günderode) and Lersner, who were the brothers-in-law of von Bodeck, and with whom Pastorius went to Mainz to start on the journey with von Bodeck. That Pastorius was associated with influential families in Frankfurt is shown by the fact that he numbered among his friends members of such distinguished families as the Lersners and Günderodes. The Lersner family, originally from Felsburg in Niederhessen, had become allied to the patrician family of Rauschers in Frankfurt in the marriage of Hermann Lersner, Dr. Jur. and Professor at Marburg, about the middle of the sixteenth century.

The name of Pastorius' patron on this journey is clearly "Bodeck," not "Rodeck," as it was incorrectly written by Friedrich Kapp and Professor Oswald Seidensticker, and copied from them in more recent works. The mistake is due evidently to the rather indistinct passage in the *Beehive*, where the initial "R" is written so close to the line that it is difficult to determine whether the initial letter in this case is "R" or "B." The other occurrences of the name in the *Beehive*, and particularly in the *Res Propriae*, however, clearly show the form to be "Bodeck." The Wagner copy of the *Res Propriae*, made about 1850 and now found in the Archives of the German Society of Pennsylvania, has "Bodeck," not "Rodeck." Furthermore, it has been impossible to find the name "Rodeck" in most of the genealogical or heraldic sources, while the name "Bodeck" is much in evidence.

This Johann Bonaventura Bodeck or "von Bodeck," as Pastorius calls him, was doubtless a member of the family of Bodeck von (or zu) Ellgau, which appears in the rolls of Swiss and Rhen-

¹⁸ Cf. *Res Propriae*, p. 12. The very important passage is written in German:

"1680. 26. Junij fuhr ich mit Juncker Günterod Juncker Lerssner u. dero Weibern nach Maintz, u. tratt als Hofmeister mit derselben Schwager Joh. Bonaventurâ von Bodeck eine Reis an, welche in meinem Jtinerario umbständlich beschrieben."

ish nobility as early as the sixteenth century, with a coat-of-arms dating back, as it appears, as early as 1584 at least. The Bodecks were barons of the Holy Roman Empire after September 7, 1706. The coat-of-arms is described as follows, and all heraldic authorities seem to agree in this description:¹⁹

"A quartered shield; 1 and 4 contain a cross of gold in a field of blue; 2 and 3 a red lion in a field of gold; the helmet is bustled, having the right in blue and gold and the left in red and gold, and supporting a lion rampant, crossed with alternate blue and gold."²⁰

A probable corroboration of the identity of Johann Bonaventura von Bodeck's family with the Bodecks of Ellgau is found in the survival of the name "Bonaventura" in the latter family in recent times, as for example in the case of Karl Maximilian Maria Bonaventura Bodeck, born November 24, 1849, son of Georg Karl Joseph Freiherr Bodeck von Ellgau and his spouse, Euphenia Antonia Maria Eugenia Franzisca Huberta.

In addition to the Swiss and Rhenish branches of the family of Bodeck von Ellgau, there is an Austrian branch Bodeck von Marwitz. Both branches have the same coat-of-arms. Whether Hermann Bodeck, the Gallician Hebraist (1820-1880), and Jacob Bodeck of Lemberg (died at Lemberg, 1856), were connected with the Austrian branch,²¹ or have their name directly from Hebrew sources, I have not ascertained.

Johann Bonaventura von Bodeck seems to have escaped the

¹⁹ Cf. particularly the following:

*Sibenmachers grosses Allgemeines Wappenbuch * * * von Dr. Otto Titan von Hefner.* Nürnberg, 1856.

*Dictionnaire de la Noblesse * * * par De la Chenaye-Debois et Badier.* Paris, 1863.

Armorial Général précédé d'un Dictionnaire des Termes du Blason par J. B. Rietstapf. Gouda. G. B. van Goor Zonen, 1887.

²⁰ Cf. *Gothaisches genealogisches Taschenbuch der freiherrlichen Häuser auf das Jahr 1857 u. 1858.*

²¹ A sketch of both of these Hebrew scholars may be found in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, sub nom. The name Bodeck has representatives in Philadelphia, but I have been unable to trace it to its European connections.

biographical dictionaries and we must be content with the laconic characterization which Pastorius gives of him in the *Beehive*, where he describes him as "a Noble young Spark."

As the Bodeck family of Ellgau was Catholic,²² it is quite safe to assume that Johann Bonaventura was likewise Catholic. It was evidently through his connection with Günderode and Lersner²³ in Frankfurt (Pastorius calls him their brother-in-law) that he heard of Pastorius. The fact that there was a difference of confession may have been offset by Pastorius' liberality of spirit and particularly by the fact that the Pastorius family too had formerly been Catholic.

The itinerary of the journey with Bodeck included Holland, England, France, Switzerland and a part of Upper Germany. Pastorius, as we have seen, accompanied Günderode and Lersner and their wives to Mainz, and there, as it seems, joined von Bodeck. The journey lasted from June 26, 1680, till November 18, 1682, when they both returned safe and sound to Frankfurt.²⁴ It is unfortunate that the *Itinerarium*, which Pastorius says he wrote of his journey, has been lost. It would, no doubt, have furnished much important information as to what they did and saw. In lieu of the original we must content ourselves with some extracts are mere scraps; they will nevertheless give us some notion of the bent of Pastorius' mind and the character of the observations made at this period of his life. Although the items noted seem pedantic and trite to us, they were fresh and interesting to the traveling scholar of pietistic inclinations in the years 1680-1682.

²² Cf. *Gothaisches Genealogisches Taschenbuch der freiherrlichen Familien* (1858).

²³ Lersner is one of those mentioned by Pastorius in the Pietistic group at the Saalhof and "bynamed the Pious" (cf. *Beehive*, p. 223).

²⁴ Cf. *Res Propriae*, p. 6:

"Anno 1680. 26. Jun. fuhr ich nacher Maintz, und thät von daraus mit Johan Bonaventura von Bodeck als dessen Hofmeister eine Reis durch Holland, Engelland, Franckreich, Schweitz, u. einen Strich Hochteutschlands; kamen beede año 82. 18. Nov. wieder frisch u. gesund nach Franckfurt."

"Tantum Quantum, or A Few Incriptions, gathered out of my own Itinerary.

[On preceding page:]

The Heads of the following Incriptions: 1. Sun-dials. 2. Clock-dials & Bells. 3. Steeple-houses, Altars, Organs, Images, &c. 4. Cloisters & Cells. 5. Hospitals, Infirmarys, &c. 6. Schools. 7. Libraries. 8. Senate houses & Guild halls. 9. Bridewells. 10. Prisons. 11. Armouries or Magazines for Weapons. 12. Utensils of war, Standards & the like. 13. Mints, & Treasure-houses. 14. Burses or Royal Exchanges for merchants to meet in. 15. Palaces. 16. Tennis-Courts, Bowling-greens, &c. 17. Market places, Shambles, &c. 18. Apothecary-Shops. 19. Inns and Ordinaries. 20. Private Dwelling-houses. 21. Doors, Chimneys, Tables, &c. 22. Gardens. 23. Fountains. 24. Ships. 25. Highways. 26. Bridges. 27. Monuments. 28. Statues. 29. Cities & Fortresses. 30. Fenster-Schriefften. 31. Stambüch-Andenck-Sprüche. 32. A Miscellaneous Appendix. 33. Privy houses. Post num. 20. Seals. Post num. 6. Arms or Coat of arms.

Tantum Quantum, or A Few Incriptions, gathered out of my own Itinerary.

I. Over, under & about Sun-dials I observed the Following:

Sicut umbra dies nostri. Job. 8. Dies nostri sicut umbra prætereunt. Psal. 143. Quasi umbra transeunt qui non timent faciem Domini. Eccles. 8. A Solis ortu usq' ad occasum laudetur Nomen Domini. Psal. 112. Oportet operari dum dies est Joh. 9. Ambulate dum lucem habetis Joh. 12. Redimentes tempus quoniam dies mali. Eph. 5. Vigilate, quia nescitis diem neq' horam. Matt. 25. Quâ horâ non putabitis Filius hominis veniet. Luke. 12. Non accidat Sol super Iracundiam vestram. Eph. 4. Ecce mensurabiles posuisti dies meos. Psal. 38. Verum est Testimonium ejus. Joh. 19. Solem quis dicere falsum audeat? Dies mei sicut umbra declinaverunt. Psal. 102.

Ut radius sic Vita fluit, dum stare videtur. Tempus ut umbra fugit. Vita fugit velut umbra. Speculum Vitæ humanæ. Hominis sic Vita caduca. Umbra transitus est Tempus nostrum. Omnes sic transimus. Cite pede labitur ætas. More fluentis aquæ. Nec quæ præterijt hora redire potest. Sic Vita, sic Umbra.

Tempora labuntur, tacitis senescimus annis. Umbra fugit, mortemq' vocat; Vigilemus amici. Quota est Vitæ? Fluit irreparabile Tempus. Vive memor Lethi, fugit hora. Ut cuspis, sic

Stapen



EPITAPH OF MELCHIOR ADAM PASTORIUS,
 Written by himself (from the "Liber Intimissimus").

AA&U! 0907NAT2

2

Vita fugit. Sic tua Vita fluit. Progreditur fugiens et semper vertitur hora, Vita simul. fugiens semel vertitur absq' reverti. Respice Finem! Ut tibi Sol radijs labentia tempora signat, Sic Sol Justitiæ signet (: & acta regat.) ad astra viam. Quæritur ostendat radius quam pensilis horam? Hora est sollicita quærere mente Deum. Sera nimis Vita est crastina, Vive hodie. Tota Vita dies unus est. Utere non tardo labitur illa pede. Absq' mora fugit hora. Jndice me quoties fugientes suspicis horas, Te toties gressu mors propiore premit. Transvolat umbra levis, neq' scit fugitiva reverti. Nostra simul properans Vita caduca fugit. Hâc licet exili non est lethalior umbra, Nam quicquid fugitans attingit Interijt. Sic, sic translaberis ipse. Ipse sic excedis Vitâ, Sensim, sine Sensu. PEDETENTIM. Aeternitati Provide, Tempus fugit. Raptit hora diem. Christe, tui sincerus amor mihi crescit in horas. Me Sol, vos umbra regit. Nos brevis hora Parit, nos brevis hora Raptit. Viventi mors obrepit Juveniq' Senectus horaq' dum quota est? Quæritur hora fugit. Res dam-nosa malis tempus consumere rebus, Expendas igitur quod tibi nunc superest.

Imposuit Dominus domui, testarer ut horas. Interpres Solis, horas et Tempora dico. Nos docet; atq' nocet vobis, qui fallere Tempus Vultis, vos ipsos fallitis Jnsipidi. Ora ne Te decipiat hora. Without Time we can do nothing in this present World. Col Tempo e l'ora tutto s'adopra. Non nisi cœlesti radio. Solius præsentia Solis. Sum sine Sole nihil.

Wann die Sonne gegen wärtig, so ist auch der Zeiger fertig. Quod scio, tu nescis, nisi Sol conspexerit ædes.

Nisi Sol (: illuminet ædes :) splendescat in orbe. Donec optata veniat. † Virtus sine Cruce evanescit ut umbra. Nulla dies sine linea. Ordinatione Tua perseverat dies. Nonne duo-decim horæ sunt diei? Joh. xi. Pereunt et Jmputantur. Plures Labori quam Otio. Ex his mors eligit unam. Hinc venit ultima cunctis. Le Jour est assuré, mais l'heure ne l'est pas. Quis scit, an extremam Stilus hic (: mihi :) tibi denotet horam? Ultima quæ sit? Hora cuiq' sua est; Fors erit ista Tua. Quæ tua sit, nescis.

La Mort tue en toute heure & en tout lieu. Jnstat tibi forte suprema? Ultima forsitan erit? En regardent quelle heure il est, Pense ala Tienne, & t'y tiens prest.

Quota sit hora vides, sed quæ sit summa tacebo. Jsta patet, postrema latet. Latet ultima Vitæ! Hic extrema vides extremæ signa diei, Fac bona sit præsens, ultima ne mala sit. Sol tibi per Speculum fugientes indicat horas, Jndicat et Speculum quod Specu-latorabit. Spiegeluhr. Vita fugit, fugit umbra tamen reditura; sed

illa quam traducis homo non reditura fugit. Manè. Nos pulchram Phoebi faciem surgentis Eoo [?] cernimus, Antipodes posteriora vident. Vespere. Sol abiens paulum Lucis post terga relictæ Monstrat, uti Moysi posteriora Deus. Beatus qui horam Mortis suæ semper ante oculos habet & ad moriendum quotidie se disponit. Th: Kemp.

1. Aspicis hic primas Orientis Luminis horas, Nescius occidui sera quid ferat. Dum radius lento cursu versatur in orbem vertice præcipiti Tempora nostra vorat. Dum vitæ numero menses securus & años, Incipit hic horas mors numerare meas. Disce novum ancupium [?], qui discis tempora sunt hic Mors andeps [?] horæ retia, præda homines.

2. Filia sum Solis, peperit me ferrea mater; hic nigra stat genetrix, albus in Axe pater. Deferor in partes Index utriusq' nigranti ore sequor matrem, mobilitate patrem. Quæ modo pterijt, rursus cras hora redibit, si tua prætereat vita, redire nequit. Dum radios cernis celeres umbrasq' fugaces, Opta perpetuum posse videre diem.

3. Mortales hæc umbra docet nos esse fugaces, Et nostri fugiunt ut fugit umbra dies. Quid spem vivendi longos jaculamur in annos? heu celeri properat mors inopina pede, Linea nostrarum si Mors est ultima rerum, hic etiam nostræ linea mortis erit. Nec suspecta tamen tibi sola sit ultima, Ferre cuilibet extrema linea prima potest.

Diese Drey letztere stehen in her Carthause zu Regensburg an drey absonderlichen Soñen Uhren daselbst im Hof. Im Jesuiter Collegio zu Lion aber steht bey 3. nebeneinander gefügten Sonnen weisern: Et hi tres unum sunt. Item Sic Neovillæi referunt se Sidera Fratres. Bey einem andern alldar: Non Justior alter. Und noch bey einem auff einer Weltkugel, welche der Atlas trägt: Urbis fata stylo quis meliore notet? Dergleichen sind in meinem Jtinerario mehr die anher zu überschreiben der Zeit u. des papiers nicht wehrt."

The following is an abstract of the more interesting matter under the other headings in the *Beehive*.

Over and under Clock-Dials: Description of the clock at Lyons in which the cock crows twice every hour after having flapped his wings twice. After this the angel Gabriel appears and salutes Mary and the Holy Ghost comes down in the form of a dove.

The clock of the tower of Notre Dame at Paris has a circumference of 25 feet and three thumbs, is 9 feet high and nine

thumbs thick, weighs 31,000 lbs., and the clapper weighs 600 lbs. It was cast on the ground November 31, [sic] 1681, and was named Emmanuel by permission of the king and queen. Then follows the Latin legend.

At Steeple-houses, Altars, Organs, Images, etc.: Inscriptions of St. Saturnini Church in Toulouse and a similar one in the Lateran in Rome; of the Münster in Basel, of the old church in Delft, of the cathedral at Narbonne. Description and inscriptions of Carmelite Cloister in Frankfurt, Würzburg, St. Hilaire in Paris, St. Jacobs (James) in Hamburg, the Capucin Monastery of Fauxbourg St. Jacques, Paris, the crown which Queen Christina devoted to the Virgin Mary at Loreto, the Templum Majus in Costniz.

Cloisters and Cells: References to Rochelle, Paris, Chapter House of the York Munster,

("Ut Rosa Flos Florum,
Sic est Domus ista Domorum.")

Regensburg, Paris, Avignon, Lyons.

Hospitals, Infirmaryes, &c.: Mention of Toulon, Oppeln (Silesia), Würzburg, Amsterdam.

Schools: Mottos from the Schola Mariana in Danzig, from the school in Amsterdam, from St. Jacobs Schule in Hamburg, and of Basel. St. Jacobs has the following:

"Es meint einjede Frau,
Jhr kind das sey ein Pfau."

also: "Arbeit Zwang und Lehren
bringt Kinder oft zu Ehren."

Arms: Inscriptions from the arms of Geneva, and reference to a more detailed account in his *Itinerarium*, p. 603, which shows that his *Journal* or *Itinerary* must have been a very extensive work.

Libraries: He gives inscriptions of St. Jacobs in Hamburg, of University College in Oxford, the Vatican in Rome and the

Capucin Monastery in Orleans, reproducing the long inscription of Oxford which mentions John Selden, John Vaughan and Matthew Hale.

Senate-houses & Guild-halls: Mention of Augsburg, Haerlem, Baden in the Ergau, the Hague, Geneva, Regensburg, the Curia in Rome.

Prisons: Prison de l'Abbaye S. Germain: "Justitia elevat Gentem. Prov. xiii," only one mentioned.

Armories, or Magazins for weapons: Mention of Armory in Augsburg, Toulouse, Avignon, Venice, etc.

Utensils of War: Standards in London Tower, with the following remark:

"Zu London im Towr auff einem hültzern mit Eisenfarb überstrichenem geschütz, wormit die Engelländer einst eine Statt in Franckreich erschreckt, dasz sie sich übergab: Marte quid opus est cui Minerva non deest?"

References to inscriptions on famous pieces of artillery in Schaffhausen, Ulm, Naples, Geneva and Munich. The last is particularly interesting:

"Jch heiss der Hahn,
Wann ich kräh flieht der Mañ."

Treasure-houses, Mints, Coins, etc.: Those of Dort and Antwerp, Braunschweig and Lüneburg noted. The latter is brief and to the point: "Rerum Nervus Pecunia." An elaborate description is given of Cromwell's coin with the motto: "Pax quæritur Bello;" also of the silver coin of Bologna with the words: "Bononia Mater Studiorum;" and the copper with the words: "Bononia docet;" also the motto of Queen Elizabeth's coin celebrating the defeat of the Armada: "Afflavit Deus, & dissipantur."

Burşes or Royal Exchanges: Inscriptions from the new Bourse in Antwerp and of the Bourse in Bordeaux.

Palaces: Inscription from Rome, the Schloss in Mainz,

Madrit near Paris: "Hodie mihi Cras tibi;" the papal residence at Avignon, the Louvre in Paris. In the palace at Bologna; "Unanimitas stabile firmamentum."

Private Dwelling-houses: At Nürnberg a house has this motto:

"Es gönne mir einer was er will,
So geb' ihm Gott dreymal so viel."

In Basel:

Glick harin, Unglick hinaus;
Pfauenberg heiszt disz Haus."

In Amsterdam:

"Si Deus pro Nobis, Quis contra Nobis?"

In Lyons:

"L'on n'a rien sans peine."
"Avisé toy premier que moy."
"Non domo Dominus, sed Domino domus."

At Paris:

"In Fundulo, sed avito."
"Parva domus, sed amica bonis, procul este profani;^{24a}
Amplior in Coelo domus est & amenior hortus."
"Within this place
Lives Dr. Case."

Fountains: In front of Notre Dame in Paris, St. Germain, Fontaine de Birague, at Lyons, Rome, etc.

Bridges, etc.: Mention of Pont Notre Dame in Paris, Pont Neuf in Toulouse, stone bridge in Montaubon and especially the Mainbrücke in Frankfurt with this inscription:

"Wer dieser Brücken Freyheit bricht
Dem wird sein frefflich Handt gericht."

Statues: Inscriptions of statue of Erasmus in Rotterdam, statue of Carolus I in London, of the birth place of Carolus V in Ghent, of Henry IV Pont Neuf, and of Louis XIII in the Place Royale in Paris, etc.

^{24a} This is the inscription which Pastorius placed over the door of his house in Philadelphia. Cf. p. 128.

An English traveller wrote on the wall in red the following in the little birth chamber of Carolus V :

“Quem locus angustus nascenti sufficit, Orbis qui mox regnanti non satis amplius erat? Sit licet angustus locus hic, Angustior iste est, In quo defunctus nunc jacet ille, locus.”

Inscriptions on Glass-Windows, Tobacco-Boxes, Knives, etc. :

Glass :

“A fool did write this, I confess,
And thou that read it, art not less.
Stulto me, stultior ipse.”

Box :

“Sit down & smoke and merry be,
And thank my Masters Courtesie.”
“A Box well filled is a rich & plenteous Store,
Take many Pipes thereout at last there is no more.”

Messer :

“I am my Masters trusty Friend,
If he too oft me do not lend.”

At the side of a bedstead :

“At Six a Clock at night, thou sayst thy work is done ;
Pray, husband, say not so before the rising Sun.”

Inscriptiones Albi Amicorum :

“Ich gebe dir mein Herz,
lass du mir deines hier,
So gehet unter uns,
Ein schöner Wechsel für.”

“Soyez officieux à tous,
Familier à peu,
& intime à un seul.”

“Fac ea quæ moriens facta fuisse voles.”

“Non far male a chi ti puo peggio.”

Miscellaneous :

Above William Temple's Picture or Image :

“Servare modum, finemq' tueri, Naturamq' sequi.”

Thoughts of America.

The journey with Bodeck had afforded Pastorius opportunity to see the best culture of Western Europe. He had visited Holland, which through its great contemporaneous poet, Vondel (died in 1679), had furnished dramatic models for the German poet Gryphius and had been the refuge of the Puritans and persecuted Protestants of many lands. He had seen England, the arena of the great struggles for civil and religious liberty. He had traversed France, which had long set the fashion for German courts and was now in the height of the classic period of its literature with the great poets Corneille, Molière and Racine. And he had looked out over the summits of the Alps, the snowy seats of republican liberty, the land of Tell and Winkelried. The journey had vastly widened his horizon and enriched his knowledge of the world. But it had done more. It had crystallized his philosophy of life. In the rounds of festivity with Bodeck he had observed the foibles and follies of high life and had come to the firm conviction that the life of religious quiet and serious purpose is the higher ideal. At two places only in his long journey, at Ghent and Cambridge, had he found men of a spirit kindred to his own, who lived in daily devotion to christian duty; while on the other hand, in Orleans, Paris, Avignon, Marseilles, Lyons and Geneva he found thousands of his own countrymen wasting their time, energies and substance on the fripperies of life—dancing, fencing and the like—accomplishments considered at that time essential to the education of a gentleman.

It was with a sense of relief and release that Pastorius returned to the little group of Pietists in Frankfurt, his old friends of the Saalhof, and experienced anew that inner joy which sprang from their simple, earnest lives. He had now finally found associations which satisfied the spiritual yearnings of his better self and was content to renounce all the glint and glare of the world. This

quiescent attitude of soul is well described in the *Beehive* in the following part of a passage to be cited entire further on:²⁵

"And forasmuch as J after this my Return was glad to enjoy the ancient familiarity of my former Acquaintances (rather than to be with the aforesd von Bodeck feasting, dancing, &c.) especially of those Christian Friends who frequently assembled together in a house, called the Saalhof."

The psychology of this change in Pastorius' spiritual life and ideals and his transition to the attitude of the Pietist and even of the Quietist is significant in the history of the religious movements of the time. The assumption that this change in the case of Pastorius was the more or less sudden and immediate result of his association with the Pietists seems unfounded, if we may trust his own statements.²⁶

As early as the year 1692 Pastorius set forth the facts of his spiritual evolution in the preface to his account of Pennsylvania, which was printed as an appendix to his father's *Beschreibung des H. R. Reichs Stadt Windsheim*, and later extended into the *Beschreibung* of 1700. It summarizes his religious evolution so well that we quote it here in English translation:

"It is well enough known to my family how, from childhood, I directed my course in this temporal life toward a happy eternity, and made it my concern in all my doings to understand the will of God, which alone is good, to fear his omnipotence, and to learn to love his unfathomable goodness. And, although I successfully completed the study of jurisprudence, together with the other branches of the Liberal Arts, thoroughly mastered the Italian and French languages, and also took the so-called Great Tour through foreign lands, I nevertheless applied my greatest industry and efforts, at all times and places, solely to find out where and among what people and nations true devotion, the knowledge and fear of God, might best be met with and acquired. I found at the Universities scholars, faiths, opinions and sects, almost without number, so that it was a great bable and show of vain wordly wisdom, of which the Apostle says: *Scientia Inflat*,

²⁵ Cf. p. 110.

²⁶ Cf. *Beehive*, p. 223.

But I cannot truthfully write that I found in any place a professor who directed the mind of a boy or a pupil to the pure love of Jesus or the Holy Trinity. There is, indeed, no lack of Christians in name and profession, who go about puffed up with worldly knowledge, and love the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life (the trifolium of the Devil!), but of those who thought of working out their salvation with fear and trembling, lived without deceit, and with all their heart turned to the centre of their existence, to God, the highest good, there was *rara avis in terris*. Nevertheless, I found, at last, in the University of Cambridge and in the city of Ghent, some devoted men living in secret seclusion from the world and wholly resigned in spirit to God, who, in answer to my earnest inquiries, gave me many good instructions, and strengthened me greatly in my purpose. They also showed me, at the Princely Court of Ghent, Emperor Charles the Fifth's famous birth chamber (but four ells long and four ells wide) with the legend telling how a richly bound Bible was given to the new-born prince by his godfather, with this inscription in gold, bound in the book: *Scrutamini Scripturas*, which the Prince, moreover, read with diligence and learned therefrom that he must die depending on the merits of Jesus Christ alone.

I saw further on this journey of mine, at Orleans and Paris, Avignon, Marsailles, Lyons and Geneva, many thousand young Germans, mostly of the nobility, who are accustomed to follow the vanities of dress, speech, foreign manners and ceremonies, and incur incredible expense in learning to mount, to ride, to dance, to fence, to bear piques and standards, so that a great part of their German patrimony is expended on useless worldly vanity, while not a single thought is given to the love of God and learning to follow Christ, which is well pleasing to God. Moreover, if anyone attempts to say anything of the writings and divine meditations of St. Augustine, Tauler, Arnd, and other divines, he must be proclaimed a Pietist and a heretic; and no one who is submerged in the worldly wisdom of Aristotle, will consent to be persuaded or chastened by the will of God.

Accordingly after the close of my journey, I withdrew into the retirement of my chamber and recalled to mind everything which had passed before my eyes on the stage of the world, and could not find any enduring pleasure in anything. I despaired, moreover, that any place could be found in my native land or all Germany for those to come after me, where one might abandon the old habit of empty *operis operati* and enter the pure love of God with the whole heart, mind and strength and love his neighbor as himself.

I reasoned thus with myself, whether it were not better to teach the learning which I had received by grace from the highest Giver and Father of Lights to the new-found American peoples of Pennsylvania and thus make them partakers of the true knowledge of the Holy Trinity and true Christianity."

It would appear from this document that Pastorius' spiritual awakening was the result of long years of quest for the truth and piety, and rather a typical illustration of the rise of Pietism than a product of Pietism after it took more tangible form under the influence of Spener; in a word, that Pastorius, like Spener himself, was an exponent of the great religious awakening of the second half of the seventeenth century, the mature fruit of the labors of Tauler, Luther and Arnd. As a participant in the religious events of his time, he would naturally have read important contemporaneous literature representing the various phases of the movement, but there is no evidence that he had allied himself with any separatistic sect before his return to Frankfurt in November, 1682. He sought spiritual regeneration, not doctrinal reform. This naturally brought him into sympathy with the Frankfurt Pietists and kindred spirits elsewhere in Germany, Holland and England, and determined the course of his later years, leading him finally to seek a quiet religious retreat in the wilds of the New World.

William Penn and the Quakers.

While Pastorius was thus like hundreds of his time finding his way to a higher spiritual life along the way of introspection, the Quakers, moved by the same spirit, were quietly winning new believers in Holland and Germany by making more or less systematic propaganda among the Mennonite communities as far as the Middle Rhine. The missionary labors of William Ames in Holland and Germany (1655-1662), of William Caton (1656-1665), of Stephen Crisp (1663-1684), of George Rolf, John Stubbs, John Higgins and William Moore, had all touched the

Mennonites of the Middle Rhine and most of them had extended into the Rhenish Palatinate, arousing the ire of the orthodox Lutherans and Catholics alike. In 1671 William Penn made his first visit to these regions in the interests of the Quaker faith, and in 1677 he made a second visit in the same cause. It was this second visit which opened the way for the great German emigration to Pennsylvania of which Pastorius became the pioneer.

Penn set out July 26, 1677, with George Fox, Robert Barclay, George Keith, George Watts, John Furly, William Tallcoat, Isabelle Yeomans and Elizabeth Keith from Harwich to attend a General Meeting of Friends (Quakers) in Amsterdam, where a congregation or meeting had already existed for twenty years. At this General Meeting fifteen general resolutions were agreed upon, the third of which clearly defined the limits of Quaker territory and announced the definite policy of uniting all Quakers within this territory in the great Yearly Meeting at Amsterdam. The resolution runs as follows:

"It is Agreed upon, that henceforth a Yearly Meeting be held here at Amsterdam; unto which Friends in the Palatinate, Hambrough, Lubeck and Frederickstadt, &c. be invited: Of which Meeting there shall be given Notice to Friends of the Yearly Meeting at London, to be kept always on the fifth day of that Week; which is fully the third Week following after the Yearly Meeting at London."²⁷

After this General Meeting in Amsterdam, George Fox and his party set out to visit Friends in Emden, Bremen, Hamburg and Frisia, while William Penn, accompanied by William Keith, Robert Barclay and Benjamin Furly, an English merchant then residing in Rotterdam, turned their steps to Germany to visit the

²⁷ Cf. An | Account | of | W. Penn's | Travails | in | Holland and Germany, | Anno MDCLXXVII. | For the Service of the Gospel | of Christ, by way of Journal. | Containing also Divers Letters and | Epistles writ to several Great and | Eminent Persons whilst there. | The Second Impression, Corrected by | the Author's own Copy, with answers to some of | the Letters, not before Printed. | London, Printed and Sold by T. Sowle, in White- | Hart-Court in Grace-Church-Street. 1695. (Pp. 8-9.)

Friends along the Rhine. They went by boat to Naerden, thence by stage by way of Osnabrück to Herwerden in Westphalia, where they called upon the abbess of the convent there, Princess Elizabeth Stuart, daughter of Frederick V, Prince Palatine of the Rhine and niece of Charles I of England. On the 13th of August Penn, Keith and Furly took leave of Barclay at Herwerden and continued their journey by way of Paderborn and Kassel, arriving August 20th in Frankfurt-on-the-Main. They held a meeting at night at the house of Jacobus van de Walle and the next morning, by invitation of Eleonora von Merlau, at the house of Widow Bauer von Eiseneck, with whom Eleonora von Merlau was then living. Leaving Frankfurt, Penn and his companions went to Worms and Kriegsheim (August 23), Frankenthal (August 24), back to Kriegsheim (August 26), Worms again (August 27), Mainz and back to Frankfurt (August 28). They held another meeting in the afternoon at the house of the "Noble Women" (Widow Bauer von Eiseneck and Eleonora von Merlau) and later at the house of van de Walle. Leaving Frankfurt they continued their journey down the Rhine to Mainz and Hambach (?) (August 29), Bacharach, Coblenz and Tressy (?) (August 30), Köln (August 31), Duisburg and Mühlheim-on-the-Ruhr (September 2), back to Duisburg (September 3), Wesel (September 4), Emmerich and Cleve (September 5), Nimegen (September 6), Utrecht and Amsterdam (September 7).²⁸

The religious importance of this visit of Penn and his Quaker companions to Frankfurt lay in the fact that it made a deep impression on the minds of certain members of the Pietistic circle, of which Spener was the central figure, giving a new impetus to their religious zeal. It appears, however, that Spener himself held aloof from the Quaker meetings and avoided meeting Penn. In his *Journal*, Penn, speaking of the visit to Frankfurt, says:

"Two considerable Persons came and met us about half a

²⁸ Cf. O. Seidensticker, *William Penn's Travels in Holland and Germany* (*Pennsylvania Magazine*, II. 281-282).

German Mile from the City; informing us of several well affected in that Town. Upon which we told them the end of our coming, and desired to have a Meeting with them in the Afternoon, which we easily obtained at the House of a Merchant [van de Walle], one of the two that met us. The Persons that resorted thither were generally People of considerable Note, both of Calvinists and Lutherans."²⁹

But not all of the attendants upon these meetings were as cautious as Spener. In some the enthusiasm rose to the pitch of martyrdom. This was particularly the case with Eleonora von Merlau, as Penn tells us in one of the finest passages of his *Journal*:

"Therefore said the Young Virgin [Eleonora von Merlau], Our Quarters are free for you, let all come that will come, and lift up your Voices without fear, for (said she) it will never be well with us till Persecution come, and some of us be lodged in the Stadthouse, That is the Prison"³⁰

The visit of Penn and the Quakers in Frankfurt in 1677, stirring as it was at the time, might have remained only a religious episode, had not other more secular events given it a new significance. While it is possible that Pastorius was more or less influenced by the spiritual tenor of the life of the Quakers, as well as by that of the Frankfurt Pietists, during his journey with Bodeck, it is not likely that his interest would have gone beyond religious friendship and sympathy without some new impetus. The event which gave a new importance to these visits of Penn and the Quakers in the Rhine Country was the proprietorship of the Province of Pennsylvania granted by the King of England to William Penn, the great Quaker, in the year 1681, about the time of Pastorius' journey to England with Bodeck.

The fact that Penn had become proprietor of a great province in America and was now inviting his German friends to come and

²⁹ Cf. *An Account of Penn's Travels in Holland and Germany, etc.* (1695), pp. 55-56.

³⁰ Cf. *An Account of Penn's Travels in Holland and Germany, etc.* (1695), p. 57.

settle in these new lands lifted him out of the rôle of a religious enthusiast to that of a provincial lord, offering a quiet retreat to the perturbed and persecuted of the Old World. Penn's *Account*,⁸¹ published in London in 1681, and published in Dutch⁸² in Rotterdam, and in German⁸³ in Amsterdam, the same year, came as a new message of glad good news to all the Quaker and Mennonite communities of Holland and the Rhine, opening the way to a new paradise of religious tranquillity beyond the sea.

This new scheme of colonization in Pennsylvania was the subject of ardent discussion in the Pietistic circle at Frankfurt when Pastorius returned from his journey in November, 1682. Some of the circle had already decided to emigrate, and were making preparations for the journey. At first they kept the matter

⁸¹ Some | Account | of the | Province | of | Pennsilvania | in | America ; | Lately Granted under the Great Seal | of | England | to | William Penn, &c | Together with Priviledges and Powers neces- | sary to the well-governing thereof. | Made publick for the Information of such as are or may be | disposed to Transport themselves or Servants | into those Parts. | London: Printed, and Sold by Benjamin Clark | Bookseller in George-Yard Lombardstreet, 1681.

⁸² Een kort Bericht | Van de Provintie ofte Landschap | Penn-Sylvania | genaemt, leggende in | America ; | Nu onlangs onder het groote Zegel van Engeland | gegeven aan | William Penn, &c. | mitsgaders | Van de Privilegien, ende Macht om | het selve wel to Regeeren. | Uyt het Engels overgeset na de Copye tot Loden gedrukt by Benjamin Clark, Boekverkooper in George Yard Lombardstreet. 1681. | Waer by nu gevoegt is de Notificatie van s' Konings Placcact | in date van den 2 April 1681, waar inne de tegenwoordige | Inwoonders van Penn-Sylvania, belast word | William Penn en zijn Erfgenamed, als volkomene | Eygenaars en Gouverneurs, te gehoorsamen. | Als mede, | De Copye van een Brief by den selven W. P. geschreven aan | zekete Regeeringe Anno 1675. tegens de Vervolginge | en voor de Vryheyte van Conscientie, aan alle &c. | Tot Rotterdam. | Gedrukt by Pieter van Wynbrugge, Boek-Drukker in de | Leeuwestraet, in de Wereld Vol-Druk. Anno 1681.

⁸³ Eine | Nachricht | wegen der Landschaft | Pennsylvania | in | America : | Welche | Jüngstens unter dem Grossen Siegel | in | Engelland | an | William Penn, &c. | Sambt den Freyheiten und der Macht | so zu behöriger | guten Regierung derselben nötig | übergeben worden | und | Zum Unterricht derer / so etwan bereits bewogen / oder noch | möchten bewogen werden / umb sich selbstn darhin / zu begeben / oder einige Bediente und Gesinde | an diesen Ort zu senden / hiermit kund gethan wird. | Aus dem in London gedrucktem und aldar bey Benjamin Clarck | Buchhändlern in George-Yard Lombardstreet befindlichem | Englischen übersetzt. | Nebenst beygefügetem ehemaligem im 1675. Jahr gedrucktem | Schreiben des oberwehnten Will. Penns. | In Amsterdam | gedruckt bey Christoff Cunraden. | Im Jahr 1681.

concealed from Pastorius, but finally, seeing that he was seriously interested in the scheme, they gradually disclosed the secret to him. He speaks of three forms of information which they gave him of the scheme. First, they often spoke of William Penn, referring doubtless to his religious views and his personal character. Second, they showed him private letters of Benjamin Furly, the great promoter of the scheme in Holland and Germany, who may have given them particulars concerning the matter contained in the *Information and Direction*³⁴ published in 1681. Thirdly, they communicated to him also a "printed Relation," which, doubtless, refers to Penn's *Account* mentioned above. In the *Res Propriae*³⁵ Pastorius speaks of "verschiedene relation schreiben," read by him, which would seem to show that he might have seen other printed matter, such as the *Information and Direction*, as well as Penn's *Account*.

The earliest extant official document^{35a} relating to a transaction in connection with Pastorius is the authorization, or power of attorney, given to Pastorius by a number of the first purchasers of land in Pennsylvania, bearing date April 2, 1683. The document committed to Pastorius "the care and Administration of all their Estate, lands and Rights which they lawfully obtained there of William Penn." He was to "conserve in the best form of Law the things themselves, the Possession thereof and other rights," "Order the tillage of the ground," "Hire Labourers, grant part of the land to others, take the yearly Revenue or Rents" and all other functions of administration, "all sorts of alienation and mortgaging excepted."

A sum of money was given to the agent for this purpose, and he was to render a yearly account to his constituents or their heirs, but the constituents were "not to be obliged to any man by all his doings and contracts." The agent's compensation was to

³⁴ Information and Direction | to | Such Persons as are inclined | to | America, | more | Especially Those related to the Province | of | Pennsylvania.

³⁵ Cf. *Res Propriae*, p. 6.

^{35a} Cf. S. W. Pennypacker, *The Settlement of Germantown*.

be what is "reasonable" from "the expected Income or Rents in Pennsylvania." This most cautiously worded instrument was signed by Jacobus van de Walle, for himself and as attorney for Johann Wilhelm Peterson and his wife, Eleonore von Merlau (Petersen), Daniel Behaghel, Johann Jacob Schütz, Caspar Merian, Francis Daniel Pastorius.

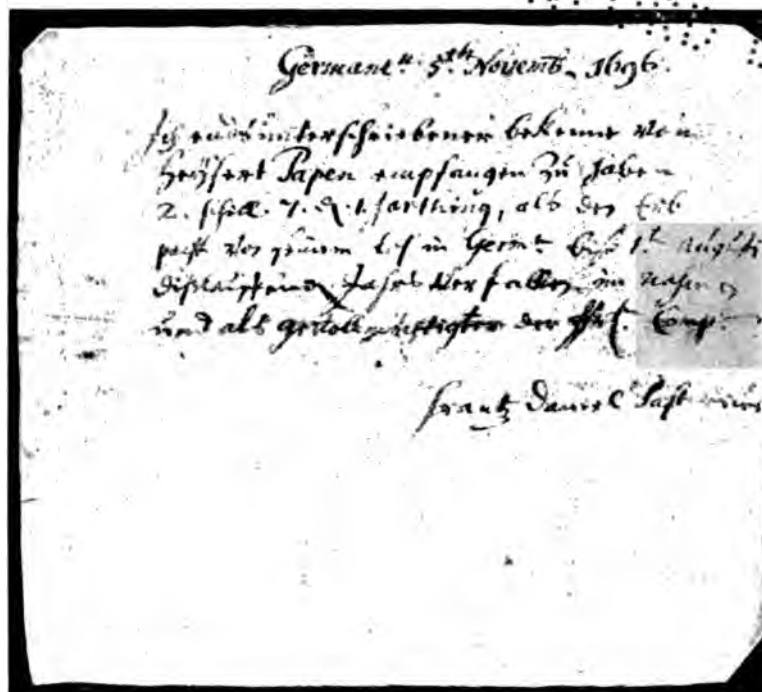
The next record we have states that Pastorius bought in London (between May 8 and June 6, 1683), 15,000 acres of land for the Frankfurt company. This seems to be the status of the transactions at the time when Pastorius sailed for America on the ship America, June 6, 1683.

The account of the events leading up to the departure for America are well summed up by Pastorius in the *Beehive*:

"And forasmuch as J after this my Return was glad to enjoy the ancient familiarity of my former Acquaintances (rather than to be with the aforesd von Bodeck feasting, dancing, &c.) especially of those Christian Friends, who frequently assembled together in a house, called the Saalhof, viz. Dr. Spenner, Dr. Schutz, Notarius Fenda, Jacobus van de Walle, Maximilian (by-named the pious) Lersner, Eleonora von Merlau, Maria Juliana Baurin, &c. who sometimes made mention of William Penn & of Pennsylvania, and moreover communicated unto me as well some private letters from Benjamin Furly, as also a printed Relation concerning the sd province, and finally the whole Secret could not be withholden from me, viz. that they purchased 15000. Acres of land in this remote part of the world, some³⁶ of 'em entirely resolv'd to transport themselves, families & all; this begat such a desire in my Soul to continue in their Society, and with them to lead a quiet, godly & honest life in a howling wilderness, (which J observed to be a heavy Task for any to perform among the bad examples & numberless Vanitates Vanitatum in Europe,) that by several Letters J requested of my sd Father his

³⁶ In the *Res Propriae*, p. 7, we have the following additional details:

"auch bereits einige gottfürchtende Menschen [unter welchen Xtian Fend und Frau Baurin,] sich dorthin zu transportiren entschlossen, u. allschon zusam gepackt hatten, entstund eine nicht geringe begierd bey mir, in ihrer Gesellschaft mit überzusegeln, u. daselbst (: nach überflüssig gesehenen u. gekosteten Europaeischen Eitelkeiten :) nebenst Jhnen ein still und Christlich leben zu führen."



RENT RECEIPT OF THE FRANKFURT COMPANY.
Issued by Pastorius to Heyfert Papen.
(From the Original in the Library of Johns Hopkins University.)

TRANSCRIPTION.

Germant'n 5th Novemb. 1606.

Ich endsunterschiedener bekenne von Heyfert Papen empfangen zu haben
2 shill. 7. d. 1. farthing, als den Erbpacht vor seinem Los in Germ't bisz 1ten
Augusti diszlaufenden Jahrs verfallen, im nahmen und als gevollmächtigter der
Ffn. Comp.

Frantz Daniel Pastorius.

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Consent & approbation, and at length Obtained the same, with a Bill of Exchange of 250. rixdollars; Thereupon J sent a large Chest full of Books & other Rarities by me heretofore gathered as a free Gift to my brother Johaⁿes Samuel Pastorius, and after One weeks Visit, wch J gave to Friends at Krisheim, to wit, Peter Shoemaker, Gerhard Henrix, Arnold Cassel, &c., J prepared myself for this the farthermost Journey, that J as yet ever had done or dreamed of. Anno 1683. the 2nd of April J set out from Francfort, came the 5th of ditto to Colleⁿ, where J was kindly received of David van Enden, Danni^el Mitz and Dozen, the then Resident of the King of Den^mark in the sd City, [This Dozen had strong Inclinations for Pennsilvania, & desired me to prevail with his wife, but her Reply was that there they were carried in a Coach from one door to the other, but if they should happen to come hither, she was afraid that she must look after the Cattle, and milk her cows, &c.] and the 11th ditto all along upon the Rein to Oerdingen, from whence J went a foot to Crefelt and there did speak to Den^s Kunders & his Wife, Dirk, Herman & Abraham op den Graeff, &c. who with many others came about Six weeks after me into the aforesd Province. The 16th ditto J arrived at Rotterdam, Lodged with our Friend Marieke Vettekueke; saw here Benjamin Furly, Peter Hendrics, Jacob Tellner, &c. The 4th of May J sailed from Rotterdam accompanied by Tob. Lud. Kohlhans, and the servant, then with me, and came the 8th of ditto to London, taking our Lodging at John Hodgkins in Lombard street. After J had done my business with Hellmont & those J had letters for, J with Jacob Shoemaker (who came with me from Mentz,) George Wertmuller, Jsaac Dilbeek, his wife Marieke & his two boys Abraham & Jacob, Thomas Gasper, Cunrad Backer, (alias Rutter,) and an English Maid, called Frances Simson, went a board of a Ship, which had the name of America, (the Captain whereof was Joseph Wasey,) and being gone the 6th of June from Gravesend,⁸⁷ we arrived the 7th ditto at Deal, and left England the 10th of the sd month of June, and saw the 16th of August this new World, arriving the 18th ditto in the Bay of Delawarre, and the 20th ditto at Philadelphia. Post Francofortum Fessus Desidero Portum. This our sd Passage described more at large, my sons may find in the abovesd Journal or Jtinerary in 8^o as likewise many of my Transactions for & in behalf of Others in a Manuscript in 4^o so that it is altogether needless to repeat it here, &c."^{87a}

⁸⁷ In the *Res Proprie* Pastorius states that he arrived in Gravesend June 3d.

^{87a} Cf. *Beehive*, p. 223.

The most interesting facts about our early German settlers in America and the most difficult to obtain are those relating to domestic and private life. In the case of Pastorius we are fortunate in having a record of many of these personal details in his own manuscript notes and memoranda, where we find the following relating to his life in Germany and his journey to the new world.

"Children to whom I was godfather:

- 1670. 25. July. Johann Caspar Mercklein's little son, to whom the name Frantz Jacob was given.
- 1677. 6. Aug. the saltpeterboiler Michael Schmidt's little son, to whom the name Frantz Daniel was given.
- 1678. 18. May I stood sponsor with Doctor Ludwig Hartmann for Johann Joachim Mercklein's little son, to whom the name Ludwig Frantz was given.

Important Weddings I have attended:

- 1663. 31. July. at my [step] brother Joh. Ludwig Johm's wedding in Ansbach.
- 1675. 20. April, in Beyreut at the wedding of Georg Roth, Secretary of the Court of Fees, in that place, who married Adam Volckmann's eldest daughter, Anna Maria, my last stepmother's sister.
- 6. July, best man at D. Grimm's [wedding] at Segnitz.
- 1679. — at Wolfgang Beyer's [wedding] in Windsheim.
- 12. August, at Joh. Martin Müller's [wedding] in Frankfurt-on-the-Main.
- 1680. 27. January, at [wedding] of M. Rhein and Je. Sultzer.⁸⁸

⁸⁸ Cf. *Res Proprie* for the following original:

Kinder, so ich aus der Tauff gehoben:

- 1670. 25. Jul. Hn. Johan Caspar Merckleins Söhnlein, deme der Nahm Frantz Jacob gegeben wurde.
- 1677. 6. Aug. des Saltpetersieder Michael Schmidt's Söhnlein, deme der Nahm Frantz Daniel gegeben.
- 1678. 18. May hub ich nebenst Hn. Doctor Ludwig Hartmañ Hn. Johan Joachim Merckleins Söhnlein, deme der Nahm Ludwig Frantz gegeben worden.

Principale Hochzeiten, worauff ich gewest:

- 1663. 31. Jul. Zu Onspach auff mein bruder Joh. Ludwig Johms.
- 1675. 20. Apr. Zu Beyreut auff Georg Rothens, Lehen Secretarius, daselbst,

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SUMMER TEA ROOM IN THE "SCHLOSS" OF THE COUNTS OF LIMPURG IN SOMMERHAUSEN.
(Countess Christine is seated at the extreme left next to Schoolmaster. The young
Count and Countesses are seated in the centre and the Governess at the
extreme right. The empty chair was occupied by the present writer,
who photographed the group.)

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In the case of Pastorius we have an accurate account²⁹ of the money which he received during his years of study and upon his departure for Pennsylvania, and the names of the persons who furnished it. He summarizes as follows:

“NB. Von meinem L. Vatter hab ich von Zeit zu Zeit auff Universitäten u. sonst empfang.....	949 rthlr.
und endlich, als pag. seq. noch.....	250
	1199 rthlr.
Auch von meiner stieffmutter Greulichen.....	15
Von verschiedenen Fraunden, da ich nach Strassburg zog	17
Von meiner stieffmutter Volckmännin.....	12
Von Juncker Bodeck, als nach Peñsilv. reiste.....	20
Tot pereunt cum Tempore Numi.....	1263 rthlr.”

In another part of the same manuscript Pastorius gives an inventory of the effects which he brought with him on the journey to Pennsylvania. The list is prefaced by a brief reference to his money in the form of a letter of credit. The original, showing he had £81 in American (English) money of the time, runs as follows:

“Tota domus Codri rhedâ componitur unâ.

Anno 1683. als ich aus Teutschland nach Peñsilvanien ver-
reisete hatte ich an paarem geld m. Martio, 270. reichsthaler nemb-
lich 20. reichsthaler so ich von Juncker Bodeck kriegte, und 250.
reichsthaler die mir mein Vatter mitgab, u. Jacobus von de

welcher sich verheurathet an Adam Volckmañs älteste Tochter Anna
Maria, meiner letzten Stieffmutter Schwester.

— 6. Jul. zu Segnitz auff D. Grimmens Brautführer, welcher Nicolaus
Eichen tochter Magdalen heurathete, die meine Mutter anno 1652. 25.
Sept. aus der Tauff gehoben, u. mein liebe Gespielin war.

1679. . . . zu Windsheim auff Wolfgang Beyerns.

— 12. Aug. zu Franckfurt auff. Joh. Martin Müllers.

1680. 27. Jan. ibid. auff M. Rheinen mit Je. Sultzerin.

²⁹ Cf. *Res Proprie*, p. 14.

Walle, einen Weertbrief von gedm meinem Vatter habende, theils selbst zu Ffranckfurt bezahlte, theils durch Benj: Furly zu Rotterdam, und den rest durch Herman Olmius zu Londen bezahlen liesz.

Macht diese meine wenige Paarschafft in diszländischem geld 81: f.

Ferner nahm ich mit mir an Silberwerck

Ein Sackührgen,^{89a} so ich in Engelland eintauschte gegen deme, welches mir Frau Baurin verehrt hatte.

Meinen gewöhnlichen löfel.

Neun Dutzend glatte Knöpf.

Drey paar Hembder Knöpf.

An Messing &c.

Einen Ring ex Mercurio coagulato.

Mein pettschafft mit silbern plättg F D P.

Ein zusammenfaltende gold wag in kupferner Tos.

Ein tabac Tos. Zwey Circuln.

Ein Soñenweiser. Zwey Schnupftabac büchsgen.

Ein bleyweis-feder. Schueschnallen.

Ein Metallen Glöcklein.

An Zinn und Blech.

Ein Butterbüchs, die mir Doctor Schütz zur reisgedächtniss gab.

Zwey reib-eisgen. 6. Dutzend ziñerne Knöpf.

Ein breit feder-rohr. Futteral zur Tabackpfeif.

Ein dreyeckigte büchs. Hosen sacken.

An Eisen.

Zwey Schlüsselring. Ein Schuesporn. Zwey Vorhang-schlösser.

Stahlerne schueschnallen.

An Messern &c.

Ein taschenmesser mit schiltkroten hefft.

Ein anders mit hirschbeinen hefft.

Ein weisz messer u. gabel. Zwey federmesser.

Drey Scheer-messer. Zwey Scheeren.

^{89a}Now in the possession of John Pastorius Reiff, of Norristown, Pa.

Ich lebe Daniel Pastorius, geboren d. 26. Sept. 1641.
Was, da ich in Philadelphia ankam d. 20. Aug. 1683.
31. Jahr, 11. Monat u. 24. Tag alt.
Welch Zeit ich in Europa zugebracht, wie folgt:

	Jahr	Monat	Wochen
In Vörsing, meinem Geburtsort	6	4	2
In Linsingen	12	6	7
In Hrafsburg	2	4	1
In Wunsingen	—	4	1
In Altsdorf	—	2	2
In Jena	1	—	3
In Regensburg	—	8	1
In Linsingen	—	1	—
In Altsdorf	—	2	—
In Linsingen	—	2	5
In Frankfurt	—	1	2
Bochumer Reis	—	2	4
In Frankfurt	—	—	4
Pennsylvanische Reis	—	—	4

31 = 11 = 4.

Und nun bin ich in America, in der
provinz Pennsylvania, in der Grafschaft
Philadelphia zu Germantown
am 20. Aug. 1683. Bis 26. Juny 1715.
also 31. Jahr, 11. Monat, und 24. Tag.
Was nun am 26. Juny 1715. übergesiehet
bin ich so viel länger in America geblieben!

Mein völliger Alter aber ist an zu messen
am 26. Sept. 1641. Bis zu dem Ende Gott
weiß zum

CALENDAR OF PASTORIUS' LIFE,
 (From "Res Proprie"),

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视觉传达设计

An Bein und Horn.

Ein helfenbein, papier zu falten.
Zwey Zahnbürstg. Ein rothlöfelgen.
Poudre beutel Haupt. Zwey biesem büxgen.
Schreibzeug. Zwey Schnuptabac Tosgen.
Etliche Kām.

An Gläsern.

Ein perspectiv. Zwey Ferngläser.
Ein paar augen gläser. Ein Spiegel.

An andern Dingen.

Ein Flinten rohr, so mir Jacobus van de Walle verehrt.
Ein Scheermess[er]-stein. Ein blau probstein.

An Leinen Zeug.

Zwolff neue, und etliche alte Hembder.
Acht Schlaff- und Drey Paruquen mützgen.
Sechszehn lange Halsbinden.
Zwölff weise- und acht gefärbte nastücher.
Sechs paar weisz leinen strümpf.
Acht paar Socken. Ein lange Handqvell.

An Kleidern.

Zwey gestrickte Schlaffmützen.
Zwey Hauben aus schwarzem Krep.
Ein Haub von braunem Krep.
Zwey graue Hüt.
Ein blauen Mantel.
Ein braun tüchern langen Obberrock.
Zwey lackene röck mit zwey paar Hosen.
Ein tüchern- und Ein ledern Camisol.
Ein weisz zeugen Camisol. Ein ledern Gürtel.
Ein paar lederne Hosen.
Zwey paar lederne strümpf.
Zwey paar gestrickte strümpf.
Ein paar Handschue.
Zwey paar schue. Ein paar Pantofeln.
Ein paar überzihstiefel.

Noch hatte ich eine schwartze reiskist; Span. rohr.
Ein beltzern kistgen.
Ein bleyern Schreibzeug. Einen Schwañ. Ein Kehrbürst.
ledern federrohr. ledern Garn Tos. 2 Riech-büxgen."

CHAPTER IV.

AGENT OF THE GERMAN COMPANY.

The Voyage.

✓ The one absorbing desire of Pastorius in leaving his native land was that he might escape the vanities of the old world, and lead a quiet Christian life in the wilds of America. His disgust for the old life, which he was leaving behind in Europe, is strongly expressed in the farewell letter written to his father and friends from Deal, as he was embarking for the new world. The letter is dated June 7th, 1683, and runs, in English translation, as follows:

✓ "After I had seen enough of the countries and provinces of Europe, and considered the impending *motus belli* and the disquieting changes and disruptions of my native land, I yielded to the special guidance of the Supreme Being to journey to Pennsylvania, cherishing the hope that this my purpose might turn out to the best interests of my dear kinsmen, and to the advancement of God's honor (which is my highest aim), especially as the libertinism and sins of the European world are increasing more and more from day to day in such a manner that the righteous judgments of God cannot long be delayed.¹

In all my doings I had taken this vanity and presumption to heart and considered their final issue with deep reflection, how life and limb, property and goods, ambition and lust, are subject to death and decay. But the soul once lost is lost forever. *Semel perisse aeternum est.*

✓ Accordingly I have entered upon this journey and passage across the great ocean under God's guidance the more cheerfully, in order to escape temporal and eternal ruin, and together with nine persons attached to me, in company with a number of respected families, sailed from Deal, the 7th² of June, 1683, in the hope that

¹ The impression of impending European disaster, so deeply engraved on Pastorius' mind, is not to be regarded as evidence that he entertained Chilistic views of the approaching end of the world, but rather as a prophetic presentiment of the catastrophe which culminated in the French Revolution.

A similar reflection is expressed in a letter written home March 7th, 1684 (cf. Zürich A.).

² This would seem to show that the letter was written immediately after



RATHAUS IN SOMMERHAUSEN IN 1903.

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the Lord, who till this hour has so richly blessed me and commanded his angels to keep watch over me, will so rule my outgoing and incoming that thereby His most Holy Name may be praised in unknown places beyond the sea.

I commit then my father and all the dear ones at home to the protecting hand of the Almighty, and as soon as the Lord shall bring me to Pennsylvania I shall give a more detailed account of all. But should it be his Holy Will to summon me on the way, I am ready with all my heart, and so on this account take leave of my father as befits a son, obediently thanking him again for all the love and fidelity which have been manifested in such superabundance. May God repay it in time and eternity.

I recall having read in my tour the following epitaph:

“Der ich bey frembder Grufft so manche Schrifft gelesen,
Und deren gute Zahl in dieses Buch gebracht,
Weiss nicht wo? wan? und wie? ich selbst den werd verwesen,
Drum gib ich Welt-Lust dir nun tausend gute Nacht.”⁸

Should we not see one another again here below, we shall in Heaven. If, however, we shall fulfil the will of God here on earth, which I desire from the depths of my soul, I remain till death,

My father's faithful and obedient

F. D. P.”⁴

Pastorius sailed from Deal on the 10th of June, 1683, and arrived in Philadelphia August 20th, 1683, six weeks earlier than the main body of the first German colonists, the Crefelders and others, who arrived on the 6th of October, 1683. He had with him nine persons: four males, two maids, two children and a lad.⁵ One of the maids was a Hollander whom he had employed in Deal after his arrival from London. He came over on

Pastorius' arrival in Deal, when he expected the ship to sail at once. As we learn from the Genealogical Sketch (*Beehive*, 223), and other sources he did not sail for America until June 10th, 1683.

⁸ I who on foreign graves have oft inscriptions read,
And many too of these into this book did write,
Know not where, when, nor how I shall myself lie dead;
To thee then, worldly joy, a thousand times good night.

⁴ Cf. *Umständliche geographische Beschreibung Der zu allerletzt erfundenen Provinz Pensylvaniæ*, etc. 1700, pp 45-47: Copia Genommenen Abschieds Francisci Danielis Pastorii / von seinem Vatter und Befreundten. Aus Deal den 7. Junii 1683.

⁵ They were Jacob Schumacher, Georg Wertmüller, Isaac Dilbeck with his wife (Marieke) and two boys (Abraham and Jacob), Thomas Gasper,

the ship *America*, which was commanded by Captain Wasey, and drew thirteen feet of water. There were some eighty other passengers in the company. The journey was attended with much stormy weather and marred by the customary bad fare. A number of mishaps occurred during the voyage. The foremast of the ship was broken by the violence of the storm, the two carved lions of the ship's bell⁶ fell upon Pastorius, nearly breaking his back. On another occasion he fell during a severe storm and was confined to his bed for some days in consequence. He remarks in his waggish humor that these two falls reminded him emphatically of the first fall of our first parents, which was visited upon their posterity. Accidents befell some of those also, who were with him. Georg Wertmüller had a serious fall, Thomas Gasper had a severe eruption on his body, and the English maid had an attack of erysipelas. Pastorius states that he had a small ship's hospital on board, although he alone of all the Germans had his quarters among the English passengers.⁷ One of the sailors went crazy, and the ship was shaken by repeated attacks of a whale.

The hardships of the voyage were increased by the poor and scanty fare which forced them to live "medicè accommodicè." The allowance for ten persons was three pounds of butter a week, four measures of beer a day, two measures of water a day, two dishes of peas at midday, meat at midday four times a week, and fish for the midday meal three times a week. This they had to prepare with their own allowance of butter and save enough from the midday meal for supper. The worst of all was that the meat and fish were so salt and stale that they could

Conrad Backer (alias Rutter) and Frances Simson, an English maid. (Cf. *Beehive*, p. 223, and this work, p. 111.)

⁶The original passage is: "Zwey ausgehauene Löben der Schiffglocke," which evidently refers to the ornamental frame work of the *ship's bell*. (Cf. the poem to Thomas Lloyd's daughter.)

⁷Pastorius took quarters among the English passengers evidently in the hope of better service and associations, as he was travelling as a gentleman, or, at least, as a man of some consequence in his capacity as agent of the German Society.



SOMERHAUSEN IN 1903.
(Old Fountain and Woman with a Watertank.
Schoolmaster Gutmann and his son on the right.)

Visual Studio 2010

scarcely eat it. Pastorius himself had taken the precaution, upon the advice of a friend in England, to lay in some supplies before sailing, and in his account advises others either to procure their own provisions or to have a binding contract both as to quantity and quality of the food to be served on the voyage. He advises further that voyagers should, if possible, take passage on ships sailing directly to Philadelphia, as those landing in Upland are subjected to many annoyances.⁸

It was a very mixed company of passengers who came over on the *America* with Pastorius: A Doctor of Medicine⁹ with his wife and eight children, a French captain, a Low German pastry cook, an apothecary, a glassblower, a blacksmith, a cabinet-maker, a cooper, a hatter, a shoemaker, a tailor, a gardener, yeomen, seamstresses, etc., some eighty persons in all besides the crew. The oldest woman was sixty years of age, and the youngest child twelve weeks old. Pastorius states that there were with him Roman Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists, Anabaptists, Episcopalians, and only one Quaker. He not unfittingly remarks that the ship might be likened to Noah's Ark.

On the 11th of August they cast anchor for the first time, and, finding that they were near the Great Sand Bank, they sailed a hundred miles out of their course to safe waters. On the 16th, to their great delight, they sighted America, reached the Delaware Bay on the 18th, passed New Castle, Upland and Tinicum Island on the 20th, arriving on the evening of the same day at Philadelphia, after a voyage of ten weeks.

⁸ Amandus Johnson, Harrison Fellow in Germanics at the University of Pennsylvania, has suggested that Pastorius may still have remembered the Swedes unfavorably, because his grandfather Martinus Pastorius, had met death at the hands of the Swedes during the occupation of Erfurt in the Thirty Years' War.

⁹ Probably Thomas Lloyd, President of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania. It appears that Lloyd and his first wife (Mary Jones, of Welchpool) had at the time of sailing for America nine children instead of eight, as stated by Pastorius. This may be explained by the fact that the youngest child, Deborah, was an infant. (Cf. Charles P. Keith, *The Provincial Councillors of Pennsylvania*, pp. 16-17.)

The German Company or German Society.

The group of German purchasers of land in Pennsylvania, for whom Pastorius was agent, was in the beginning rather an aggregation of individuals than an organized land company. It must be noted that Pastorius, in his earlier reports, speaks of his constituents as the German Company, or High German Company or Society ("Hoch-teutsche Compagnia," "Hoch-Teutsche Societät," "Teutsche Compagnia," "Teutsche Societät," "Teutsche Compagnia oder Societät"). The German Company or Society seems to have consisted of a group of sympathetic friends or acquaintances in Frankfurt-on-the-Main, Duisburg, Wesel and other places, who had come into contact with William Penn and the Quakers in the preceding years, and had purchased lands in Pennsylvania with the purpose of settling there, or at least of sending representatives to take up lands for them. Pastorius mentions the following as the most interested participants in this company in its beginning: Jacob von de Walle,¹⁰ Dr. Johann Jacob Schütz, Daniel Behagel, merchant, all three at Frankfurt-on-the-Main; Dr. Gerhard von Mastricht at Duisburg, Dr. Thomas von Wolich¹¹ and Johann Lebrunn¹¹ at Wesel, Benjamin Furlly at Rotterdam, Philipp Fort at London. These men also forwarded letters and wares for emigrants and furnished desired information and advice to those wishing to emigrate to Pennsylvania.¹²

The actual purchasers in the German Company or Society who first transferred the official management of their interests to Pastorius April 2d, 1683, may be seen in the following power of attorney in English translation in Pastorius' own hand:

¹⁰ Pastorius gives the High German form "von" here instead of the usual and correct form "van," the name being Jacob van de Walle. The form "Wallen" instead of "Walle," which is sometimes found in German and transferred into English, is really the oblique case of "Walle," as proper names were then inflected.

¹¹ Also written "Wylich," "Wilich" (or "Willich") and "Le Brunn."

¹² Cf. *Umständliche geographische Beschreibung*, p. 35. For an account of the several individuals of the Company cf. S. W. Pennypacker's *Germanstown*.



CLOCK TOWER AND GATE, SOMMERHAUSEN.
(1903)

... 321 00000000

"At all times & in all things the Lord be praised!

Whenas Francis Daniel Pastorius U. J. Licent^{us}, a German of Winsheim in Franckenland did signify his Inclination to travel towards Pennsilvania, viz. that Province in America, which heretofore was called New Netherland, Jacob van de Wallen of Francfort Mercht. for himself & as Attorney of John William Petersen of Lubeck, and of his wife Johanna Eleonora van Mörlaw, as also John Jacob Schutz of Francfort U. J. Licent^{us} and Daniel Behagel & Caspar Merian of Francfort Merchants have trusted & Comitted unto him the Care & Administration of all their Estate, lands & Rights which they lawfully obtained there of William Penn Govern^r in that part; So that the said Pastorius in the Name of the Constituents shall receive & Conserve in the best form of Law the things themselves, the Possession thereof and other Rights; Order the Tillage of the ground & what belongs to husbandry there according to his best diligence, hire Labourers, grant part of the land to others, take the yearly Revenues or Rents; and shall & may do all what the Owners may do in Administration (: nevertheless all sorts of Alienation & Mortgaging excepted). To this end a certain Sum of Money has been delivered to his trusty hands: Of all which he shall & will yearly give an account to the Constituents or their heirs; but the Constituents will not be obliged to any man by all his doings & Contracts: What will be reasonable will be assigned unto him out of the expected Incomes or Rents in Pensilvania. This being thus done hath been subscribed by the Parties own hands, Confirmed by publick authority and Committed to divine blessing, Jn Francfort on Mayn a free City of the German Empire in the year of Christ according to vulgar account 1683. the 2d day of the 2d month comonly called April.

(Seal) Jacobus vande Walle for
myself & as Attorney of
John Wm. Petersen and
his wife Johanna Eleo-
nora van Merlaw.

(Seal) John Jacob Schutz
(Seal) Caspar Merian.

(Seal) Daniel Behagel.

(Seal) Francis Daniel Pastorius.

(Seal) That the aforesd Parties did agree to all the above Contents,
and Jn my presence Sign, Seal and Acknowledge the same,
I do hereby witness the Date as above mentioned,

Christian Fenda Imperial Approved & Jmatriculated
Publick Notary here.

Manu & Sigillo."

Endorsed on the back in Pastorius' hand as follows:

"A Translation of Francis Daniel Pastorius his Letter of Attorney."

The Crefeld Purchasers.

Another company of German purchasers (not members of this German Company or Society, the so-called Frankfurters, in its first inception, as it seems) had already purchased land in Pennsylvania and were planning to make a settlement there. They were the so-called Crefeld Purchasers, some of whom had bought land in Penn's Province as early as March, 1682. The active spirit among these Crefelders was Jacob Telner, who had visited Pennsylvania in the years 1678-1681, and after his return to Europe had induced or agreed with his friends to buy extensive tracts of land in Penn's Province. Two groups of these Crefeld Purchasers appear in the Land Records. The first group included Jacob Telner¹³ of Crefeld, dealing as merchant in Amsterdam; Jan Strepers¹⁴ of Kaldenkirchen, and Dirck Sipman¹⁵ of Crefeld,

¹³ "This Indenture made the Second day of the fourth month called June in the four and thirtieth year of the reign of King Charles the Second over England &c. Año Dñi one thousand six hundred eighty & three Between William Penn of Worminghurst in the county of Sussex Esq of the [first] part & Jacob Telner of Amsterdam in the Province of Holland Mrcht of the other pt. Whereas the said William Penn by his Indentures of Lease & Release bearing date the ninth & tenth day of the month called March for the Consideration therein mentioned did alien grant bargain sell release & confirm unto the said Iacob Telner his Heirs & Assigns forever the full & just proportion & quantity of five thousand acres of land every acre to be admeasured & computed according to the dimensions of acres mentioned & appointed &c." (*Exemplification Records*, VIII, 655).

The name is also written "Tellner" in the records.

The year 1683 should be 1682, as the first year of the reign of Charles II. was 1649. The most cogent argument against 1683 is the fact that William Penn was then in Pennsylvania. (Cf. S. W. Pennypacker, *The Settlement of Germantown*, pp. 54-55.) Pastorius gives the year 1682. (Cf. *Grund- und Lager-Buch*.)

¹⁴ The name is written also "Streepers," "Streipers" and "Streyppers." The following passage from the indenture deed gives the essential data:

"Whereas by my Indentures of Lease & Release bearing date the ninth and tenth days of the month called March in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred eighty two for the considerations therein mentioned I granted unto John Streipers of Kaldenkirchen in the county of Iuliers in the borders of Germany Merchant five thousand acres of land to be taken up in the sd Province &c." (Cf. also *Exemplification Rec.*, VIII, 674f.)

¹⁵ Cf. the following passage:

"William Penn true and absolute Proprietary and Governor in Chief of

each of whom purchased of William Penn, on March 9th and 10th, 1682, 5000 acres of land in Pennsylvania. These purchasers were evidently the first fruits of Telner's prospecting tour in Pennsylvania, and the contracts were executed while Penn was still in England. The second group of Crefeld Purchasers consisted of Govert Remckins¹⁶ of Crefeld, Jacob Isaacs van Bebber,¹⁷ and Lenert Arets¹⁸, each of whom purchased 1,000 acres of Pennsylvania land in June, 1682. The indenture of sale to Remckins and van Bebber is dated June 10th and 11th, 1683, and that to Arets is given in one case as June 11th, 1683. The purchases of the first group of Crefelders were made before Pastorius had returned to Frankfurt from his tour with Bodeck; the purchases of the second group were made on the day and day after Pastorius embarked from Gravesend for America, but before the Crefelders sailed for Pennsylvania.

the province of Pennsylvania and territories thereunto belonging to all to whom these presents shall come sendeth Greeting. Whereas by my Indentures of lease and release dated the ninth and tenth days of March Anno sixteen hundred eighty two in consideration of one hundred pounds sterling money I granted five thousand acres of land to Dirick Sipman of Crevett in the county of Meurs on the borders of Germany &c." (*Exempl. Record*, I, 462.)

¹⁶ The name is written by Pastorius in the *Grund- und Lager-Buch* as "Remckins," which is doubtless the correct form, although the form "Remke" also occurs, and the *Exempl. Records* have "Ranckes." Cp. this: " * * And whereas by my like Indentures of lease and release bearing date the tenth and eleventh days of June in the year one thousand six hundred and eighty three in consideration of twenty pounds J granted one thousand acres of land to be laid out in the said Province to Covert Banckes [Ranckes] of Crevelt aforesaid &c." (*Exempl. Rec.* I, p. 470.)

¹⁷ For the Van Bebbers cf. S. W. Pennypacker in the *Pennsylvania Magazine* for January, 1907. The following entry is found in the Land Records:

" * * Whereas by like Indentures of lease and release bearing even date with the last above recited indentures of lease and release [9th and 10th of March 1682, Indentures to Dirick Sipman] in consideration of twenty pounds I granted one thousand acres of land to Jacob Isaacs Vanbebbber &c." (*Exempl. Rec.* I, p. 473.)

¹⁸ Cf. " * * Whereas by my Indentures of Lease & Release bearing date the tenth & eleventh days of June in the year one thousand six hundred eighty three for the Considerations therein Mentioned I granted to Leonart Arretts then of Crevelt in the County of Meurs in the borders of Germany Linen Weaver (but now of Germantown in the sd Province) the quantity of one thousand acres of land to be laid out in the sd Province" &c. (*Exempl. Rec.* I, p. 708.)

Taking up Land and Founding the German Town

The beginnings of the German settlement are best gathered from the Land Records and the Reports which Pastorius sent to his friends and constituents in Germany. A number of these letters, reports, etc., are still extant, entire or in part, many of them having been later incorporated or abstracted in the *Umständliche Beschreibung* of 1700. These sources arranged in chronological order are:

1.—A letter from Pastorius to his father and stepmother, dated March 7th, 1684, now found in the City Library of Zürich, Switzerland. It will be cited in the following pages as "Zürich-A."

2.—An Accurate Report from America, dated March 7th, 1684, sent by Pastorius to his friends in Germany, a printed copy of which is found in the City Library of Zürich. It will be quoted here as "Zürich B." This report was incorporated in substance later in the *Beschreibung*, p. 41 ff. (See photographic reproduction.) Cf. J. F. Sachse, *Letters relating to the Settlement of Germantown, &c.*, pp. 3-7.

3.—Pastorius' report to the German Society, dated the end of November, 1684. This is found in the *Beschreibung*, p. 16 ff.

4.—Pastorius' report of January 7th, 1684, found in the *Beschreibung*, p. 39.

5.—Pastorius' letter to Dr. Schütz, dated May 30th, 1685 (*Beschreibung*, p. 47). Also the replies of Dr. Schütz, Jacob van de Walle and Behagel, Jan. 20/30, 1686.

6.—Pastorius' letter to his father, dated October 10th, 1691 (*Beschreibung*, p. 49 ff).

7.—Pastorius' letter to his father, dated June 1st, 1693 (*Beschreibung*, p. 54 ff).

8.—Pastorius' letter to his father, dated March 30th, 1694 (*Beschreibung*, p. 64 ff).

sub dato Philadelphia, den 7. Martii 1684.

Liebwerthester Herr Vater und Frau Mutter!

Eschreibe ich also: von vor mehr als einem Viertel Jahr meine Gott lob! gesegnete Ankerofen in schuldtge-
Obliegenheit berichtet; und anbei befehlet gemacht; daß von alldiesigem Landesherrn William Penn mit sehr
abgesondert Freundschaft empfangen worden; Es solt antwoztlich zu notifiziren nicht umbhin; daß
istgedachter rühmliche Regent seine zu mir tragende Gutmeyheit täglich mehr und mehr im Werk verspü-
ren lässet; mit auch dreyseitige Landschaft von Zeit zu Zeit besser gefällt; daß ich daher ditzmal wünsche / euch nebenst
meinen lieben Geschwistern bey mir zu haben; wol wissend; daß weder euch noch sie sothaner Werel geruen würde. Dann
ob ich zwar dem L. eide nach eurer Anwesenheit beraubt seyn muß; bin ich jednoch in kindlicher Liebe Euch allzeit ge-
genwärtig; und sehe die trübseelige Jörn- und schwere Straff-Verichte / welche nach dem unbluttreiblichen lauff göt-
licher Gerechtigkeit über Europa ditz zur gänzlichlichen Verderbung dieses abscheulichen Vabpiens / aufgegoßen werden.
Wolt ihr nun / liebwertheste Eltern / diesen über Teuschland bestimmten Plagen entfliehen / so machet Euch nicht / heil-
dastig ihrer Sünden / sondern N.B. gehet davon aus!

Ich sage nicht von einem leiblichen Aufgang; welcher alleinlich wenig nugen würde; sondern von dem geistlichen / so
darinn bestehet / daß ihr euch solchen jenseits die Oberhand habenden Vablonischen Eitelkeiten und verwirrten Men-
schen-Gezungen nicht unterwerffen; auch keinen andern Lehrmeister erkennen wollet / als Jesum Christum den Sohn
des allmächtigen Gottes; welcher denselben zu uns gesandt; daß Er uns sey der Weg; die Wahrheit; und das ewige Leben.
Gehet ihr nun solcher Gestalt auß; so mögt ihr wol in euren Vatterland (wosern ihr keinen innerlichen von Gott
herrührenden Antrieh; daselbst zu verlassen; den Euch empfindet) verbleiben; eben als loth zu Sodoma wohnet; und sich
von der alldar im Schwang gehenden Hoffart; Zöllerey und Heilheit unbestect erhalte.

Weil ich aber auß trüfflichen Ursachen besahre; daß der Feuer- und Schwefel-Regen göttlichen Zorns in kurzem über
das teutsche Gomerland abfallen werde; ist mein herzlich Wunsch; daß ihr solchen auch dem äussern Menschen nach ent-
gehen möget. Prüffet so wol hierinn; als in allen andern Sächten den guten Willen Gottes; umb denselben zu vertrin-
gen; denn / wer solchen thut; wird nicht umkommen; mit der Rott der Gottlosen / sondern hat die Verheissung / daß er
leben werde in Ewigkeit.

Hiesige Provintz betreffend; haben wir gesunde reine Luft; anmuthige Brunnquellen; Fisch- und Schiffeiche Ström-
fruchtbarer Grund; noch in er erstlich von starcken und verroffenen Armen handhietet wird; allerhand jähme und weisse
Thiere. Die Hauptstadt Philadelphia; merinnen ich mich noch zur Zeit mit meinen Knechten und Mägden bey erwünscht-
ten Wohlstand aufhalte; nimt täglich an Gebäu und Einwohnern stark zu; wie auch hier und da im Land andere Städte
sich zu erheben. Den 24. Decbr. legte ich eine an / und biemeil sie von Teuschland bewege / Germantown genennet
wird; liegt nur 2. Stund von hier / und begreift 6000. Morgen Feldes; leben allbereits 12. Familien (bey 41. Perso-
nen) sehr vergnüglich daselbst; wievil ditz Jahr die Lebensmittel wegen der grossen Menge des von vielen Orten anher
gekommnen Volcks ziemlich kostbar; und wir durch göttlichen Segen das nechste einen mehrern Ueberfluß verhoffen.

Neben nuerwähnten Germantown hat W. Penn uns noch einen Strich Landes von 12000. allignirt / welches
Er New-Brandenland denahmet; worinn; so der Herr will; in kurzem noch etliche Städte anzuordnen verhofft.

Über ditz; so eine grössere Anzahl Teuschler (woran ich nicht zweifle) anher kommen; thien wir noch wohl 10000.
Aders dabey; und also ein klein Teuschland; auch eigene Freyheiten kriegen; und unter unserm Recht und Gerechtigkeit
lebenden Gouverneur ein friedsam und stilles Leben führen; in aller gottseligen Erbarkeit. Amen!

Betrachtet nun; liebwertheste Eltern; ob ich auß diese Weiss V.D. und meinem Neben-Menschen nicht weiter; priest-
liche Dienste leisten möge; als da ich bey euch wie andere rabulze forenles und Verwillenlos-Beurtheilende Schant Vo-
ren Haben zwischen Brüdern via Juris anrichten dürfte?

Minstens finde ich bey meinem nunmaligen Veruff einen anädigeren V.D. und unbedachte Conscience; welche 2.
Säch ich allen Schätzen Egypti unvergleichlich weit vorziehe. Der N. und seine Frau wären diesem Land / und ditz
Land ihnen biemitwider sehr nützlich; stönten in wenig Jahren durch redliche Arbeit ihrer Hände einen so reichen Segen vom
Gott gemarten; woran sie in eurem Ort nicht gedenden dürften: Allein; niemand muß ehender lauffen; er werde dann vom
Herrn gegogen; im Gegensatz aber auch diesem Vöthlichen Zug nicht ungehorsam seyn; worvon viel zu sagen wäre; wenn
unsere Herzen nicht noch allzuflüchlich. Ich schreibe derowegen / und wechß warhafter Contestation, daß meine
Seele voll Lieb / Ehretdienung und Dienstwilligkeit gegen euch und meine liebe Geschwistern; die ich hiermit grundberlich
grüß und küßel und Sie versichere; daß ich ihnen; halbem die geführliche und beschwerliche Reiss gern noch einmal thun
wolt; und / so es Gottes heiliger Wolgefallen wäre / selbige andero zu holen. Verbleibe ich unter der allmächtigen
Schutzhand unsers Immanuel.

P. S.
Ich habe vergessen ein paar Wort von den so genannten Indianern oder
Buden zu gedenden: Es sind gütberzigere redliche Leut / die ditzmal ein
am grossen Verichre-Zag mit denen von Tyro und Sidon aufstretten wer-
den; die falsche Maul-Christen zu beschämen. Zween von ihren Königen und
Königinnen haben mich etliche mal besucht; auch kommen thret zum dfftern
mal in mein Haus; denen ich nach Möglichkeit alle Lieb erweise. Der
Herr erweiche Sie; und uns alle. Amen.

Den Herrn Vatters und Frau Mutter
auch in America treugchorsamer Sohn.
N. N.

321 0807470

9.—Pastorius' letter to his father, dated January 21st, 1694 (*Beschreibung*, p. 70 f).

10.—Pastorius' letter to his father, dated the last of April, 1695 (*Beschreibung*, p. 68 f).

11.—Pastorius' letter to his father, dated March 1st, 1697, enclosing also a letter from Pastorius' two sons, John Samuel and Henry (*Beschreibung*, p. 71 ff).

12.—Pastorius' letter to his father, dated May 13, 1697 (*Beschreibung*, p. 75 ff).

13.—Contents of a letter of Pastorius' to Rector Georg Leonhard Modelius (*Beschreibung*, p. 77 ff).

14.—Pastorius' letter to his father, dated May 30th, 1698 (*Beschreibung*, p. 81 ff).

15.—Letter of Melchior Adam Pastorius to William Penn, January 20th, 1698 (*Beschreibung*, p. 94).

16.—Penn's answer to M. A. Pastorius' letter, April 25th, 1699 (*Beschreibung*, p. 96).

17.—Pastorius' letter to his father, dated March 4th, 1699, enclosing, as it appears, the second letter of Pastorius' sons to their grandfather (*Beschreibung*, p. 98 ff).

18.—Melchior Adam Pastorius' answer to the letter of his grandsons (*Beschreibung*, p. 103 ff).

In addition to these we have other invaluable sources of information such as:

1.—Old Land Record of Germantown (*Grund- und Lager-Buch*).

2.—Pastorius Manuscripts (a collection of seventeen separate manuscripts relating to the lands of the Frankfurt Company, found in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

3.—Original letter of attorney to Falkner, Kelpius and Jawert (in the possession of former Governor S. W. Pennypacker).

4.—Land documents in the office of Recorder of Deeds, Philadelphia, and in the Department of Internal Affairs, Harrisburg.

5.—The Court Record of Germantown (*Raths-Buch*) in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

It is possible from this score of letters and reports to construct a fairly full account of the part taken by Pastorius in the founding and early growth of Germantown.

As has already been seen from the Genealogical Sketch, the German Company or German Society had purchased 15,000 acres of land in Pennsylvania. This purchase was made through Benjamin Furly, Penn's plenipotentiary agent in Rotterdam, before Pastorius sailed for America. Furly was also plenipotentiary agent at Rotterdam for the German Society, as appears in a contract dated June 8th, 1683, after Pastorius' departure from Holland for London.¹⁹ These contracts ("verfertigte Documenta u. Contracten") which Furly had made out in Rotterdam, Pastorius took along with him to have them confirmed in England. Inasmuch, however, as Penn had already sailed for America, August 3, 1682, and the books in London had been closed, Pastorius could not finally settle the details of the agreement until he met Penn in Philadelphia.²⁰

Accordingly, without unnecessary delay, on the 21st of August, 1683, the day after arriving in Philadelphia, Pastorius called on Penn and was heartily received both by the Proprietary and

¹⁹ Cf. the following passage in the deed of John Luken and his wife Mary to Eve Bellongé, 8th 3d mo. (May) 1697:

"Fifty acres * * * granted by Benjamin Furly Agent & Attorney of the Franckfort Company at Rotterdam to John Luken * * * which sd deed beareth date the 8th day of the month called June Anno 1683."

²⁰ Furly had inquired of Claypoole about this matter and received the reply that the location of the land lay in the power of Penn alone (cf. Claypoole's letter of January 24, 1682-3, *Claypoole's Letter Book* in Hist. Soc. of Pa.)

his Secretary, Johann Lehenmann.²¹ Pastorius states that he entered into the most intimate friendship with Lehenmann. When the location of the land purchased by the members of the German Society, came up for discussion, Penn was disinclined to confirm the original agreement, which called for the following:

1.—15,000 acres of land together in one tract on a navigable stream.

2.—300 acres in the City Liberties,²² between the Delaware and the Schuylkill.

3.—3 lots in the city of Philadelphia for the erection of houses.

In reply to Pastorius' request for warrants, surveys, etc., Penn answered the three points in substance as follows:

1.—That the lots in the city and the 300 acres in the Liberties could not be justly assigned to the Society, because they were not purchased till after he had left England and the books in London had been closed. Pastorius, however standing on his rights, urged that these Germans were the forerunners of all German colonists, and therefore due more consideration. Penn finally yielded, and issued a warrant for the survey of three lots from the share of William Penn, Jr., son of the proprietor, in the beginning of the city. The first and second lots assigned were 100 feet wide and 400 feet deep. The third lot was the largest of all. There was room on each lot for two houses in front and two in the rear. These lots may be seen on the diagram of lots which Pastorius sent with his report. The condition of tenure of these lots was that at least one house be built on each lot within two years.

On the first lot Pastorius and his hired man built a house

²¹ The name occurs in the *Colonial Records* as Philip Theodore Lehnman and Ph. Thleman. Pastorius evidently has confused the name of Philip Theodor Lehnmann with that of his father, Johann Georg Lehnmann, farmer-general of Saxony.

²² Called also "Liberty Lands" or simply "The Liberties."

"half under and half above ground," 15 feet wide and 30 feet long. As glass was scarce, the windows were made of paper saturated with oil. The cellar of the house was 7 feet deep, 12 feet wide and 20 feet long. Over the door of the house Pastorius placed the following inscription:

"Parva domus, sed amica bonis, procul este profphani."²⁸

Pastorius boasted that this house, though small, had furnished shelter for twenty of the Crefelders during their sojourn in Philadelphia while houses were being built for them in Germantown.

2.—Penn objected to assigning to the Germans the 300 acres in the City Liberties because land there was offered only to purchasers who bought tracts of 5,000 acres before he left England, and the German Society was not among these. But Pastorius was again persistent, and presented a second "memorial" to Penn, urging the rights of the Germans. Whereupon Penn, because of his special fondness for the Germans, consented to grant them the 300 acres in one tract, but declared he would extend this favor to no one else who bought land in the Liberties after the closing of the books in London, no matter who he might be! This land Pastorius began to till by planting Indian corn upon it.

3.—The assignment of the 15,000 (or remaining) acres in one large tract likewise encountered objections on the part of Penn. Pastorius mentions two chief obstacles: First, that Penn did not wish to assign so much land in one tract, while a large amount of land was still vacant; and, second, he objected to assigning the land on the Delaware, where all was taken up. This refusal nulli-

²⁸ It may be freely rendered as follows:

"Small is my house, but open to good men and closed to the evil."

The motto is found in the *Beehive* among the extracts from the *Itinerary*. The form given here is from the *Beschreibung*, p. 23. The motto is modeled upon the following verse in Vergil's *Aeneid*, VI. 258:

"Procul, o procul este profani,"
conclamat vates, "totoque absistite luco;"

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**Sichere Nachricht auß America, wegen der Landschafft
Pennsylvania / von einem dorthin gereisten Teutschen/
dedato Philadelphia, den 7. Martii 164.**

Mein schuldigen Obliegenheit so wol als auch meinem Abschiedlichen Versprechen ein Gemüß zu leisten / sol ich etwas umständlicher advisiren, wie und was ich hiesiger Landen gesehen und angemercket habe / und weilen mir nicht unweise / daß durch ungleiche Relation ihrer viel hinter das Licht gerühret wurden / verleihere ich zum voraus, daß ich mit obwarthender Feder ohne verächtlichen Zusatz / beides die Ungemächlichkeiten der Reis und den Mangel hiesiger Proviant / als den von andern fast gar zu sehr gelobten Überfluß desselben getreulich anführen wolle: Dann ich verlange an mein einwenigen Dreie nicht mehr / als zu wandeln in den Fußstapfen des jenigen / welcher ist der Weg / und zu folgen seinen heilsamen Lehren / weil Er die Wahrheit ist / auß daß ich unaussprechlich mit Ihm den ewigen Leben vereiniget bleibe.

1. Ich will also den Anfang machen von der Seefahrt / welche sicherlich so wol wegen der zu beschreiben habenden Schiffbrüche gefährlich / als auch wegen der schlechten und harten Schiffskost sehr beschwerlich ist / daß ich auß eigener Erfahrung nunmehr ich verleihe was David im 107. Psalm sagt / daß man auß dem Meer nicht nur die Wunderwerk des Herrn / sondern auch den Geist des Ungezwitters verspüren und wahrnehmen könne. Dann meine Anberoreis belagend / bin ich mit 4. Knechten / 2. Magden / 2. Kindern und 1. Jungen den 10. Jun. von Deal abgesegelt / hatten den ganzen Weg über meisteis windigen und nicht 12. Stund aneinander favorablen Wind / viel Sturm und Donnerwetter / auch zerbrach der vordere Mast zu zweien malen / so daß wir erst binnen 10. Wochen allhier arrivirte / jedoch so sind, si so bene. Wassen es selten geschiehet / daß einige viel zeitlicher anhero kommen. Die Creutter / welche den 6. Octobr. allhier anlangt / waren ebenfalls 10. Wochen auß der See / und das Schiff das mit dem unsern von Deal außgefahren / war 14. Tag länger unterwegs / auch starben einige Menschen darauf. Gedachte Creutter haben auch zwischen Rotterdam und Engelland eine erwachsene Tochter verloren / welcher Verlust jedoch zwischen Engelland und Pennsylvania mit der Geburt zweier Kinder ersetzt worden. Auß unserm Schiff hingegen ist niemand Todes verfahren / auch niemand gebohren. Fast alle Passagiers waren etliche Tag lang Seekrank / ich aber nicht über 4. Stund / bereit gegen was ich andern Accidentien unterworfen / da mir nemlich die zwei ansichthene Läden über unserer Schiffslotz hier den Rücken eingeschlagen / und ich den 9. Jul. den nächstlichen Sturm so unheimlich auß die linke Seiten gefallen / daß ich einige Tag über des Beres hüten mußte. Diese beede Allermühen mich nachdrücklich des ersten auß alle ihre posteritäre durchzerrungenen Falls unserer Mäster / weihen sie im Paradies / auch vieler der jenigen / die ich in die ein Jammerthal meines exili begangen. Per varios casus, &c. allein verzeihe ich die Vatterhand göttlicher Barmherzigkeit / welche uns so dickmals wieder aufrichtet / und zurück hält / damit wir nicht dinstlich verfallen / in den Abgrund des Argen. Obz. Mercantiler sei alseichmäßig überaus hart / Thomas Sawyer / schlug am Leib sehr auß / die Engellische Wacht hatte das Rothlauf / und Isaac Dillred. der sonst dem äußerlichen Ansehen nach der stärckste Mann am Langen harnoch. Hatte ich also einen kleinen Schiff. Dolphin / wiewol ich allein von den Teutschen meine Läger harr unter den Englischen genommen. Daß ein Boosgeißel unheimlich und unser Schiff durch widerpoires aufschlagen eines Wälffisches zum Zittern bewegt worden / hab ich in meinem

PHOTOGRAPHIC REPRODUCTION OF F. D. PASTORIUS' "SICHERE NACHRICHT"
(Original in the City Library of Zurich.)

sehtern aufstreblich geschicket. Das Tractament auffm Schiff war gar schlecht / lebten medice ac nō dieo. Je 10 Personen eßten wöchentlich 3. Pfund Butter / täglich 4. Ka. men Bier / und 2. Kannen Wasser / alle Mittag 2. Schüssel voll Erbsen / 4. Mittag in der Woche Fleisch / und 1. Mittag Fisch / die übrige 6. tunkte eigenen Butter zuzubereiten / auch außer Mittag so viel aufzutreiben / daß wir unser Nachreisen davon haben konnten. Das schmeckte von allen was das heere das Fleisch und Fisch dergestalt gefallen und freudig gewesen / daß wirs kaum halb mochten aessen. Und hätte ich mich nicht auf befragen unter Freund / in England / mit unterschiedlichen Persönl. was Mitteln verlorat / deresse es vermuthlich viel ab claffen seyn. In der wegen von allen die hinfür anhero zu reisen gewillt / wol zu beobachten / daß sie entreehet / wo ihr viel sind / ihre eigene Kost thun / oder so wol der Quantität als Qualität nach mit dem Schiffer Punkt. bedingen / wieviel und welches sie täglich bekommen sollen / und des selben desto genauer darzu zu verbinden / muß man was wenig von der Frucht aubier zu bejahren / ansetzen lassen / auch wo möglich sich an ein solch Schiff auffdingen / das bis in diese Stadt Pollat eysiam abfährt / da man nicht den andern die in Upland ugen bleiben / noch mancherhand Molestien unterworfen ist.

Meine Gesellschaft bestand aus vielerley Sort Leuten / da war ein D. Medicus mit seinem Weib und 8. Kindern / ein Franzos. Capitän / ein Niederdeutsch. Ruchdenbeder / ein Apotheker / Glasblaser / Maurer / Schmidt / Wagner / Schreiner / Kürzer / Putzmacher / Schuster / Schneider / Gärtner / Bauern / Rädermacher. in allem etlich und 80. Personen / außer dem Schiffvolck. Solche nun sind nicht nur ihrem Alter (massen unsere älteste Frau 60. Jahr / das jüngste Kind aber nur 12. Wochen alt waren) und numerischen Handbierung nach unterschieden / sondern auch so differenten Religionen und Bändeln / daß ich die Schiff / welche sie anhero tragen / nicht unkluglich mit der Irchen No. vergleichen konnte / wosern nicht mehr unreine / als reine / verunflügte / Thier darinnen befindlich. Unter meinem Geinde habe ich / die es mit der Römischen / mit der Lutherischen / mit der Calvinischen / mit der Widerlutherischen / und mit der Englischen Kirche halten / und nur einen Quäcker. Den 11. Aug. wurffen wir das erste mal das Lot auß / und wurden gewahr / daß wir die bey der großen Sandbank / und also zuruck solche umfegeln / gestaltlich mehr dann 100. Meilen außer unsern Cours laufen mußten.

Den 16. tiro bekamen wir Americam mit Freuden ins Gesicht / und gelangten den 18. Morgens in den Delaware bay / welcher 10. Engl. Meilen lang / und 15. breit / ander von so ungleicher Tiefe ist / daß wir ein unser Schiff 15. Fuß unterm Wasser gieng / wir etlichmal auffm Sand sitzen blieben.

Den 20. fuhren wir New Castle / Upland / und Duncum vorbei / und arrivierten mit einbrechenden Abend / Gott lob / glücklich zu Philadelpha / da ich des folgenden Tags die mit abende Schreiben an W. Penn überlieferte / und von ihm mit liebevoller Freundlichkeit empfangen wurde / von diesem sehr werthen Mann / und ruhmwirdigen Regenten / solte ich baldig

11. Ein und anders überschreiben / allein / meine Feder / (wiewol sie von einem Adler / welcher nemlich ein so genannter Wüder in mein Haus gebracht) ist viel zu schwach / die hohe Tugent dieses Christen / dann welches ist Er in der That zu erproben. Er läßt mich zum offtern an seine Tasse bitten / auch in seiner jederseit erbaulichen Gesellschaft aufzuwandeln und reizen / und da ich lechden 8. Tag von hier / umb Vicualien von New Castle zu holen / aussen war / und Er mich solche Zeit über nicht gesehen / kam Er selbst in mein Häußgen / und beehrte / ich solle doch wochentlich ein paar mal bey ihm zu Gast kommen. Er hat die herzlich lieb / und sagte einst offentlich in meiner Gegenwart zu seinen Räthen und Umstehenden: Die hab ich lieb / und wil / daß ihr sie auch lieben sollet. Wiewol ich übrigen niemalsen dergleichen Befehlswort von ihm gehört habe / diese aber mir so desto mehr gefallen / weil sie nicht ein Gebot Gottes (vid. 1. Job. 3/23.) ganz gleichförmig sind. Ich kan also jezo nicht sagen / als daß Wll. Penn / ein Mann sey / welcher Gott ehret / und von ihm wieder geachtet wird / welcher das gute lieber / und von allen guten mir recht geachtet wird. Ich preisse nicht / es werden noch etliche selbst anhero kommen / und im Werk erfahren / daß meine Feder dierinnfalls noch nicht genug geschrieben.

111. Von Beschaffenheit des Lands muß ich erst nach ein oder mehrerleyer praxi etwas gemeldet berichten / die Schweden und Niederdeutsch / welche 20. Jahr und länger solches bebaut / sind in diesen Stuck wie in den meisten andern procringig / laudatur ab his / culpatur ab illis. Gewis ist / daß dem Grund und Boden an Fruchtbarkeit nichts abgeht / und er so wol als in Europa die Weis unserer Hände besonnen würde / wann man denselben geblühlich bearbeiten und mischen wolte / an welchen procrin Erdkern es ihm an meisten mangelt. Dann obacht achte alte Einwohner sind schlechte Deconomi / da bey ihls weder Schuren noch Ställe / lassen ihr Bett 40. etliche Jahr lang unaufgedrosen / unter freyem

freiem Himmel liegen und ihre Vieh/Pferd/Kuh/Schwein/xc. Sommer und Winter im Wuschlaufen, daher sie auch geringen Nutzen davon schöpfen. Sicherlich die Ponten, mit welcher Gott das vorstehende Adams bestraft, daß er im Schweiss seines Angesichts solle sein Brod essen / geht auch diesen Nachkommenschaft in diesen Landen an und mögen diejenige / welche ihrer Hände zu schonen suchen, verbleiben wo sie sind; Hic opus, hic labor est, und ist nicht genug Geld sonder Gelegenheiten zu werden anher zu bringen/dann es verliert sich unter den Händen und mag ich wol mit Salomon sagen: Es hat Fügung. Massen verwichenes Jahr sehr viel Leut beedes aus Engel- und Irland/als auch Barbados/und andern Americanischen Inseln hier ankommen/und diese Provinz noch nicht satte Lebensmittel vor solche Menge hervorbringe/dahero alle Virtualien ziemlich theuer / und geht vor dieselbe meist alle Mühe außerhalb Landes: Jedoch hoffen wir mit der Zeit an beederley einen mehrerlichen Fluß zu haben, weil B. Penn Geld schlagen/und der Ackerbau besser befeuert wird / xc. Arbeitsleut und Bauern sind erstlich allhier am nöthigsten / und wünsche ich mir wol ein Duzent starke Zerkler / die dicken Eisenbäume nieder zu werfen, dann wohin man sich nur wendet / da heißt: Iuxta antiquam Sylvam, es ist alles nur ein Wald / und fast wenig leere Plätz zu finden / worinnfalls / wie auch in ersten andern Colonien/mich meine zuvor gefasste Hoffnung betrogen/als nemlich / daß in dergleichen weiden Baumgärten ganz keine Äpfel noch Birn anzutreffen/auch diesen/iewol sehr kalten Winter/kein Hirsch/Cachumen/xc. zu bekommen gewesen. Die wilde Trauben sind gar klein / und bequemer / Essig als Wein daraus zu machen. Die weisse Röh haben überaus dicke Schalen/und wenig dicke Kernsinn / daß sie des mahlbaren Aufschlages kaum werth sind/die Kesten aber und Hakeulsh sind etwas geschmackt/ wie auch die Pflanzung/Äpfel und Birn sehr gut/und nichts daran zu radeln/ohne daß es derselben so viel nicht giebt/als einige verlangen/xc. Hingegen sind mehr Nadelbäume (deren Endt tödtlich) im Land/als uns lieb ist/xc. Noch die wenige muß ich tanquam testis oculus hierbey setzen/das den 16. Octob. schöne (Merken) Viehen im Wusch gefunden: Item / nachdem ich den 24. Octob. die Stadt Germantown angelegt/und den 25. Mto. mit sieben andern zuruck andero gegangen/so unterwegs einen an einem Baum aufgelauffenen wilden Beinstock angetroffen / woran bey 400. Trauben hingen / weckbalen wir dann den Baum umgehauen / uns alle 8. ersättigt / und jeder noch einen Hut voll mit sich nach Haus getragen. Item/als ich den 27. Aug. mit B. Penn freisitz wurde nach vollendeter Mählzeit ein einzel Gerstenwurzel dargebracht / welche allhier in einem Garten erwachsen / und 10. Halmen auff sich hatte. Allein/alle Körner tragen eben nicht dermaßen viel / und heißt: wie man im Sprichwort sagt: Eine Schwale macht keinen Sommer. Da ich zwar nicht greiffe/es werden auch unsinnig mehr dergleichen fruchtbare Exempel zu hanteln/soffen/wann wir diese erstlich an den Pflanz legen werden. Ich beahre die Weinreben/so ich mit bekommen/weilen dieselbe da wir allschon im Delawarre haw waren/ mit Seewasser besencht worden / und bis auff 2. verdorben. Offterwechler B. Penn hat einen Weinberg von Frangois/Neben angepflanz/derer Wachsthum mit Lust anzuschauen/und mir / als ich sie sah/ das 17. Cap. Johannis zu nachsinnlichen Gemüths führte.

IV. Philadelphia niht täglich an Häusern und Einwohnern mehr und mehr zu/und wird nun auch ein Zuchthaus gebaut/damit diejenige so nicht Philadelphisch leben wollen/disciplinirt werden mögen/ dann es finden sich etliche / auf die sich sollich schickt / was der liebe Freund in seinem Handbrieffen meldet/daß wir nemlich allhier mehr Noth von den verdorbenen Christen / als von den Indianern haben. Ferner werden auch hier und dar Städte angelegt: Massen die Societät eine mit Dagen Franchfurt und anderthalb Stund von hieriger beginnt zu bauen/woselbst sie eine Mühle und Glasfabriken anrichtet. Unsern davon / nemlich 2. Stund von allhier/liegt unser Germantown / allwo bereits 22. Menschen in 12. Haushaltungen leben / welche meistens Leinwandweber / und zum Teilbau nicht allzugeschickt sind. Diese rechtliche Leuten haben all ihr Vermögen auff die Reis angewendet / daß wosern ihnen von B. Penn nicht Proviant vorgestreckt würde / sie nothwendig andern dienen müßten. Den Weg nach besagten Germantown haben sie durch oftmaliges hin und her wandern/allschon tarffer geschah/und kan ich von solcher Stadt mehr noch nicht sagen / dann daß sie auff sehr arbeitsbarer Erden liegt/und die heisse umb und umb mit amuribigen Brunnquellen als einem natürlichen Wall beschattet ist. Die Hauptgasse darinn ist 60. und die Zwerggasse 40. Fuß breit / jede Samml hat eine Hofstatt von 1. Acker/xc.

V. Die Einwohner belangend/kan ich solche nicht besser abtheilen/als in die Natürliche und Eingewanderte. Dann so ich jene weiß / und diese Christen nennet / daß ich vielen von beeden groß noret. Von den letztern hab ich schon oben erwehnt/daß die anberfahrende Schiff nicht allerdings mit der Arbeit

Wozu compariret. Der lutherische Prediger / welcher den Schweden als eine statua Mercurialis den Himmeln zeigen sollt / ist mit einem Wort zu sagen ein Trunkenbold. Ingleichen geht es auch den Königen und andere laufferhafte Personen an / welche jedoch verhoffen / sich der Welt abzugeben nach reise Sitten wegzugehen / zu seiner Zeit / an frommen Götterfürsorgen zeugen ist an Gegenwert auch kein Mangel / und kan ich mit Grund der Wahrheit versichern / das ich in Europa nirgendem gleich als in unserm Philadelphia / angeschlagen gesehen: Dis und das hat der gefundene / der Verleerer mag sich bey ihm annehmen / oftmals aber das Widerspiel: Dis und das ist verlohren worden / wer es weiter bringt / soll eine Vergeltung haben. &c.

Von diesen erst eingetroffenen Fremdlingen will ich vor ansehn nicht gedenken / als das unter solchen etliche Hochtrausche recontrirt / die bereits 20. Jahr dis Land betrogen / und sich also gleichsam naturalisirt / nemlich Schiefer / Brandenburg / er / Holsteiner / Schwieger / &c. auch einen Oberberger / Namens Jan Jaquet / sondern von denen per etoerem so genannten Widen meine Nachsicht forschlich ertheilen. Die ersten / die mir vor Augen kommen / waren die jenigen / wozu so den Upland auf einem Baum an unser Schiff aufzubrechen / ich ersuchte ihnen ein Soppe Brandwein / welches sie mir mit einem halben Koppfsta begabten wolten / und da ich solch Geld refutire / gaben sie mir die Hand und sprachen: Dank Bruder! Sie sind stark von Gliedern / schwärzlich vom Leib / und haben ihr Gesicht roth / blau / &c. auf mancherley Manier. Geheß des Sommers gang nackt / außer das sie ihre Schaam mit einem Tuch bedekten / und nun im Winter die Hüfte über sich henden. Haben todtschwarze / die Schwedische Kinder aber / so allhier gebehren / schneeweiße Haar. Ich sprache einmahl den W. Penn / da er mit ihnen Königen mir an der Tafel saß / diesem nun sagte W. Penn (welcher ihre Sprach ziemlich pruntet / kan) das ich ein Teufel / &c. kam er also den 1. Octobr. reise auch den 11. Decembr. ein anderer König und Königin in mein Haus. Item überlaufen mich viel Gemeine sehr oft / denen ich doch fast allzeit meine Lieb mit einem Schild Brod und Trunk hier erweise / wozu ich dann eine Gegen-lich in ihnen erweckt wird / und heimlich durchgehends Teufelmann / Item Carissimo (das ist Bruder) nennet. NB. Ihre Sprach ist männlich und abt / meines Darvorhaltens der Italischen an Gravität wenig nach &c. Ihre Art und Natur dergestalt / muß man sie so zu reden / subdistinguiren in die / welche eine Zeitlang mit den so genannten Christen conversirt / und die / so erst anfangen aus ihren Hölen hervor zu kriechen. Dann je nach verschimmet und arglistig / welches sie den obmentioirten Waid-Christen zu danken: semper enim aliquid habet. Soich einer nun versetzte mir neulich seinen Traagieren zum Unterspand / und zur Versicherung / das er mit einem Salicunen bringen wolte / brachte jedoch an dessen Statt einen Adler / und wolte mich bereuen / es sey ein Salicun / &c. Da ich ihm aber vorstellte / das ich mehr Adler gesehen / bekannter gegen einen darben stehenden Schweden / das er es aus Verrug gethan / in Meinung / weil wir erst ins Land kommen / ich solche Vögel so genau nicht kennen wüßte. Ein ander probirte an meinem Camm den Brandwein also: Er steckte seinen Finger darein / und diesen hernach ins Feuer / um zu sehen / ob auch Wasser untermenat sey / &c. &c. Diese letztere hingegen sind eines rechtlichen Gemüths / beleidigen niemand / und haben wir uns vor ihnen ganz nicht zu fürchten. Ein Ding stieß mir seht in den Herken da ich die treugemeinte Vermaahnung unsers Seltsamachers erregte / das wir seine Jünger nicht vor den morstenden Tag sorgen solten / weil solches die Heyden thun. Ich gedachte ich den mir selbst / wie st nun alles so gar verkehrt! Wann wir Christen nicht propagir sind / auf ein und mehr Monat / wie heimlich werden wir? Da diese Heyden ihre Versorgung in einer so wunderramen Gefasenden GOTT heimstelen: Ich sah eben damals ihrer Diers zusammen treten / die Erde war zugleich ihre Tafel und Bank / ein ohne Futter und Geruch in bloßem Wasser getochter Klebs alle Gerüche / ihre Löffel waren Muscheln / darmit sie das warme Wasser aufhupfen / und ihre Feller Eichen-Blätter / die sie nach der Wahlzeit nicht nöthig haben abjurubten / noch auf bedürftigen Fall sich weit darnach zu bemühen. Ich ließ erlich Freund / laßet uns von diesen Leuten die Veranlassung zu lernen eichen Schen tragen / danke sie uns nicht dergestalt vor dem Richter. Gut! Esu Christi beschämen mögen / &c. &c.

Von denen Personen / die mit mir ander kommen / sind allschon ein halb Duzend gestorben / ich aber habe mich samt den Meinen die ganze Zeit über bey gesundem Zustand und gutem Appetit befinden / ohne das Isaac Dittber acht Tage der etwas ungschick / auch Jacob Schumacher sich den 1. Octobr. mit einer Art Schwerdt in den Fuß gehauen / und eine Wogen lang nicht arbeiten tunnt. &c. Von den Creiden ist noch niemand toten verfahren / als Hermans op de Graef abgetödt / unter welche dieser spanischen Creidenen fast bald nach ihrer Ankerung hingegangen / die Freuden des Himmels zu genießen.

n essen. Abraham Tuielsen (unser Pachtmanns) Frau ligt bereits (Arger als Frau Mowat in mich) in Häufigen sehr schwach darnieder/ war eine geraume Zeit ganz ohne Verstand / läßt sich aber jeden Tag mit demselben zur Besserung an.

Das erste Land nun betreffend: wird solches in dreierley Art abgetheilet / nemlich / Erstlich fünfzehn tausend Acker benammen an einem Ende und an einem schiffreichen Wasser. Zweitens/ dreihundert Acker in der Stadt Libertät / welches der Erich Lands ist zwischen dem Delaware und Geoktill. Drittens: drey Loß in der Stadt Häuser darauf zu bauen. Als ich nun nach meiner Anwartschaft bey W. Penn umb Warrants, jetzt acht dreierley Theil abzumessen, und in Possession zu kriegen, anhielt, war seine erstere Antwort: daß anlangend:

1. Die drey Loß in der Stadt / und die dreihundert Acker in dero Freiheit / solche von Nichts wegen denen nicht zu haben, weil sie nicht gekauft, nachdem Er W. Penn allschon von England abgereist / und die Bücher zu London geschlossen wären. 2. Nachdem ich ihm aber repräsentirt / daß ihr die Vorgänger von allen Teutschen und dabey in mehrere Considerationen zu ziehen, 2c. Hat Er mir zu Anfang der Stadt drey Loß hintereinander von seiner jüngern Sohns Anteil abmessen lassen.

cc. 12. 11. 10. 9. 8. 7. 6. 5. 4. 3. 2. 1.

Der doppeltstrich bedeutet den Delaware Fluß / als an welchem die Stadt gelegen ist / die Zahlen aber folgende Häuser und Bauernhöf: 1. Schwed. Schwan. 2. Die lutherische Kirch. 3. Des Pfarrers Haus. 4. Ein Engl. Mann. 5. Schwed. Andres. 6. Will. Penns jüngerer Sohn. 7. Die 8. Philipp firt. 9. Die Societät und dero Kauffhaus. 10. Das Wirtshaus zum blauen Acker. 11. James Claproote. 12. 2c. Sind andere Häuser / deren Benennung hier unbrauchbar / ligt also voran die Delaware / dann es ist eine breite Straß / worauf unser erstes Loß folgt / hundert Fuß breit und vierhundert lang / zu End dessen kommt eine Gasse / dann unser zweytes Loß / auch von gleichmäßiger Breite und Länge. Ferner eine andere Gasse / und endlich unser drittes Loß. Können demnach auf jedes Loß voran zwey / und hinten an auch zwey Häuser neben einander / gefolgt auf die drey Loß dreißig Häuser mit ihren behörlichen Possibilitäten flüßigen gebauet werden / welche doch alle auf die Straßen aufgehen. 2c. Nothwendig aber müssen wir innerhalb zweyer Jahren / wefern andern solches Loß nicht wollen verlieren / drey Häuser / das ist / auf jedes Loß ein Haus / zimmern. Ich habe auf das Vordere mit unserm Knecht allschon ein kleines / halb unter / und halb oberhalb der Erden aufgerichtet / welches zwar nur dreißig Schuh lang und fünfzehn breit / jedoch als die Erseider hier bey mir loquirt / zuvorig Personen beherbergen tunte. An das Delgetränkte Papier / Fenster über der Thür habe ich geschrieben: Parva domus, sed amica bonis, procul este profani! Welches W. Penn lecheln gelesen / und sich gefallen lassen. Über dñ hab ich einen Keller / sieben Schuhe tieff / zwölff breit / und zwanzig lang / am Delaware-Ström gezeuget und bin nun mit einem Stall-Bau thutend. Alle drey Loß sind von den Wännen gesäubert / die ich nachher umbauen / und mit Indiamischem Korn besäen werde. 2c. Es ist überaus beschwerlich und kostbar / alles Land zu umbauen / welches wir doch wegen der freylaufenden Pferde / Rüb und Schreime nicht können einbringen bleiben: Auch kan man das erste Jahr in solch neu Land keinen Rock oder Wägen anheften / sondern nur Indianisch (oder wie es bey euch genennet wird / Kürsch) Korn / so wenig nicht so wohl / sondern noch erdriegt.

11. Anlangend die dreihundert Acker in der Stadt Freiheit / hab ich bey W. Penn vielstättige Zuflang darum gethan und sonderlich urgirt / daß W. Glich im Vertauf solche versprochen. 2c. Er aber wollte sich lang nicht dargu versetzen / aus Ursach, weil sie zur Stadt Libertät nicht mehr außgesetzt worden / als sich noch bey seinem Anwesen in England Käufer von fünf tausend emgefunden / worunter die moriat liberteteste / Er mir die erfreuliche Antwort gab / daß Er aus sonderlicher Gencigenheit in Euch / nur sothane drey hundert Acker noch zukommen lassen wolle / sonst aber keinen Weischen mehr / der nach Schließung der Bücher gekauft habe / er sey auch / wer er sey.

Wm

Bin ich als Vorhaben/so bald allhier das Indianische Korn in die Erde/ einen Anfang auff die zu
 Akter (diesher eine halbe Stund nicht von hiesiger Stadt entfernt sein werden) zu machen, damit
 Kith und Schwem besser halten/ auch so desto mehr Frucht erzaugen/ und denen Nachkommen darmit
 an hand gehen möge.

3. Anlangend die funffzehntausend Akter/ ereigneten sich zwei Haupt-difficultäten/ nemlich/
 daß W. Penn sie nicht gern besam an einem Ort geben wolte/ auff daß nicht so gar große Pflanz-
 land ob und leer liegen blieben/ auch nicht am Delaware Fluß/ woselbst schon alles von andern aufge-
 nommen worden. Jedemoch/ nachdem ich ihm zum offtern so wol münd- als schriftlich vergethelt/ daß
 es uns und unserer teutschen Nachkommungschafft sehr zu Nutze/ so gar unter die Englische einge-
 rechnet zu werden/ zumalen W. Fürst denen Sein W. Penns Handbriefgen committirt/ in
 welchem Er unserer Nation ein anders versprochen/ hat Er mir schriftlich einen Warrant ertheilt/ un-
 ser Land besammen zu haben/ wosfern wir binnen Jahres Frist dreissig Familien auff die funffzehntau-
 send Akter stellen wolten/ nemlich drey Townships/ jede von sieben Haushaltungen/ worzu die drey be-
 reits hier sind/ zu rechnen/ (Im fall aber nicht dreissig Familien/ wol Er nicht gehalten sein/ das Land an
 einem Ort zu geben.) Ich meines wenigen Orts wolte wol wünschen/ daß wir eine separate kleine
 Provinz erhalten/ und uns also von aller Unterthutung/ so desto mehr vorsehen möchten. Könnte nun von
 euch einer in sich selbst frey werden/ und andero zu kommen/ so viel Familien mitzubringen/ welche euer
 eigen bestes unvergleichlich sehr dadurch befördert/ gestaltsam Er W. Penn. erst eben gestern zu mir sagte/
 daß Er euch in diesem fall vor allen Englischen/ die zwar ebeudert gekauft/ aber noch nicht hier sind/ zu
 vorziehen/ und gewisse Privilegia in unserm Neuen Granckland (so nannte Er die uns bestimte Land-
 schafft) ertheilen wolte. Fällt es euch aber zu hart/ so viel Familien in so kurzer Zeit zu transportiren/
 wære meines unmaßfeglichen darvorhaltens gut/ daß die Freund von ein paar tausend Akter
 von euch annehmen/ und ertliche Haushaltungen von ihren gesegneten Ueberfluß ander blüssen/ damit
 ja die funffzehntausend Akter ungerennt/ und sonder zwischen fallende Englische Nachbarn nicht zu
 kommen mögen/ zumalen Er sie nicht allzuweit von hiesiger Stadt geben wil/ nemlich/ an dem Expi-
 fill/ oberhalb des Falls/ woselbst Er selbst ein Haus zu bauen/ und eine kleine Herrschafftlichkeit vor sich
 anzuordnen gesehnet. Das Land nächst dem Fluß ist ziemlich bergicht/ und zum Weinbau nicht un-
 queme/ einwärts aber eben und fruchtbar/ das schimmelt ist/ daß man mit keinem Schiff/ (außer wann
 es viel geregnet/ und gleichwol nicht ohne Gefahr) über den Fall und Steinklirren abfahren kan/zt.
 Die weilen ich nun nicht wissen kante/ was ihr disfalls zu thun entseht/ essen möchtet/ und doch hieran sehr
 viel gelegen/ auch über diese offterwehnte funffzehntausend Akter/ bey 28. Pfund Sterk/ nemlich jede
 hundert Akter 5. Schill. hiesiger Landbezahlung abzumessen kotten/ welches Geld ich aber nicht in
 Händen/ muß ich es bis auff erhaltene eure Resolution ansehn lassen/ um die Schranken eines getreue-
 en Bevollmächtigten nicht zu überschreiten. Damit ich aber die anverwarte drey Familien auff ihre sechs-
 hundert Akter anweisen möchte/ hab ich nebenst den Creseidern (welche achtzehn tausend gekauft/ und
 all hier lebende/ nicht an einem Ort erlangen können) sechs tausend Akter zu einer Township aufge-
 nommen/ wozu an sie drey tausend/ und wir drentausend haben. Diese Stadt legte ich den 22. Octo-
 ber an/ und nannte sie Germantown/ Sie ligt nur 2. Meilen von hier/ auff fruchtbarren Boden/ und
 an anmuthigen Brunnquellen/ worvon ich oben gemitet. Dieses mußte ich darumb thun/ weil W.
 Penn niemanden seine Portion absonderlich geben wil/ sondern müssen alle in Townships oder Stadten
 besammen wohnen/ und dieses nicht sonder erhebliche Ursachen/ worunter die vornehmste/ daß auff solche
 weis die Kinder zur Schulen gehalten/ und bey flüchtiger zum guten unterwiesen/ Nachbarn auch ein-
 ander lieb- und hilffreiche Händ bieten/ und mir gesammten Mund in öffentlichen Zusammenkünften
 Gottes Ehre loben/ preisen und erheben können. NB. Mögt ihr deroregen den Familien/ die ihr in
 künftige andero überbringt/ wol nur hundert Akter zuweisen/ und dennoch fast eben so viel Ertracht
 nehmen/zt.

Meine Haushaltung betreffend/ wolte ich solche gern auff gut hochteutsch einrichten/ worzu mir
 Jacob Schuermacher und der alte Schweiher sehr dienlich/ hingegen schicken sich die mit mir habende
 Holländer schlecht darzu/ sonderlich die Magd/ welche sich mit der Englischen nicht componiren kenne/
 daß ich Fried zu erhalten/ diese ausziehen werde/ weilen jene mir ihren 2. Kindern nicht so leicht fortzuschaf-
 fen/ oder an einen andern Mann bringen kan. Ich verlange sehr/ so bald möglich/ eine Hochteutsche
 andero zu kriegen/ derer ich mehr vertrauen könne/ als ich leider! nun nicht thun darf. Wolt ihr nun/
 daß Euch eure Hoffnung nicht betrüge/ so schickt lauter Teutsche/ dann die Holländer (wie mich die
 betriben

besten Erfahrung lehrt) / sind nicht so vergänglich / welches doch in diesen neuen Ländern eine hochbede-
 utende Qualität ist. Ich habe keinen Zimmermann unter meinen Nachbarn / müssen derhalb ein paar
 zu Erbauung der Häuser anher geschickt werden / und kan in dem mit ihnen aufstreichenden Lande
 zur Nachbarschaft dienen / das ansehnliche Tagelohn sehr vergrößert / und sie über die Kost täglich mehr
 als Kopfschmerzen empfangen / wiewol die meisten darumb nicht arbeiten / und lieber das Land verlassen wol-
 len. NB. Allen Handwerkern ist ein gewisser Preis gesetzt / auch muß an den Kaufmannswaaren
 nur die Hälfte genommen werden: Ob zwar vermuthlich mit diesen noch in 3. oder 4. Jahren wenig
 Profit zu machen / wie die Societät saram gewahr wird: Dann 1. bringt jeder Neukommende so viel
 von Kleidern und Geräthschaft mit sich / daß Er einige Jahr nichts bedarf. 2. Ist alhier sehr wenig
 Geld / wiewol die Gegend darnach den vielen so desto größer: Den 16. Novemb. war Jahrmärkt in
 unserm Philadelphia / da ich aber kaum ein paar Pfund Sterk. löste. 3. Kan man auf diesem Land
 noch keine Ketten: Sondern nach England aufsuchen. B. Penn. intendirt zwar hauptsächlich die
 Weberei und den Weinwachs zu etabliren: Schickt uns derhalb mit sicherer Gelegenheit gute
 Webereyen / weil an dero Fortkommung nicht zu zweifeln. Item allerhand Feid- und Garten-Ge-
 müsen / sonderlich Linen und Pfirsich. auch NB. einige große eiserne Kochpfannen / und in einander ste-
 nende Kessel: Item / einen eisernen Ofen / welchen der Winter alhier meistens so kalt als bey euch / und
 die rauhen Nordwind viel ungemüthlicher. Item / etliche Bettdecken / oder Maderassen / massen ich nicht
 mehr mit mir genommen / als ich eben vorndrhen hatte / und allschon einen Knecht mehr bekommen.
 Wollte ich endlich auch einige Stük Scharf- und Pfaffenst. seinen Tusch anhero senden / kan es mit gu-
 tem Vortheil verkauft werden.

Ein Lohgerber kan sein Handwerk mit großem Nutzen anfangen / massen wir hier und in den
 nächstliegenden Ländern Haut genug bekommen können / und zwar schon vor eine zubereitete / auch die
 allerbeste vor ein paar Schue. allein müste ein gewis Capital darzu employirt werden: da dann si-
 cherlich solcher ausgebreute Geldsamen in kurzer Zeit eine reiche Ernde verursachen würde: so zu Euerm
 reichern Nachdenken beistelle. Die zwey nöthigste Stük sind: 1. auf die Losen in hiesiger Stadt bebaue-
 me Häuser zu bauen / welche theuer verheuert / und jährlich 12. pro 100. können gewonnen werden. 2. si-
 ne Ziegelbrennerey anzulegen / worin uns B. Penn. einen thätigen Platz zu geben versprochen: dann so
 lang wir keine Steinbäcker / ist unser Baukunst nur hölzern. Andere Handwerksteut mögen noch wol
 etliche Jahr zurtel bleiben / 2c. 2c.

Auf die 4. Fragen geb ich die commendiose Antwort: 1. B. Penn. hat einen guten Grund zu se-
 ner rechtfertigen Regierung gelegt / und publicirt von Zeit zu Zeit mäßige Gesetze. 2. Hält er nachdrück-
 liche Freundschafft mit allen angränzenden Gouverneuren / hofft auch / die mit Baldimor obschwebende
 Streitigkeit solle ehrens durch eine Königl. Sentenz abgethan und aufgehoben werden. 3. Wird ge-
 dachtet B. Penn. von allem Volk sehr geliebt und gelebt / gestaltsam auch die alten lutherischen Ein-
 wohner bekommen müssen / daß sie dergleichen weisen Regenten noch niemals gesehen haben. Ich was
 nachdrückliche und durchdringende Stussier sandte dieser liebe Mann den ersten Tag dieses wieder an-
 tretenden Neuen Jahres in die H. Höbe und in dem Thron unsers Immanuel: daß die wahre Phila-
 delphia und Bräderliebe noch nicht so reichlich in diesem unsern Philadelphia anzutreffen / als Er seines
 Desirwunsches / und um deren Beförderung als ein getreuer Landes Vatter treueversig bemühet ist.
 4. Die Indianer (von deren Natur im vorhergehenden etwas wenig angeführt) vermehren alhier
 täglich / sieben etliche 100. Meil weiter in das Land ein / 2c.

Run möchtet ihr vielleicht fragen / ob ich mit reiner unverfälschter Conscience einem und andern
 auß euch raten könne / sich anher zu transportiren? Ich antworte mit gutem Vorbedacht / daß ich in
 eurer Bewilligung von Herzen gern wolte theilhaftig seyn: Jedoch / dafern ihr 1. nicht Zerknüt-
 telt eures Gewissens in euch selbst befindet: 2. Euch zu den Beschwerden und Gefährlichkeiten der langwierigen
 Reis / und 3. zu Ermangelung der meisten in Teutschland gewohnten Gemüthsstücken als kleinen Häu-
 ser / miedlichen Kost und Frang 2c. ein oder zwey Jahr resolviren könnt: so sollet meidem Rath
 ebender / je lieber / auß dem Europ.ischen Erdom auß / und gedult darben an Lohs Weib / welche zwar
 ich nicht weiter wünsch / daß ich mit dieser Advers. Feter / die zu euch tragende viel auftragen könnte.
 und in der That bezeugen / daß es nicht eine bloße tyren. Liebe / sondern die Euch mehr gutes gönnet / als
 mir selbst. Mein Herz ist durch das Band der Liebe an das Eure geknüpft: So laßt uns nun zu-
 sammen

Mat 8 10

Indem er wachsen/als Bäume/welche die rechte Hand Gottes an Wasserlächen gekant hat. Damit sie nicht nur Blätter, sondern Früchte bringen/ zur rechten Zeit: Früchte der Buß: Früchte des Friedens; Früchte der Gerechtigkeit! Dann was hilft ein solcher unnützer Baum / obschon er Gärtnern seiner noch einige Jahr verschonet, denselben mit allem Fleiß umgräbt/und bearbeitet, doch endlich auf nicht erfolgte Besserung aufhauet / und in Ofen wirft. Vergelt mir die Gleichniß, liebererthe Freund; wir gehen allhier täglich mit dergleichen u. fruchtlosen Bäumen um; haben sie nicht; u. draussen sie vor Brennholz. Es ist mir nichts eine guthätige Warnung / die nicht schaden kan. Ich beschle euch samptlich göttlicher Inkuenz, ohne welche unsere Fruchtbarkeit unvollkommen; Der Herr / der das Wesen gegeben hat: gebe auch das Höchste! Amen.

Hierbei sende ich ein Ruffen der allhier gebrauchten Judianischen Münz/a 6. von den weissen/ und 3. von den schwarzen einen Englischen Farthing machen. und wollen nun gedachte Judianer nichts mehr vor Silbergeld verkaufen; sondern einzig und allein mit ihrer Münz bezahlt sein; wollen sie meistens hiesige Land quirtren und etlich hundert Wei. weiter Buscharts einziehen wollen; Daß sie leben in einem solchen Aberglauben/das eben so viel Judianer jährlich ste. be. müssen / als viel / nemlich Europäer außero kommen. 2c.

Dieses nun hab ich zu vorst.iren / meiner obliegenden Schuldigkeit zu seyn ermessen / als der ich die meiste Sorgtrage getreu erkundet zu werden; dessen mir so wol W. Penn; und andere redliche Leute als mein eigen Gewissen welches ich mehr. als tausenden gleich schätze. ein irrepochable Zeugniß geben kan; daß es mir ziemlich schwer falle in diesem kostbaren (außer Kost.ieren) Land so viel Knecht und Ebehalten zu verlieren / denn ihr leichtsam erachten: Alle. das Vertrauen zu unserm himmlischen Vater überwindet alles. Grüßet alle andere Betaudern von mir herzlich.

Ich verbleibe allezeit euer ercm; und dienstbeständiger

R. W.



fied that part of the contract of the German Company's purchase which called for land on a navigable stream, inasmuch as the desirable tracts of this size on the Schuylkill below the Falls, the only desirable region left, seem not to have been available, at least in the mind of the Proprietary. But in the case of this third tract, as in the two previous instances, Pastorius was persistent in urging the claims of the Germans. He argued that it would be prejudicial to the Germans and to their posterity to be scattered among the English; that Benjamin Furly had shown them William Penn's autograph letter in Rotterdam, in which the original promise was made. Penn finally yielded a third time to the pleadings of Pastorius and issued a warrant for the land, making it a condition of tenure, that thirty families should be settled upon it within one year, in three townships, with ten families each, including the three families already there.

These concessions seem not to have been finally made by Penn until after the arrival of the Crefelders on the 6th (or 16th, New Style) of October, 1683. It was evidently the plan of Penn to wait for the actual arrival of a considerable number of Germans and then assign lands as the number and character of the new arrivals seemed to warrant.

There was not a little vacillation on the part of the prospecting German colonists as to the wisdom of emigrating to America. This was particularly the case with the members of the German Company. At the outset it was evidently expected that a considerable number of the Frankfurt purchasers would actually settle in Pennsylvania. This is apparent from the correspondence of Claypoole and Furly, and from the letter of Pastorius to Dr. Schütz in Frankfurt, dated November 14, 1685.

In the early letters to Furly under date of January 24, 1682-3, May 15, 1683, May 18, 1683, Claypoole speaks of the prospective German passengers of the *Concord* as "Franckfordrs,"²⁴

²⁴ The passage in question in letter of January 24, 1682-3, runs: "As for thine and ye Ffranckfordrs land to bee sett out upon a Navigable River, that is only in ye power of ye Governour to doe," etc.

"Ffranckfurtrs,"²⁵ "Ffranckfords."²⁶ It is not till the letter of June 5, 1683, that we hear of them as "the people from Crevelt." This letter shows that Furly had sent a list of thirty-three persons (the so-called Crefelders) to Claypoole.²⁷ From this time on we find no further mention of the Frankfurters, which seems to indicate clearly that the great things expected of the Frankfurters or the German Company in the beginning of the correspondence were left for the Crefelders to carry out.

After the long and annoying delays recited in the letters of Claypoole, the Crefelders finally set sail from Gravesend and arrived at Philadelphia on the 6th (or 16th, New Style) of October, 1683. They numbered thirteen families, thirty-three full passengers in all. Their names are given by Pastorius²⁸ as follows: Dirck op den Graeff, Abraham op den Graeff, Herman op den Graeff, Lenert Arets, Thones Kunders, Reinert Tisen, William Streppers, Jan Lensen, Peter Keurlis, Jan Simen, Johannes Bleickers, Abraham Tunis, and Jan Luken.

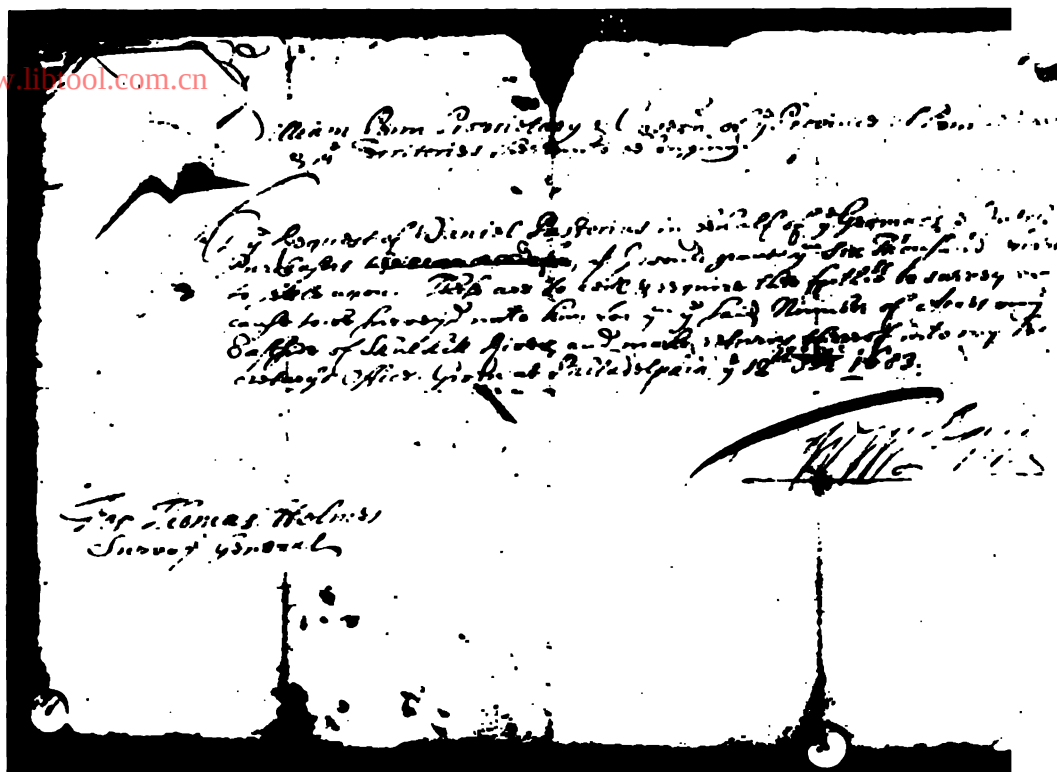
On the 12th of October, 1683, six days after the arrival of the Crefelders, Penn issued a warrant to Pastorius in behalf of the German and Dutch purchasers for 6,000 acres of land on the east side of the Schuylkill:

²⁵ Cf. letter of May 15, 1683: "So it will be yett about 6 weeks, before wee leave England, which thou mayst advise ye Ffranckfurtrs, that they may be ready against the tyme," etc.

²⁶ Letter of May 18, 1683: "as J have advised thee in my last that we were lymited to the 30th next month to be ready to sayle from Gravesend so that if the Ffranckfords do intend to goe in our ship they must be at Gravesend by that time," etc.

²⁷ Cf. Letter of June 5, 1683. "J understand the people from Crevelt have agreed to goe in our ship and so have 287 Rthlr to remit thee for ½ their freit," etc.

²⁸ Cf. *Grund- und Lager-Buch*, "Ansprach." Friedrich Kapp (*Frans Daniel Pastorius' Beschreibung von Pennsylvanien*) made an effort to determine the forms of the names as found in Crefeld sources with the following result: Abraham op de Graeff, Dietrich op de Graeff, Hermann op de Graeff, Leonhard Arets, Abraham Tünies, Reinhard Theisen, Wilhelm Streppers, Peter Kuirlis, Johann Bleikers, Jan Luycken, Tunis Künders, Jan Simens, Jan Lensen.



WARRANT FOR SURVEY OF LAND FOR DUTCH AND GERMAN PURCHASERS.
(Original in Department of Internal Affairs, Harrisburg, Pa.)



WARRANT FOR SURVEY OF LOTS FOR GERMANS IN PHILADELPHIA.
(Original in Department of Internal Affairs, Harrisburg, Pa.)

Germantown, the Crefelders, bore for the most part Low German names, and came from near the Low German border. Pastorius, however, in his report bearing the same date, March 7, 1684, refers to this New Franconia as if it were to include the whole German colony of present and prospective settlers. The original German translated into English runs as follows:

✓ "I could wish for my small part that we receive a small separate province, and be so much the better able to protect ourselves from oppression. If one of you could release himself to come hither and bring with him so many families, your own best interests would be incomparably advanced thereby, particularly as he, W. Penn, only day before yesterday said to me that he would favor you above all the English settlers, in this case, who had previously purchased but were not yet here, and would grant certain privileges in our New Franconia (so he called the tract designed for us). In case, however, it is too difficult for you to transport so many families in such a short time, it would be well, in my judgment, which of course is not binding, that the friends of ——— accept a few thousand acres and assist some households, from their rich abundance, to come hither in order that the 15,000 acres may be assigned to us together and without any English neighbors intervening; especially as he wishes to grant them too far from this city, namely, on the Schuylkill above the Falls, where he himself thinks of building a house and establishing a Manor. The land next to the river is quite hilly, and not ill-adapted to grape culture; but further in, it is level and productive. The worst is that it is impossible to pass the falls and the rocks with a boat (except when there has been much rain, and then not without danger). Inasmuch as I did not know what you would decide to do in this case, and yet much depends upon this matter; also concerning the oft mentioned 15,000 acres with the cost of 28 pounds sterling, viz., 5 shillings of English currency for every 100 acres, as charges for surveying, which money I have not on hand, I must wait for your decision in order not to transgress the limits of a faithful agent. In order, however, that I may locate the three families which have arrived upon their 600 acres, I have united with the Crefelders (who have bought 18,000 although they cannot obtain them in one tract) and taken up 6,000 acres for a township, of which they have 3,000 and we 3,000. This city I laid out the 24th of October and called it Germantown."

Thus the great German pioneer cherished the idea of a sep-

arate German Province within the larger Province of Pennsylvania, "a State within the State," in which the German colonists might have their own peculiar rights, institutions and mode of life.

So it appears that without the Crefeld Purchasers, the founding of Germantown could scarcely have been effected, as Pastorius had with him neither the purchasers of his German Company or Society, nor settlers to take up the land which the Society had purchased. It was possible only by uniting the interests of the Crefelders and those of the German Society to secure a grant in one solid tract. The Crefelders had bought in all 18,000 acres of land, but could not obtain a grant for it all in one tract. Pastorius, having encountered like difficulties in securing a large tract, and having three families representing the lands of the German Society, joined the two interests in order to accomplish in the form of a compromise the purpose of the two groups of settlers.

Such were the arduous labors and devious ways through which Pastorius passed in founding the first German colony. It was his untiring patience, steady persistence, and masterful tact which won these important concessions from Penn in the face of the pronounced opposite policy of the Proprietary. Only a man well versed in the intricate science of law and acquainted with the conditions of both settler and Proprietary could have achieved such an amicable arrangement as that which Pastorius secured for the German township.

The settlement, Germantown, was laid out with one main street, sixty feet wide, and cross streets forty feet wide. Three acres were allowed as the lot for each house; Pastorius, however, had double that number of acres for his own house. The location of the lots is shown in an old map of Germantown of the year 1688. It will be seen from this map, as well as from the surveys, that this first German settlement was not located on the Schuylkill, as seems to have originally been contemplated, but some distance eastward toward Mill Creek, a small tributary of

the Wingacocum. Thus the original agreement that the German tract should be on a navigable stream was, after all, evaded by Penn, who seems to have been inclined to circumvent or alter the original agreement with the Germans at every essential point.

Step by step Germantown grew and throve so that Pastorius was able to report on the 7th of March, 1684, that twelve families, numbering forty-two persons in all, were living happily in the new settlement. It appears, from the next report from Pastorius, in a letter to Dr. Schütz in Frankfurt, dated May 30th, 1685, that he himself was still living in Philadelphia, although he writes that his thoughts are now in Philadelphia and now in Germantown.

The first year in the new settlement was naturally one of great hardship and exposure. Pastorius offered temporary shelter under his own modest roof for some of the newly arrived Germans, and the rest found quarters elsewhere, according to tradition in "caves"⁸¹ or rather probably rude huts, with cellars, until houses were ready for them in Germantown. The most pinching circumstances were the scarcity of money and provisions, and the lack of carpenters and other skilled workmen. These conditions are graphically set forth in the report of March 7, 1684.⁸²

The land transactions of Pastorius as agent of the German Company during the early years may be seen in the *Grund- und Lager-Buch*. Relatively few sales or rentals of land are recorded. A glance at this old record will give the impression that Pastorius opened the book with large expectations, but was obliged to leave most of the great folios blank. The following transfers by Pastorius for the German Company are entered:

1.—The transfer of 50 acres to Paul Wulff, under date of July 29, 1685 (*Grund- und Lager-Buch*, p. 207).

⁸¹ Cf. Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia*. An exact description of these caves is given by Pastorius in a poem to the daughters of Thomas Lloyd. Cf. this work, p. 212.

⁸² Cf. *Sichere Nachricht* (Zürich B.), p. 6 ff., in the photographic reproduction.

2.—The transfer of 50 acres to Abraham Isaacs op de Graeff, March 15, 1686 (*Grund- und Lager-Buch*, p. 199).

3.—The transfer of 25 acres to Isaac Dilbeeck by a deed dated May 27, 1686 (*Grund- und Lager-Buch*, p. 159).

The following transfers were effected entirely or in part by members of the company on the other side of the Atlantic and were later confirmed and recorded in Pennsylvania:

1. Fifty acres * * * * were "granted by Benjamin Furly, Agent and Attorney of the Franckfort Company at Rotterdam, to John Luken, his heirs and assigns for ever, which sd deed beareth date the 8th day of the month called June Anno 1683" (*Grund- und Lager-Buch*, p. 105).

2.—Johann Willhelm Ueberfeldt deeded his 1,000 acres to Francis Daniel Pastorius, July 11, 1683. The deed was executed in Frankfurt-on-the-Main (a copy in German and in English translation is found in Pastorius' hand among the Pastorius MSS. in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

3.—"Thomas van Wylich and Jhon le Brun, both partners of the Franckfurt Company, by the third article of in Jndenture made with Heyvert Papen the 23d of the 1st month March, 1685," deeded 50 acres to Heyvert Papen (*Grund- und Lager-Buch*, p. 219).

4.—Johann Jacob Schütz, Jacobus van de Walle and Daniel Behagel made a contract with Johann and Arnold Cassel, who were to take up and cultivate 50 acres of land in Pennsylvania. This document is so explicit in detail that we print it here in the original German.³³ It is attested by the Imperial Notary, Christian Fenda, at Frankfurt-on-the-Main.

³³ "Im namen Gottes haben Johann Jacob Shütz, Jacobus von de Walle und Daniel Behagel für sich und im nahmen derer Mitgenossen Pennsilvanischer Compagnie zu Franckfurt am Mayn in Teutschland und Consorten, als Erbverleyer an Einem Theil mit uns Johann und Arnold Cassel, Vatter und Sohn, beyden ackersleuten, unseres alters respective 47. und 22. Jahr als Erbbeständern andern theils nach folgender gestalt contrahirt und geschlossen:

N. B.—An interesting point in this document is the fact that the German Company (or Frankfurt Company) is called by those in Frankfurt the "Pennsylvanian Company" ("Pennsilvanische Compagnie").

As will appear from these few entries there was little activity in the sale of the land purchased by the German Company. Most of the transfers of land were made by the Crefeld Purchasers. These transactions are recorded also in the *Grund-und Lager-Buch*.

The details of the holdings of the members of the German (or Frankfurt) Company, and the manner of distributing lots at a later time, are given by Pastorius in the beginning of the *Grund-und Lager-Buch*. The account is here printed in English translation:

Erstlich sollen und wollen wir uns sampt den unserigen und gehöriger Nothurfft, auff unsere alleinige kosten, so bald möglich, von hier über Engelland nacher Pensilvania in America begeben; 2. Die von besagter Compagnie dortigen Sachwalter uns daselbst im wald angewiesene Fünfftzig Morgen oder acker lands in bau bringen; Das darauff befindliche Holtz ausrotten, und benöthigte wohnung, scheuer und stallungen für uns daselbst auff unsere kosten anrichten, auch 3. Der Compagnie von jedem acker oder morgen Jährlich Drey Viertel Schilling Englisch, hiesiges gelds fünfftzehn kreutzer, Erbpacht (: welcher Zinsz am Ende des andern Jahrs vom tage unserer ankunfft in Pensilvania das erste mahl gereicht werden soll:) erlegen. 4. Gegen solchen Jährlich richtig eingeliefferten Erbpacht sollen und wollen wir, unsere Kinder und Kinds Kinder, so lang unser Geschlecht, Mann und Weibs linien weren, auff besagten von uns erbauten güttern bleiben und unvertrieben seyn. 5. Dafern unser geschlecht über kurtz oder lang gar absterben solte, so soll dieses land sampt dessen besserung der obgesagten Compagnie, als Erb-lehnherren, wieder vollkömmlich heimfallen. 6. Weilen wir die völlige Mittel, uns selbstn allda in stand zu setzen, nicht haben, sondern theils von vorbesagter Compagnie uns vorgeschossen werden, alsz versprechen wir deme absonderlich hierüber verfertigten Vergleich, unter Gottes hülffe, unverbrüchlich nachzuköffen. Alles getreulich und sonder Gefährte: Dessen zur wahren Urkundt ist dieser Contract Drey-mahl originaliter auff pergament unter beiderseits Contrahenten unterschrifft und pitschafften, mit Corroboration des hierzu erbetteten Notarij Caes. Publici ausgefertigt. Signatum Franckfurt den 31ten Martij Anno 1686.

Johañ Jacob Schütz. ()
Daniel Behagel ()
Jacobus von de Walle ()

Johannes und Arnold Cassell ()
In fidem praemissorum attestire
ich Christian Fenda, Keyl. approbiert. und immatriculierter
offenbarer Notarius.

Gepassirt in Court of Record den 19ten tag des
8ten Monats 1697.

Peter Schumacher Justice.
Aret Klincken Justice."

"The whole Germantownship comprises according to the foregoing patent or land warrent 5700 acres. Of this 2675 acres belong to the members of the Company as a whole, as first purchasers, viz.,

To Jacobus van de Walle.....	535 acres
To Joha ⁿ Jacob Schütz.....	428 acres
To Joha ⁿ Wilhelm Überfeld.....	107 acres
To Daniel Behagel.....	356 acres
To Görg Strauss.....	178 acres
To Jan Laurens.....	535 acres
To Abraham Haesevoet.....	535 acres
	2675 acres

And further, 2675 acres belong to the first Crefeld Purchasers, viz.,

To Jacob Tellner	989 acres
To Jan Strepers	275 acres
To Dirck Sipma ⁿ	588 acres
To Govert Remkins	161 acres
To Lenert Arets	501 acres
To Jacob Isaacs	161 acres
	2675 acres

Further, 200 acres belong to Frantz Daniel Pastorius.

And finally 150 acres to Görg Hartzfelder.

In all 5700 acres.

Of the above mentioned 5700 acres of land, there are

In Germantown	2750 acres
In Krissheim	884 acres
In Sommerhausen	900 acres
In Crefeld	1166 acres

Then, after the 2750 acres or 55 city hereditary holdings in Germantown had been laid out and surveyed on the 29th of December, 1687, and following days, the purchasers and hereditary lessees, to whom the remaining 2950 acres in the Germantownship belong, distributed the same by lot on the 4th of April, 1689, into the said three separate villages, the northernmost of which, adjoining Germantown, was called Krissheim, the middle one Sommerhausen, and the furthestmost Crefeld, as sufficiently appears from what is subjoined below:

"To-day, the 4th day of the second month, anno 1689, those who still have land to take up in the Germantownship have drawn lots for the remaining 2950 acres and Peter Keurlis, Jan Lücken for his half, Abraham Tunnes, Gerhard Heinrichs, Peter Schumacher, Hanns Peter Umstatt, Heinrich Sellen, Willjam Strepers for 100 acres, Johannes Bleickers, Jacob Schumacher for 50 acres, Jacob Tellner, Kornelis Sjoert, Andrew Griskum, and Abraham op de Graeff for 25 acres, have received the first next portion to Germantown as their lots and respective shares. Secondly, the Frankfurt Company has obtained by lot in addition to what it received in the furthest division, together with Frantz Daniel Pastorius for his own 200 acres the middle portion. Thirdly, Tunes Kunders, Govert Remkins, Lenert Arets, Reinert Tisen, Jan Lucken for his second half, Cornelis Bom, Jan Strepers, Dirk op de Graeff, Herman op de Graeff, Abraham op de Graeff for his remainder, Jacob Isaacs, the Frankfurt Company for 287½ acres, Jacob Schumacher for 25 acres and Willjam Strepers for 50 acres received by lot the last or furthest portion. That the foregoing drawing of lots took place openly and honestly, without deception or fraud, in the aforementioned manner, we, the undersigned bear witness, with this subscription in our own hand. Done in Germantown the 4th of the 2nd month, 1689.

Frantz Daniel Pastorius for himself and the Frankfurt Company. Jacob Telner. Cornelis Sioerds. Jacob Schumacher. Abraham op den Graeff. Hanns Peter Umbstatt. Hendrich Sellen. Herman op den Graaf. Jacob Isaacs.

Anno 1690, the 14th of the 11th month (January) the lines or boundaries were made through the said villages as is indicated in the preface of this book."

The Reorganization of the German Company.

The agreement or promise of the German Company or Society to follow Pastorius, their agent, to America was not kept, and Pastorius evidently began to feel uneasy about the financial obligations which he had assumed as agent of the Society. There is an intimation of this uneasiness, or of his unwillingness to decide upon questions of policy in his report of March 7th, 1684. Accordingly, he wrote a letter on the 14th of November, 1685, to Schütz, van de Walle, Behagel and Petersen, asking to be released from the responsibility of accounting to the constituents and heirs. Although the original letter seems to have been lost,

we have the contents of it and the replies to it preserved in English, a manuscript in Pastorius' own hand, which we give here:

"The 14th day of November 1685. J did write to Jacob van de Wallen, John Jacob Schutz, Daniel Behagel & Wm Petersen, that in case they would not free me of my Promise in their Letter of Attorney, viz, to be accountable to the Constituents & their heirs, J was not at all able nor willing so to do, but must lay down mine Administration; for as much as they in like manner promised me, to follow me to this Province the next ensuing year after my departure out of Germany, the which was not perform'd by them: Wherefore J expect an Answer from them all, whether they would release unto me the sd mine Obligation or not?

Whereupon they in One Letter Subscribed by them all answered as followeth.

Francfort the 20/30. of June 1686.

Dear Brother — We thank God for thy Joyful Recovery and Preservation of all the rest; Putting in so much no Mistrust at all in thy Fidelity & Diligence, that we, especially J for mine own person do approve thine accounts unseen: Nevertheless in case Jt is not against thee, only for a nearer Advice sake to send such accounts over (: at least to make no ill Precedent to any future Successor, whom perhaps we dare not so fully trust without all Care:) Jt will be very pleasing to & not against us to approve them in optimâ formâ.

J. J. Schutz.

In the same Letter it followeth thus:

My heartily beloved Friend & Dear Brother. To all that which our beloved Schutz hath written we assent in all parts without any exception, and our beloved Behagel will doubtless do the same by some lines; And J do the same likewise in the name of John William Petersen & his wife.

Ja: v: Wallen.

Further in the same Letter thus:

My dear & beloved Friend. How greatly we longed for your Letter, you may easily think, because since your former from ultimo May & 18th of June we had nothing written by you but the aforementioned from the 14th of Novemb. which we received the 19th of June, and is fully answered by Friend Schutz, whereby you may see, that we do not only approve of what you have done, but request you to Continue and not faint, or let sink the Courage to the hurt of us all and of the whole business.

Daniel Behagel."

The result of this correspondence was the formal organization or reorganization of the German Company or Society, referred to by Pastorius in the *Grund- und Lager-Buch* as the "Frankfort Company." The instrument, agreement or contract of this new corporation was printed in German in Frankfurt-on-the-Main. Three copies of it are known to have been in existence in Philadelphia: one originally among Penn's papers, but now in possession of Ex-Governor Samuel W. Pennypacker, at Pennypacker's Mills; the other at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and the third, evidently Pastorius' own copy, as it is the only one having his signature, originally found among the Proud papers. In addition to the printed German text there is extant an English translation in Pastorius' hand among the Pastorius MSS. in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.⁸⁴

"In the Name and to the Glory of God!

We underwritten witness & Confess hereby, Whereas we altogether have Jointly purchased Five & twenty thousand Acres of unseparated land English Measure in the American Province of Pennsylvania, Each of us having effectually paid his share, as appears by the Accounts thereof, vizt.

Jacob van de Wallen.....	2500	}	5000.
Caspar Merian, Now Jacob van de Wallen	833 $\frac{1}{3}$		
and Daniel Behagel.....	1666 $\frac{2}{3}$		
Lt. Joha ⁿ Jacob Schutz.....	4000	}	5000.
Joha ⁿ William Uberfeld, Now Francis			
Daniel Pastorius.....	1000		
Jacob van de Wallen.....	1666 $\frac{2}{3}$	}	5000.
George Strauss, Now Joha ^{na} Eleonora			
von Merlau, Wife of Joha ⁿ Wm.			
Peters	1666 $\frac{2}{3}$		
Daniel Behagel	1666 $\frac{2}{3}$	}	5000.
D. Gerhard von Mastricht.....	1666 $\frac{2}{3}$		
D. Thomas von Wilich.....	1666 $\frac{2}{3}$		
and Joha ^{nes} le Brun	1666 $\frac{2}{3}$		
Balthasar Jawert	3333 $\frac{1}{3}$	}	5000.
Joha ^{nes} Kemler	1666 $\frac{2}{3}$		

⁸⁴ The original, dated Nov. 12, 1686, with Pastorius' signature and seal, is now in the collection of Mr. George C. Thomas, of Philadelphia. With Mr. Thomas' permission the page with the signature is reproduced here.

That we concerning this Estate for Ourselves, Our respective Wives, Children & heirs in the Name of God have Entered into and Agreed upon a Comunion or Society in manner & form following,

1. The above said lands wherever they are or hereafter shall be Assigned Jointly and asunder, as also the Lots in the City, which over & above the aforementioned belong unto us, to wit four or six places in the City of Philadelphia, for to build new houses upon, and a matter of 300. Acres in the Cities Liberty Situate before & about Philadelphia, And the land which of late hath been bought upon the Skulkill for a Brick-kiln, together with all & every Edifices & other Improvements, which now are and hereafter shall be made in any place & quarter of all Pensilvania, as also Victuals, Commodities, Cattle, household stuff &c, which we have sent thither, or were bought or other wise acquired there; And the present & future Real Rights & Priviledges shall now & hereafter be and remain Comon in Equal Right, according to Every Ones above specified Share, which he hath in the said Company.

2. All & every Expenses for the Cultivation, Improvement & Buildings; Jtem for transporting of Servants, Tenants & other Persons, as also Comodities, Victuals, tools, &c. and there in the sd Province for Tradesmen & Labourers, &c. and universally all Charges of what Name soever, which hitherto have been spent in America and Europe, or hereafter at the next mentioned manner may be spent, shall be at Comon Costs after the rate of Every Ones Share.

3. Per Contra all Profits, Revenues and whatsoever there is got, built, planted, till'd & brought forth, either in products of the Ground, Slaves, Cattle, manufactures, &c. nothing at all Excepted, shall be Comon among all the Partners pro rato of the number of Acres.

4. Concerning the Affairs of this Company, the five head-stems (: every 5000. to be Accounted for a Head-stem, or as hereafter it may be otherwise Agreed upon, shall Consult among themselves, and by the plurality of Votes (: each thousand Acres having ten Votes, :) conclude with all Convenient Speed.

5. There in the sd Province there shall be always an Attorney for the Company, and in Case of his Decease, Absence & Unableness a Substitute be appointed unto him with a Salary in writing Executed by both Parties. Both these shall yearly under both their hands & the Companies Seal make an Orderly Jnventory of all the Companies Effects there, Specifying the Cultivated & uncultivated acres, meadows, waters, woods, houses, the bounds thereof, as also the Servants, Tenants, Cattel, Fruits, Victuals, Comodities, Debts Active & passive, ready money, &c. and send the same over with

their Accounts of Costs & Profits, Receipt & Disbursement. Decrease & Increase in all particulars by one & an other following Vessel with a second Original, and likewise in manner aforesd Communicate the State of things to him, unto whom at that time the Correspondency of the Company shall be Committed.

6. Here in these parts there shall be always Ordained by the Plurality of Votes in Writing two Clerks of the Company either of the Companions or Strangers who shall attend the Companies Accounts & Correspondency in America, Open the letters which belong to them, and Communicate the Contents thereof by way of Extract, or if need be, a Copy to the 5. Head-Stems (: by and from whom further all and every Partners are to receive, do & perform theirs:) write down with short words, yet clearly & diligently in a Diary of the Pennsilvanian Affairs out of the letters coming from thence, or the Occurrences happening here; make peculiar Memorandums of what is to be done & Observed, Adjust every Year ultimo Decembris the Accounts, together with the Revision of Inventories and the Annotations of Increase & Decrease by Day and Date, as far as may be had by letters or Otherwise, And being approved of by the five Head-Stems or their Attornies Record them in a Book, and keep them under two Locks in a good Order according to their Table or Index, together with the Companies Documents and Original Writings ascribing Day & Date, as also the Copies of the letters which they send away, in a certain Place as the Company pleaseth, and now for the present time at Francfort upon the Mayn, where this work did first begin, and whereunto as yet the greatest part doth belong, and in all without the special Consent of the five head Stems not undertake nor dispatch any thing of Importance. Further they shall enjoy for all their labour some moderate Recompence from the Company; Moreover each head Stem may for himself & the Partners thereunto belonging extract out of such letters what he pleaseth, but the Original shall be left in the Archive.

7. Hereafter the Company shall sign their letters & Contracts with a peculiar Seal to be kept along with the aforesd Original Documents; and shall send an other Seal somewhat different in bigness & Circumscription to their Factors in Pennsylvania, there to make the like use thereof; Without such Seals no Letters or Contracts shall be sent in the Companies Name thither or hither, nor be esteemed firm & good.

8. In Case any of us or of our heirs should go to Pennsylvania, or send an Attorney for himself aforehand to prepare him a Settlement, and would give him, or take along with himself, several proper things for his use, he or they may do the same at their Own Costs and Riske; Afterwards after the rate of his Share for every thousand

Acres chuse for himself Sixty in One Tract uncleared land, So as we receive the same of the Governr., And therefor he shall pay Yearly a Recognition as Rent to the Company for every ten Acres One English Shilling; And if this land be not enough, but too narrow for him, there shall be further allowed unto him, proportionally to his Share, 60. acres as aforesaid in consideration of each thousand for the Moiety of the Price for wch. the Company useth to Let it at that time upon Rent unto Strangers; And in case he should still desire more land, if the Company can spare it, at the Price & on such Conditions as to a Stranger. Now upon these lands which one or the other settlth for himself alone in maner aforesd, he may act at his pleasure, And use & enjoy all sort[s] of Goods immoveable & moveable which we have in Comon there before other Strangers: Nevertheless that all this be unprejudicial to the Comon best of the Company. And those Companions which dwell in Pennsilvania shall pay the usual Rent, Wages, Payment or Value of all what they use of the Comon things for themselves to the Companies Factor there, whereof they are at the following Repartition to receive back their share. But if the whole Company do generally find good to let go over any of their Companions for their comon Service and at their comon Costs, there shall in that Case be made a particular Agreement. But in every Case & in all parts whatsoever the Companions there & their heirs shall be Obliged no less than those in Europe to stand to this Contract and to the further Orders of the most Votes.

9. Jf the Clerks or else one or more by the Companies appropriation as aforesd should disburse money, such Debtors shall be Obliged to repay the thus disbursed principal Sum at the utmost within the space of One year with the yearly Interest of five per Cent, and therefore theire Share shall hereby in the best form of Law be Engaged as a Special Pledge.

10. Jf any of us or Ours soon or late shall dye without wife & heirs begotten in Matrimony of his body, not having expressly & particularly declared by Testament or other credible Disposition in Writing, or by word of mouth, what he would have done with his Share of these Comon Goods after his Decease, his Share shall accrue and be herewith Assign'd to the whole Company, proportionably to Each's respective Share, and shall not be otherwise accounted than as if he had reserved to himself Only the use of such Goods for the term of his life, and presently in the beginning Incorporated the true Property to the Company. And all Deceases of the Companions, and who are their heirs in this work shall by the Clerks then being in credible form either under the Attestation of all the nearest Relations of the deceased, or of other credible persons be advised with all speed, Or until the Certainty thereof the Name of the De-

ceased be continued in Accounts & Books. And his Contingent wch. falls to him be kept in the Companies Cassa along with the Original Documents.

11. It's not lawful for any that is a Partner in this Company to alien his land or Right thereof all or in part to any without the Company, unless he have the Companies Consent, or at least made the first Offer to the same. But if one or other of us, our Wives, Children or whoever shall be hereafter a Partner of the Company, should be willing soon or late to alienate his share or Portion, and none of the Company to Acquire or buy the same, then & not otherwise the Seller shall have liberty to sell it to any other; yet with this Proviso, that always the Company, Or if they will not have it, any of the Company within three months after the Alienation is made known, shall have liberty to take to themselves that what is sold, paying down the Consideration Money, and for their profit to deduct or give less than such new Purchaser bought the Part aliened for Ten per Cent. of the Consideration Money, the Price whereof both Seller & Buyer shall be oblig'd to declare upon their Conscience.

12. In case, which we do not expect, be it soon or late there should happen any Misunderstanding or Cause of Contention between us Our heirs & Successors Concerning these Goods & what thereon doth depend, the same shall be determined among the Members of the Company, Or if both Parties do not account them wholly Impartially, by other two honest Persons unanimously Chosen by the differing Parties, And these two Chosen Persons shall have Power to take unto them the third, if they think it necessary, in form & manner hereafter described, vizt. the chosen Arbitrators on an appointed day & place in the presence of the differing Parties or their Attorneys after the Jnvocation of divine Assistance & ripe Consideration of the Matter shall determine the business by their Award according to their best Knowledge & Sentiment in case they cannot bring the Parties to a Composition; But if these three can not agree or find out the most Votes, they shall send for Advice to one or two of the head-partners, and then Conceive & pronounce their Award; To the Contrary whereof afterwards in no manner or ways any thing shall be done, acted or admitted by Right or Force of no Judge or Man in the whole World, in Europe or America; And if any should presume to Oppose himself hereunto, eo ipso (: for by so doing:) he shall forfeit his whole Share, and besides pay a Fine of 200. rix-dollars to the publick Almonery (or to the poor) ipso facto without any Exception or further Declaration.

All faithfully & without Covin. In true witness this present Contract, to which all Partners after a ripe Consideration did unanimously Consent, is twelve times under all & every Ones own hand & Seal setforth, and an Exemplar thereof delivered to Each, and one

laid up with the common Documents. Given at Francfort upon Mayn the 12th. November Anno 1686.

(Seal) Gerhard von Mastrich.	(Seal) Johan Jacob Schütz.
(Seal) Francis Daniel Pastorius.	(Seal) Daniel Behagel.
(Seal) Thomas von Wylich.	(Seal) Jacobus van den Wallen.
(Seal) Johan Le Brun.	(Seal) Johan Wilhelm Petersen.
	(Seal) Johannes Kemler.
	(Seal) Balthasar Jawert. ^{24a}

The reorganization of the German Company seems to have had little effect upon the affairs of the company in Pennsylvania, if we may judge from the entries in the *Grund-und Lager-Buch*, which doubtless is a faithful record of the transactions of the company under the direction of Pastorius, who against his will continued as agent of the company after the reorganization until the year 1700.

Release of Pastorius as Agent of the German Society.

Meanwhile, a number of the original members of the company had died, and some of the survivors, apparently dissatisfied with the state of their affairs in Pennsylvania, concluded to relieve Pastorius of the agency, and agreed to issue a letter of attorney to Daniel Falkner, Johannes Kelpius, both in Pennsylvania, and Johannes Jawert, son of Balthasar Jawert, of Lübeck, one of the principals of the company.

The reasons for this Letter of Attorney are quite fully set forth in the document itself in the following passage in Pastorius' translation:

"And yet, because of the death of some heads of the sd Company, & the between Interruption of the French War, as also chiefly

^{24a} This is the translation made by Pastorius. It is endorsed on the back in his own hand: "A Translation of the Francfort Companies Contract of Society."

because of the absence of the Governour, & the unableness of the sd Our Factor, these Our affairs in the sd Province are come to a Stop, the more mentioned Mr. Pastorius having also desired by & in several of his Letters to be discharged of his Administration &c."

There were apparently other reasons for this transfer of the agency of the company to these new hands. First, because of the interest which Jawert had in the company, and the fact that his son was emigrating to America and could look after affairs; secondly, because Falkner was on friendly relations with some of the company, as appears from the fact that he is mentioned in the deed of gift of Catharine Elizabeth Schütz as one of the beneficiaries. Just what reason there was for appointing Kelpius, the dreamy hermit of the Wissahickon, is not apparent, unless it was because of the religious sympathy existing between him and Johann Wilhelm Petersen.

The reference in the document to the inability ("unableness") of Pastorius to continue as agent, and the fact that the affairs of the company had "come to a Stop" is not necessarily to be construed as indicating any incapacity or laxness on the part of Pastorius, but is easily explained by the fact that during the years 1698 to 1700 he was engaged in teaching school in Philadelphia, and for this reason could not give his undivided attention to the affairs of the Company.

The translation of this letter of attorney in Pastorius' quaint English and in his own hand is still extant, and is printed here in full:

"We subscribed do manifest & Confess herewith, *Whereas* we Joiningly have bought five & twenty thousand Acres of unseparated land in Pennsilvania, according to the documents & Jndentures thereof, with peculiar Priviledges & Rights, And therefore in Vertue thereof the 12th of November 1686. by a peculiar Writing haveing formed a Society, & for the Cultivation & Administration of the sd land have Jmpowred Mr. Francis Daniel Pastorius. J. U. L. according to the Letter of attorney bearing Date the 12th of April 1683. And yet because of the death of some heads of the sd Company, & the between Jrruption of the French War, as also chiefly because of the absence of the Governour, &

the unableness of the sd Our Factor, these Our affairs in the sd Province are come to a Stop, the more mentioned Mr. Pastorius having also desired by & in several of his Letters to be discharged of his Administration; That we for such end do Conferr full Power & special Authority on Mr. Daniel Falkner & Johaⁿes Kelpius, as Jnhabitants for the present in Peⁿsilvania, and also on Mr. Johaⁿes Jawert the Son of one of our Principals, nominally Mr. Balthasar Jawert of Lubeck, who hath resolved to transport himself thither, thus and in such wise that these Our three Plenipotentiaries Joiningly or in Case of death of one or the Other, they or he who remains, shall have in the best form the Administration of all our goods we have there of the lands in the form & where they are Joiningly or separately assigned unto us, or shall be assigned, surveyed & set out, and of the City-Lots by reason of the five & twenty thousand Acres being Competent to us, viz. the 4. or 6. Places in the City of Philadelphia, and of the 300. Acres situated in the Right & Liberty of the City before & about Philadelphia, And of the land bought by the Scullkill for a Brick-kiln And of all & every erected Building & other Meliorations, and of what hath been sent thither, or bought there, or otherwise got of Victuals, Co^modities, Cattels, household-stuff, tools, Servants, Tenants & of other Persons, &c and therefore to call to an account in Our Name the sd Mr. Pastorius, who hitherto hath been our Plenipotentiary, and to take of him herewith all such Our Estates & effects, and in Case any of them should be alienated without our knowledge, above all things to vindicate them; So then in general or special, as it can be done best, to dispose, exchange, sell & receive the money for them, and hereupon to quit, transact, make Jndentures & Documents, Assurances, & in Su^ma to do & leave every thing what we Ourselves could or might do or leave, if we were then & there personally present, Cum potestate Substituendi, et Substitutionem toties quoties revocandi, cumq^{ue} Clausulis rati, grati, omnibusq^{ue} alijs illius loci & fori necessarijs et Consuetis. And in Case our aforementioned Plenipotentiaries should want *Any larger Power* then herein is Contained, the same we advisedly do grant herewith unto them, & do decently Jmplore the Governour in Chief and Magistrates of the sd Province, to regard them as such, and to grant them upon their request their Magisterial aid, in Case they should want the same; On the other hand Our Plenipotentiaries Joinedly & Separately are directed to the two Principals in Francfort on the river of Main, vizt. the heirs of Jacob van de Walle & Daniel Behagel both deceased, to acquaint & give an account unto them timely of every one of their transactions, and to address unto them Moneys or Co^modities, to Correspond with'em and to expect, if need, further Orders & Jnstructions

of them in the Name of the whole Company, wherewith they shall further in this Case Communicate and get their Consent. Lastly we grant unto them herewith special Power to appropriate fifty Acres of Our land in Germantown for the benefit of a Schoolmaster, that the Youth in reading, writing & in good manners & education, without partial Admonition to God & Christ may be brought up and Instructed.

All faithfully & without Fraud, In true Witness whereof we have with our own hands Subscribed & Sealed this Letter of Attorney, and caused the same to be made under & by publick Authority. Done in Francfort on the River of Mayn, the 24th day of January 1700.

(Seal) Catharina Elizabetha Schutzin Widow.
(Seal) the Widow of Jacob van de Walle deceased.
(Seal) the Heirs of Daniel Behagel deceased.
(Seal) Johannes Kemmler.
(Seal) Balthasar Jawert.
(Seal) Johan: Wilhelm Petersen d.....
(Seal) Gerhard van Mastrich.
(Seal) Johaens Le Brün.
(Seal) Maria van de Walle Widow of Doctor Thomas van Willig with her Copartners.

The above and within written is a True Copy of ye originall Letter of Attorney as ye same is Recorded in ye Rolls Office at Philadelphia in Book D. 2. vol 4. page 104 &c.

Examined by me

Richd. Heath Dep. ibm."

This transfer of the agency of the reorganized German Company to Falkner, Kelpius and Jawert terminated Pastorius' official connection with the company's affairs. At the end of August, 1700, the new agents, after the arrival of Falkner and Jawert, entered upon their duties. Pastorius turned over to the new agents the company's land, house, barn, stable, corn (grain) in and above ground, cattle, household goods, utensils, etc., and also arrears of rents and other debts due the company, amounting in all to some £230. Kelpius, however, more inclined to mystic dreaming than to business, and evidently soon convinced that he could not be party to the acts of Falkner, resigned his office as co-agent, declaring himself "civilly dead" (civiliter mortuus), delivering his authority to the society and to Falkner to act in conjunction with Jawert in his stead. The deed of assignment

is witnessed by Godfried Seelig and Johann Hendrick Sprogell. Jawert was disgusted at the shameful conduct of Falkner (who, among other things, "played the sot") and posted a notice on the meeting-house in Germantown warning the public against transacting business with Falkner as agent of the company. On the 20th of March, 1705, Falkner and Jawert gave a letter of attorney to George Lowther, who attempted to conduct the affairs of the company and on the 26th of March, 1706, affixed a notice on the meeting-house in Germantown summoning those having business with the company to appear before him Friday, April 5th, at the house of Joseph Coulson in Germantown.

Henceforth Pastorius' interests in the German Company are chiefly of a personal character, as one of the original members. According to his own statement, he was appointed to act with Hans Henry Meels as attorney for the 4000 acre donation made by Catherine Elizabeth Schütz. The letter of attorney is dated November 4, 1704. There is no record of his having received any compensation for his seventeen years of service as agent for the German Company.

The affairs of the company rapidly grew worse. As is usually the case in such land crises, an adventurer appeared in the person of Johann Heinrich Sprögel, who, arriving from Holland, claimed to have bought out the company's interests before sailing. Falkner, deep in debt, joined Sprögel and retained David Lloyd by fraudulently turning over to him 1000 acres of Benjamin Furly's land, and quietly secured from the Court of Philadelphia County the famous or infamous "Writ of Ejectment"³⁵ dispossessing the German Company of their 25,000 acres of land. The pleas were made before Joseph Growdon, Samuel Finny and Nathan Stanbury, Esqs., Justices of the Court of Common Pleas of Philadelphia County, January 13, 1708.³⁶

The injustice of this decision was strongly urged by Pastorius both in his brief, *The Case of the Francfort Company's Busi-*

³⁵ A copy of this is to be found in Pastorius' hand in the Pastorius MSS. in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

³⁶ The documents relating to this case were first printed by Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker in his *Pennsylvania Colonial Cases*, Philadelphia, 1892.

ness briefly Stated, and in his more elaborate statement of the case entitled *Exemplum sine Exemplo*, written in 1611. In 1713, the 26th of the 4th month, Pastorius and Jawert brought the matter before the Friends' Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia, calling David Lloyd seriously to account for the part he had taken in the matter.

The charges brought in by Pastorius and Jawert against Lloyd were discussed at six monthly meetings that same year.

At the meeting of the 29th of the 3d month, 1713, it was decided that "Anthony Morris, Wm. Hudson and Pentecost Teague or any one of them are desired to acquaint David Lloyd with the contents of the sd letter [of Jawert]."

At the meeting of the 26th of the 4th month, 1713, we have this notice: "David Lloyd still continuing his request for a Certificate the sense of the meeting is that David Lloyd should appear at our monthly meeting to give them satisfaction in relation to the complaint of Daniel Pastorius & John Jawert."

At the meeting of the 31st of the 5th month, 1713, Lloyd stated that Falkner and Sprögel had certain powers, but "not so Effectual to make the sd title without the help of the Court of Common Pleas;" that the Council had desired him (Lloyd) to draw up a record and that he saw Falkner prove his amount at Court by oath and saw a letter which he believed to be Furly's and an agreement in Dutch or German in Sprögel's possession.

On the 25th of the 6th month, 1713, the matter was referred to Nicolas Walln; Anthony Morris, Wm. Hudson and John Warder or any four of them for further consideration.

On the 30th of the 8th month, 1713, the meeting still not satisfied added Samuel Preston to the committee.

On the 27th of the 9th month, 1713, David Lloyd protested his innocence and said he was sorry if any offense had been given by his conduct. The meeting left the matter with this very suspicious minute: "However, it seems to the meeting to be that which is not of a good report and therefore desires David Lloyd that he may forbear to have anything further to do towards strengthening the parties concerned therein."

After having gone over the matter with careful scrutiny, I find no reason to impugn the account given by Pastorius in both of his papers, and I print the shorter of the two here as his epitome of the whole case:

"The Case of the Francfort Company's Business briefly Stated.

Jacob van de Walle, Caspar Merian, Johan Jacob Schütz, Johan William Uberfeld, Johan William Petersen and Daniel Behagel having purchased 15000 acres of land in Pennsylvania, gave Año 1683. the 2d of April, and the 5th of May to Francis Daniel Pastorius two letters of Attorney, to administer the said land, wherein they promised him a reasonable Salary out of the Incomes and Rents thereof. Año 1683. the 11th of July Johan William Uberfeld conveyed unto the sd Pastorius by a certain Deed of Sale his 1000. Acres, which he had purchased of William Penn, sending him the Original Lease & Release under the sd William Penn's hand & Seal.

Anno 1686. the 12th of November the abovesd Vande Walle (having bought Caspar Merian's share,) Schutz, Petersen and Behagel together with other five persons, viz: Gerhard van Mastricht, Thomas Willigh, John Le Brun, Balthasar Jawert and John Kemler, (who purchased 10000 Acres more,) made a Contract of Sale, inserting also the sd Pastorius's Name for 1000 Acres; So that the whole Content of their land is 25000 acres, and the Partners in all ten.

In this Contract of Society among other Covenants & Articles they agreed, that those of the Partners who transported themselves into Pennsylvania may take up some land for themselves out of the sd Tract of 25000. Acres for a certain Recognition or Rent, &c. Item, that if there should happen any Misunderstanding or Cause of Contention between them, their heirs & Successors, concerning this Estate and whatever depends thereon the same shall be determined by two honest persons unanimously chosen by the differing Parties, and that these two chosen persons shall have Power to take unto them the third, if they think it necessary, &c.

Anno 1700. the 24th of January the Widow of Jacob vande Walle, the Widow of Johan Jacob Schutz, the heirs of Daniel Behagel, the widow of Thomas Willigh, John Kemler, Balthasar Jawert, Johan William Petersen, Gerhard van Mastricht and John Le Brun, (nine partners beyond Sea,) being often requested by the aforesd Pastorius, to put an other in his place, gave a Letter of Attorney to Daniel Falkner, Johannes Kelpius & Johannes Jawert to act Jointly, or in Case of death of one or the other, then the Survivors or Survivor, &c.

Eodem Anno 1700. the 1st of March Catherin Elizabeth Schutzin (widow of Johan Jacob Schütz,) by a Deed of Gift Freely gave the 4000 Acres, which her husband had purchased with her own money, unto such pious persons, as Daniel Falkner & Arnold Stork shall think meet, which sd Stork Substituted Francis Daniel Pastorius & Hans Henry Meels by his Letter of Attourney, dated the 5th of November 1704. proved & Recorded at Philada.

In the aforesd year 1700. at the end of the 6th month (August,) Daniel Falkner & Joha^ñes Jawert being arrived here, began along with Johannes Kelpius to administer the Company's affairs, to whom the sd Pastorius delivered up the land, house, barn, Stable, Corn in & above ground, Cattel, household goods, Utensils, &c and besides in Arrears of Rents & other Debts due to the Company about 230*l*. hoping, they would do Business with better Success, than he signified to the Partners in Germany, that he was able or capable to do himself; But soon after Joha^ñes Kelpius declared, [that] he would not act as Attorney for the sd Company, calling himself Civiliter Mortuus: Whereupon Daniel Falkner plaid the Sot, making Bonfires of the Company's Flax in open street, giving a Piece of eight to one Boy to shew him in his drunken Fit a house in Philada., and to another a Bit to light him his Pipe &c. Inso much that his Fellow Attourney Joha^ñes Jawert affixed an Advertisement on the Meeting house at Germantown, that no body should pay any Rent or other Debt to the Company unto the sd Falkner. Yea and the then Bailiff and Burgesses of the Germantown Corporation acquainted the sd Company of the ill Administration of this their Attourney here, in a letter, which (as they afterwards did hear,) miscarried.

For this reason of Deficiency of Power none would buy any land of the sd Falkner, and so all was still and quiet, till John Henry Sprögel, (a cunning and fraudulent Fellow, as appears by several letters, sent from Holland after him,) arrived in this Province, who one time would say, that his father had some Interest in the Francfort Company, (which is utterly false;) and an other time, that he bought the Companies Estate of Gerhard van Mastricht and the rest when in Germany, and that the French took away his writings; (which is no more true than the former,) For after he was taken he still for some weeks did lye in Holland, and so might either have had other Deeds from them, or at least a letter from any of them, to signify unto their Attornies here, that he bought the land, which he never bought one acre of, as since the sd van Mastricht did write.

[Meanwhile the sd] Falkner pretending to have a Special Power to Sell, and being.....ebts together with the sd Sprögel befriended themselves with David Lloyd by means of a thousand Acres of Benjamin Furly's land, accomplished their horrible Plot, and without the least knowledge either of Johannes Jawert or Francis

Daniel Pastorius, and also without any Warning given to the Tenants in Possession, in a Court held for the County of Philada. Ejected the Company out of their 25000. Acres of land, they honestly purchased in Pennsylvania. The like Trick he the sd Falkner intended some time before, imploying George Lowther, who brought that Instrument, which he calls a Special Power, into the Germantown Corporation Court, in order to have it acknowledg'd & Recorded; But the sd Court disapproved the same, Because the sd Paper was only Signed by two (and those the youngest) of the sd Company, neither did it revoke the former Letter of Attorney given to Falkner, Kelpius and Jawert, Signed by all the nine Partners living in Germany; But is only a Declaration of something in the sd Letter of Attorney, which of itself is plain & manifest. Moreover the sd Falkner could not prove the sd Instrument according to the Law of this Province, And where has he ever proved the same Vivâ voce of at least two Witnesses? Had David Lloyd not shewed himself so Pragmatical in this Case, but let Daniel Falkner by his lame & insufficient Explanatory Letter Convey the Company's land to Sprögel, they might easily long ago have recover'd the same, and many honest men in high & low Germany, who are sincerely Inclined to Truth, Peace, Righteousness & Christianity would not be Occasioned to think so strange of this the Pennsylvanian Lawyers Way of Ejectment sine die; especially when they hear, that One called a Quaker had a hand in it: And the sd Pastorius might at least have obtained somewhat of a Salary for his Service done unto the sd Company Seventeen years and a half, and what he disbursed of his own during that time.

Now the Company being thus miserably dispossessed of all their Estate, as afore mentioned, the sd Pastorius once with Arnold Cassel went to David Lloyd, and Complaining of the Wrong, also desired his Advice, presenting him a small Fee, which he refused to take; but told him, that he the sd Pastorius & Johanes Jawert were not included in the Ejectment, which they knew already. And when the sd Pastorius further asked the sd David Lloyd, what was best for him to do? David drawing his shoulders, told him, that his land (viz. the 1000. Acres) was Involv'd in that of the Company, and that he must seek for it at Sprögels. Which Counsel he the sd Pastorius scrupled to embrace, rst not to Prejudice the Company's Case by his so doing, and 2dly by reason that he was fully assured of Sprögel's unjust Occupation;

For Joseph Growden, (who at the abovesd County Court was Judge upon that Bench,) himself owned before the Lieutenant Governr. and his Council, when Johanes Jawert exhibited his Petition to that Board, that the Court has been Surprised by the Lawyers, whom Falkner and Sprögel had all Feed, except only Thomas Clark, who rising as if he would speak some thing to the Matter,

was taken by the Sleeve and Whispered in the Ear, Be Quiet, you shall have Forty shillings, &c. as he likewise then and there did relate it Openly.

And if David Lloyd dare Justify this barbarous Manner of Proceeding, and Spoiling of Widows and Orphans, it's more than any can do that profeseth Truth, and unless he really repent, and endeavour to have Restitution made to those who so deeply Suffer he certainly [will] be answerable for it at the great day of Judgment. Francis Daniel Pastorius."³⁷

The following poem found in the *Beehive* is a quaint little anthem of praise written by Pastorius on the fall of David Lloyd:

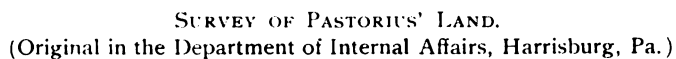
"A Cedar tall, Who seem'd to reach the Skies,
Of late did fall, And in the dirt there lies
My violets with my sweet Primerose stand;
The which begets A thankful heart and hand.
J praise the Lord, Who kept my Wife and Sons,
And did afford His Mercies more than once:
Yea oft'ner yet By thousand Million times,
Than J have set Words in all former Rimes.
Not words alone, But letters great and small,
We were undone, Had God not kept us all."

Pastorius' Land.

Two tracts of land were owned by Pastorius while he was agent of the German Company. One of these, consisting of 1000 acres, he purchased of Johann Willhelm Uberfeldt, July 11, 1683. This was an interest in the German or Frankfurt Company and was subject to the fraud which befell the Company's lands at the hands of Falkner and Sprögel. The other tract owned by Pastorius was given him by William Penn as a present and consisted of 200 acres in the Liberties. The warrant³⁸ for this land is signed: 16th 5th month. 1684. These 200 acres were located in Sommerhausen, which was named after Pastorius' birthplace on the Main. He sold this tract the next year (as he says afterwards, "unwisely") to William Strepers and Abraham Tunes for

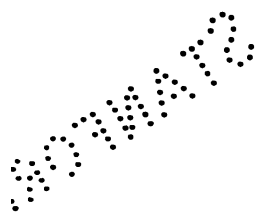
³⁷ An adverse estimate of Pastorius' merits as Agent of the German (Frankfurt) Company is given by J. F. Sachse in *The German Pietists of Pennsylvania*, p. 300ff.

³⁸ Cf. Old Rights, Philadelphia, "P" No. 1868 (Department of Internal Affairs, Harrisburg, Pa.).



SURVEY OF PASTORIUS' LAND.
(Original in the Department of Internal Affairs, Harrisburg, Pa.)

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40 pounds, which he spent for the German Company.³⁹ This land is situated in the present Chestnut Hill and represents an enormous value with the modern improvements—another instance of lost opportunity in land speculation!

The 1000 acres, which Pastorius bought of Uberfeld, he left in the estate of the German (Frankfurt) Company as he himself admits "unwisely." Daniel Falkner, the later agent of the Company, had the names of himself, Arnold Storch and Görg Müller substituted for that of Pastorius in the Manatawny Patent, which was afterwards granted to complete the quota of acres coming to the Company.⁴⁰ At last, however, in 1713, a tract of 893 acres was granted to Pastorius to indemnify him for this injustice on the part of the agent of the Company. The grant runs thus:

"By the Commissioners of Property.

At the Request of Francis Daniel Pastorius that we would Grant him to take up Eight hundred Ninety and three Acres of Land in this Province at the rate of Seven pounds Per hundred to be paid to the Proprietor: These are to Authorize thee to Survey or cause to be survey'd to y^e said Ff D. Pastorius the Said quantity of Land in this Province that has not been already Survey'd nor taken up nor is Sealed by the Indians. And make Returns thereof into the Secretaries Office. Given under our hands and the Seal of the Province at Philadelphia the fifth day of the Sixth Month August A D 1713.

Richard Hill
Isaac Norris
James Logan.

To Jacob Taylor Surveyor Genl."

³⁹ Cf. *Res Propriae*, p. 23:

"Als Land betreffend, war ich niemals sehr begierig darnach; dieweil der Weg zum Himmel nardurch nicht gefunden wird.

Jedoch nahm ich die 200. ackers an, die mir Wm. Peñ in der Germantownship zulegte, nahm sie in Sommerhausen auff, u. verkauffte sie unweisslich an Wm. Strepers und Abraham Tunes vor 40.£ dissländn gelds, so ich meist zur frñ. Compagnie nothdurfft ausgab."

⁴⁰ Cf. *Res Propriae*, p. 23:

"Die 1000. Ackers, die mir Johañ Willhelm Uberfeld verkauffte, liesz ich auch sehr unweiszlich unter der Compagnie land liegen, bisz hernachmals Daniel Falckner an statt miener oder gedn. Uberfelds sich selbst, Arnold Storch und Görg Müller in das Manatanische Patent einsetzen liesz da doch keiner von ihnen dreyen nie einig fuss od acker lands in gedr. Compagnie gehabt haben."

CHAPTER V.

BURGHER AND SCHOOLMASTER.

The part which Pastorius played as Agent of the German Company, the so-called Frankfurt Company, was by no means the most important service which he rendered to the newly-founded German Town. He was far more useful to the settlement as burgher, lawgiver, schoolmaster, scrivener, and writer of both prose and verse. It is in these varied activities of the man that we see his true importance as the great German pioneer in America.

In the early annals of Germantown Pastorius has left lasting testimonials to his indispensable services as a burgher. The first five years of its existence the German settlement had no corporate form, but grew on as a more or less close community. In these years Pastorius was the virtual official factotum, as he managed the affairs both of the German Company and the Crefelders.

The first year was one of great privation and not a little suffering. Provisions were scarce and had to be brought sometimes all the way from the Swedish settlement in Upland. The colony met with an unexpected economic hindrance at the very outset. It was made up largely of weavers who knew but little of tilling the soil. Their products were in little demand, because the newcomers had brought with them a good supply of wearing apparel. This is seen from the slight sales at the Fair held Nov. 16, 1684, in Philadelphia, where the Company netted a little over ten thalers.¹ This lack of market for their wares brought

¹ Pastorius gives this account in his *Beschreibung*, p. 17: "Es seye den 16. Nov. [1684] zu Philadelphia Jahrmackt gewesen / da aber in der Societät Kauffhause wenig über 10. Thaler seye gelöset worden / aus vorgedachtem Geld-Magel / und weilien die Neu-Ankommenden aus Teutsch- und Engeland meistentheils so viel Kleider mit sich bringen / dasz sie in einigen Jahren nichts bedörffen." Cf. also the earlier form of this statement in *Sichere Nachricht auss America*, p. 7.

on a serious money famine, which Penn began at once to relieve by uniting with the industry of weaving that of agriculture, with emphasis upon grape culture. Pastorius as early as November, 1684, writes the German Company that they shall send over a quantity of grape cuttings and all sorts of field and garden seeds.⁷ We have also from Pastorius the interesting information that Penn had already planted, before 1684, a vineyard of French grapes, and that Pastorius himself had brought over with him a number of grape cuttings, which were all spoiled by the salt water, except two that had luckily survived. In addition to the lack of money and market for the products of the loom, came the great need of skilled craftsmen and husbandmen, the first to fell the forest and build houses, the second to till the soil. Pastorius wrote home to the Company that workmen and peasants were most needed of all classes of colonists. As he looked out from the settlement, whichever way he went, it was "a way into the primeval forest" ("Itur in antiquam silvam"). What wonder he wished for a dozen strong Tyrolese to lay low the thick oak trees!⁸

Although Pastorius faltered during these first years, he was an unfailing factor in the life of Germantown. His close personal association with William Penn drew forth the constant concern of the Governor for the little German colony. It was doubtless the friendship and aid of Penn which held the Germans together in this trying period of the new settlement.

The following verses of Pastorius show his own state of mind:

⁷"Und weilten für jetzo der Gouverneur William Penn hauptsächlich intendire die Weberey und den Weinwachs zu etabliren / so solle der Compagnie belieben / eine Quantität Weinfexer hineinzuschicken / wie auch allerhand Feld- und Garten-Samen." (*Beschreibung*, p. 17.)

⁸"Arbeitsleut und Bauern sind erstlich allhier am nöthigsten und wünsche ich mir wol ein Dutzent starcke Tyroler / die dicken Eichenbäum nieder zu werffen; dann wohin man sich nur wendt / da heissts: Itur in antiquam silvam, es ist alles nur ein Wald." (*Sichere Nachricht*, p. 3.)

"Twas he [Th. Lloyd] and William Penn, that caused me to stay.

In this, then uncouth land and howling wilderness,
Wherein I saw that I but little should possess,
And if I could return home to my father's house,
Perhaps great riches and preferments might espouse, etc."

As early as 1686 the community of Germantown had become strong enough to build a church. Pastorius mentions this fact in his chapter "On the Religions of the Province," without telling us what the character of the worship was.

"We built here in Germantown, anno 1686, a little church for the community, not aiming at an externally large stone structure but rather that a temple of God (which we believers ourselves are) should be built, and we all together may be pure and unspotted."⁴

Notwithstanding this reference to the simplicity of the structure of their houses, we find them planning very early to erect permanent buildings. As early as March 7, 1684, Pastorius, after having asked the Company in Germany to send over a supply of field and garden seeds, pots, kettles, an iron stove, bed covers, mattresses, a piece of Barchet and Osnabrück linen cloth, the last named for sale at a profit, remarks that a tanner might find profitable employment, and speaks of two things as most necessary: 1, building commodious houses on the Germantown lots, and, 2, erecting a brick kiln, for which Penn had promised the requisite ground; for so long as they could not burn bricks they must build houses of wood.⁵

A good description of Germantown about this time is given by Richard Frame in *A Short Description of Pennsylvania, &c.*, Philadelphia, 1692. Frame ranks Germantown next to Philadelphia and continues in these verses:

⁴ Cf. *Beschreibung*, p. 34. The original passage is in German:

"Wir haben allhier zu Germanton Anno 1686, ein Kirchlein für die Gemeinde gebauet / darbey aber nicht auf äusserliches grosses Stein-Gebäude gesehen / sondern dasz der Tempel GOTTes (welcher wir Glaubige selbst sind) gebauet werde / und wir allesant heilig und unbefleckt seyn mögen."

⁵ Cf. *Sichere Nachricht*, p. 7.

"The *German-Town*, of which I spoke before,
Which is, at least, in length one Mile and More,
Where lives *High-German* People, and Low-Dutch,
Whose Trade in weaving Linnin Cloth is much,
There grows the Flax, as also you may know,
That from the same they do divide the Tow;
Their Trade fits well within this Habitation,
We find Convenience for their Occupation,
One Trade brings in imployment for another,
So that we may suppose each Trade a Brother;
From Linnin Rags good Paper doth derive,
The first Trade keeps the second Trade alive:
Without the first the second cannot be,
Therefore since these two can so well agree,
Convenience doth approve to place them nigh,
One in the *German-Town*, 'tother hard by.
A *Paper-Mill* near *German-Town* doth stand,
So that the Flax, which first springs from the Land,
First Flax, then Yarn, and then they must begin,
To weave the same, which they took pains to spin.
Also, when on our backs it is well [wor]n,
Some of the same remains Ragged and Torn;
Then of the Rags our Paper it is made,
Which in process of time doth waste and fade;
So what comes from the Earth, appeareth plain,
The same in Time returns to Earth again."^a

As we learn from the Charter, granted at a later date, the community was presided over by a Town President,⁶ a form of government transplanted evidently from Germany.

In the year 1689 William Penn granted Francis Daniel Pastorius, civilian, Jacob Telner, merchant, Dirck op de Graef, linen-maker, Jacob Isaacs, Johannes Cassel, Heivert Papen, Tünes Cunders, Herman Bon and Dirck van Kolk, all of Germantown, yeomen, a Charter for the "German Towne." The Charter⁷ was signed and sealed with the Lesser Seal by Penn in London the

^a From the unique copy in the possession of the Library Company of Philadelphia.

⁶ Cf. *Pennsylvania Archives*, Vol. I, p. 111. The president at the time the charter was granted was "Herman Isaacs Optegraaf" (op de Graeff).

⁷ Cf. "Charter Granted to the Inhabitants of Germantown, in 1691" (*Pennsylvania Archives*, I, 111 ff.). The original is in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

"12th, 6mo, Agt. 1689," and sent to Thomas Lloyd, Keeper of the Great Seal in Pennsylvania, and was recorded the 13th of the 3d month, 1691, in Patent Book A. Fol. 277. This Charter prescribed the general form of government adopted for the towns of the Province and named the following as the first officers: Francis Daniel Pastorius, Bailif; Jacob Telner, Dirck Isaacs op de Graeff and Tünes Kunders—Burgesses; Abraham Isaacs op de Graeff, Jacob Isaacs, Johannes Cassel, Heyvert Papen, Herman Bon and Dirck van Kolk—Committeemen.⁸

The Seal of Germantown was made, probably from the design furnished by Pastorius, between the years 1689 and 1691, as may be inferred from a letter of Pastorius to his father in Windsheim, dated October 10th, 1691, in which the seal is described as follows:

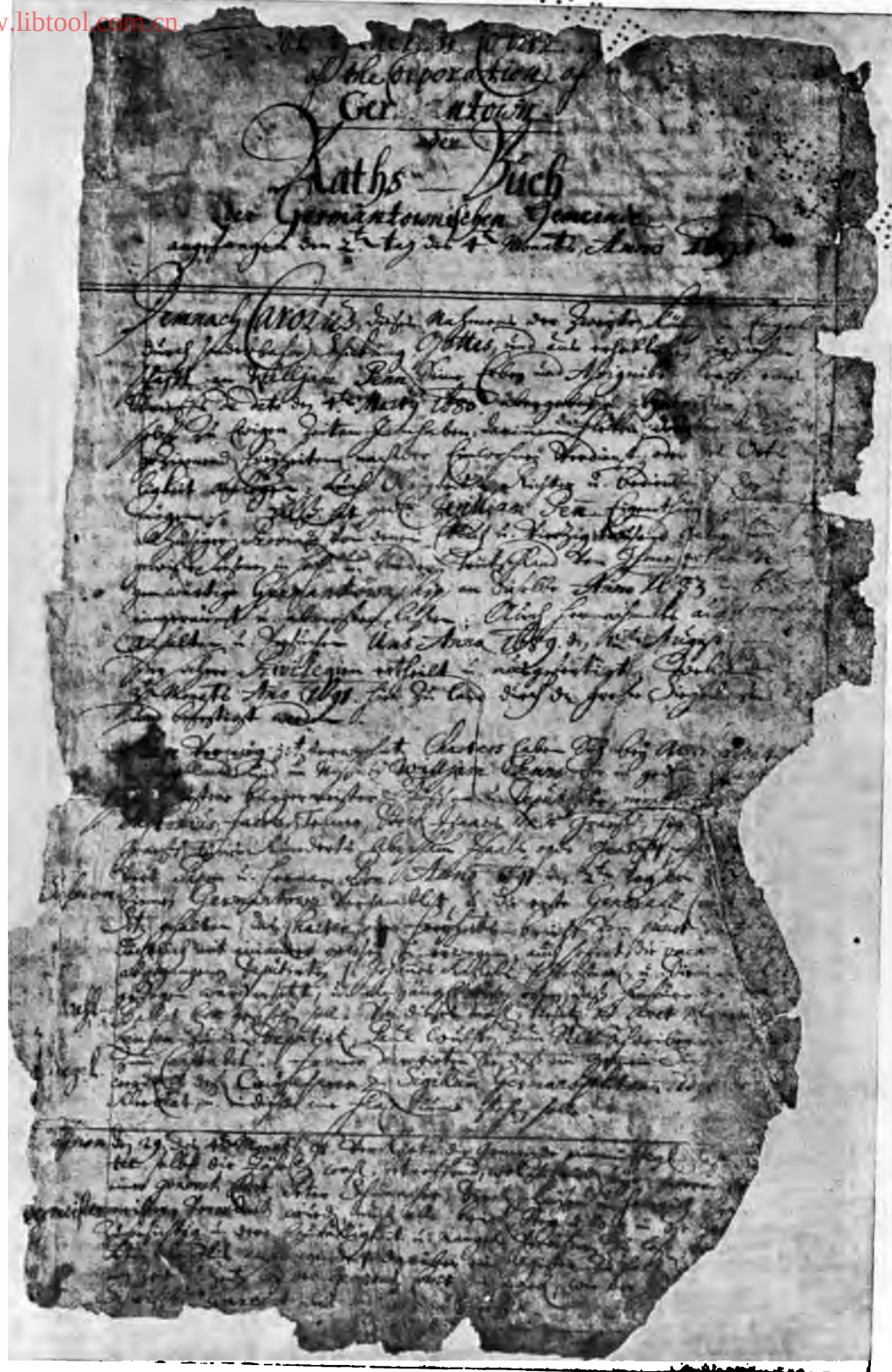
"The above mentioned Council [of Germantown] now has a seal of its own, upon which is a *Trifolium* having a grapevine on one leaf, a flax blossom on another, and a weaver's spool on the third, with the inscription: *Vinum, Linum & Textrinum*. This is to show that the people of this place live from grapes, flax and trade."^{8a}

The Charter of Germantown provided (1) for a General Court, to be made up of the Bailif, Burgesses and Committeemen,⁹ which "shall have power to make and they may make, ordain, constitute and establish such and so many good and reasonable Laws, Ordinances and Constitucons as to the greatest part of them . . . shall seem necessary and convenient for the Government of the said Corporacon;" (2) for a "Court of Record

⁸ "Francis Daniel Pastorius of German Towne, Civilian, to be the first and present Bailiffe; and the aforesaid Jacob Telner, Dirck Isaacs Opte Graaf and Tennis Coender to be the first and present Burgesses; And the aforesaid Abraham Isaacs Opte Graaf, Jacob Isaacs, Johannes Casselle, Heyward Hapen [Papen], Herman Bon and Dirck Vankolk the first and present Committee men of the said Corporacon."—*Penn Archives* I, 111.

^{8a} The original German passage in the Beschreibung, p. 51, runs as follows: "Obgemeldt angeordnetes Raths-Collegium hat nun auch eigenes Insigel/ worauff nach Ausweis des Abdrucks ein *Trifolium*, uff dessen einem Blätlein ein Weinstock/uff dem andern eine Flachs-Blume/und uff dem dritten ein Webers-Spühle abgebildet / *cum Inscriptione: Vinum, Linum & Textrinum*. Anzuzeigen/dass man sich diss Orts mit Weinbau/Flachsbau/und Handwercksleuthen mit Gott und Ehren ernehren solle."—*Beschreibung*.

⁹ "which said Bailiffe, Burgesses and Committee men shall be called the Generall Court of the Corporacon of German Towne" (*Pennsylvania Archives*, I, 111-112).



TITLE PAGE OF THE "RECORD OF THE GENERAL COURT OF GERMANTOWN" OR THE "RATHS-BUCH", begun by Francis Daniel Pastorius in 1691 (Manuscript in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

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to be held every Six Weeks in the yeare" by the "Bailiffe, Burgesses and Comonalty of German Towne" . . . "before the Bailiffe and the three oldest Burgesses of the said Corporacon, and the Recorder for the time being."

The Record¹⁰ of the General Court is still in existence in a fair state of preservation. It is now the property of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The minutes are kept partly in German and partly in Dutch and cover the period from 1691 to 1706-7. In the record we can trace the several activities in which Pastorius served his countrymen in Germantown. As has already been seen, Pastorius was named by the Charter as the first Bailif of Germantown. The following references to him are found in the minutes of the Court Book:

On the first day of the tenth month, 1691, a so-called "new election" was held at which Pastorius was chosen Bailif. In order to show the full machinery of the Corporation, we print the results of this election from the Court Book:¹¹

Neuwe waal 1691, i der $\frac{10}{M}$ genant xbr.	
Burgemesters, Scheffen v. Deputirte.	Committee men
Belief Frans Daniel Pastorius	Dirck Jacobs op d. Graeff.
Burgesses {	Dirck Sell[en]
	Peter Schumacher de junger
	Jan Duden
	Aret Klincken
1. Reiner Tissen	Isack Dilbeck
2. Abraham op d. Graef	
3. Jacob Isacks	
4. Lenert Arets	
Rekorder : Arnold Kassel	
Stadt v. Gericht Schreiber Paul Wulff	der 9 der $\frac{10}{M}$ Ist zum Wege-
Bott v. Schreier Wolter Sijmens	meisters gekossen :
Konstapel Peter Keerlis [Keurlis]	Hansz Peter Umstet
Rentmeister F. Daniel Pastorius	Isack Scheper
Schrief, Vijt Sgerkis	
Fens Besichtger {	Johannes Bleicker[s]) Hanss Millarn [?]
	William Streper [s]) Huffert Papen
	Hindrick Bookwolt) Tonniss Kunders
	Dirck Keyser) Abraham T[issen]

¹⁰ The title is: *The Generall Court Book | of the Corporation of | Germantown. | oder | Raths-Buch | der Germantownischen Gemeinde, | angefangen den 2ten tag des 4ten Monats, Anno 1691.* Original in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

¹¹ Cf. *Raths-Buch*, page inserted out of order.

Sept. 15, 6 mo., Pastorius made an accounting for the Corporation showing that it had £2 18s. 1½d. outstanding debts and owed £1 1s. 6d.¹² This same session he was chosen Collector of Rents (Rentmeister).¹³

Anno 1692 on the first of December Pastorius was elected Clerk ("Statt-und Gerichtschreiber oder Clark"), while Dirck Jsaacs op den Graeff was chosen Bailif. On the 23d of the 12th month, 1692, Pastorius made an accounting to the General Court and Paul Wulff and Jan Lücken were appointed to examine and audit it. The 7th of the 1st month, 1692-3, it was ordered that the appraised estate of Gisbertje Williams be sold at public auction in the presence of Dirck op de Graeff [Bailif], F. Daniel Pastorius [Clerk], and Anthony Loof [Court Crier], at Reinert Tisen's House at one o'clock in the afternoon.¹⁴

On the 24th of the 2nd month, same year, it is recorded that the General Court bought for Pastorius a copy of the Charter and of the Statutes of the Corporation and Laws of Pennsylvania for 20 shillings;¹⁵ and that Jacob Telner and F. Daniel Pastorius should request the Governor for the confirmation of the Charter of Germantown, as friends in Philadelphia deem that advisable.¹⁶

In the year 1693, Pastorius was made Justice of the Peace.

¹²"Sep. 15 6-m verrechnete Daniel Pastorius dasz die gemeinte an alten ausstehenden schulden zu fordern haben 2 lb. 18 sz. 1½ pensz ngegen schuldig sey an andere 1 lb 1 sz 6 d."

¹³" . . . [w]urde darauff gedachter Pastorius von der General Kuert zum Rentmeister . . . disz Jahr gekosen u. zu gleich decretirt dasz denen welche an die . . . etwas schuldig sint, ein bezahlung zeit soll angesagt werden . . . von denen Justises oder 6 wochen Kuert denen freistell . . n straffen . . dasz Rentmeister ampt erlegen sollen."

¹⁴"Ferner dasz den 17ten dieses Monats dieselbe [Güter der Gisbertje Williams] in præsentie Dircks op de Graeff, F. Daniel Pastorii und Anthonij Loofs umb 1. uhr nachmittag an Reinert Tissens Haus öffentlich sollen verkaufft und ausgehöht werden."

¹⁵"D. 24ten des 2ten Monats [1692-3]. . . . Dito kauffte die General Court vor Fr. Daniel Pastorius eine Copey des Charters der Statuten dieser Gemeind und Pensilvan. Gesetz p 20 Schilling."

¹⁶"Jtem dasz Jacob Tellner und Fr. Daniel Pastorius bey dem Gour. umb Confirmation unseres Charters soll anhalten, als Freunde zu Philada. solches rathsam zu seyn erachten."

The occasion of this appointment is given by him in a letter to his father, dated June 1, 1693. This was the first time a tax of any kind was levied for military or other purposes. A tax was now levied to defray the travelling expenses of Benjamin Fletcher, the newly appointed Governor, who was sent over to direct the affairs of the Province, while Penn was on trial in England. Governor Fletcher confirmed the Germantown Privileges anew and constituted Pastorius a Justice of the Peace or *Irenarcha* in the County of Philadelphia, as the newly appointed Justice pedantically termed himself. Fletcher then continued his journey to New York, where he took charge as Governor and Military Commander-in-Chief of the English Islands and Colonies in America.¹⁷

On the 19th of September Dirck op de Graeff, Jan Lücken and F. Daniel Pastorius were ordered to make an inventory of the estate left by Herman Trapmann.

Dec. 1, 1693, Pastorius was again elected Clerk and made Collector of Rents. It is interesting to note the fees allowed for making the inventory of Trapmann's estate: Dirck op de Graeff received ½ crown, Jan Lücken, ½ crown, Anthony Loof, 6 shillings, Fr. Daniel Pastorius, 4 shillings and for extra clerical service, 18d.¹⁸ At the same session Pastorius and Peter Schu-

¹⁷This most interesting passage is found in the *Beschreibung*, pp. 54-55, and runs as follows in the original:

"Ja wir haben so lange Jahr über keinen Heller weder Kriegs- noch andere Contributionen zu entrichten gehabt / bisz etwa vor 5. Wochen im Namen des Königs Wilhelmi III der neue Gouverneur / Benjamin Fletcher / zu Philadelphia ankam / mit Königlicher Ordre und Vollmacht diese Landschaft zu verwalten / bisz William Penns Rechtfertigung in Alt-Engeland *via Juris*, ausgefochten seyn wird. Deme wir zu Ersetzung der Reise-Kosten den 24osten Pfenning, *semel pro semper consentiret*. Dieser hat unsere Germantonische *Privilegia*, Krafft deren wir unser eigen Gerichte und Raths-Versammlung halten dörfen / uffs neue bestätigt / und mich zum *Irenarcha* oder Friedens-Richter in der Philadelphischen Grafschaft constituiret / worauf er mit seinem Volck wiederum von hier ab / nacher Neu-Yorck verreiset / woselbst er ebenmässig Gouverneur / wie auch Kriegs-Generalissimus über alle Englische Insuln und Colonien in America ist."

¹⁸1. Dec. 1693 . . .

"Dito wurde von d gen. Court an diejene die mit des vertrunkenen Herman Trapmans Hinterlassenschaft bemüht gewest zugestanden, wie folgt, nembl an Dirck op de Graeff ½. Cron, an Jan Lücken ½. Cron, an Anthonij Loof 6. schilling, an Fr. Daniel Pastorius 4 schill. u. noch wegen fernern schreibens 18. d."

macher, Jun., were ordered to have a stock built for the punishment of criminals.¹⁹

On the 5th of the 11th month (January), the General Court appointed Dirck op de Graeff and Pastorius to inquire as soon as possible of Thomas and David Lloyd in Philadelphia, whether the Charter of Germantown did not exempt the Germantowners from county taxes; and on the 6th of the 5th month (July 6, 1694), Dirck op de Graeff and Pastorius were ordered again to inquire into the same matter.²⁰ In the minutes of this same session we have an interesting and important item relating to the *Grund- und Lagerbuch*.²¹ On the first of December, 1694, Paul Wulff was elected Clerk, but declined without good cause to act and was fined £3 by the General Court, an instance of how seriously these Germans regarded the *vox populi* at this early period of our Pennsylvania history. Paul Castner (Kästner) was chosen in Wulff's place and Pastorius was directed by the General Court to keep a record of all marriages, births and deaths in the German Township in a special book, for which service he was to receive the usual fees, so long as the Court find no reason for appointing another in his place.²²

When Paul Castner found it impossible to accept the clerkship for reasons of conscience, Pastorius was chosen in his stead. In the same minutes we find that Pastorius was to receive £4 for his clerical services during the year 1694-1695.²³

¹⁹ Noch wurden Fr. Daniel Pastorius und Peter Schuemacher Junr verordnet einen Stock umb die übelthäters darin zu setzen, zu bestellen."

²⁰ "Den 6ten des 5ten Monats [1694] wurden Dirck op de Graeff u. Frantz Daniel Pastorius nochmals abgefertigt, zu Philada. genau zu erforschen, ob uns dr Charter von denen County taxen befreye oder nicht?"

²¹ "Dito wurde resolvirt, dasz Frantz Daniel Pastorius ds register vor die Contracten etc. als ein lagerbuch einrichten, u. anfangen solle, u. Er darvor gebührl bezahlt werden."

²² Anno 1694 den 10ten December

"Dito wurde von der gen. Court verordnet, dasz Frantz Daniel Pastorius alle Heurathen, Kindergeburten, u. Todesfäll, die in der Germantownship vorfallen in ein absonderl. buch einschreiben, u. dafür die lands übliche Fees haben solle, so lang als die gene. Court keine wichtige ursach finden wird, einen andern an seine Stell zu erwehlen."

²³ "Den 17. December entschuldigte sich Paul Castner in der damahlig

At the next election, Dec. 2, 1695, Pastorius was again elected Bailif and Tünes Kunders was chosen Recorder and Antony Loof in Pastorius' place as Clerk. It is interesting to note here that Loof's minutes are kept in Dutch and illiterate German, which is in striking contrast with Pastorius' smooth German style.

In the minutes of Jan. 25, 1694-5, we learn that the record of births, marriages and deaths was to be kept in the English language.²⁴ Two other items of general interest appear in the minutes of this session—one the granting of a license to Johannes Pettinger to keep an inn;²⁵ the other a resolution to hold a fair annually the 13th and 14th of the 3d month and the 9th month of the year. At the following session of the Court of Record, Pastorius was appointed to represent Heifert Papen, who could not attend because of the confinement of his wife.²⁶

In the next election, Dec. 1st, 1696, also, Pastorius was elected Bailif. In the minutes of Loof we have the important item that the General Court directed Pastorius to copy all the previous Record neatly in English. This was probably due to the

gen. Court, dasz Er gewissens halben das Raths- und Gerichtschreibers Amt nicht bedienen könne. Wurde darauff von der gen. Court einmütigl mit Frantz Daniel Pastorius verglichen, dasz dieser der Gemeinde Lagerbuch einrichten, u. bisz den 1ten December año 95. als Raths- u. Gerichtsschreiber dienen solle vor 4 lb. laut darüber gemachten accords. . . . Unterzeichnete Arnold Cassel u. Aret Klincken auff der Courts ordre 2. Vergleich gemacht mit Fr. Daniel Pastorius."

* Den 25ten des XIten Monats 1694-5.

" . . . Die Geburten, Verheurathungen und Todesfäll sollen nach Verordnung der ersten in diesem Jahr gehaltenen Session in Englischer Sprach eingeschrieben werden."

* "Den 3ten des 6ten Monats wurde auff Johañes Pettingers Versuch zugestanden, dasz Er Herberg halten möge, u. soll Jhme der Bailiff deszhalb eine Licence ertheilen.

Dito wurde beschlossen, dasz jährl den 13ten u. 14ten Tag des 3ten und 9ten Monats eine Faire oder offentlr. Jahrmarck solle gehalten werden, u. solches an den Drucker nach Neu Yorck zu schreiben, umb hinfüro in die almanach zu setzen."

* Den 8ten Octob.

" . . . Auch soll Frantz Daniel Pastorius in heutiger Court of Record an Heifert Papens platz (: als welches Frau im Kindbett u. kranck darnieder lag :) ds Recorder Amt bedienen."

fact that the minutes kept by Wulff and Loof presented a very motley, not to say almost illegible, appearance in the *Raths-Buch*, as some specimens of Loof's minutes given here in the footnotes will show.²⁷

In 1697 at the December election Pastorius was elected both Recorder and Clerk, and Reinert Tisen took his place as Bailif. The minutes now appear in Pastorius' handwriting. On the 8th of December Pastorius was again made Collector of Rents, and directed by the Court to examine the accounts of Lenert Arets, the previous Collector. The next and last item of 1697 relating to Pastorius states that Jacob Delaplaine was elected Recorder and Clerk in Pastorius' place, as the latter intended to move to Philadelphia in the next few days.²⁸

The name of Pastorius does not re-appear in the *Raths-Buch* until 1700. During the years 1698-1700 he was teaching in the Friends' School in Philadelphia. On the 2nd of December, 1700, he was again elected Clerk of the General Court of Germantown. At the same session Daniel Falkner was elected Bailif. Almost immediately upon his return to Germantown, Pastorius seems to have been enlisted again to take steps to obtain the confirmation of the Germantown Charter,²⁹ and also to obtain release from paying county taxes for the Germantown Corporation.³⁰

²⁷ 1696. 26. 10m

"weiter is geordert von die Generale Court, dasz Fransz D: Pastorus geordert sey alle biszhero Record sauber vndt rein in English abzuschreiben.

Dito geordert Mannen. om order te stellen under het volk in tijt van brandt. Jan Lintzen, Peter Schuemaker, Frans daniel Pastorius."

²⁸ 1697 den 8ten des 1ten Monats

"Jtem wurde Jacob dela Plaine an Daniel Pastorius stell zum Recorder und Clerk erwehlet, weilen dieser nechster Tage nach Philada. verhausen will."

²⁹ "Den 30ten Septemb. 1701. wurde geordert, dasz die Confirmation unsers Charters [in einem] Request bey der nun sitzenden Assembly soll gesucht werden; wie auch durch [einen Request] bey dem Gouv. unsere Naturalization in Engelland zu erwerben &c. Daniel [Pastorius] soll gede requesten an behörige Ort einliefern, u. ds nöthige Geld darzu von [dem Rent]meister empfangen."

³⁰ At the session of the Colonial Council, 5th of 1st mo. 1700-1, Pasto-

At the session of the General Court, Dec. 1, 1701, Pastorius was re-elected Clerk,³¹ and Dec. 17th, 1701, James Delaplaine and Daniel Pastorius were directed to go to Philadelphia to confer with the Secretary about granting Jan Lens a license to keep an ordinary; and Pastorius was commissioned to demand of Thomas Fairman, when occasion offered, the Draft of the German Township.

At the session of Dec. 30, 1701, a minute was adopted, endorsing the opening of a school in Germantown, and naming Aret Klincken, Paul Wulff and Peter Schumacher, Jr., as overseers of the school, with authority to take up a subscription for the period of two years, and, if the subscription warrant, to engage a schoolmaster.³² The minutes of the session of May 9, 1702, show that Justus Falkner and Pastorius were delegated to confer with Edward Farmer concerning the cost of the Road to Philadelphia.³³ At the election of Dec. 1, 1702, Pastorius was re-elected Clerk of Germantown, and on the 5th of the 11th month was chosen Collector of Rents. At the session of the 5th of the 11th month it was ordered that the clerk bring in all the books and documents relating to the Corporation of Germantown at the next General Court. When the question of a change in the method of keeping the records of the Court of Record came up, Oct. 25, 1703, Pastorius and Daniel Falkner were appointed to inquire

rius presented a petition to this end. The petition was recognized as one of great importance for the future policy of the colony and, after being discussed at length, was deferred till another Council day for full consideration (cf. *Colonial Records*, II, 13-14).

³¹ Clerk: Franz Daniel Pastorius.

³² "Den 30. Decemb. 1701. wurde vor gut befunden, hier in Germantown eine Schul anzurichten, und sollen Aret Klincken, Paul Wulff u. Peter Schumacher Junr. Auffseher darvon seyn, u. die in einem Brieff vorgeschlagene Subscription befördern; und nach dem diese ausfallen wird, mit einem Schulmeister accordiren; Diese Subscription u. Schul soll zwey Jahr währen."

³³ Den 9ten des 3ten Monats (: May:) 1702

"Das Request wegen des Philadelphischen wegs soll noch so lang nachbleiben bisz Justus Falckner oder Frantz Daniel Pastorius der darzu enforderten Kosten halber mit Edward Farmer gesprochen."

of the Governor and Council at their next sitting, whether the Germantown record should be kept in accordance with the new instructions.⁸⁴ This same year, Dec. 1, 1703, Pastorius was again elected Clerk. The minutes of Dec. 31, 1703, show that some attempt was made to bring order into the rent records, as Hans Heinrich Mehls, Tünis Kunders and Frantz Daniel Pastorius were instructed to transfer the rent accounts from the two existing books into one, so that the accounts could be consistently continued from year to year. At the session of the 22nd of the 2nd month, 1704, these three men handed over the revised rent accounts in one book in folio to the Court, showing the receipts and disbursements to Dec. 31, 1703, and containing an index or list of taxables of the Germantown Corporation. At the session of the 20th of the 12th month, 1704-5, Pastorius was elected Recorder, and Paul Wulff chosen Clerk in Pastorius' stead, with the provision that Pastorius receive the ordinary fees and Wulff a half crown or 2s. and 6d. for each Court. On the 12th of September it was ordered that Pastorius should copy the records in Paul Wulff's hand neatly in English.⁸⁵

November 23d Paul Wulff, Lenert Arets and Daniel Pastorius were appointed to audit Aret Klincken's accounts of the Corporation.

On the 2nd of December, 1706, Pastorius was again elected Clerk, and on the 7th of the 11th month, 1706-7, chosen Committee man in Peter Schumacher's stead and also Collector of Rents in the place of Aret Klincken. At this same session Pastorius was appointed one of five assessors to levy an extra tax of £30 on the Corporation, as it would seem, partly because of

⁸⁴ "Den 25ten October 1703. wurde ordinirt, dasz Frantz Daniel Pastorius und Daniel Falckner sich beym Gouverneur und Counsel, so bald sie sitzen, erkundigen sollen, ob wir unsere Courts of Record allhier zu Germantown auff die alte weis mögen forthalten oder ob wir nach der neuen Instruction müssen habilitirt werden."

⁸⁵ "Den 12ten September
Wurde verordnet, dasz Frantz Daniel Pastorius, die übrige Records unter Paul Wulffen Hand, nicht minder daß hievor den 26. December 1696. Er dazu versucht und gestellt worden, sauber und rein in Englisch einschreiben solle."

the method in which Klincken had kept accounts.³⁶ Pastorius is particular to note in the minutes that he had received from Klincken neither rent nor accounts, but that the Corporation still owed him, Pastorius, £2 and 14 shillings.³⁷ As the Germantown Corporation lost its Charter, which indeed seems never to have been satisfactorily confirmed, in 1707, the *Raths-Buch* was discontinued after this year, leaving no record that Pastorius was ever repaid the £2 14s. due him from the Corporation.

Although the *Raths-Buch* breaks off here, this record of the brief span of fifteen years is sufficient to show the significant part which Pastorius took in the affairs of Germantown and to make evident the fact that he was not only the agent of the German Company, but even after he was succeeded by Daniel Falkner, Johannes Kelpius and Johann Jawert, he was regarded as the leading man, who could bring things to pass.

In like manner the Records of the Court of Record³⁸ of

³⁶ "Dieweilen hiesige Corporation ziemlich viel schuldig, und verschiedene nöthige Kosten erfordert werden zu fortsetzung des Gemeinen Wesens, als soll ein Tax von 30 £ oder mehr angelegt werden, und verordnet nunmalige generale Court vor Assessors William Strepers, Cornelis Sioert, Jan Doeden, Aret Klincken und Frantz Daniel Pastorius, dass sie alle u. Jede Einwohner u. Besitzer oder Eigener einiges lands in der Germantownship sollen taxiren nach dem Werth ihres real und personal Vermögens, und sothanig ihr Assessment nebenst denen Nahmen derjenigen Mans personen, so ihre Nahrung in gedr. Township gewinnen, an nechste Court of Record einbringen."

³⁷ "P. S. Wiewohl ich Frantz Daniel Pastorius an statt Aret Klinckens zum Rentmeister erwählt worden, habe ich doch von ihm weder der Gemeinde Rent- od Rechnungs Buch, noch einig pfenning gedr. Gemeind angehend, empfangen, so dasz dessfalls gantz klar bin, u. die Germantownische Gemeinde noch an mich schuldig 2 £ 14 Schill.

³⁸ So far all efforts to find the original minutes of the Court of Record have been fruitless. The only form of it, which seems to be extant, is a very inaccurate manuscript copy found in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. It has the following title:

"The Records of the Court of Record held in the Corporation of Germantown from the first day of the eighth month Anno 1691 and thence forward from time to time to 11. 12 mo 1706-7."

The Record opens thus:

"Anno 1691 The sixth day of the eighth month the first Court of Record was held at Germantown in the public meeting house before Francis Daniel Pastorius Bailiff, Iacob Felner [mistake for Telner] Dirk Isaacs op de Graef and Herman Isaacs op de Graef, three eldest burgesses, Isaac Jacobs

Germantown show that Pastorius was an important factor as attorney in the conveyancing of property for the Crefelders as well as engaged in various other capacities. There are numerous entries in the minutes showing that he acted as attorney for many of the citizens as well as for the German Company before the Court of Record.

Pastorius seems to have been made Justice of the Peace as early as 1686 and member of the Assembly in 1687.^{38a}

Pastorius and his fellow townsmen were not only zealous for the growth of the settlement but scrupulous about their legal status as citizens of the Province and subjects of the Crown. As early as the 7th of the 3d month, 1691, some sixty High and Low Germans of Germantown declared their allegiance to King William and Queen Mary, and fidelity to the Proprietor of the Province. All seems to have gone on smoothly in the German Township until 1705-6, when the conduct of the affairs of the German (or Frankfurt) Company assumed a more serious aspect and the civil rights of the Germans were felt to be insecure. Accordingly a petition was laid before the Colonial Council asking for the naturalization of those surviving Germans and others, who had promised fealty in 1691, and about a hundred others by special act of Assembly, and the sanction of the English Crown.³⁹ This petition was laid before the Council on the 15th of 3d month, 1706, and favorably considered, as the following minute will show:

"A Petition of Joannes Koster, and about 150 other high and low Germans, to the Govr. and Council was read, setting forth, that the Petrs., with many other aliens to the kingdom of England, by the Encouragement of the Propr. had Transported themselves into this Province, & by their Industry had changed the uncultivated

van Bebber, Recorder, Paul Wulf, Clerk, Andrew Soupli, Sheriff, Van [mistake for Jan] Luken, Constable."

^{38a} Cf. *Officials of the Three Original Counties of Pennsylvania*.

³⁹ Cf. *Patent Index Book*, A & AA (Department of Internal Affairs, Harrisburg, Pa.).

Lands they had purchased into good settlemts., & for Twenty two years past had behaved themselves as Liege & Loyal subjects of England, that above 60 of the said Ptrs. at one time, viz: the 7th of ye 3 mo., 1691, had in open Court, promised allegiance to K. William & Q. Mary, & fidelity to the Propr., besides many others who had done the Like, &c. that such as have not already obliged themselves are ready to do it when they shall be admitted. They therefore request, that (seeing they are not at present believed to be secure in their Estates) for remedying the unhappiness they may be engaged in, if they be still considered as foreigners, the assembly may be convened with all Convenient speed, & a Bill recommended from this board for naturalizing all & every of the said Ptrs., that they may have an undoubted right to hold, enjoy, alienate, sell & dispose of any of their Lands, as the natural born subjects of England may or can do in this Province, & also that they may be capable of Electing & being elected, to serve in Assembly & other Offices; also, that some of the Petrs. being Mennists, who (with their Predecessory for above 150 Years past,) could not for Conscience sake take an Oath, the same provision may be made for them by a law, as is made for those called Quakers in this Province, and that the said Law may be sent home with the rest, past by the late Assembly, in Order to obtain the Queens Royal Approbation.

Which Petition being argued and Considered, It is Resolved, that it is highly reasonable the Petrs., and all others in their Circumstances, should be rendered Secure in their Estates and Titles to their lands in this Province, the value of which is generally, but the effect of their own labours, and in pursuance of some parts of the prayer of the said Petition leave is given to the sd. Petrs., to procure the attorney Genl. to draw up a bill for that purpose, to be laid before this Board, where it shall meet with all due Encouragement."⁴⁰

Nearly four years later the Bill was presented to the Council, which had the following minute entered, September 29, 1709, stating that:

"The Govr. acquainted the board, that last night the Speaker attended with several members of the House, brought him the Bill for naturalizing the Germans, which he now desired to pass, and accordingly he was pleased to give his assent to the said bill, be-

* Cf. *Colonial Records*, II, 241ff.

ing Intituled an Act for the better Enabling of Divers Inhabitants of the Province of Pennsylvania, To Hold and Enjoy Lands, Tenemts. and Plantation in the same Province."⁴¹

This joint action of the Governor, the Assembly and Colonial Council naturalized about 150 Germans of the colony, among whom were many of the original settlers with Pastorius' name at the head of the list.⁴² Thus the founder of Germantown was also the first of his countrymen to become a naturalized citizen—the crowning test of loyal citizenship.

PASTORIUS AS SCHOOLMASTER.

It was but natural that Pastorius, who had studied at the best German universities of his time and acquired the best the age had to offer, should be found at the head of the educational enterprises of the Province of Penn. The concern for educating the youth of the Province had been manifest in the economy of Penn and early found the approval of Pastorius, who in 1684 under date of March 7th, wrote to his constituents in Germany the following words: "This city I laid out on the 24th of October [1683] and called it Germantown; it is situated 2 hours on foot from here [Philadelphia] on fruitful soil and on pleasant streams, of which I spoke before. This I had to do because W. Penn will not grant any one his portion apart, but all must dwell together in townships or towns, and this not without good reasons, among which the most important is, that in this way children can be kept in schools and far more readily instructed to good purpose, neighbors also can offer one another the friendly, helping hand, and in unison praise and exalt the goodness of God in the public meetings."

The Provincial Council at its session on 26th of the 10th

⁴¹ Cf. *Colonial Records*, II, 493-494.

⁴² This list is so inaccurately printed in the *Colonial Records* that many names are unintelligible to any but the expert, who must be able not only to read the original but also must know the correct forms of the names themselves in German.

month, 1683, took steps to engage Enoch Flower to teach the youth of Philadelphia. This was of the nature of a Pay School. In 1689 a form of Public School was established under the direction of George Keith. At the meeting of the Provincial Council, Feb. 12, 1697-8, Samuel Carpenter, Edward Shippen, Anthony Morris, James Fox and David Lloyd petitioned the Council "That a School be set up & upheld in this town of Philadelphia, where poor children may be freely maintained, taught & educated in good Literature, untill they are fit to be pickt out apprentices, or capable to be masters or ushers in the said School."⁴³

This petition was duly considered by the Council and granted at the same session. The overseers of the school were constituted a corporate body, which was "To have continuance for ever, by the name of the Overseers of the publick schoole founded in Philadelphia, at ye request, costs & charges of the people of God called Quakers." It was evidently in response to this demand for public instruction for all classes that the services of Pastorius were solicited and secured as the following facts set forth.

Pastorius first appears in the school records of the Friends' Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia in 1697. On the 31st of the 10th month, 1697, we find the following minute:

"A paper for the encouragement of a free school was this day read, whereupon Samuel Carpenter & James Fox are desired to treat with Daniel Pastorius and Thomas Makins concerning the same, and that they desire the friends of the town to meet together this day week about the first hour at this meeting house to consider further of it, & that Daniel Pastorius & Thomas Makins be present."

Again at the monthly meeting held the 28th of the 11th month, 1697, we have the following minute:

"Samuel Carpenter makes report to this meeting that several friends met together according to the desire of the last monthly meeting to treat with Daniel Pastorius & Thomas Makin for keeping a public school, and the friends then met, agreed with them,

⁴³ Cf. *Colonial Records*, I, 531-532.

provided this meeting approves of the same, that the monthly meeting engages to pay them forty pounds each yearly, during the time they continue in the said School, friends providing a School house, which being approved of, The Money is to be raised by way of Subscription and Samuel Carpenter & James Fox are desired to get the subscriptions & bring them in the next monthly meeting. It is agreed also, that they shall begin the School the first of the first month next, and that Samuel Carpenter & James Fox do acquaint them of it, And that preparations be made for the School in the Inner Chamber, over the Meeting-house, and they are to be paid out of the Stock before money be raised for the keeping of the School, and when raised to be repaid again. And a Subscription paper to be drawn up by Samuel Carpenter & David Lloyd according to the proposals which were ready at the last meeting."

At the Monthly Meeting of 1698 we find a minute of the payment of the first (?) half year's salary:

"Anthony Morris being desired to receive the subscriptions for the School from Pentecost Teague & John Busby who were desired to Collect the same. He makes report to this meeting that he hath paid Daniel Pastorius & Thomas Makins the ballance of their half Years salary due the 5th of the 7th mo. last."

A similar minute is found of the Monthly Meeting of the 28th of the 2nd month, 1699:

"John Busby makes report that He & Hugh Durbrough hath Collected of several of the Subscribers about £48...and that they have paid it to Anthony Morris who hath paid off Daniel Pastorius and the two Schoolmistresses salaries."

Finally, the following minute of the Monthly Meeting of the 29th of the 1st month, 1700, marks the end of Pastorius' services as teacher in the Friends' School of Philadelphia:

"Griffith Owen having recommended John Cadwallader as a person very fit for an assistant in the School, (Francis Daniel Pastorius being gone)."⁴⁴

⁴⁴Reference is made in this minute to "former neglects." Just who was responsible for the neglects does not appear in the records.

The inference may be drawn here that Cadwallader was to take Pastorius' place although Pastorius' name was always mentioned before that of Makin in the previous minutes.

Some records remain to tell us of the kind of school Pastorius taught in Philadelphia and of the manner and method of his teaching. The subjects taught were doubtless those prescribed by the Resolution of the Provincial Council in December, 1683, for the school taught by Enoch Flower, the first schoolmaster of Philadelphia:

"At a Council held at Philadelphia, ye 26th of ye 10th month, 1683. Present:

Wm. Penn, Propor. & Govr.

Tho. Holmes, Wm. Haigue, Lasse Cock, Wm. Clayton.

The Govr and Provll Council having taken into Serious Consideration the great Necessity there is of a Schooll Master for ye Instruction & Sober Education of Youth in the towne of Philadelphia, Sent for Enock flower, an Inhabitant of the said Towne, who for twenty Year past hath been exercised in that care and Employnt in England, to whom haveing Communicated their Minds, he Embraced it upon these following Termes: to Learne to read English 4s by the Quarter, to Learne to read and write 6s by ye Quarter, to learne to read, Write and Cast accot 8s by ye Quarter; for Boarding a Scholler, that is to say, dyet, Washing, Lodging, & Scooling, Tenn pounds for one whole year."⁴⁵

The spirit of the school and the jurist-schoolmaster is well reflected in a letter of one of the patrons, Phineas Pemberton, and in Pastorius' reply to the letter written on the back of the same sheet. Both letters are dated April 12th, 1698, and here printed in the quaint style and orthography of the time.

Letter of Phineas Pemberton to Francis Daniel Pastorius.

"My friend

Ff. D. Pastorious these are to apologize for my little girles having as they tell me broke the rules of the Schole divers times even to the meriting of Correction in coming too late in the morning J wold not willingly that any of mine should be exemplary in faling

⁴⁵ Cf. "Minutes of the Provincial Council" (*Colonial Records*, I, 91).

short of their duty in performance of those decent & necessary orders that are appointed for the scholars to observe and keep but my weakness has been such that their brother & sister were so employed about me for some time they could not come at all and after they began to come not to be spared to forward them in a morning as they ought to have been but as I recover I hope they will be better served & so better fitted to observe their time in coming & in the mean time I hope these may find that favor as to impute it rather to our neglect of them than they of their duty which we will endeavor to amend as fast as we can is all at present from thy real friend

PHINEAS PEMBERTON.

The 12th 2 mo., 98."

Pastorius' Reply to Phineas Pemberton's Letter.

"Dear Friend Phineas!

Though thy two little ones never were spoken to for coming too late, yet they seeing others corrected for that fault, are (as it seems) afraid; which argueth their good disposition, and that the very shadow of the rod will do more with them, than the spur with others. I am glad to hear by the sd. thy children, thou dost recover so well, & get a little more strength day by day, which I heartily wish, the Lord may augment to the full. No more at present but ye Cordial salutation from thy sincere friend F. D. Pastorius."⁶

The 12th of 2d. 1698."

Another glimpse into the schoolroom of Pastorius is to be gained from an experience of Israel Pemberton, one of the pupils, dating from the same year and showing that what Pastorius had written in the letter given in full about the use of the rod, took another turn three months later:

Introductory remarks of Israel Pemberton to his copy of the original letter.

"About the 10th day of the 4 month 1698, Francis Daniel Pastorius a German one of the school masters at Philadelphia took

⁶The original MS. containing these letters is in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

occasion (upon a small difference that did arise between me and another scholar) to beate me very much with a thick stick upon my head untill the blood came out & also on my armes untill the Blood started through the skin & both were so swelled that the swelling was to be seen so that it caused my cloths to stand out & the flesh was bruised that it turned black and yellow & green my father coming to town on the 13th day of the 5th mo: & my sister acquainting him how J had been vused took me away from ye school the 14th day of the 5th mo: & the 15th day sent me into the Country from whence J writ these following epistles."⁴⁷

The letter which follows is addressed to Makin, who seems to have been on more agreeable terms with this particular pupil, at least. There is no doubt that "another" in the letter refers to Pastorius. It is likewise to be supposed that the stripes inflicted by the German schoolmaster were slightly magnified by his pupil, Israel Pemberton. Nevertheless the punishment must have been severe, or the otherwise rule-loving father would not have taken his son out of school. Judging from the contents of the letter and the severity of the punishment we may suppose the "difference" between Israel and his schoolmate took the form of an outright fisticuff. It is also interesting to see the character of the more vigorous discipline based on the old doctrine, "Spare the rod and spoil the child," of the German school and schoolmaster reflected in Israel's description: "Rough answers," "without having the liberty to speak one word in my own defence." The subscript of the letter exhibits a good spirit in Israel after all and gives us a fine trace of the German schoolmaster's personal appearance. We learn also incidentally that Pastorius taught Latin in this school and that too in this case to a boy of thirteen years.

"Ye 22th day of ye 5th mo. 1698"

"Deare master

Thomas meakin Lest through mistake the abuse J Receiued at the schoole being noised abroad should be taken to be thee J made

⁴⁷ Cf. *Pennsylvania Magazine*, xxviii, 109, for an edited print. (Original in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)

bold to write these few lines for the clearing of thee thy Instructions were so mild and gentle as that J never Received one blow or stripe from thy hand during my stay there tho my dullness at times might have given thee occasion for if J wanted Information with boldness J cold come to thee being always friendly Received but from another J always found Rough answers where J Quickly left to trouble him not finding the kindnes as from thee & Indeed what he did for me from first to last is to be seen in that little Lattin book J write at his first coming which J have forgot at schoole behind me if thou would be pleased to send it by some of the boatmen to be left at Samll Jenings when thou meets with it J shall take it as a kindnes J do say it was not my Jntent to have let it be known but the anguish of the blows & being Jnwardly opprest with greife to think how J was used with out having the liberty to spake one word in my own defence did so chainge my Countenance that my sister presently perceived it who was restles untill J had discovered the occasion who rested not there but would see & when she saw was also so grieved that she would shew me to some others tho J endeavored much to diswade her but shee would not but did cause me to [be] seen by H: Carpenter & Tho: whartons wife, but conterary to my mind tho he never shewed any respect to me as a scholar but still frowned upon me the Reason J know not for J never Jntended to vex him & therefore never made use of him & thou being out of schoole he took that oppertunity so to Thrash me & J observed that he generally shewed his disposition more when thou was out of schoole for whileit thou was in he seldome went into those extrames as at other times this is only priuate to thy self for J desire not to Jnjure him J would willingly have stayd Longer at the schoole but my sister having told my father how things were & the tokens of his correction still remaineing upon me tho about five weeks since & are still to be seen & so sore as that J cannot endure any thing to press against it he wold not leave me tho J desired it but J will forbear to say any more about it Lest J shold too farr sterr up what J would have at an end but J Love thee & desire to be with thee & to spend the rest of my schooling under thee, but whether it may be so or no J know not yet J desire it with my love end these Lines who am thy scholar

Jsrael pemberton."

Israel Pemberton's Letter to Richard Johns.

"13th day of the 6 mo 1698"

"I perceive by thyne that D. P. Sowerness still remains the first time J saw him J told my father that J thought he would prove

an angry master he asked me why so J told him J thought so by his nose for wh he called me a prating boy but J find J had some skill for J have not onely the witnes he gave me of it but J vnderstand others see it. Tho they have not felt so much of it as my self."

Letter of Richard Johns to Jsrael Pemberton.

"August ye 5th 6 mo [1698]

my Deare Companion

And plesent schoolfellow J P

Thy letter J received dated ye 22d [?] of ye last m|o and was hartily glad to hear of thy welfare and also to renew our former friendship which shall never be violated one my part and altho our former sociaty suffers an ecclipse by parting with the yett I comfert my self that my stay will not bare any long date after the, truly my master Pastorus unkindness makes me wish for ye yeare up and Then J hope J shall be at liberty to Jnjoy the pleasure J have formerly had in thy company, fully Jntending Jf J Live till september to set [?] ye falls and so to take my sollemn farewell of thee my friend and all ye rest of your family who are the only persons J am acquainted with Jn Those parts till which shall take leave and remain Thy assured friend

RICHARD JOHNS.

Mother Js in health Margret and Hannah were much pleased with thy notice of Them wicking they were Big annuf to write to prissilla.

A copy of a letter which J received from Richard Johns the 12th day of the 6th month 1698."

Postscript of Jsrael Pemberton to his Copy of Richard Johns' Letter.

"J cannot but sorrow at times to think of my remoual and the occation of it for J long to be with thee againe tho som times J smile to my self to think how J told my father when first J saw him J doubted he would prove an angry master he asked me why so J told him J thought so by his nose he called me a prating boy but J find J had some skill for he has since confirmed it to me with a wittness if he Loved me its more then J know because he never shewed me any of it however J love him & desire thee Remember my Love to him if thou please: J am afraid J am ouer bold therefore crave thy excuse &. so fare well dear master:"⁴⁸

⁴⁸ Cf. *Pennsylvania Magazine*, xxviii, 109-110.

In a letter of Thomas Makin to Phineas Pemberton protesting against his sending Israel Pemberton, his son, to another school, dated Philada. 28: 2mo, 1699, we learn that Pastorius did not teach arithmetic, at least not to Israel Pemberton.

"Philada. 28: 2 mo 1699.

Esteemed ffrd

J am something concerned to hear that thou intends to place thy Son here to another School having formerly come to o'rs tho' thou hast been pleased alreadie to clear me from that which J suppose is ye chiefest motive of thy So doing; yet J can not but resent it as some diminution of my Credit, since thou first comitted him to my Paedagogie, now to putt him to another, who J suppose will sett him to learn all Arithmetick de novo, so that a considerable time must needs be taken up in going over that wch J suppose he well understands alreadie. Jf thou may think o'r School is too throug. that he may be promoted so well as elsewhere, be assured that J have not Jmploy half enough for Arithmetick, which Ff: D: P: never undertakes. He began to understand y^e Rules of Practice (ye only Rules for business) before he was taken away last Sum̄er, wch J would undertake to make him thoroughly capable of as soon as another. As for thy great Resentment of Ff: D: P: J have spoken to him to write to thee also, if possible all we can may prevail to reclaim thee from thy sd Intentions, wch that it may prove successful is y^e earnest desire of thy respectfull Friend & Countryman

Tho. Makin."

It appears from an extant congratulatory poem, that Israel Pemberton returned to the school and joined his schoolfellows in the congratulation in Jan., 1699/1700. The poem is here printed from the *Beehive*:

"GENETLIACUM | or | An hearty Congratulation.

Since Children are the Lords Reward,
Who get them may rejoice;
Yea Neighbors upon this regard
May make a gladsom Noise.
Therefore us thinks we dwell so near
Dear Governour, to thy Gate,
That thou mayst lend an Ear to hear,
What Babes Congratulate.
God bless the Child! (: we young ones cry:)

And add from time to time
To William Penns Posterity
The like! Here ends our Rime.
But fervent Prayers will not end
Of honest men for thee,
And for thy happy Government,
With whom we all agree.

Zechary Whitpaine. Jsrael Pemberton. Robert Francis. John White. Samuel Carpenter Jun^r. John Sam. Pastorius &c.

For themselves and in the behalf of their School-Fellows.

Philadelphia the 29th day of the XIth mo. Anno 1699."

Pastorius lived in Philadelphia part of the time at least during his period of teaching at the Friends' School and left his house in Germantown vacant. His children went to school in Philadelphia, presumably to the school in which their father taught. This we learn quite incidentally from a letter written by them to their grandfather, Melchior Adam Pastorius, in Windsheim and dated Philadelphia, Mar. 4, 1699. In this letter we learn that the school was kept eight hours every day except Saturday afternoon (and Sunday), and between the lines we read a sign of relief at the thought of this "last day of the week," when there was no school in the afternoon. The very interesting passage of the letter runs as follows in English translation:⁴⁹

"We often wish we were with you, if only you were here in our house in Germantown, which has a beautiful orchard, and is now standing empty, as we are living in Philadelphia, and have to go to school 8 long hours every day, except the last day of the week, when we may stay at home in the afternoon."

The next record of Pastorius is found in the *Raths-Buch* of Germantown, where, as we have seen, he is mentioned again in 1700. It seems more than likely that Pastorius was the originator

⁴⁹ Cf. *Beschreibung*, p. 102. The original passage is in German:

"Wir wünschen gar oft bey dir zu seyn /ach dass du hier wärest und in unserm Hause zu Germanton wohnetest / welches einen schönen Obgarten hat / und der Zeit leer stehet / indeme wir zu Philadelphia wohnen / und täglich 8. Stunden lang in die Schul gehen müssen / ausgenommen den letzten Tag in der Wochen / da wir Nachmittag daheim bleiben dörffen."

of the proposal to open a school in Germantown, which was approved by the General Court Dec. 30, 1701. This school was opened on the 11th of Jan., 1702, and taught by Pastorius. The first Overseers for the year, 1702, were Aret Klincken, Peter Schumacher and Paul Wulff. These were the original subscribers to the School:

Anton Loof,	Dirck Jansen,
Peter Schumacher,	Dirck Jansen, der Knecht,
Paul Wulff,	Johannes Umstett,
Jacob Simons,	Heifert Papen,
Jacob Delaplaine,	Jan Lensen,
Jonas Potts,	Peter Bon,
Isaac Schumacher,	Hermann Bon,
Levin Herberdink,	Dirck Keyser,
Johann Bleikers,	Claus Tamson,
Gerhard Ruttinghusen,	

and two others whose names have not been deciphered.⁵⁰

This school was open to boys and girls. The voluntary contributors gave from 2 to 10 shillings a year. Those who paid tuition gave from 4 to 6 shillings a week. The names of the patrons who sent children to the school the first year were:

Aret Klincken,	Christian Warmer,
Reinert Tysen,	Arnold van Vossen,
Tünes Kunders,	Johann Cunrad Codweis,
Wilhelm Strepers,	Cornelis Sivert,
Paul Kästner,	Aret Küster,
Renier Hermans,	Jan Doeden,
Abraham op de Graeff,	Lenert Arets.

It will be seen from this list that very few of the original

⁵⁰ An important source for Pastorius' activity as teacher of the School in Germantown was his *Cash-Book*, which was consulted some years ago by both O. Seidensticker and S. W. Pennypacker, but seems to have disappeared since that time. The above account is based on Seidensticker's original notes from the *Cash-Book* printed in the *Der Deutsche Pionier*, III, 56ff. The present writer will be very grateful for any information as to the *Cash-Book*.

voluntary subscribers sent children to the school the first year, the most of them contributing evidently to encourage the undertaking. In connection with this day school there was also an evening school for those who could not attend during the day. In the year 1702 the following attended this evening school:

Paul Engel,
Peter Scholl,
Matthis Kunders,
Matthis Keurlis,
Samuel Kästner,
Jacob Engel,
Hanna Siverts,

Agnes Kunders,
Peter Keyser,
Peter Keurlis,
Wilhelm Gerits,
Johannes Gerckes,
Jan Kunders,
Andreas Hartzfelder.

The growth of the Germantown school is clearly indicated by the increased list of patrons for the year 1706-1708:

Tunes Kunders,
Jan Lücken,
Lenert Arets,
Jacob Gottschalk,
Heinrich Sellen,
Paul Engel,
Aret Klincken,
Jacob Schumacher,
Thomas Potts, Sen.,
Jan Neus,
Paul Kästner,
Arnold van Vossen,
Richard Townsend,
Wilhelm Strepers,
Abraham Tunes,
Cornelis Tisen,
Peter Schumacher,
Cornelis Siverts,
Griffith Miles,
Isaak Schumacher,
Paul Wulff,
Herman Tunes,
Jan Lensen,

W. Baumann,
Benjamin Armitage,
Wilhelm de Wees,
Cornelis de Wees,
Samuel Richardson,
Conrad Rutter,
Jonas Potts,
Jan Doeden,
Jan de Wilderness,
Paul Küster,
Paul Ruttinghusen,
Benjamin Morgan,
Christian Warmer,
Christopher Witt,
Georg Schumacher,
Joseph Coulson,
Isaak van Sintern,
Peter Keyser,
Aret Küster,
Cunrad Jansen,
Hans Heinrich Mehls,
Cunrad Rütters (Rutter?)
Jürgen Jacobs,

Dirck Jansen,	Wilh. Hosters,
Matthis Milan,	Hans Graef,
Anton Loof,	Hans Neus (Jan Neus?)
Walter Simons,	Heinrich Kassel,
Howel James,	Peter Keurlis,
James Delaplaine,	Richard Huggin,
Anthony Klincken.	

It would seem strange that a community like that of Germantown, with a highly educated man like Pastorius at the head, should not have had a school before 1702, nineteen years after the settlement of the town. Seidensticker⁵¹ thought it likely that an evening school existed before 1702. It seems more likely that the instruction of children was given in the meeting even from the earliest assembling in private houses till the building of the church in 1686.⁵² The minute in the *Raths-Buch* of Dec. 3, 1701, seems to preclude the actual existence of a separate community school before that time.⁵³ It is quite likely that the opening of the Germantown school was directly stimulated by the renewed effort to improve the Friends' School in Philadelphia, where Pastorius had just finished an engagement as teacher in the Friends' School. For there is no longer any question that Pastorius taught for the Friends and not in a private school of his own in Philadelphia as was considered possible by Professor Seidensticker.⁵⁴

The question was raised by Professor Seidensticker whether Pastorius taught in German or English in the Germantown school.

⁵¹ Cf. *Der Deutsche Pionier*, III, 56.

⁵² Cf. *Beschreibung*, p. 34.

⁵³ A passage in the Letter of Attorney given to Falkner, Kelpius and Jawert Jan. 24, 1700, seems to corroborate this view:

"Lastly we grant unto them herewith special Power to appropriate fifty Acres of Our land in Germantown for the benefit of a Schoolmaster, that the Youth in reading, writing & in good manners & education without partial Admonition to God & Christ may be brought up and Instructed."

⁵⁴ Cf. MS. copy of Seidensticker's *Biographical Sketch of Francis Daniel Pastorius* among the D. P. Bruner papers loaned me by Mr. Abram Bruner of Roanoke, Va., after Mr. D. P. Bruner's death.

There seems little reason for supposing that the language of instruction was German, although teacher and pupil alike no doubt often spoke German, as most of the pupils were from German families. But the fact that the General Court as early as 1696 had ordered the minutes of the *Raths-Buch* to be copied in English by Pastorius is evidence that they already recognized the necessity of using the official language of the Province in business intercourse, and it is hardly likely that they would have taken an opposite policy by establishing a strictly German school, especially as the pupils, who spoke German at home, needed a knowledge of English above all else. Then too the fact mentioned by Seidensticker, that the titles of Pastorius' school books,⁵⁵ which were evidently intended as aids in his teaching, are in English, would seem to show that the instruction was given in English. The other works of Pastorius of a pedagogical character but with German sub-titles are of a more advanced character and scarcely designed for use in the school. It is not unlikely that Pastorius taught some of the subjects of his other English books in the school, as for example *The Young Country Clerk*, *The Good Order and Discipline of the Church of Christ*, particularly to the more advanced boys of the school.

It is not stated how long Pastorius taught the Germantown school, but it seems likely that he continued the school as long as he was able to teach, at least till 1718. We know from the *Res Propriae* that he was teaching as late as 1716.

Although Pastorius was educated in the humanities and deeply read in the scholastic literature, his contact with the reali-

⁵⁵ Cf. the following books by Pastorius:

1. *A New Primmer*, &c. 1698.
2. *Lingua Anglicana or Some Miscellaneous Remarks Concerning the English Tongue*.
3. *Lingua Latina or Grammatical Rudiments*.
4. *Collection of English Rhymes, Alphabetically Arranged*.
5. *A Breviary of Arithmetick and Arithmetical Hotch-Potch*.
6. *Formulae Solennes or Several Forms of such Writings as are vulgarly in Use, whereunto an Epistolography is annexed*.
7. *Vademecum or the Christian Scholar's Pocket Book*.

ties of the new world convinced him of the need of a new education, which should have more regard for the *realia*. He even goes so far as to regret the great outlay, which his father had made for his now somewhat useless preparation for life. As early as 1699 in a letter to his father, he set forth this changed attitude in significant detail—a point of view far ahead of his time and anticipating the educational revolution of the nineteenth century. The German part of the letter in question is given here in English translation with the Latin passages unchanged as they appear in the original:

“As for other matters this colony still increases daily in population and human wickedness, nevertheless I hope the condition of things will never become so inhuman as in those European universities, at which one must learn for the most part nothing but *dediscenda*. *Multi enim Professores inutilibus quaestionibus & acutis tricis nugilibus tempus terunt, & dum discentium mentes in supervacaneis quaestionibus detinent, impediunt eas ne ad solidiora aspirent. Nitiatur explorare quid sit Jupiter & Vulcanus, sed non quid sit Christus? Conantur quoque sanctissimum Verbum Dei Aristotelicis Syllogismis illuminare & defendere, quasi vero Spiritus ille Sanctus (qui solus verus Author & Dictator scripturae est) per damnatum Ethnicum & in Inferno ejulans Ingenium Aristotelis posset reformari aut illustrari.*

Others passed the precious time with nothing but useless questions and *indagationibus*, *an vera sit illa Inscriptio sepulchralis in Monte Fiascone: Propter Verbum est est Dominus meus mortuus est*. Others look for the ablative case in the Greek declensions, but for what purpose they need it, they themselves do not know.

Indeed nowadays the students are beginning to drink one in every ten of their number to death, and to send him into the Hellish realm of Satan, which is in very truth greatly to be lamented, and it were to be sought of God, that the eyes of professors as well as students might be opened, so that they might know how vain it is to boast of the light of the Gospel and yet remain in such abominable works of darkness.

Accordingly I pity my dear brother Johannes Samuel, if he, having learned piety and the fear of God from his dear parents and tutor, should afterwards lose them again at the universities and experience so much *dediscinda* with the extreme peril of his soul, and I would much rather advise him, as a true brother, that he learn some respectable practical trade, in which he could serve

God and his fellow Christian, the which, although it is regarded little and despised among you, is notwithstanding more in accord with the divine order and Apostolic teaching than all scholastic speculation; for in the main the highly versed are highly perverse & *scientia mundana inflat*. Such lofty haughty spirits wish afterward to live in great state; for this they need large sums of money, which they try to obtain to the harm of their neighbor, in order that their wives and children may be able to strut around *à la mode*.

In opposition to this the humble people taught of God say with Antonius: *Non data non cupio*, and think it well with Palingenius, *contentum vivere parvo, cum quibus concordat*, S. Paulus Hebr. 13. v. 5."⁸⁶

Pastorius himself regretted that he had devoted the precious time of youth to obtruse scholastic learning rather than to the more practical *realia*. He expressed this in strong language, in reflecting upon his early education:

"I myself would give several hundred rixdollars, if I had devoted the precious time, spent in learning Sperling's Physic, Metaphysic and other unnecessary sophistical argumentations and disputations, to engineering and printing, which would now be more serviceable to me, and more useful and interesting to me and my fellow Christian than all such physic and metaphysic and all Aristotelean *Elenchi* and *Syllogismi*, by means of which no savage or unchristian man can be brought to God, much less a piece of bread be earned."⁸⁷

⁸⁶ Cf. *Beschreibung*, pp. 98-100.

⁸⁷ Cf. *Opening of the Bechstein Library, Addresses*, p. 34; also *Beschreibung*, pp. 72-73.

CHAPTER VI.

PASTORIUS IN PRIVATE LIFE.

It is natural to inquire into the private life of a public man at any time, but it is particularly instructive to do so in the case of a man of the most liberal education, when he steps from the aula of the university into the wigwam of the wild man in the primeval forests of the New World.

The motives leading to this apparently abrupt change of condition were not altogether single, nor without reflection and preparation in the case of Pastorius. The dominant motive was the desire to escape the turmoil of the Old World by finding a quiet refuge in the West. This was the attitude of the Quietists of that time, and common to Pietist, Mennonite and Quaker alike—the spirit that lives on in these sects, especially the German Quietists of Pennsylvania, to the present day. Closely linked with this selfish desire was the higher motive of bearing the message of Christian truth to the Red Men of America.

All efforts to find a picture of Pastorius or any member of his family have proved futile. It is possible to reconstruct an outline sketch of his appearance from scanty notes found here and there in his works and in the letters of Israel Pemberton, already given above, particularly the following:

“J long to be with thee againe tho som times J smile to my self to think how J told my father when first J saw him J doubted he would prove an angry master he asked me why so J told him J thought so by his nose.”

While this does not tell how the nose of the schoolmaster turned, it is quite in keeping with the description which Pastorius gives of himself in his *Medicine Book*:

"The Compiler of this little Manuscript is a Melancholy-Cholerick Complexion, and therefore (juxta Culpepper, p. 194) gentle, given to Sobriety, Solitary, Studious, doubtful, shame-faced, timerous, pensive, constant & true in action, of a slow wit with obliviousness: &c.

If any do him wrong,
He can't remember't long."¹

This self-analysis would seem to warrant the schoolboy metaphor of Israel Pemberton, when he speaks of his teacher, D. P. Pastorius, as "D. P. Sowerness," in his letter to Richard Johns.^{1a}

The first five years of Pastorius' life in Germantown were busy with the work of settling the German colony, and, in spite of moments of despondency and discouragement, the jurist-pioneer seems to have been fairly contented with his lot in the little German Town. He saw, one after another, new houses rise in the clearing, and the smoke of comfort and contentment rise from freshly built chimneys, heralding the progress of the German settlement.

It was a lonely life for the agent of the German Company with his little personnel of servants in these far-off western wilds, but with no companion to share the fears and hopes of the passing years. What memories of his early years still lived in his fancy, we do not learn from his personal notes or reminiscences. Whether any fair figure out of his student days still passed like a guardian spirit athwart his dreams, he does not tell. But one fugitive song has come down to us in his writings, which seems to date from this earlier period of the days in Europe and which may be the one witness that his life was not utterly void, at least of memories of romance of the lighter vein. This song runs:

¹ Cf. *Talia Qualia Medicinalia, Artificialia & Naturalia*, p. 2.

^{1a} The passage runs as follows: "I perceive by thine that D. P. Sowerness still remains." It is not unlikely that the flogging of Israel Pemberton was the ultimate cause of Pastorius leaving the school.

Francis Daniel Pastorius

“Darf man dich Corinna küssen
So kom̃ mein Lieb̃g zu mir her,
Ich werd es wohl am besten wissen,
Das war die Antwort ungefehr.
Sie liesse zwar u. sagte Nein,
Und gab sich doch gedultig drein.

Lauff o mein Kind! bleibe stehen.
Lauff schöne, schrie ich, nicht zu weit,
Lass uns d liebe werck begehen,
Wir sind in unsrer besten zeit.
Sie seuffzte zwar! u. sagte Nein,
Und gab sich doch gedultig drein.

So halte nun und lass dich küssen,
Kein Mensche soll in dieser Stadt
Nicht dz geringste darvon wissen,
Dass jemand dich geküsset hat.
Sie zuckte zwar u. sagte Nein,
Und gab sich doch gedultig drein.

Hiemit so zog ich meine strassen,
Daher ich neulich kom̃en war,
Erfuhr in dessen bester massen,
Von der Corĩna wunderbahr,
Dass, Ja bey vielen pfliget Nein
Und Nein so viel als Ja zu seyn.”

Translation.

Come, Corinna, let me kiss thee!
Come, my dearest, to me here!
I would know why joy should miss thee,
I would have thine answer clear!
Smiling sweetly said she, “No,”
Then demurely yielded so.

“Stay here near me, oh, my treasure,”
Cried I; “run not off so far;
Let us try love’s luring measure,
While our lives the richest are.”
Sighing deeply said she, “No,”
Then demurely yielded so.

Raise thy head and let me kiss thee!
Not a man shall ever learn
How with longing I caress thee,
How my lips to thine do turn.
Then she trembled and said, "No,"
But demurely yielded so.

Often since whene'er I wander,
Whether far or near the way,
O'er the lesson do I ponder
From Corinna learned that day.
"No" is sometimes backwardness,
"No" is sometimes meant for "Yes." *

In the year 1688, November 6, Pastorius married Ennecke Klostermanns, the daughter of Jan Klostermanns,³ alias Johannes Zu Neuenhaus and Ennecke von Nensheim (who already had by her first husband two children, Willm von Nensheim, alias Spikermanns, living at Speltrop, and Gertrud von Nensheim, who had married and gone to live in Amsterdam). Ennecke von Nensheim-Klostermanns had by her second husband, Jan Klostermanns, three children: Jan Klostermanns, already deceased, Heinrich Klostermanns, then living in Heussen, and Ennecke Klostermanns, the wife of Pastorius. Ennecke Klostermanns-Pastorius was born December 15, 1658, in Müllheim-on-the-Ruhr.

Account has already been given of the personal effects which Pastorius brought with him, in 1683, to America. It appears from his *Res Propriae*,⁴ that Ennecke was also well equipped for

³ This translation was made by Ex-Governor S. W. Pennypacker and set to music by Arthur L. Church, who published both the English and German text with the music. Mr. Church kindly presented the present writer with a copy of this print.

⁴ In the *Beschreibung*, p. 60, Pastorius gives this account: "Nun, meinen *particulier* Zustand anbelangende / berichte kürztlichen: Dasz Anno 1688. den 26. Novemb. ich mich allhier zu Germanton an Jungfrau Annam Klostermannin / Herrn Henrici Klostermanns / *Medicinae Doctoris* aus dem Hertzogthum Cleve gebürtig verheurathet habe." This account does not agree with that of the *Beehive*, unless we are to supply "Schwester" instead of "Tochter" after "Henrici Klostermanns" in the passage.

* Cf. *Res Propriae*, p. 33.

setting up a new household when Pastorius married her, as the following list of her personal effects at the time of their marriage will show :

"An Silbergeld. 36. Reichsthaler oder 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ 16s. disslandisch

An Kleidern:

- Ein schwartz seiden Kaper, 12s.
- 3. reichleiber,
- 1. paar zeugerne Ermel,
- 1. tüchern hembdrock.
- 2. schwartz gronrasch Leibergen.
- 1. schwartz gronraschen Schürtz,
- 2. blaue röck,
- 1. blau leinen Schürtz.
- 6. Schürtzeltücher.
- 3. paar gestrickte strümpf.
- 2 paar schue, und 1. paar pantofeln.

An leinen Zeug.

- ein yard Nesseltuch,
- 11. Hollandsche Elen fein liñen,
- 8. hembder.
- 8. nastücher.
- 3. bettlacken.
- 4. Servieten,
- 5. halstücher.
- 4. Untersten.
- 6. Kroplappen,
- 5. Soñentücher.
- 5. Kappen.
- 18. Dreckmützen.

An Hausgeräth.

- eine neue kist,
- 1. Spiñrad samit haspel.

An Buchern:

- Jerem. Dyckens würdiger Tischgenoss. 12 $^{\circ}$.
- Saldeni Christliche Kinder-schuel. 12 $^{\circ}$.
- Christliches Gedenckbüchlein. 24 $^{\circ}$."

It appears also in the records, that Ennecke had real estate in Germantown. She bought in all fifty acres of land in Germantown, as follows: Thirty acres of the German (Frankfurt) Company next to Isaac Dilbeck, according to an agreement dated August 18, 1689; further twenty acres next to Jan Doeden from the same company by an agreement dated August 21, 1689. This land was purchased on terms of a perpetual rental of six shillings and five pence to be paid annually on the first day of the sixth month.⁵

The issue of the union of Francis Daniel Pastorius and Ennecke Klostermanns was two sons: Johann Samuel Pastorius, born in Germantown, March 30, 1690, and Heinrich Pastorius, born in Germantown, April 1, 1692. Ennecke suffered from the effects of the birth of this second son all the rest of her life, as it appears, from the lack of proper surgical care. The name Pastorius has come down through direct descendants of these two sons to the present time, as will be seen in the "Pastorius Genealogy" at the end of this work.

Although greatly concerned for the education of his two sons, Pastorius recognized the economic conditions in Pennsylvania and the importance of a practical breadwinning trade, and accordingly had each of his boys learn such a trade. The elder son, John Samuel, at the age of sixteen years (1706), learned

⁵ In the *Res Propriae* we find the following:

"Enneke Klostermanns, nun Pastorius' hat in Germantown an land fünfzig ackers, oder ein gantzes Stattlos, gelegen zwischen Isaac Dilbeck und Jan Doeden. Nembl: 30. Ackers, neben Isaac Dilbeck auff Ewigen Erbpacht von der Franckfurtn. Compagnie vor 15d. alt Engln. gelds, laut Contracts de dato. d. 18. Augusti 1689. [: Die Copey darvon folgt pag. 34.] Ferner 20. ackers, neben Jan Doeden, auch auff Ewigen Erbpacht von gedr. Compe. vor 4. Schill; 10d. diszländischer wehrung, laut Contracts de dato den 21. Aug. 1689 [: Dessen Copey sihe pagina 36:] Jst also der völlige Erbpacht von diesem los oder 50. ackers Jährlich 6. Schill, und 5d. Peñsylvanischen gelds, den 1ten. tag des 6. Mon.

Jetztgemeldes los hat im Dorff 40:acker.

Jetztgemeldes los hat im Seitland 10:acker.

Die breite darvon im Dorff ist 14:ruth 4 Fusz.

Die breite darvon im Seitland 7:ruthen 4 fusz.

Die Länge im Dorff ist
im Seitland."

the weaver's trade with Paul Kästner, and afterwards carried on this trade in the house of his father, who furnished him the outfit. In 1716, August 15, John Samuel married Hannah Lückens, the youngest daughter of Jan Lückens, in open meeting in Germantown. The younger son Henry, likewise learned the trade of weaving from his brother, but in 1713 took up shoemaking by himself. At the approach of winter, 1714, he went to Bombay Hook, and remained there and in the Duck Creek region until 1716. By a curious coincidence both John Samuel and Henry narrowly escaped death by the fall of a horse.⁶

The names of both John Samuel and Henry Pastorius appear, together with those of their father and mother (the last two in Francis Daniel Pastorius' hand), on the marriage certificate of Henry Kunders and Catharine Streppers signed at the Abington Monthly Meeting, 7 da. 7 mo., 1710.⁷ Henry Pastorius' name appears later on the petition for the renewal of the Charter of Germantown,⁸ under Thomas Penn.

⁶ The original in the *Res Proprie* runs as follows:

"Mein ältester Sohn Joh. Samuel, gebohren ut supra pag. 8. den 30. Mertz 1690. lernte anno 1706. das Weben von Paul Kästner, u. trieb es hernach in seines Vatters haus, der ihm die geräthschaftt verschaffte.

Año 1716. den 15. Aug. heurathete Er Jan Lückens jüngste tochter Hañah in öffentlicher. Versammlung zu Germantown. Da Er eben zu vor mit einem fferd fallende den fusz sehr verrenckt hatte, u. den 20. dito bekam ers fieber.

Mein Jüngster Sohn Heinrich, gebohren, ut. supra pag. 8. den 1. April 1692. lernte von seinem bruder das Weben; und año 1713. von selbst das Schuемachen. Año 1714. geg winter gieng er nach Bumby Hooк u. hielt sich deselbst und an der Duck Creek auff bisz ins Vorjahr. Año 1716. hatte er in der May-fair zu Philada. einen elenden fall, stürzte mit dem fferd. Da daß dieses so fort todt blieb und er auch selbst vor todt auffgenommen wurde: Doch schenckte ihm Gott vor diszmahl das leben, welches er ja danchbarl erkenen, und sich rechtschaffen bessern mag."

⁷ Cf. Photographic reproduction in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, "Marriage Certificates," Vol. 2. The certificate is printed in *Publications of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania*, Vol. II, pp. 66-67.

⁸ The original petition is in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. It begins thus: "To the Honorable Thomas Penn Esquire one of the Proprietors of the Province of Pensilvania, &c, the Humble Petition of the Inhabitants of Germantownship," and is signed by forty-three petitioners, with "Henry Pastorius" at the head of the third and last column of names.

PASTORIUS AND HIS FRIENDS.

The correspondence in the *Beschreibung* shows that Pastorius kept alive his friendship with a number of his old friends in Germany during the first years of his life in Pennsylvania. The letters written to his old preceptor, Schumberg, and to Model, rector of the school at Windsheim, contain much important information concerning the new country.

In addition to the Latin verses concerning the vanity of the world, he dedicated his first book, printed after his arrival in America, *Vier Tractätlein*, to Schumbergius.*

In the letter to Rector Georg Leonhard Model (Modelius), he exhibits a keen interest in the importance of the life of the Indians as an object lesson for civilized Europeans, and gives an interesting description of the Red Men as he saw them in Pennsylvania.

*The dedication is in Latin and runs as follows:

"Ad *Praenobilem & Eruditissimum VIRUM ac DOMINUM TOBIAM SCHUMBERGIUM* Senatorem Windsheimensem, Amicum singulari animi cultu devenerandum:

Amantissime Schumbergi!

Primitias Lucubrationum mearum & Fundamentum subsequuturæ [sic] amplioris Structuræ in erigendâ & cultivanda verâ Religione Tuæ Prudenti Dominationi vel ideo dedicare in animum induxi, ut si forte me in errore aliquo deprehensum esse intellexeris, mature me commonefacias. Testem autem produco ipsum Salvatorem meum Dominum JESUM Christum, quod non sugillandi aut injuriandi animo, sed nudæ simplicisque veritatis [sic!] indagandæ gratia, calamum in manus assumpserim, dum lugubrem nimis Ecclesiæ Christianæ statum mecum penitus perpendi advertique Gentes venisse in hæreditatem Domini, ac omnis Generis Feras Vineam Christi depavisse. Id quod jam dudum multi pictate & vitâ Clarissimi Viri doluerunt, & adhuc omnes Boni passim dolent.

Ut verò, Vir Doctissimè! instituti mei finem mentemq; tanto penitus percipias, admonitum te velim, ut Christi Domini, eusq; Apostolorum Præcepta diligenter omnium Hominum statutariis commentis è diametro opponas persuasumq; tibi habeas quod contrariis taliter sibi invicem oppositis Veritas ipsa ultro elucescet. Et tu jam num eam corde manuq; prehensam tenebis. Et tunc abundè mihi credes quod omnes Innovatores & contradictores Mandatorum DEI, aliquando coram Throno extremi Judicis nullatenus subsistent, sicut ii qui JESU jussa sunt secuti; Hunc ergo solum tu ama cordicitus, ejus Dicta & jussa observa, Veritatem dilige, & in Ipso bene vive & vale! non immemor ejus, qui in hisce, extremis finibus Terræ quotidie memor est tui, morieturq; tibi ter fidus

Germanopoli 1. Jan. 1690.

Franciscus Daniel Pastorius."

Other letters from his correspondence with members of the German Company, and with his father, show that he kept in touch with affairs in the Fatherland. The letters of Pastorius' sons to their grandfather, and the latter's long and detailed account of his life, written in reply, form one of the most interesting parts of the *Beschreibung*, and exhibit the gentle affection still linking the colonial offspring to the old home beyond the sea.

It is apparent, also, from the records and events of Germantown, that Pastorius was on friendly terms with his fellow-countrymen in Germantown. He speaks of these German friends as among those who were especially kind to him during his severe illness. In a passage in the *Beehive*, he mentions Jacob Tellner as one of his friends:

"J endeavoured at Spare times to make this present Hive on a Quire of fine Paper, which a friend of mine [Jacob Tellner:] departing for Europe did give me."

Pastorius dedicated at least two poems to Tellner upon the latter's departure for Europe. The first is inscribed: *Haec ad Jac. Tellnerem æuropæantem*:

"Man muss nach solchen Gütern ringen,
Die, wañ das Schiff durch sturm zerbricht,
Ein Nackender selbst weg kan bringen,
Und disz ist Gold u. Silber nicht.
Papier, sonst leicht, ist dañ beschwerlich,
Nichts als Verstandt u. Fremigkeit
Sind, wañ die Zeiten so gefährlich
Auff See u. Land vor raub befreyt,
Haec ad Jac; Telnerum æuropæantem."^a

The second with the superscription: *Ad eundem* (: Jac. Tellnerem) runs thus:

^aCf. *F. D. P.*, p. 561.

The Founder of Germantown

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“Nach dem Krachen, nach dem Knallen,
Nach dem Doñern, nach dem Schallen
folgt der helle Soñen-schein.

Man musz durch das Wetter dringen,
Will es heute nicht gelingen
Jacob! es wird morgen seyn.

Darumb lass nicht ab von hoffen,
Komt Errettung, Du hasts droffen;
Komt dañ auch das gegentheil,
Was Gott will ist Glück u. Heyl.

Dei Voluntas mea felicitas.
Haec ego properè, Tu prosperè.
Vale ac Salva; iterum iterumque.”^{9b}

Translation.

After rumbling, after roaring,
After thunder and downpouring,
Follows oft the clear sunshine.

Men must forth whate'er the weather,
And to-day must forth together,
Jacob! Up the morn is fine.

Be not then so sad and moping,
Dawns the freedom you are hoping,
Comes another brighter mood,
What God wills is luck and good.

The character and learning of Pastorius, as well as his official position as Agent of the German Company and founder of the German Colony, brought him into contact with the leading men in the Province, with some of whom he formed a life-long friendship.

^{9b} Printed by permission from the original manuscript in the possession of Ex-Governor S. W. Pennypacker, whose English translation is subjoined to the original. The poem is on p. 56r of the MS. which we cite as F. D. P. Pages 444-5 of the same MS. contain short poems on Cupid and love.

Thomas Lloyd.

On the journey across the ocean, Pastorius made the acquaintance of the estimable Welshman, Thomas Lloyd, whose personality and learning strongly attracted the German jurist. The first bond of sympathy seems to have been the knowledge of the Latin language which enabled both of them to carry on conversation. Lloyd had studied at Jesus College, Oxford,¹⁰ and learned the continental pronunciation of Latin, so that he and Pastorius, the German, could readily understand each other.

"Alone with him, I could in Latin then commune:
Which tongue he did pronounce right in our German way."

The friendship thus begun in a foreign tongue on board the ship *America*, while crossing the Atlantic, continued till the death of Lloyd in 1713, and the memory of his Welsh friend was kept alive by Pastorius in poetic tributes which he dedicated to Lloyd's daughters, Rachel (Preston), Hannah (Hill) and Mary (Norris), after their father's death. These poetic memories were still accessible to Watson in a separate manuscript, when he wrote his *Annals of Philadelphia in the Olden Time*, but seem to have disappeared into private hands or to have been lost since that time. Fortunately, the *Beehive* has preserved many of these verses, which contain important information concerning the relations of Lloyd and Pastorius.

In a long prose preamble Pastorius recounts the mercies of God, and exhorts the daughters of Thomas Lloyd to join him in thanksgivings to the Most High, on the anniversary of their arrival in Pennsylvania. As special mercies he makes mention of their escape "from the Cruel, Enslaving Turks, once supposed to be at our heels," the Providential care which has protected them these one and thirty years, the kindness of William Penn

¹⁰ Cf. John Jay Smith, *Letters of Dr. Richard Hill and His Children 1854*, and Charles Perring Smith, *Mss. Mem. of the Carpenter Family* (in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

“as a Compassionate Father for his unskillful Children,” “keeping us unarmed creatures all along in ease & Peace, making as it were the Indians our Charissimos or Brethren.” The poems of Pastorius to Lloyd’s daughters are printed here for the first time.

“A Token of Love and Gratitude.

Just one and thirty years, or (says one, J know who,)
 Eleven thousand and Three hundred Twenty two
 Whole Days & Nights are past, since we arrived here
 At Phi-la-del-phi-a, where ye three Sisters dear,
 Jn Love together link’d, still arm in arm do hold
 Each other, as they paint the Charities of old.
 Should mine Arithmetick proceed, & multiply,
 (Like God his Blessings does,) it would (Be pleas’d to try,
 And pardon when ye find an overly mistake,)
 Of Minuts, Seconds call’d, most thousand Millions make.
 Thus long ye have been here! and ev’ry Moment he
 (Or if this Web of Time in smaller Thrums can be
 Divided,) has bestow’d some Benefits on you,
 Brave husbands, Store of Goods, & hopeful Children too. &c.
 Oh! that my slender Quill could further set in Ranks
 His Graces to our Souls before your eyes, that Thanks
 Might as of one heart rise to him the Holy One,
 And like pure Jncense yield sweet Savour at his Throne:
 Where, with the Cherubims, and Spirits of Just Men,
 Your Parents worship him, & that not now & then,
 As we poor Mortals do, Confin’d below the Sky
 To Faint & Weakness; but always, Jncessantly.
 John De la Val with them his Strength about this bends,
 And all Eternity in Hallelu—Jahs spends.
 Your Brother Mordecai, (J speak what J believe,)
 And those your tender Babes, who left this Vale of Grief,
 Of Sorrows & of Tears, to Heaven’s Majesty
 He his Te Deum sings, they their Hosanna cry.
 There they expect, that ye and your Relations may
 Depart in due Time, out of these Tents of Clay,
 Jnto the Mansions, which the Lord prepar’d above,
 For all his Followers, that live & die in Love,
 Like Thomas Lloyd has done; whom God there does regard,
 And in his Offspring here his Faithfulness Reward.
 Now, notwithstanding he for you (his Daughters) longs
 To mix your Melodies with his Celestial Songs;

Yet I say, Tarry ye! let me the first fall Sick,
Ascend & meet him in my last Climacterick,
Or LXIIIth year of age, J am in, and almost out.
J'm far from Flattering! and hope, ye read my mind,
Who can't, nor dare forget a Ship-Mate true & kind,
As he your Father was to me, (an Alien,)
My Lot being newly cast among such English men,
Whose Speech J thought were Welsh, their words a Canting Tune,
Alone with him J could in Latin then Commune:
Which Tongue he did pronounce right in our German way,
Hence presently we knew, what he or J would say.
Moreover, to the best of my Remembrance,
We never disagreed, nor were at Variance;
Because God's sacred Truth, (whereat we both did aim,)
To her indeared Friends is ev'ry where the same.
Therefore 'twas he that made my Passage short on Sea,
'Twas he & William Penn, that Caused me to stay
In this then uncouth land, & howling Wilderness,
Wherein J saw that J but little should possess,
And if I would Return home to my Father's house,
Perhaps great Riches & Preferments might espouse, &c.
How be't nought in the World could mine Affection quench
Towards Dear Penn, with whom J did converse in French.
The Vertues of these Two (and Three or Four beside,)
Have been the chiefest Charms, which forc'd me to abide.
And though these Persons, whom J mention with Respect,
(Whom God as Instruments, did graciously elect,
To be His Witnesses unto this faithless Age,)
Are at a distance now from our American Stage,
In which as Actors, or Spectators, we appear,
Their Memory Survives: To me they're very near.
J often wish J might their Patience so express
As J the want thereof ingenuously Confess.
Good Lord! what Injuries have your said Genitor
Of Villains, whilst he was Lieutenant-Governour!
It seem'd to me, he would his Master Equalize,
And suffer wretched Fools his Station to despise,
Especially George Keith, well nigh devour'd by Lice.
But honest Thomas Lloyd has laid his Body down
In Rest & Peace with God, & now does wear the Crown
Of Immortality, of Glory & of Life,
Laid up also for us, if lawfully we strive.

F. D. P.

Fortunante Deo, Pietas Fert Denique Palmam."

"Germantown, the 20th day of the viith mo: 1715. dedicated by the Papists to their S. Bernhard and being the Anniversary feast of our happy Arrival at the Metropolis in this Province.

Rachel Preston, Hannah Hill & Mary Norris.

Your kindness wherewithal my last years Meeters met,
Does this new monument of ship-mate-ship beget,
Which, if it shall receive the selfsame Recompense,
May rise as high again, & shew a twelvemonth hence
Some Matters, as I hope, of greater Consequence,
Unless my Jnk dry up, or my small Diligence.
Dear Friends, an other Year besides the thirty one,
(Whereof my former Sheet,) is now elaps'd and gone.
Sith that we landed here on Philadelphia's Shore
Our Duty then requires, to praise the Lord once more,
For all his Goodnesses, in the Plurality,
Which Ev'ry one of you enjoy'd as well as J:
This Second Paper shall enumerate but some,
Jn Grammars threefold Tense, Past, Present & to Come.
I. God's Mercies over Us have been before we were
Produced on the Stage of this Terrestrial Sphere,
He pour'd us out as Milk, within our Mother's Womb,
And least that this should be yt First Stuff's^{10a} walking Tomb,
Did Cradle it like Chees, and when yet weak & fresh,
Fill up the tender skin with Sinews, Bones & Flesh.
Our Bodies thus prepared, He graciously would give
A never-dying Soul, thereby to move and live.
To move & live to Him, in Whom we live and move,
Oh! that we always might obedient Children prove,
Dread, love and worship God, the only Father, which
Beyond all Fathers is, most Bountiful and Rich.
'Tis He and He alone, that made us what we are,
And of His Handy-work did ever since take Care,
By Angels, Parents, Friends; Nay oft by wretched Foes,
Who, aiming at the Head, could scarcely hit our Toes.
So having been (poor things!) a Nine-month Closed in
A dark and narrow Vault, (Concluded under Sin,
Old Adam's Progeny,) were usher'd, that we should
As well our Genitors, as other men behold;
But presently we wept, quite overwhelm'd with Fears,
Forecasting, that we came into a Vale of Tears.
How be't they kiss'd, they buss'd, & dandled us so long,
Till with their Flatteries, & lulling Midwife's Song,

^{10a} Chaos.

They Dun'd our Juicy Ears, And in our Nurse's Lap,
 Outwearied by these Tunes, we took a Gentle Nap,
 Soon wak'ned of our Trance, they laid us to the Breast,
 The which of all the Sports, (me thinks,) has been the best;
 For, when we grew some years, discerning sad from glad,
 They sent us to the School, where we learn'd good & bad:
 More of the last than first—Had not our Parents skill
 Surpass'd our Masters Wit, how Jll, alas! how Jll
 Would things still be with us? Had God withheld his Light,
 We were as blind as Moles; But Thanks to Him! our Sight
 Increased with our Age: Wherefore J humbly bless
 The Fountain of this Gift, the Sun of Righteousness;
 Whose Rays, if well improv'd by us, so as they ought,
 Will warm our fainting Hearts, and grant us what we sought,
 When J from Franckenland, & you from Wales set forth,
 The one out of the East, the Others of the North,^{10b}
 Jn order to Exile ourselves towards the West,
 And there to serve the Lord in Stillness, Peace & Rest.
 He gave us our desires; For one, that rightly seeks,
 Does never miss to find. A matter of eight weeks
 Restrained in a ship, America by name,
 Jnto America [Amo(a)rica:] we came:
 A Countrey bitter-sweet, & pray! how can 't be less,
 Consid'ring all the World does lie in wickedness?
 And though perhaps some thought, that Penn-Silvania
 Should be excepted, and dream'd of Utopia,
 That Extramundane place (by Thomas Morus found,
 Now with old Groenland lost,) where all are safe & sound;
 Yet is it parcel of the odd and Cursed Ground. Gen. 3:17.
 What happ'nd by the way, is needless for to tell;
 But this J dare not slip, that when the Lion fell
 Upon my Back, and when next in a frightful Storm,
 Once J myself did fall, there Crawling as a Worm,
 Brave HONEST Thomas Lloyd has been the only Man,
 That heal'd me by God's help, our great Physician,
 Our Maker, Saviour & our Prophet, Priest and King,
 Good Shepherd, Teacher, Guide: Our All and Ev'ry thing.
 To Him the Holy One, we his Redeemed bow,
 And Glory, Majesty, Renown and Praises owe,
 For what He hitherto was pleased to bestow.
 (On us poor Creatures, whose Cup did overflow,)
 In two parts of this Globe, especially here,

^{10b} Francia Orientalis: Wallia Septentrionalis. [The notes to the poem are by Pastorius himself.]

Where we at present breathe, which Tense, tho' ne're so near, II
 I hardly comprehend: Jt suddenly posts by,
 E'en in an Instant, and the Twinkling of an Eye.
 'Tis nothing but a Now, a Now that can not last;
 Pronounce it with all haste, & with all haste it's past.
 A Weaver's Shuttle is not half so Swift or fleet,
 This momentary Jot has rather Wings than Feet:
 It vanishes like Smoke, like Dust before the Wind,
 And leaves, as sounding Brass, an Echoing Voice behind,
 Which minds us, that it should be Carefully imploy'd,
 So as the same has been by HONEST Thomas Lloyd,
 My quondam real Friend, whom with this Epithet
 J honour thankfully, and never shall forget
 His many Courtesies, to my Departing hour,
 Altho' my years should reach to other Sixty-four.
 If you, his Daughters, & your Families, & J,
 With mine do follow him, we may be sure to die
 Jn Favour with the Lord, and Unity with Friends:
 By three things he excell'd, Faith, Love & Patience.
 And this (to wit the last,) adorned thus his life,
 That J may truly say, she (it) was his Second Wife.
 Concerning CHARITY, (the Center of my Trine,)
 It did as clearly as his other Vertues shine:
 He kindly deal'd with all, to ev'ry one did good,
 Endearing chiefly God, and then the Brotherhood.
 His Christian Belief was grounded on the Rock,
 And so could easily endure the hardest Shock:
 Plain-hearted he has been, profound & Orthodox,
 Opposed by Geo. Keith's dull lowing of an Ox.¹¹
 A Bull of Bashan, who went willfully astray;
 But honest Thomas Lloyd continued in the Way,
 Christ Jesus, with streight Steps: Jf we walk on in them,
 We shall undoubtedly get to Jerusalem,
 The City of the Saints Solemnity above,
 Built of the purest Gold, wall'd, pav'd & ciel'd with Love.
 J say, we shall arrive, (and that is yet to come,)
 Ere long in Paradise our long & lasting Home; III
 For, when what we call Time, (a thing at best but short,
 And to be used as Paul the Brethren does exhort,)¹²
 Will once be Swallow'd up, with Death, in Victory,
 Those Tenses needs must cease to all Eternity.
 ETERNITY, a word whereof J fain would speak,

¹¹ Vox Bovis, non Hominis.

¹² 1. Cor. 7:29.

Because J feel, it does a deep Jmpression make
 Upon my Spirit ; But as Augustin was out
 In such like Mysteries, and proved too too stout,
 Reproved by a Child, that tried to transfuse
 The Waters of the Sea into his little Sluce.
 So, if by Millions, yea by thousand Millions more,
 Instead of Units, J shall Nime and Ninety Score
 Fine Bales of Genoa all over Multiply,
 'Twill but a Hair-breadth be as to ETERNITY.
 The Stars, and Jacob's Seed, are without Number, and
 He is a Shatter-pate, that Counts Grass, Drops & Sand :
 A perfect Bedlam, ay ! who with Simonides
 Presumes to Chalk out God, & Everlastingness.
 Let us be therefore wise, and thus retract the Days,
 Which from our Cradle up in Jdleness and Plays,
 Or infinitely worse, have frequently be[en] spent,
 That for transacted Sins we seriously repent :
 And take what heed we can, that in this ruining Time,
 We nothing may mis-do, mis-think, mis-speak, mis-rime.
 As to FUTURITY, none of us all can say,
 That either you, or J, shall see an other Day ;
 For this good reason we Comit that unto Him,
 Who rides, above all Times, upon the Cherubim.¹⁸
 He sees the Pristine, and what henceforth must ensue,
 Like present evermore : Gives unto Each his Due,
 And they, who faithfully their Talents do imploy,
 Shall be rewarded there with Crowns & boundless Joy.
 Thus J am finishing my homely Lines, and Crave
 Dear Shipmates, your Excuse, that J so boldly have
 With Doggrels troubled you, Fare well, rememb'ring me,
 Who am your loving & affectionate F. D. P."^{18a}

"The 14th day of the 6th mo: 1716. Rachel Preston died, and
 was buried the 15th ditto at Philada. when my Son John Samuel
 married with Hannah, the youngest daughter of John Lucken, at
 Germantown.

Genes. 35. v. 20.
 A Pillar upon Rachel's Grave
 Brave Jacob once would set,
 That he a Monument might have
 So as not to forget
 Her Vertues, Love and Faithfulness,

¹⁸ 2 Sam. 22:11 & Psalm 18:10.

^{18a} Cf. *Beehive*, p. 111-112.

Wherein She did Excell,
And likewise thereby to express
That he Esteem'd Her well.
Thus thou, Friend Preston, since thy Wife,
Our Dearest Rachel is
Departed now this troublesom Life,
To Ever-lasting Bliss,
Rear up a Pillar on thy Heart,
For always to Remind,
How she stood in Her sorest Smart
Jn Patience not behind ;
But was, when Weak, endu'd with Strength,
Faith, Hope and Charity,
Till taken to the Lord at length,
Does Praise and Magnify
His holy and most glorious Name
With the Triumphant Church ;
Pray ! let us Jmitate the same,
Tho' left here in the Lurch,
Where I myself look'd for that Fate,
My Ship-Mate underwent,
And wherefore thought to antidate
The last, J to Her sent.
Thrice happy ! Not to see these lines,
Beholding better Things,
She like a Star at present shines
Before the King of kings.

Blessed are the Dead, which die in the Lord,
from henceforth : Yea, saith the Spirit, that
they may Rest from their Labours ; and
their Works do follow them. Rev. 14. v. 13.

This Obelisk, in haste made by a sorry hand,
Serves only for a Draught, to show, how thine should stand.
God's Serjeant, Death, must do, what he has in Command.

The foregoing I sent in form of a Letter to my loving Friend
Samuel Preston, the late husband of the deceased Rachel Preston."^{12b}

"The 4th day of the 3d mo ; 1717. Elizabeth Hill sent me the little
Book, Jntitled A Legacy for Children, being some of the last Ex-
pressions & Dying Sayings of Hannah Hill, Junr. &c. Jnto which J
wrote what followeth, & so restored it

^{12b} Cf. *Beehive*, p. 114.

To my well-beloved Friend Elizabeth Hill.

Elizabeth! this Book of mine
Let henceforth (as a Gift,) be thine; vide pag. 4.
I read it over thrice a day,
Since in my hands the same did stay,
And now return it unto thee,
But TWICE from first to last to see
Each week, how Mother's Name Sake dear,
Thy loving Sister, in God's Fear
Has laid her tender Body down page 21.
Hereafter wearing that bright Crown,
In Heaven for all faithful ones
Laid up; Whenas both Wasps & Drones
Lake-ward are going, when they die;
Fear therefore God, Truth magnify,
Due Respect to thy Parents give,
Plainness embrace, and thou shalt live.

Live forevermore with those named page 10. & 34. as also with her, that gave thee this wholsom Advice, page 19. in the glorious & over-Joyful presence of God, & our Lord Jesus Christ. So be it, Amen.

This Book here, coming back, two other such demands,
For else 't had never gone out of P. . . . 's hands,
Who with the like brave Stuff his Library adorns,
And in regard thereof both Gold and Silver scorns;
Because by *that* we reap great Profit to our Minds,
But *this*, (lov'd too too much,) Men's Understanding blinds.
Dear Betty! then succeed in Sister Hannah's stead,
The holy Scriptures oft, with other good Books, read:
Delight in Needle-work, Delight likewise to write,
And Letters full of Sense (as She did,) to Jndite. vide pag. 32.
So thou wilt truly be, (as J may truly say,)
The most Accomplished Maid in Philadelphia.

F. D. P.

Germantown the 6th day of the 3d month, 1717."^{12c}

William Penn.

The most important friendship formed by Pastorius in Pennsylvania was that with William Penn, the proprietor of the

^{12c} Cf. *Beehive*, p. 119.

province. On the 21st of August, 1683, the day after his arrival in Philadelphia, Pastorius presented his credentials to Penn, and was well received, both by the proprietor and his German secretary, Johann Lehenmann. Pastorius has left two accounts of this first meeting, one in the *Beschreibung*,¹⁴ and the other in the *Sichere Nachricht*.¹⁵ The latter includes most of the former and gives besides an interesting estimate of Penn's character and work, and hence is given in English translation here:

"The 20th [of August] we passed New Castle, Upland, and Dunicum [Tinicum Island] and arrived at evenfall, God be praised, at Philadelphia; where on the following day I delivered to W. Penn the letters, which I brought with me, and was received by him with friendly affection; of this very worthy man and celebrated ruler I should, in justice, write much more; but my pen, (although it is from an eagle, which a so-called savage recently brought into my house) is much too weak to express the lofty virtues of this Christian, for such he is in deed. He often sends me an invitation to dine with him, also to walk or ride in his always edifying company; and when I was lately away a week fetching provisions from New Castle, and he had not seen me during that time, he came himself to my cottage, and desired, that I should come and be his guest several times a week. He is sincerely devoted [to the Germans], and said once publicly in my presence to his Councilors and those about him: I am fond of the [Germans] and wish, that you shall love them too; although I never at any other time heard such words of command from him; these pleased me however so much the more, because they are quite in unison with the command of God (vid. Job. 3, 23). I cannot say more now than that Will. Penn is a man who honors God, and is honored by Him in return: who loves that which is good and is justly loved by all good men, &c. I doubt not, some will yet come hither themselves and experience in fact that my pen has not written enough in this matter."

This esteem for the proprietor Pastorius seems to have retained even in the midst of the difficulties which he found arising out of Penn's policy of assigning the Germans their land. As we

¹⁴ Cf. *Beschreibung*, p. 37.

¹⁵ Cf. *Sichere Nachricht*, p. 2 (in photographic reproduction given in this work).

have already seen, it was Penn and Thomas Lloyd chiefly who kept Pastorius from abandoning the German Colony and returning to his native land. Even in the midst of Penn's trial in England, Pastorius remained loyal to the great proprietor.

Nor was the appreciation all on Pastorius' side. Penn has left us an interesting testimonial to the character of Pastorius in a later letter written in answer to an inquiry of Pastorius' father, Melchoir Adam Pastorius, as to the life of his son, Francis Daniel, in America. These letters, with a German translation, were published in the *Beschreibung*.^{15a} They form such an interesting incident in the life of Pastorius and Penn that they may fittingly be given entire here:

"Salutem ab ipso fonte Salutis JESU Christo quam plurimam.

Vir Prælustris Humanissime & in JESU Dilecte.

AUDaciam meam in scribendo facilè condonabis cum intellexeris ex paternâ id fieri solitudine & affectione erga filium meum Franciscum Danielem Pastorium in Pensylvaniâ tuâ commorantem abs quo jam longo tempore nil literarum accepi, ideo naturalis & Paternus affectus me impulit, ut de statu ac vitæ genere ipsius pauca sciscitarer.

Speraveram ego quidem me in senectute mea in ipso baculum & solamen habiturum, sed spe mea frustratus sum, dum in Provinciam tam longè à me dissitam ipse se contulit.

Vive in JESV felicissime & per ministrum quendam de tuo famulitio respondere desiderio & petitioni meæ dignare. Qui ipse toto corde exopto esse

Windsheimii 20. Jun. 1698. Tuæ Humanissimæ Dominationis servus ad omnia Mandata paratissimus.

M. A. P."

In answer to this came by post to Neustatt-on-the-Aysch (where Melchior Adam Pastorius was temporarily living after his departure from Windsheim), April 25, 1699, the following answer in Latin:

^{15a} Cf. *Beschreibung*, p. 94 and 96.

“Observande mi in JESU Christo Amice.

Ex intimo amoris affectu te saluto præsentemque tibi & futuram exopto felicitatem, quæ constat in fidâ obedientiâ in Lucem & Cognitionem illam quam tibi per Christum JESUM impertiit Deus.

Nuper adhuc in vivis fuit filius tuus, & jam nunc Philadelphix agit. Irenarchia hoc anno est, aut nuperrimè fuit, aliàs Vir sobrius, probus, prudens & pius audit, spectatæ inter omnes, inculpataque famæ, Familias pater est, quot vero filiorum, ignoro, Amoris tui pignus, cum literis valetudinis tuæ nunciis pergratum illi accideret.

Brevi Provinciam istam juvante Deo visurus sum, interea temporis quid velis & quid de eo expertas vel ad ipsum scribas vel in Literis ad me dandis exprimas.

Cum Votis itaque ut Deus unà cum salutis suæ demonstratione dignetur seniles tuos annos sicuti olim Simeoni prolongare, valere te jubeo

Bristolii die 20. Mensis 12.
vulgo Februarii 1699.

Sincerus tibi ex animo amicus.
WILLIAM PENN.

Inscriptio.

A Monsieur Monsieur Melchior Adam Pastorius.
President à Windsheim in Franconia.”

It may be noted here that Melchior Adam Pastorius dedicated the following anagram to William Penn :

“Guilelmus Penn Dei gratia Regisq Fauore Princeps Pensylvaniæ.
anagramma :

Perpendens fallacia munia Regni quæsiui greges populi tui sereni.

Nusquam tuta fides. Nunc Terra recalcitrat [?] Astris

Subditus in Regem surgit et arma gerit

Filius obsistit Patri, mala filia matri.

Iustus ab iniusto plectitur exilio

Sicce manu CromWel violentus Sceptra Stuardi

Inuasit, sed mox reddidit illa DEVS.

Rex Iacob Leges Regni dum tollit, et alium

Frangere conatur Relligionis opus

Iudicio ecce Dei iusto secedere Regnis

Cogitur et iusto plectitur Exilio.

Hinc ego perpendens fallacia munia Regni

Territus obstupui, cordeque contremui

Inde Greges pie Christe tui super Orbe sereni.

Quæsiui Populi qui tua jussa colat.
Hunc Philadelphiacis collegi nuper in oris
Sylvanisq locis pectora fida Deo."¹⁶

The tribute paid by Penn to the character of Francis Daniel Pastorius,

"Vir sobrius, probus, prudens & pius,
Spectatæ inter omnes, inculpataque famæ,"

is a fitting memorial to the many-sided German pioneer, and justifies the noble sketch drawn by the Quaker poet, Whittier, in *The Pennsylvania Pilgrim*.

It is possible that the following anagram, which Melchior Adam Pastorius dedicated to his son, Francis Daniel, belongs to this period:

"FRANCISCUS DANIEL PASTORIUS.

anagramma:

FONS SALVTIS, PARCAS DIV NECI.

Si peccatori mortemque necemque minari,
Numinis est proprium? Iustitiæque Dei?
PARCAS quæso DIV IESV FONS alme salutis,
Venturæ, misero quæ subeunda NECI.
Passus enim pro me, Peccatum Dæmona, Mortem
Strauisti, inque tuo sanguine tutus ouo."¹⁷

The devotion of Pastorius to the great proprietor is further expressed in a poem dedicated to Penn upon his third arrival in the Province of Pennsylvania:

"Epibaterium, Or a hearty Congratulation to William Penn, Chief Proprietary of the Province of Pennsylvania &c. Upon his third Arrival into the same,

For which good Patriots these sev'ral years did long,
And which Occasions this his German's English Song,
Who'f old could talk with him but in the Gallic Tongue.

¹⁶ Cf. *Itinerarium*, p. 232.

¹⁷ Cf. *Itinerarium*, p. 115.

Ter Fortunatus, Felix, et Faustus ad Jndos Tertius Adventus sit,
Guiliellme, tuus!

Let Heroic Poets Tote of War and warlike Men,
My Reed (shrill Oaten-Straw!) does Welcome Wm. Penn,
A man of Love & Peace, abominating Strife,
To him its Welcome sounds, and to his dearest Wife,
And to his hopeful Son, his Daughter and all His,
With Cordial Wishes of God's everlasting Bliss.
The third time welcome Penn! Of good things (as we see
Jn Sacred History,) there have been often three.¹⁸
Thrice Balaam's Ass would turn, & thrice the Prophet smites,¹⁹
And three times blesses he the blessed Jsraelites.²⁰
Thrice every year the Jews must keep their Solemn Feasts,²¹
And Solomon the Wise thrice sacrifices Beasts.²²
His Father David thrice (an exercised man,²³
According to God's heart,) bows down to Jonathan.²⁴
Elijah stretches him upon the Widow's Boy
No less than thrice, & thus death's Power does destroy.²⁵
Thrice to his windows goes my Name Sake op'ning them
And ev'ry day prays thrice toward Jerusalem.²⁶
Three times a Voice was heard, Rise Peter, kill & eat,"²⁷

¹⁸ I wittingly omit to speak of the holy & transcendent Three, who bear Record in Heaven & in Earth, 1 John 5, 7, 8 as also of the three Angels, whom Abraham entertained in the plains of Mamre, Gen. 18:2. Hebr. 12:2.

Neither do I quote, that three men of each Tribe were to describe the promised land, Josh. 18:4. nor that all the Males were three times in the year to appear before the Lord God, Exod. 23:17. nor that divers goodly persons, having many Sons, had but three Daughters, 1 Chron. 25:5. Job 1:2. Jtem what I concerning this mystical Number might have allegorized out of Deut. 14:28, 29. Ezek. 14:14. Dan. 3:24. and 10:2. Matt. 13:33. Mark 9:5. Luke 10:36. &c. and from Natural Philosophy, how all Elementary things consist of three, viz. Sal, Sulphur and Mercurius. But only add the ancient Latin Proverb, in no more than three words, Omne Trinum Perfectum; i. e. Of all Good things there must be Three.

¹⁹ Numb. 22:28, 32, 33.

²⁰ Numb. 24:10.

²¹ Deut. 16:16.

²² 1 Kings 9:25.

²³ 1 Sam. 24:5. 1 Kings 11:4. Acts 13:22.

²⁴ 1 Sam. 20:41.

²⁵ 1 Kings 17:21.

²⁶ Dan. 6:10, 13. Add Psal. 55:17.

²⁷ Acts 10:13, 16. and 11:7, 10.

Wild Beasts & creaping things make lawful Gospell-Meat.²⁸
 Paul's suff'rings threefold were, on this & th' other wise,²⁹
 For Satan's Buffeting he sighs to Heaven thrice.³⁰
 Thrice therefore Welcome Penn! (is my repeated cry,)
 The third time to the land of thy Propriety!
 Thy Province, into which these thirty one years past
 My Lot, by Providence, most happily was cast.
 Here in its Jnfancy thy Face J first did see
 The one and twenti'th of the Sixth Month, Eighty three. 1683.
 When the Metropolis (which Brother-Love they call,)³¹
 Three houses, & no more, could number up in all.
 No Fulness then of Bread, no Jdleness, no Pride,
 Where into Belial since did many-ones misguide.³²
 There in thy Company J with my Soul's delight
 At Intervals might sit till mid-time of the night.
 Then (as the Chearing Sun) thou visitedst poor Caves,³³
 Pray! let us not forget those Emblems of our Graves.
 But ever mindful of the Mercies of the Lord,
 Thank Him for what He did so graciously afford,
 In our first Meeting-Tent of Pine and Chest-nut boord.³⁴
 How be't thy Presence was withdrawing from us, ere

²⁸ 1 Cor. 10:25. Tit. 1:15. Matt. 15:11.

²⁹ 2 Cor. 11:25. Acts ch. 14. & 16. & 27.

³⁰ 2 Cor. 12:8.

³¹ In Greek Philadelphia, Rom. 12:10. by reason of the Brotherly Affection & Kindness, which therein should abound, and not Philargyria, or Love of Money, as it is English'd, 1 Tim. 6:10 and Juxta Ovidium: crescit Amor Nummi. &c. Qu. Argenti Studium vestrâ dum regnat in Urbe, Curâ Fraternali Nomen Amore trahit. Resp. Romulus, Abimeleck, Esau, Cain atq: Jehoram Fratres Frater habet; Gratia rara tamen.

³² Ezech. 16:49.

The Pit without a Bottom
 Brought forth these Sins of Sodom;
 Ye, who Comit the same,
 Are guilty of its Flame.

³³ The caves of that time were only holes digged in the Ground, Covered with Earth, a matter of 5. or 6. feet deep, 10. or 12. wide and about 20. long; whereof neither the Sides nor the Floors have been plank'd. Herein we lived more Contentedly than many nowadays in their painted & wainscotted Palaces, as J without the least hyperbole may call them in Comparison of the aforesaid Subterraneous Catatumbs or Dens. Vide Hebr. 11:38. J myself purchased one of the old Tho. Miller for 5£. then Curr. Silver Money of Pennsylvania in the midst of the Front-street at Philada., whenas the Servants, J had along with me, could have made a far better in less than two days, had they but known how to handle the spade.

³⁴ Our first Meeting-house in the sd City was nothing else than a Lodge or Cottage, nailed together of Pine-boards, Imported from New-York, and

We understood what things in Pensilvania were
 Of good or evil use, to follow, or t' avoid,
 The wisest of us all was honest Thomas Lloid.²⁵
 Some lent their itching Ears'to Kuster, Keith & Budd,
 And miserably fell into the Ditch of Mud,
 Where they may stick & stink; For as a sightless whelp,
 So stark-blind Apostates do grin at profer'd help:
 They spend their Mouths, & fain with vain words would ensnare,
 Or if this will not do, scold, back-bite, bug-bear, scare;
 Hereof, brave William Penn, me thinks, thou hadst thy share.
 And yet the second time cam'st Safe to this thy Land,
 Dogs, who at distance bark, bite not when near at hand.
 Now J thought all was well, the Country full of Folks,
 The City stately built, some houses 's tall as Oaks,
 The Markets stall'd with Beef, whereof we nothing knew,
 When (as aforesaid,) Hutts & Wigg-wams were so few.
 However, feeble things we are below the Moon!
 Change upon change, alas! befalls us very soon,
 Till She with other Stars & Planets (which now meet
 Above our heads,) will be the Pavement for our Feet.
 Mean while away again, home to Great Britain thou
 Downward th' Atlantic Sea must sail, ascend'st the Prow
 Of that unlucky Ship; unlucky, why? Because
 Jn her a harmless Lamb is carried to the Claws
 Of Tygers, Bears and Wolves, who since they can't devour,
 Shut him up in the Fleet, as form'rly in the Towr,
 Old Baily's Bale-dock, and such Dungeons, apt to scour, &c.
 Ay, sorry Turkey quill! stop, stop, & say no more,
 Make not afresh to bleed a newly healed Sore.
 This World, thou knowst, has been most troublesom to the Best,
 And so will always be: Jn Christ they find their Rest,²⁶
 The wch suffices them. Job's Motto (: Jf God would
 Ev'n slay, J'd trust in Him,) remains their strongest Hold.²⁷

sold a hundred foot at 10. Shill. And never the less the LORD appeared
 most powerfully in that Tabernacle of Shittim wood, (:See mine Onomastical
 Observations, Num. 1606). Glory be to His Name for ever and ever.

²⁵ This my well beloved Ship-mate has been no less Conspicuous for
 his Integrity & irreprovable Life, than for his singular Learning, Prudence
 & great Knowledge in things Physical, Civil & divine, whereby (tho' Deputy
 Governr. of this Province,) he was not puffed up at all, but of an affable,
 mild & truly Christian Temper, Yet Zealous for the Truth, and undaunted in
 its defense, his Charity still being greater than his Intellect, and his Love
 towards GOD the greatest of all three.

²⁶ John 16:33. Hebr. 11:36. &c.

²⁷ Job 13:15.

They can Forget, Forgive & render good for Bad,³⁸
 Bless & Jntreat when wrong'd ; both sorrowful & glad.³⁹
 Rejoicing in the LORD, continually rejoice,⁴⁰
 Laugh at their Enemies, and at the cackling noise
 Of their Persecutors, whom (scornful Brats!) God scorns,⁴¹
 And in His fiery Wrath at last cuts off their horns.
 For after he has try'd the Patience, Faith & Hope
 Of His Espoused-Ones, and they do not Elope,
 But firmly Cleave to Him, He Crowns & Comforts them
 With Kisses of his Mouth: No Cross, No Diadem.⁴²
 God proves first, then approves; first wounds, then heals; first kills,
 Then quickens by His WORD: first empties, and then fills,
 With Pleasures, which none dare Compare to any thing:
 Prais'd & extolled be the Name of Zion's King!
 But why do J rehearse these Truths to thee dear Friend,
 Who hast experienc'd them beyond what J intend
 To mention in my Rime except that thread-bare Lie
 [:Penn in America a Jesuite did Die?]
 No sure! the self-same Man, whom Gazetteers have slain
 So many Years agoe, lives still, or lives again:
 Loves JESUS, and abhors the Insects of the Sect,
 Wherewith black Loyol did this latter Age infect.
 J say thou liv'st, dear Penn, Thanks be to GOD on high,
 That to the Prince of Life thou art yet very nigh;
 Yea nearer, J believe, than thou hast ever been,
 Before this Province was by thee the third time seen.
 The third time and the last, J question not, He will
 Grant our Petition, and abundantly fulfill
 The Number of thy Days, that when thou art to lay
 Thy Body once aside, Jt undisturbed may
 Sleep fast at Pennsberry; thy Soul Return & stay

³⁸ 1 Pet. 1:9. F. D. P. acer Eremi Penniaci Cultor, Te Colo Penne benè
 God Almighty pleas to Bless
 Penn, and Penn's brave Wilderness.

³⁹ 1 Cor. 4:13. 2 Cor. 6:10.

⁴⁰ Phil. 4:4.

⁴¹ Psal. 2:4.

⁴² Psal. 75:8, 10. 2 Cant. 1:2. Hebr. 12:5. &c.

W. P. Veritas Vincit, Prævalet. D. L. Diabolus Latrat.
 All Devilish Lyars delight in Lurking-holes.

Vult Vertus Patere: Dolus Latere.

Whenas Plaindealing Truth Will shine to both the Poles.
 Wahrheit: Wie der Palm-baum steht,
 Wann Dir Lügen untergeht.

With Him, from whom she came, as those do who are gone
Already, and their Task here faithfully have done,
Tho' younger than we both. In French now Je conclus,
Jcy, et au Ciel Penn est le Bien-Venu!
Pour en avoir de Tout, il faut aussi un peu d'Allemand.

Whereas, Loving and dearly Esteemed Friend, in thy Travails
in Holland and Germany thou hast heard & learned somewhat of
my Mother-tongue; J hereby make bold to subjoyn a few lines in the
same, as followeth:

Penn heiszt auf Welsch ein Haupt, auf Nieder Teutsch ein Feder,
Die man zum schreiben braucht; das Haupt ersinn't entweder
Gut oder Böß, womit die Königin paar Geldt,
Durch Hülff der Feder Zwingt, die Gross und kleine Welt.
Nein, wañs hier Wünschens gält, so wolt ich, dasz mein Feder
Ein solchen Nach-druck hätt, damit sich Ja Ein jeder
Als ein gehorsam Glied ergäbe Jesu Christ,
Der da das Einzige Haupt der wahren Kirchen ist;
So wäre weder Heid, noch Jud; auch kein Papist."^{42a}

Griffith Owen.

Next to Thomas Lloyd and William Penn, Griffith Owen
seems to have occupied the warmest place in Pastorius' heart. It
was to Owen that he turned for medical aid in the last years of
Owen's life. The following testimonial to the efficacy of Owen's
medicine is quaintly phrased in the *Beehive*:

"Dearly Esteemed Friend *Griffith Owen*. Germantown, the 16th of
the 3d mo. 1714.

My last Climaterick (Nine multiplied by Sev'n,
May be, will bring me home, to'r long home even Heav'n;
Where God our Father dwells in everlasting Bliss,
Where we his Children then shall see Him as He is,
'And where the Holy Ghost our Spirits shall inflame
Eternally to praise and Celebrate His Name.
However, by Neglect we must not kill ourselves,
Therefore pray Doctor look for me upon thy Shelves
A gentle Purge which can (as I do think,) expell
My Fever's burning heat: So no more now, Farewell.

F. D. P.⁴³

^{42a} Cf. *Beehive*, p. 108-109.

⁴³ This footnote is added by Pastorius:

"Thy Spaw water's Salt did me much good these two Years agoe. Sal
Cathariticum sive Mirabile, Epson Salt" (cf. *Beehive*, p. 104).

'Adde supra Num. 352. Anno 1714. the 19th of November J accidentally came at a little Book Jntitled *Tractatus de Salis Cathartici amari in aquis Ebesshamensibus & hujus modi olijs contenti Naturâ et Usu. Authore Nehemiâ Green M. D. utriusq. Regiae Societatis Socio. Londini, 1695.* in 12^o and presented it to my good Friend Griffith Owen, scribbling on the first page, as followeth:

Franciscus Daniel Pastorius huncce Libellum—
 Qui Salis Eb'shamij Virtutes prodit et Usus,
 (Leniter hoc Alvus, quoties adstricta, movetur,
 Mota graves morbes ex Corpore projicit ægro, &c)
 Dilecto Medico,⁴⁴ Griffitho donat Oweno,
 Cui debere nihil vult, gratus, præter Amorem.
 What J had twice of Thee, this Author does exalt,
 And Satisfy my debt, by rend'ring Salt for Salt.
 Jn Case that clears thy Book, 'tis well, till J want more,
 Jf not, be pleas'd to put (or keep) it on my Score;
 For J intend to Pay the Salt & all the Rest,
 Which J Dear Owen owe: These Lines are but a Jest.
 Talibus innocuis Salibus licet hactenus uti,
 Ut similis similem dilectet Amicus Amicum.^{44a}

When after the general or yearly Meeting at Philada. (17th of the 1st mo:) was ended, my beloved Physician *Gr. Owen* prepared for his journey towards New England, the Adversary of Men's Eternal happiness would Jmpudently Suggest some distrustful Thoughts, the which never the less by the immediate Inspiration of our heavenly Comforter, J answered by way of Paradox, as well the better to Confound the Wicked One, as also the more firmly to fix and fasten the Anchor of my hope on Jehovah, the Rock of Ages, who alone is able to Save to the utmost, & to restore to a State of former health (: if it be his good Will & Pleasure,) even with a Word. Matt. 8:8.

Advers. Thy Doctor goes his ways, To Check New England's Ills,
 Answ. No, no! he ever stays, My Soul with good things fills.
 Advers. He surely thither goes, And there will teach and preach.
 Answ. No, no! his hands & Toes Are always within Reach.
 Advers. Behold, Asides he Starts, And Just now takes his horse.
 Answ. What then? tho' he departs, It is not for the worse.
 God sometimes hides his Face, And still is very near:
 His wholsom Saving Grace Soon does again appear.
 Advers. What strange thing now is this, At once to go and stay?

⁴⁴ Vid. Coloss 4, 14.

^{44a} Cf. *Beehive*, p. 110.

Answ. Did not the Son of Cis Among the Prophets play?
Advers. J mean that Mortal Man, who Med'cine to thee gives.
Answ. And J th' Physician, By Whom each Creature lives.
Advers. Say! Art thou not afraid, That One goes, whilst thou'rt ill?
Answ. No, No! For as J said, My Soul has yet her Fill.
By him who is all Love, And present ev'ry where:
Whose Will does move above My low and trembling
Sphere."^b

James Logan.

These to my Esteemed Friend James Logan, at Philada. Quæ de
Fraterno Nomen Amore trahit.

* * * * *

1714

Jf we did reason right & perfect Logick chop,
Endeavoring day & night To get to Wisdom's Top
We should instead of Glass, Meet with the precious Gem,
To do to Others as We would be done by them.
This was Christ's doctrine and, if fully understood,
Js the eternal Band of Peace, the noblest Good.
With this runs parallel what holy Prophets taught,
To shun the Sin as hell; Be Virtuous, & not nought.
Old Pagan Epictet on two words (as J hear,)
Did all his Groundwork set, to wit, Bear and Forbear.
But nowadays the chief and usual Business
Js to be large not brief; An Hour's Task, seldom less.
And after we compare The Writings, Surely 't looks,
That new-ones (neotericks) Volumes are, the ancient Little Books,
Jn these which have been first, we richly find, whereby
To satisfy our Thirst; [the latter leave us dry,]
the last themselves are dry. paucis exceptis.
Fides Doctrinaq. Prisca Forti (Fere) Deliciosa Palato."^c

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS.

The question has been raised whether Pastorius was a Quaker, and, if so, at what time he became such. It has been stoutly maintained that he remained at heart a Lutheran.

^bCf. *Beehive*, p. 117-118. An obituary poem and an epitaph to Griffith Owen and another poem in memory of Thomas Lloyd are found in the *Beehive*, p. 120. Both bespeak the affection of those printed here.

^cCf. *Beehive*, p. 101, and another poem to J. Logan, p. 103.

As we have seen, Pastorius' family was originally Catholic, his father, Melchior Adam Pastorius, having gone over to the Evangelical faith (Augsburg Confession), after his arrival in Sommerhausen, making confession of faith and partaking of the sacrament with Count Georg of Limpurg on Christmas Day, 1649. The marriage of Melchior Adam Pastorius with the widow Magdalena Johm, was the beginning of an Evangelical Lutheran household in this branch of the Pastorius family. Francis Daniel was baptized and reared a Lutheran. Although he associated himself with the Pietists of the Spener circle in Frankfurt-on-the-Main and was on friendly terms with the Quakerized Mennonites in Crefeld, Kriegsheim and other places in Germany, there is no positive evidence that he had renounced his allegiance to the Lutheran faith upon his arrival in America. Pastorius refers to the confessions in Pennsylvania a number of times in the *Beschreibung*,⁴⁵ but gives no clear statement as to his own sectarian attitude as between Lutheran and Quaker.

In the chapter "Concerning the Religions of the Province," Pastorius mentions four forms of religion:

1. That of the Indians, which is entirely heathen, although monotheistic and evidently sincere.
2. That of the English and Hollanders, most of whom are Calvinists.
3. The Quakers, who are with William Penn in Philadelphia.
4. That of the Swedes and High Germans, who belong to the Evangelical (Lutheran) confession.

Having enumerated these confessions he mentions the fact that a little church had been built in 1686 in Germantown for the community, thus implying that all worshipped together. That this church was considered as community property is further seen from the fact that the court was held in it.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Cf. *Beschreibung*, p. 34-35.

⁴⁶ O. Seidensticker, *Beziehungen der Deutschen zu den Schweden in Pennsylvanien* (*Der Deutsche Pioneer*, VI, 427).

In this same chapter Pastorius takes the opportunity of commenting upon the Lutherans in particular, showing that he was still enough interested in them to regret their shortcomings and indifference:

"The Swedes and High Germans are Evangelical and have their own Chirch, whose minister is called Fabricius, of whom I must say with regret, that he is much given to drink and still almost blind in the inward man. * * * * The Evangelical ministers would have had a good opportunity to follow the command of Christ: "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel," if they were willing to be the followers of Christ rather than the servants of their body and if they were more devoted to *Theologia Interna*, than to literal recitation." ⁴⁷

In another letter to his father, dated March 30, 1694, Pastorius gives an interesting account of his religious life in the new province:

"Myself and family are still in good health, as reported in my preceding [letter] and [living] a quiet peaceful private life, and although I am still charged with Inspection of Justice [the office of Justice of the Peace] both in Germantown and Philadelphia, yet such outside official affairs do not disturb the inner consciousness of the gentle humble private life of Jesus Christ. . . . An intimate friend wrote me from Frankfurt recently, how the apathetic Lutheran Ministers had been attacked and disturbed by the Quietists and the Papal apostles of works by the Pietists, which I regard as unmistakable forerunners of the approaching appearance (God grant it may be soon) of his dear and only begotten Son. Happy, eternally happy they who have oil in their lamps and are ready to meet this blessed bridegroom and go with him to the wedding feast." ⁴⁸

⁴⁷ "Num. 12, *Lutherans*. Solafidians are so taken up with Faith, they have no room for charity. They think to perform all their duty to God in hearing, and to shew the Fruits of it in talking. Justified by faith alone; whereas that Faith wch is alone, doth not justifie. 2. Luther, Calvin, Champions in their day. They use their Mother's (:the Church of Rome:) weapons, & yet cry (:whore:) against her. They are called by the name of M. L. as Christians, by J. C. Ubiquitarians. Cochley's lies against Luther, Barel 615. M. Luther being offended at his Master the Pope, set up for himself, as the only Apostle of that age, Mamiet [?] Vol. 8, p. 234, he staggered many wise & honest men & overthrew whole thousands of fools & knaves, Jbid. Sola fide, a short & compendious Cut to be saved, the Lutheran Reformation. Those of the Augustan Confession, falling into the odium of the more rigid L. vid. Evangelium (: Evangelicorum.) in And. Menip. tit. 82. brave Luther acted nobly & heroically in separating from Rome." From the *Beehive*.

⁴⁸ Cf. *Beschreibung*. p. 64-65 and 86ff 88.

In almost every letter Pastorius manifests his personal concern for the spiritual welfare of his kinsmen and friends beyond the sea, as, for example, in his exhortation to his godchild, Mercklein, to make good the vow which his godfather had made, and in his admonition joined to congratulation upon his father's election as Superior Judge of Windsheim, calling his father's attention to the account he must give at the last judgment. All this "concern" is quite in keeping with the spiritual awakening of the time, found both among the Pietists and the Quakers, but there is not a word about his personal doctrinal attitude toward any specific sect in the first year in Germantown.

It seems quite likely that matters of creed did not seriously disturb the little community of the German town during the first years of their communal life. They were practically one in spirit, whether Pietists from Frankfurt, or Mennonites or German or Dutch Quakers from Crefeld and the Lower Rhine. The spirit of the little Quaker meeting at the house of Tünes Kunders doubtless pervaded the whole community.

The actual affiliation of Pastorius with the Quakers, appears clearly from the minutes of the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings of Philadelphia and Abington. The items in these minutes relating to Pastorius' connection with the Friends are here given in chronological order. Those referring to Pastorius' teaching in the Friends' School in Philadelphia have been given already, and need not be repeated here:

The Records of the Abington Monthly Meeting of the Friends contain the following entries:

Record of Marriages and Births of the Abington Monthly Meeting:

"Witness of Marriage of Peter Shumaker Jun and Margaret Op de Graeff both of Germantownship Frances Daniell prestoreys" [sic].

"The Children of Francis Daniel Pastorious [sic].

1. Jno Saml Pastorious Born ye 30th of ye 1 mo 1690.
2. Henery Pastorious Born ye 1st of ye 2 mo 1692."

"At our Monthly Meeting ye 28. 12 mo. 1703 Daniel Walton

Edmond Orphood Everard Bolton & Daniel Pastorius are appointed to attend ye Quarterly Meeting."

"At our Monthly Meeting ye 29 6 mo. 1715:

William Preston Daniel Pastorius Richard Lewis & Ryner Tyson are appointed to attend ye Quarterly Meeting."

The Minutes of the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting contain the following entries:

"Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia 29 d. 8m. 1697.

Samuel Carpenter & James Fox are desired to speak with Francis Daniel Pastorius in order to write for Friends of this Meeting."

"Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia 29 d. 11m 1697:

It being proposed to this meeting that a printing press would be very serviceable to friends belonging to the Yearly Meeting, Daniel Pastorius of Germantown is willing and thinks he may be Capable of managing the same, therefore the meeting requests Samuel Carpenter or any other friends to send to England for a press and letters or such things thereunto belonging as cannot be gotten here and this meeting, if the Yearly meeting doth not approve thereof, doth promise to see him or them paid for the same."

"Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia 29. 2 mo 1698:

A paper from the last Yearly Meeting of London was directed to the monthly & quarterly meetings in Pensylvania, East & West Jersey, for the Collecting of all George Fox's books & writings in these parts. In order thereto, It is agreed that Daniel Pastorius write Copies of the above said papers, and that one of them be sent to each monthly meeting in this County, and also one to Bucks, one to Chester and one to New Castle Counties to their particular Quarterly meetings, that so the service thereof, may be answered, there being Copies already sent to East & West Jersey. And for this monthly meeting it is left to the care of James Fox to make diligent Enquiry therein & whosoever hath any of the said books and papers are desired to bring them unto our next monthly meeting."

"Monthly Meeting Philadelphia 27th 3 mo 1698:

Daniel Pastorius acquaints this meeting that he wrote Copies of the papers from the Yearly Meeting of London, about the Collection of Geo. Fox's writings & delivered them to Anthony Morris, in order to be sent to the several meetings as directed and friends are still desired to bring into the next meeting or at any time to James Fox, an account of what of his books or writings they have."

"Monthly Meeting Philadelphia 30. 4m 1699:

Whereas there is a Book wanting for recording marriages amongst friends, James Fox is to buy a Good Book for that purpose, and pay for it of the meeting Stock, and deliver it to Francis Daniel Pastorius who is appointed to Record all marriages in it. Reese Peters and Robert Burrough are desired to acquaint friends; to bring in their Certificates that it may be done."

"Monthly Meeting Philadelphia 25. 6 1699:

An Epistle from James Dickinson on being read, Francis Daniel Pastorius was ordered to write 12 Copies thereof, and to deliver them to Sam. Carpenter & James Fox who are desired to dispose the same as desired by James Dickinson, which is accordingly done."

"Monthly Meeting Philadelphia 29. 1. 1700:

Griffith Owen having recommended John Cadwallader as a person very fit for an assistant in the School. (Francis Daniel Pastorius being gone) [ref. here to former neglects'] Anthony Morris, David Lloyd, John Jones & Samuel Carpenter are desired to see what Daniel Pastorius hath done upon the meetings accts. and to pay him for the same."

"Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia 26. 2. 1700:

The friends appointed to consider what Daniel Pastorius hath done for friends, Report that they think he should have Ten pounds, which this meeting approves of, and orders Samuel Carpenter to pay the same."

"Monthly meeting of Philadelphia 30. 1. 1705:

Daniel Pastorius & Arnett Clinken from Germantown requests the assistance of this meeting towards their building a new meeting-house, which friends seems very ready and willing to do, and it is agreed that a subscription may be begun at the beginning of the next monthly meeting."

"Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia 26. 4. 1713:

The minute relating to David Lloyd and the letter sent this meeting by John Jawert being under consideration, and David still continuing his request for a Certificate, the sence of this meeting is, that David Lloyd should appear at our monthly meeting to give them Satisfaction in relation to the Complaint of Daniel Pastorius and John Jawert, the meeting being informed that the Controversy between Humphrey Murray & the said David is ended."

"Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia 30. 8. 1713:

The friends appointed to hear David Lloyd & Daniel Pastorius, five of them met & heard what they had to say." * * * * [All]

"with the assistance of Samuel Preston, or any six of them are yet desired to labour further with David Lloyd, and endeavor to convince him that there is a fraud in the recovering of the said Germans lands, whether he was then appraised of it or not."^{48a}

It seems quite likely that Pastorius, like all the seriously minded of the Germantown community, was spiritually affiliated with the Friends' meeting in Germantown, held first in the house of Tünes Kunders, and after 1686 in the little church built that year. The condition of affairs is well reflected by the fact that he was one of those who laid the protest against slavery before this meeting in 1688. This protest, which will be printed in a later chapter, shows signs of differences, which were already arising in Germantown, and were soon to assume more definite sectarian expression.

In 1690 the Mennonites were reinforced by new arrivals and had a meeting of their own in the house of Isaac Jacobs van Bebber, with William Rittenhouse as their preacher.

A manuscript account of the life of Hendrick Pannebecker, gives a good description of the attitude of the Mennonites toward the Quaker meeting at this time:

"The beginning or the origin of the Community of Jesus Christ here in Germantown, who are called Mennonites, took its rise in this way, that some friends out of Holland and other places in Germany, came here together, and although they did not agree, since at this time the most were still Quakers, nevertheless they found it good to have exercises together, but in doing it they were to be regarded as sheep who had no shepherd, and since as yet they had no preachers, they endeavored to instruct one another. In the year 1690 more Friends from Crefeld and elsewhere came into the land, who were also of our brethren and added themselves and attended our exercises in the house of Isaac Jacobs."⁴⁹

^{48a} Cf. p. 150 above for the other entries in the Minutes touching the case of David Lloyd.

As late as the "28th 8 mo 1715" Pastorius and Peter Shoemaker brought complaint in the Friends' Meeting that Susannah Cassel refused to pay a debt due the estate of Paul Wolf.

⁴⁹ Cf. S. W. Pennypacker, *Germantown*, p. 220, and Hendrick Pannebecker, *Surveyor of Lands for the Penns.*, 1671-1754.

About the same time the Reformed appear in and about Germantown, among whom were William Dewees, who arrived in New York in 1689, James Delaplaine who came from New York to Germantown about 1692.

At this juncture the religious strife of the German Colony breaks out in earnest, and gives opportunity for Pastorius to define more clearly his attitude to the Quakers.

While the unrest may have begun with the cold reception which the Quakers gave the German protest against slavery in 1688, the first great religious disturbance was the Keithian Controversy. In 1692, George Keith, a Quaker preacher and school-teacher in Philadelphia since 1685, went to New England, where he made a defense of Quaker doctrines in a controversy with Cotton Mather and his son Increase Mather. After his return to Philadelphia, Keith accused the Quakers of teaching deistic doctrines. The attitude of Pastorius in this controversy was strongly anti-Keithian, as the pamphlet against the "four Boasting Disputers" and the following drastic rime with its coarse pun will show:

"It seem'd to me, he would his Master Equalize,
And suffer wretched Fools his Station to despise,
Especially George Keith, well nigh devour'd by Lice."

FRANCISCI DANIELIS PASTORII

Sommerhusano-Franch,

Kurze Geographische Beschreibung

der letztmahls erfundenen

Americanischen Landschaft

PENNSYLVANIA,

Mit angehenckten einigen notablen Bege-
benheiten und Bericht-Schreiben an dessen Hrn.
Vattern / Patrioten und gute Freunde.

Vorrede.

 S ist denen Meinigen insgesamt zur
Genüge bekandt / auf was Weise ich /
von meinen Kindesbetnen an / auf
dem Wege dieser Zeitlichkeit meinen
LebensLauff / gegen die frohe Ewigkeit zu / ein-
gerichtet / und in allem meinem Thun dahin ge-
trachtet habe / wie ich den allein guten Willen
Gottes erkennen / seine hohe Allmacht fürch-
ten / und seine unergründliche Güte lieben ler-
nen möchte. Und obwohlen ich / nebst andern
gemeinen Wissenschaften der freyen Künste /
das Studium Juris feliciter absolviret / die Ita-
lianisch und Französische Sprachen ex funda-
mento begriffen / auch den so genannten groß-
sen Tour durch die Landschaften gethan / so
habe ich jedoch an allen Orten und Enden mei-
nen grösssten Fleiß und Denckung an anders
nichts gewendet / als eigentlich zu erfahren / wo
2 doch

TITLE PAGE OF PASTORIUS' "DESCRIPTION OF PENNSYLVANIA".
(Appended to Melchior Adam Pastorius' "Description
of Windsheim," 1692.)

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CHAPTER VII.

LAWGIVER, SCRIVENER AND AUTHOR.

The pioneers of the little German colony of Germantown formed a community to themselves and conducted their affairs in their own way, during the first seven years of the settlement. While they adapted themselves to the general form of government established by Penn for the Province of Pennsylvania, they nevertheless incorporated many European features into the details of township legislation. One acquainted with the municipal and village life of Germany and Holland will easily detect the alien elements of town legislation in the early laws and court procedure of Germantown. In looking over the sanitary regulations of Frankfurt-on-the-Main, the present writer was impressed with certain striking resemblances to the sanitary ordinances of early Germantown. It is quite likely that Crefeld and other cities of the Lower Rhine contributed precedents for the procedure of the little group of Crefelders, who cast their lot with Pastorius in the colony of Germantown. In reading the Laws or Ordinances of Germantown, one feels the traditions and atmosphere of a German town with its long experience in matters of town legislation, modified and adapted to the English forms of provincial government.

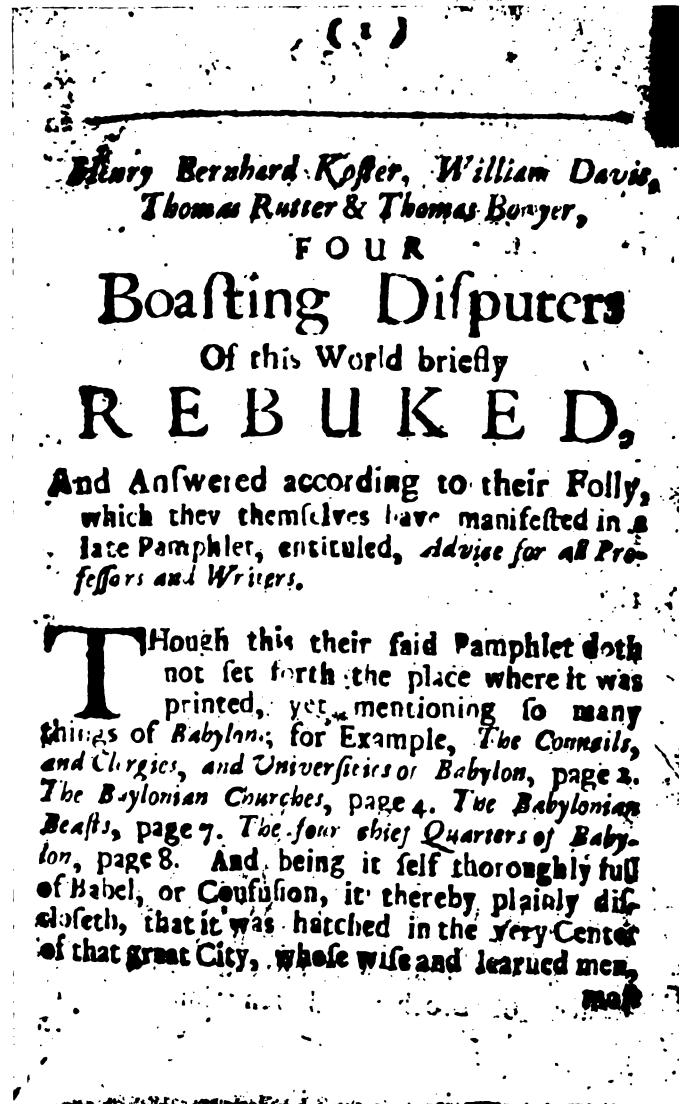
It is interesting, even if pathetic, that Pastorius' legal training could not enable him to cope with the crafty practitioners at the then infant Philadelphia Bar. His code called for *honesty* and *consistency* in the practice of law, but made no provision for the casuistry and trickery of David Lloyd and his associates at the Philadelphia Bar. The consequence was that Pastorius appeared in an unfavorable light as "der deutsche Michel," when he found the Philadelphia lawyers had all been "feed" and retained by Sprögel to cheat the German Society out of its lands.

The chief legal service of Pastorius is to be found in his work as a scrivener. Here he was without a peer in the Province, if not in the Colonies. His clear, concise, legal style; his wide knowledge of legal forms both in German and English practice (in the collection of which he spared no pains), his mastery of minute particulars and his beautiful, easily legible hand, made him a favorite both in Germantown and Philadelphia. He was Clerk of Germantown the greater part of the period of its existence as a chartered municipality; he was employed during his two years in Philadelphia to write for the Friends' Meeting, for which he not only copied works of George Fox and others, but kept also the Register of Marriages for a time.

A considerable collection of legal documents, drafted by Pastorius, could be gathered from the collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the University of Pennsylvania, ex-Governor S. W. Pennypacker and others in and around the city of Philadelphia. The most considerable of his official work as scrivener is the *Grund-und Lager-Buch*, containing the land records of Germantown. These works by Pastorius will be discussed later.

PASTORIUS AS A WRITER.

The German Pioneer and Founder of Germantown was a typical exponent of the learning of his age, and, in spite of the untoward conditions of his lot in the wilds of Pennsylvania, became the most many-sided literary man in America, far outclassing Cotton Mather, his famous Puritan contemporary in the Bay Colony of Massachusetts. The range of Pastorius' literary activity has scarcely found a parallel in America from that time to the present day. In every field he touched he applied the same conscientious effort and skill, whether he was drafting a private document or writing a finished poem to his great friend, the Proprietor, William Penn, himself. It can be said truly of him, even of his prose writings as found in the unpretentious form of an encyclopedic dictionary of the *Beehive*:



TITLE PAGE OF PASTORIUS' "FOUR BOASTING DISPUTERS"
(From the copy in the Bevan-Naish Library, Birmingham,
England.)

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“Nil tetigit, non ornavit.”

He touched nothing that he did not adorn.

He was jurist, scrivener, teacher, moralist and poet all in one. He never let an opportunity pass without pointing a moral or teaching a useful lesson. It is perhaps not too much to say that he has never had a superior, if indeed an equal, as moralist in the three hundred years of American history.

Then, too, the ceaseless activity of his pen is a marvel even to the machine-producing writer of the present time. Day and night, by the light of the sun and the flickering lard-lamp alike, he was plying his busy pen in writing down all the good thoughts of himself and others for the generations to come after him. It is interesting that George Sandys should have begun to translate his Ovid on the banks of the James in the first years of the Colony of Virginia, but it would have been far more significant if he had given the first Virginians the best thoughts of all times as Pastorius did his two native-born American sons in Germantown.

It is difficult to treat the writings of Pastorius in strictly chronological order, because some of them extend over a period of years. In the following chapters the works which can be dated with certainty will be discussed first and those of uncertain date will follow.

I. Printed Works.

The first work, which Pastorius published, was his *Disputation* or Dissertation, as we should now call it, printed in 1676 with the title:

1. Disputation.

Disputatio Onauguralis | De | Rasura Docu | mentorum, &c.

The full title and a discussion of this are given above.¹

¹ Cf. previous chapter, p. 79.

2. Letters.

Two important letters of Pastorius, dated March 7, 1684, were published with the following titles:

Copia, eines / von einem Sohn an seine Eltern aus America, abgelassenen Briefes / | sub dato Philadelphia, den 7. Martii 1684.

Sichere Nachricht auss America, wegen der Landschafft | Pennsylvania / von einem dorthin gereissten Teutschen / | de dato Philadelphia, den 7. Martii 1684.

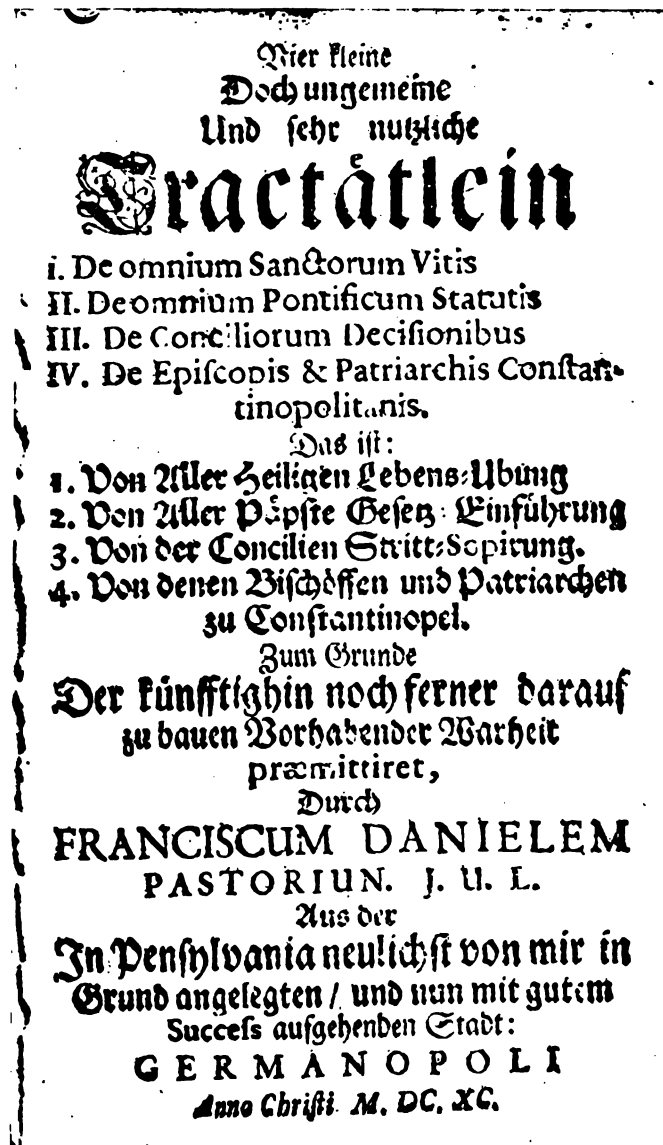
3. Tractates.

The next known published work of Pastorius was issued as from Germanopoli (Germantown) in 1690, with the following title:

Vier kleine | Doch ungemeine | Und sehr nutzliche | Tractätlein
| De omnium Sanctorum Vitis | &c [The full title can be seen in the photographic reproduction.]

This work was dedicated to Tobias Schumberg, Pastorius' old preceptor in Windsheim, and seems to have been intended for a German or European public. The work was evidently compiled in large part in Europe and represents the best fruits of the author's literary labors before he entered upon his career in America. The misprints, especially on the title-page, would seem to indicate that the author did not read the proof-sheets. The misprint PASTORIUN for PASTORIUM is particularly striking and would leave us to believe that the printer or the proof-reader had only the MS. before him and that this MS. had the Pastorius' name written with one of his peculiar "m's" which often look like "n's." Furthermore, the Latin numerals of the chapters mentioned on the title page do not agree with the German divisions.

The Latin dedication to Schumberg is followed by a German preface, in which the author states his reasons for writing the book. The contents of the book are briefly:



TITLE PAGE OF FRANCIS DANIEL PASTORIUS' "TRACTÄTLEIN."

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(1) Brief outlines of the lives of the Saints arranged in alphabetical order (pp. 1-117).

(2) A short account of the Roman bishops and also the other popes, &c. (pp. 118-184).

(3) Concerning the church councils, which are treated in chronological order (pp. 185-214). At the close of this chapter the word "Ende" is printed. This is followed by

(4) An appendix, treating of the bishops and patriarchs of Constantinople (pp. 215-244). The work is for the most part a simple compilation from then accessible sources. Occasionally the author has a thrust at the Catholics, particularly in his reference to the Pope, where he notes the fact that for over five hundred years the early Christians had no popes.

4. Missive to the Pietists.

At least two works of Pastorius were printed in the year 1697. One of these was issued as a missive to the Pietists in Germany with the following title:

Ein | Send-Brief | Offenhertziger Liebsbezeugung an die | so
genannte Pietisten in Hoch- | Teutschland. | Zu Amsterdam / |
Gedruckt vor Jacob Claus Buchhändler / 1697.

The authorship and date are learned from the colophon on page 15:

"Von Eurem liebgeneigten Freund Frantz Daniel Pastorius.
Germantown in Pennsylvania, den letzten December, 1696."

This pamphlet growing out of the Keithian controversy appeared with the following English title, and was directed against Henry Bernhard Koster (Köster), William Davis, Thomas Rutter and Thomas Bowyer, "Boasting Disputers" of the Keithian ilk:

Henry Bernhard Koster, William Davis, | Thomas Rutter &
Thomas Bowyer, | four | Boasting Disputers | Of this World
briefly | Rebuked, | And Answered according to their Folly, |

which they themselves have manifested in a | late Pamphlet,
entituled, Advice for all Pro- | fessors and writers. [By Francis
Daniel Pastorius. | Printed and Sold by William Bradford at
the | Bible in New-York, 1697.]

At the end of the last printed page the following is printed :

“Francis Daniel Pastorius |

The End

Printed and Sold by William Bradford at the | Bible in New-
York, 1697.”

There are fifteen printed pages in the pamphlet. The text begins in the middle of the titlepage.

This pamphlet is evidently a reply to an account or report which Köster sent to Germany under the title: *Advice for all Professors*.

The pamphlet treats the following five cardinal points, in the exact words of the work itself, as follows:

- I. Of some swelling words of these vain Braggards.
- II. Of the Unreasonableness of their Challenge.
- III. Of their abusing and traducing W. P. in particular.
- IV. Of their Slandering and misrepresenting the People called *Quakers* in general; &
- V. Of their selfguiltiness of what they charge us withal.²

Internal evidence, especially some Germanisms, would confirm the view that the English pamphlet is based upon the German text, as for example: “in the pages above quoted and *more others*” (p. 3), “they need not travel farther than *towards* this Theater of the World” (p. 5), “the publick Theater of *Church and World*” (p. 5), where the article is omitted after the German fashion, although the word “besides” in one passage might argue for the priority of the English version it may just as well mean here “in addition to”: “Printed in the high Dutch tongue, besides the English” to be read by “some silly Women in *Germany*.”

² That is, denial of the divinity of Christ.

Staatsbibliothek Bonn

Ein

Send-Brieff

Offenherziger Liebsbezeugung an die
so genannte Pietisten in Hoch-
Teutschland.



Zu AMSTERDAM/

Gedruckt vor Jacob Claus Buchhändler / 1697.

TITLE PAGE OF PASTORIUS' "MISSIVE TO THE PIETISTS
IN GERMANY".

(By the Courtesy of Dr. Julius F. Sachse, of Philadelphia.)

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There can be no doubt that Pastorius writes as a Quaker and sides with the Anti-Keithians, as he uses the pronoun "we" in referring to "Friends" and "Quakers," and "our" in the expression "*our Friends beyond Sea*" (p. 3).

A few characteristic passages will exhibit the spirit and temper of the pamphlet, and also serve as specimens of Pastorius's trenchant controversial style:

"Though this their said Pamphlet doth not set forth the place where it was printed, yet mentioning so many things of *Babylon*; for Example, *The Councils, and Clergies, and Universities of Babylon*, page 2. *The Babylonian Churches*, page 4. *The Babylonian Beasts*, page 7. *The four chief Quarters of Babylon*, page 8: And being it self thoroughly full of Babel, or Confusion, it thereby plainly discloseth, that it was hatched in the very Centre of that great City, whose wise and learned men most able (in their own Conceit) to advise others, can not write but thus sinisterly, even with their right hands."

"He the said H. B. *Koster* arriving here in *Pensylvania*, his heart and head filled with Whimsical and boisterous Imaginations, but his Hands and Purse em[p]tied of the Money, which our Friends beyond Sea imparted unto him, and some in his Company, was as cunning as to intice and induce four or five to a Commonalty of good, and so settled a Plantation near *German Town*, upon a Track of Land given unto them, calling the same IRENIA, that is to say, The House of Peace, which not long after became ERINNIA, The House of raging Contention, and now returned to the Donour, the Brethren in America being gone and dispersed, and the Church of *Philadelphia* (falsely so called) proving momentary, and of no moment, Mark 3. 25."

"The Church of these disputers and the World are very close one by the other; and if *the ignorant* Babes, Pietists and Millenists will take the Counsels given them by these advisers, p. 8. *and seek this Church*, they need not to travel farther than towards this Theater of the World, where they may be sure to find her. But ours being in God, and the members thereof chosen out of the world, and redeemed from the Contentiousness and other vain Customs of the same, will never engage in such a stage play or Theatrical Jangling and Wrangling with these Bablers and Mountebanks of Babylon; In whose four chief Quarters we are not so well acquainted as to find out their respective houses and lodgings, where they like Milstones having no grist to grind, set themselves on fire; on fire of hell," &c.

5. A New Primmer.

There was for many years only a tradition coming down from the founders of the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting of Friends, that Pastorius published an English Primer, but recently a copy of this remarkable book has been discovered. It has the following title:

A | New Primmer | or | Methodical Directions | To attain the |
True Spelling, Reading & Writing of | English. | Whereunto
are added, some things Necessary | & Useful both for the Youth
of this Province, and likewise for those, who from forreign |
Countries and Nations come to settle | amongst us. | By F. D.
P. | . . . Printed by William Bradford in New-York, and |
sold by the Author in Pennsilvania.

The *Primmer* contains 88 pages 16 mo. Bound up with the *Primmer* are two pamphlets, one a 32 page MS. of Pastorius, with the following title spread over three pages:

A few | Onomastical Considerations | enlarged | From the
Number of Sixty Six | To that of One Hundred, | and | Presented |
or rather Re-presented | To | William Penn, | Proprietary and
Governour | of Pennsilvania, | & Territories thereto belonging. |
Patri Patria, | The Father of this Province, | and lately | also the
Father | of | John Penn, | an innocent & hopeful Babe, | by whose
Nativity & Names Sake | they were first contrived. | Filius assimilis
Tibi Spe, | Guiljelme, Johaⁿes causa fuit | Qua NON foret iste liber.^a

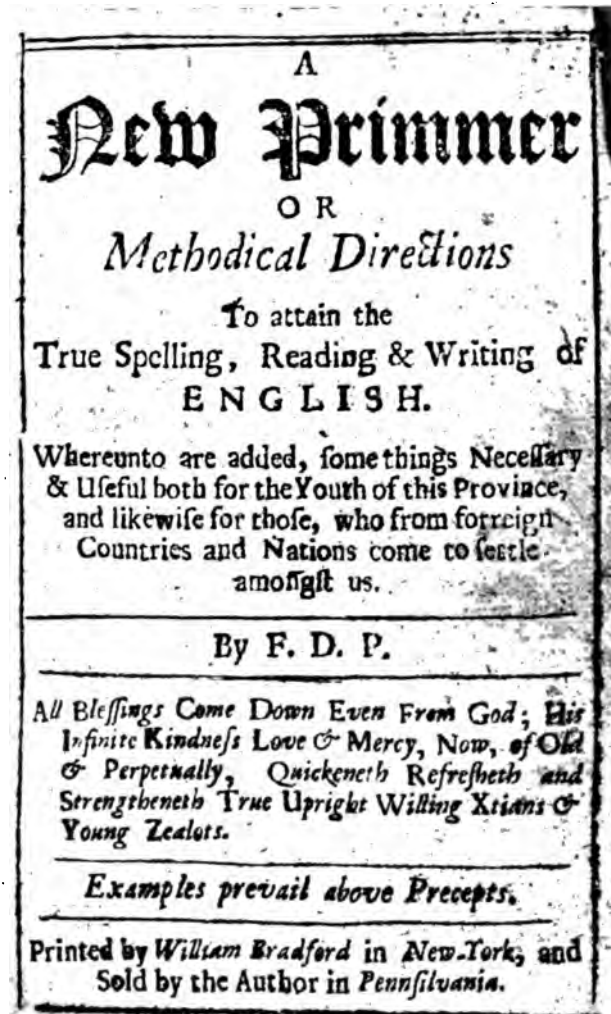
The second pamphlet, following the *Primmer*, is evidently Penn's copy of the *Four Boasting Disputes*, as the book has book plate.^{8a}

6. Description of Pennsylvania.

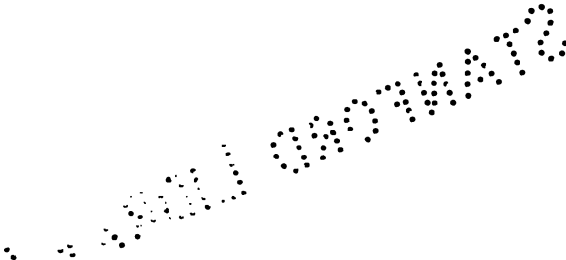
The original form of Pastorius' *Beschreibung*, based upon the early letters and reports sent to Germany, was published as an Appendix to Melchior Adam Pastorius' *Kurtze Beschreibung Der H. R. Reichs Stadt Windsheim* in 1692 with the following title:

^aThe only known copy is in the Bevan-Naish Library, in Birmingham, England, where Mr. Chas. E. Naish kindly had the title-page photographed for me.

^{8a}Cf. *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, pp. 90-91. Mr. Penney writes me that the library contains a manuscript on Taxation by Pastorius.



TITLE PAGE OF PASTORIUS' "PRIMMER"
(From the unique copy in the Bevan-Naish Library,
Birmingham, England.)



Francisci Danielis Pastorii | Sommerhusano-Franci. | Kurtze
Geographische Beschreibung | der letztmahls erfundenen |
Americanischen Landschaft | Pensylvania, | Mit angehenckten
einigen notablen Bege- | benheiten und Bericht-Schreiben an
dessen Hrn. | Vattern / Patrioten und gute Freunde.

The relation of this form of the *Beschreibung* to the early letters on the one hand and the fuller form of the *Umständige Geographische Beschreibung*, published in Frankfurt and Leipzig in 1790, on the other hand, will be discussed below.

The most important printed work of Pastorius is this *Detailed Geographical Description of Pennsylvania*, published in its full form in 1700, with the following title:

Umständige Geogra- | phische | Beschreibung | Der zu allerletzt
erfundenen | Provintz | Pensylva- | niæ, | In denen End-
Gräntzen | Americæ | In der West-Welt gelegen / | Durch |
Franciscum Danielelem | Pastorium, | J. V. Lic. und Friedens-
Richtern | daselbsten. | Worbey angehencket sind eini- | ge
notable Begebenheiten / und | Bericht-Schreiben an dessen
Herrn | Vattern | Melchiorem Adamum Pasto- | rium. | Und
andere gute Freunde. | Franckfurt und Leipzig / | Zufinden bey
Andreas Otto. 1700.

This book is printed on paper $6\frac{3}{8} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$ inches and contains 12 unnumbered preliminary pages, 120 numbered pages, and an Appendix of 2 unnumbered pages and pages 123-140 numbered. In the front is a "Map of Pennsylvania and West Jersey."

The second edition was published four years later, with the following title:

Umständige Geographische | Beschreibung | Der zu allerletzt
erfundenen | Provintz | Pensylva- | niæ, | In denen End-
Gräntzen | Americæ | In der West-Welt gelegen / | Durch |
Franciscum Danielelem | Pastorium, | J. V. Lic. und Friedens-
Richtern | daselbsten. | Worbey angehencket sind einige no- |
table Begebenheiten / und Bericht- | Schreiben an dessen Herrn
| Vattern | Melchiorem Adamum | Pastorium, | Und andere
gute Freunde. | Franckfurt und Leipzig / | Zufinden bey An-
dreas Otto. 1704.

The second edition of 1704 is uniform in size with that of 1700. But in the copy in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Friedrich Kapp's copy, the following are added:

Zum Beschluss | Folget des Eigen-Herrns | und Ober-Haupts
dieser Provintz | selbst concepirte, und an seine Freun- | de
übersandte | Beschreibung / | Deren Umstände notabel zu
lesen | sind. [Pp. 120-140.]

Then follows a second work entitled :

Continuatio | Der | Beschreibung der Landschaft | Pensylvaniæ
| An denen End-Gräntzen | Americæ. | Über vorige des Herrn
Pastorii | Relationes. | In sich haltend : | Die Situation, und
Fruchtbarkeit des | Erdbodens. Die Schiffreiche und andere |
Flüsse. Die Anzahl derer bisshero gebauten Städte. | Die
seltsame Creaturen an Thieren / Vögeln und Fischen. | Die
Mineralien und Edelgesteine. Deren Eingebornen wil- | den
Völcker Sprachen / Religion und Gebräuche. Und | die ersten
Christlichen Pflantzer und Anbauer | dieses Landes. | Beschrie-
ben von | Gabriel Thomas | 15. Jährigen Inwohner dieses |
Landes. | Welchen Tractätlein noch beygefüget sind : | Des. Hn.
Daniel Falckners | Burgers und Pilgrims in Pensylvania 193. |
Beantwortungen uff vorgelegte Fragen von | Guten Freunden. |
Franckfurt und Leipzig / | Zu finden bey Andreas Otto / Buch-
händlern. | Im Jahr Christi 1702.

This part contains four unnumbered and forty numbered
pages. Then follows :

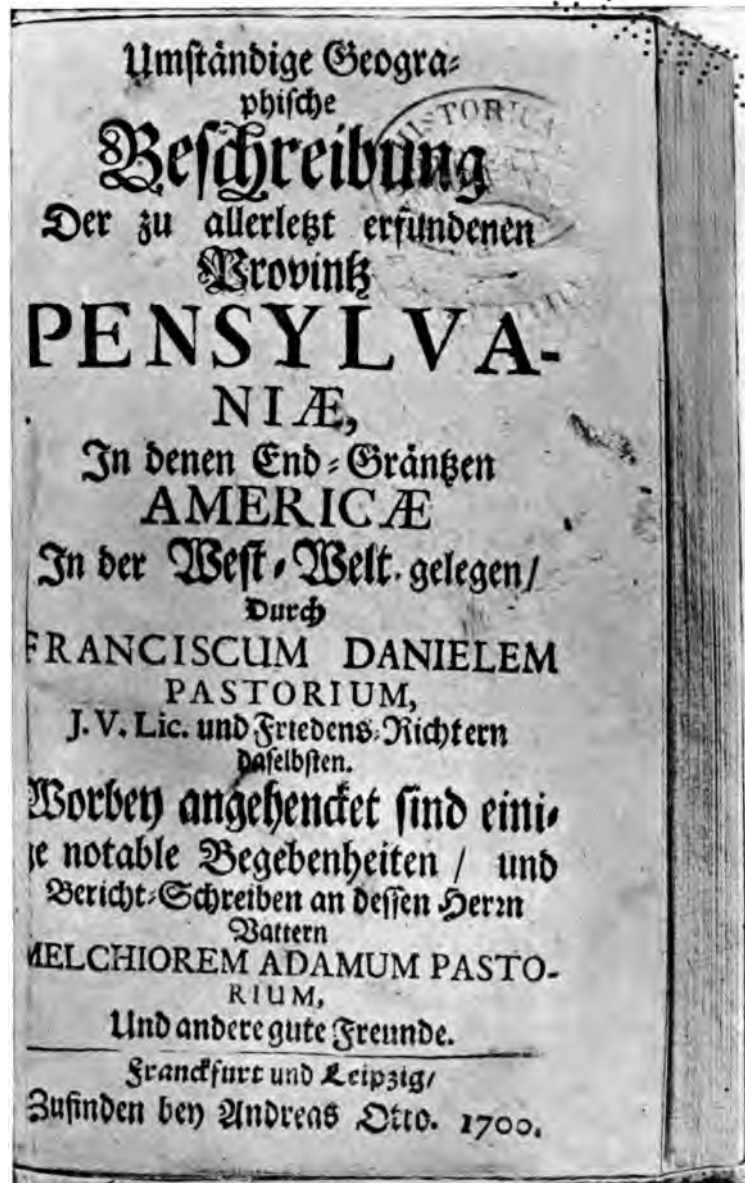
Curieuse Nachricht | Von | Pennsylvania | in | Norden-Amer-
ica / | welche / | Auf Begehren guter Freunde / | Über vorge-
legte 103. Fra- | gen / bey seiner Abreis aus Teutsch- | land
nach obigem Lande Anno 1700. | ertheilet /und nun Anno 1702.
in den Druck | gegeben worden. | Von | Daniel Falknern / Pro-
fessore, | Burgern und Pilgrim allda. | Franckfurt und Leipzig /
| Zu finden bey Andreas Otto / Buchhändlern. | Im Jahr
Christi 1702.

Contains six unnumbered and fifty-eight numbered pages.
Then follows :

Beschreibung einiger örter | in Canada | aus des B. de la
Hontan Reise.

Contains eighty-five manuscript pages and one blank page.

As was usually the case with the earlier prints, the second
edition seemed to have been reset, to some extent at least, for
the lines do not correspond in the two texts. Then, too, the
vignettes differ in the two prints. The title-page even is differ-
ently divided, as the following specimens will show.



TITLE PAGE OF PASTORIUS' "DESCRIPTION OF PENNSYLVANIA," 1700.
(From the Copy in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)

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Title Page.

1700	1704
Umständige Geogra- phische.	Umständige Geopraghische
Worbey augehencket sind eini- ge notable begebenheiten / und	Worbey augehencket sind einige no- table Begebenheiten / und Bericht-
Bericht-Schreiben an dessen Herrn	Schreiben an dessen Herrn
Melchiorem Adamum Pasto- rium	Melchiorem Adamum Pastorium

An den geneigten Leser.

gelegten Städten und Kauffmañ- | Kauffmann- |

Vorrede

auf den Wege	auf dem Wege
keit meinen Lebens Lauf gegen die	gegen die fro-
frohe	he &c.. . . .
und seine unergündliche Güt und Barm-	Güte
freyen der	der frey-
1700	1704
gelehr-	gelehrten
p. 2 ten	so man-
so	cherley
mancherley	
Religio-	Religionen und
nen	Sinnen und spitzige
Sinnen	es war von
es	ein so grosses
ein	von welchen der
von	War ra-
War	
p. 3 latitirende	latitirende
p. 4 Marseille	Marseil
denen	le de-
also	nen also dasz

An English translation of Pastorius' *Beschreibung* by L. H. Weisz, was published in 1850 in the *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania* (Vol. 4, part 2), and reprinted in *Old South Leaflets* (Gen. Ser. No. 95, Boston, 1898). A new translation has been made under the direction of Dr. J. F. Jameson for his series: *Original Narratives of Early American History*.

The year after the two hundredth anniversary of the landing of the Crefelders, Friedrich Kapp published a reprint of the *Beschreibung* of 1700, with an introduction. The book has the following title:

Franz Daniel Pastorius' | Beschreibung von Pennsylvanien. |
Nachbildung | der in Frankfurt a./M. im Jahre 1700 erschie-
nenen Original-Ausgabe | [Cut: Vinum Linum et Textrinum.]
| Herausgegeben | vom | Crefelder Verein für wissenschaftliche
Vorträge. | Mit einer Einleitung | von | Friedrich Kapp. |
Crefeld. | Druck von Kramer & Baum. | 1884.

The original edition of 1700 was reviewed quite at length the same year in *Monatlicher Auszug aus allerhand neu-herausgegebenen / nützlichen und artigen Büchern*. December MDCC. *Zu finden Bey Nicol. Förstern / Buchhändl, in Hannover* [pp. 495-500]. In a footnote the reviewer remarks: "Man kan nicht sehen / was für ein Printz von York seyn soll." This "Printz von York" is mentioned by Pastorius as having at that time [1665] "viel Volck" mostly Swedes, whom he commanded to build on the Delaware. The reference is, of course, to the Duke of York, who represented the English King after the English occupation in 1664 and before the arrival of Penn as Proprietor of the Province of Pennsylvania.

II. Unprinted Works.

A great many of Pastorius' writings remain unpublished in the original manuscripts. Although a number of these manuscripts seem to have been lost, enough have survived to make a long series of volumes, if they were all printed. The great folio MS. of the *Beehive* contains, after all, the best of his unprinted writings, and would be a great monument to German scholarship if it could be published. A number of the works given as separate books in Pastorius' own catalogue of his manuscripts seem to have been incorporated entire or in part in the *Beehive*, as will be indicated in the remarks accompanying this catalogue, which is printed below from the original source.

The following unprinted manuscript works of Pastorius are known to be still in existence and have been seen and consulted in the preparation of this work. They are discussed here in chronological order, as far as the dates could be determined.



TITLE PAGE OF FRANCIS DANIEL PASTORIUS' "F. D. P." OR COMMON PLACE BOOK.

(Manuscript in the possession of Ex-Governor S. W. Pennypacker.)

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I. F. D. P.

F. D. P. | Franciscus Daniel Pastorius. | Fortunante Deo Pietas
Fert Deniq. Palmam. | Fideliter | Deus Providebit. | &c.⁴

This MS. is of paper 4 x 6 5-16 inches in size and contains 620 numbered pages and 28 pages of index. Four hundred and twenty-two of these 620 pages are devoted to a kind of dictionary of phrases, etc., while the rest contains poems and sentiments in German and English, intended, evidently, as the beginnings of a large collection, and so preliminary to the *Beehive*, and hence antedating it. Indeed, some of the entries in the MS. would seem to point to the period before Pastorius' arrival in America. This is corroborated by the fact that what is evidently the original contemporaneous draft of the poems relating to the Keith Controversy, 1692, and the poems addressed to Jacob Tellner on his departure for Europe antedate the *Beehive*, which was written on paper that Tellner gave Pastorius before his departure for Europe. The original title-page seems to be wanting, evidently having been torn out. The pages 423-424 contain a list of "Nomina Propria" (52 in all). Page 424 has this interesting note on a work of Joachimus Pastorius:

"50. Joachimus Pastorius in seinen differentijs interpolitica
genuinam et Diabolicā.
J. A. Pastorius in dem scharffsinnigen Adler."

Page 431 has what we may regard as F. D. Pastorius' ideal of woman:

"Beschreibung eines rechtschaffenen Weibs.
An schönheit des leibes, klugem Verstand u. Freyheit eines
adeln. gemüths keinem Frauenbild nichts bevor geben. Dasz sie
auch den allerunempfindlichsten zur liebe bewegen solte.

⁴The original is in the possession of Ex-Governor S. W. Pennypacker, who kindly allowed the writer to examine it for this work.

The full title-page may be seen in the photographic reproduction.

Schön, glimpflich, angenehm u. häuszl auch zugleich,
An Weisheit u. gestalt, an adel, gut u. reich.
Die leffzen presilgen roth. hat einen halz, wie ein glatt
Venetianisches bierglas."

Pages 58off. contain the German and English poems on the
Keith Controversy of 1692. (Cf. p. 224.)

2. Medicine Book.

Medicus Dilectus vid. Colos. 4: 14 & | Medicamina delecta.
Syrac. 38:4 | Das ist | Auserlesene Artzney Mittel, | Deren
Ingredientia in Pennsilvanien und | dergleichen neubegoñenen
Colonien | zu bekoñen sind. | Vor sich und seinen Nechsten vid.
Luc. 10: 36. Marc. 12: 3. | aus verschiedenen Authoren zusañ
getragen | von Franco. Daniele Pastorio. | Anno 1695. etc. |

A variant title page begins:

Talia Qualia | Medicinalia, Artificalia & Naturalia, &c.⁵

On the front of the paper cover is written the following in
Pastorius' hand:

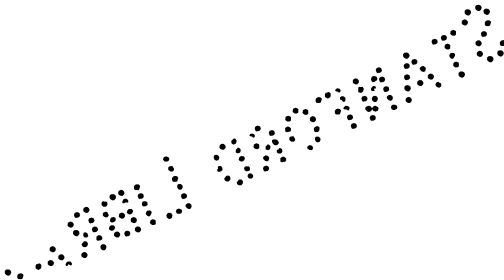
ARTZNEY
und
KUNST
ist all umsunst
ohn GOTTES GUNST
Accipit à solo Vim Medicina Deo⁶
Si DEUS tibi non est curæ
cur te curet Incuriose?
Cura igitur, non tantum ut valeas,
sed etiam, ut bene valeas,
ut æternum valeas.
VALE!
ut sit
in Sano MENS CORPORE Sana.
FACIUNT ETHICUS & MEDICUS.
Muth und Blut.
Geht vor Guth.
1695.
Franz Daniel Pastorius.

⁵ This verse is written vertically on right margin.

⁶ See the photographic reproduction for full text of the page.

TITLE PAGE OF PASTORIUS' BOOK ON MEDICINE.

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The contents of the MS. include not only a treatise of diseases, but also of their remedies, particularly the medicinal herbs in Pennsylvania and other parts of America, as follows:

- Talia Qualia, &c., pages 1-26 (p. 23 blank).
- Medicus Dilectus, &c., title and other matter, 2 pp. (unnumbered).
- "Inhalt" (table of contents), 4 pp. (unnumbered).
- "Register des Artzney-Büchleins," &c., 12 pp. (unnumbered).

The text of the "Artzney-Büchlein" is distributed as follows:

- Pp. 1-136, Description and Treatment of Diseases."
- 137-201, "Treatise on the Properties of Herbs (1-16, new numbering [6-9 gone], entitled "Misch-Masch").
- 202-3, list of authors from whom the book is compiled.
- 202 (4 pp. seem to be numbered "202").
- 202-261 (231, 239-246, 248-249 and 16 unnumbered pp. are blank) a list of remedies, &c.
- 262-270 "Out of Robert Boyle's Medicinal Experiments."
- 271-293 blank.

The authorities mentioned by Pastorius number about 30 in all. The list is here given:

"Anzeigung der authoren, aus welchen disz büchlein colligirt ist.

1. Ein klein geschriebenes büchlein meines lieben Vatters Melch. Ad. Postorij.
2. Staricij Heldenschatz, gedruckt 1658.
3. Johann Tallat Artzney büchlein.
4. Leonhard Thurneissers Kräuterbuch in fol. 1575.
5. Martin Schmuckens Schatzkästlein in 8°. 1652.
6. L. M. S. L. de occultâ Magico-Magneticâ morborum quorundam Curatione naturali. in 8° 1652. ejusdē Lic. Martin Schmuckens Lips.
7. Wolff Helmhardt Freyherrn von Hohberg Georgica Curiosa in fol. 1682.
8. Lazari Riverij Observationes Medicæ in 8°. 1646.
9. Het Kleyn Vroetwyfs Boeck, gedruckt. t'Amsterdam in 8°.
10. Petri Nylandts Nederlandtse Herbarius in 12°. 1673.

11. NB. Culp. oder auch nur ein gross. C. bedeut Nic. *Culpeper's English Physician enlarged*, Printed at London in 8°. 1698. Welches treffliche buch ein überaus schlecht Register hat.
12. Johānis Coleri Oeconomiae Ruralis & Domesticae Anderer Theil oder Haus-Artzney, gedruckt zu Mayntz in fol. 1645. so ebenfalls vor gemeine unsturdirte leut sehr dienstig, u. in diesem büchlein mit Col. allegirt ist.
13. Auch ist heiriñ referirt zu meinem *Calendario Calendariorum* in 8°.
14. Christopher *Wirsung* sein Artzney Buch in fol. 1568.
15. Balthasar *Schnurr* von Lendsidel sein Kunst- u. Wunderbuch in 8°.
16. Johān Christoph Thiemen Haus-Feld-Artzney &c buch in 4°. 1700.
17. *Vorstelick Geschenck* dat is En Medecyn boeck, &c., in grooter weerden gehouden in den Vorstelicken huysen van Nassouwen ende Princen van Orangien t' Amsteldam in 8°. 1662.
18. Georgij *Hornij* Arca Mosis, in 12°. 1668.
19. Philippi Theophrasti Bombasts *Paracels Opera* in zwey theilen, fol. 1603. gedruckt zu Strassburg, und eod. anno in 4°. zu Franckfurt am Meyn.
20. William *Mather's the Young Man's Companion*, in 12°. 1695.
21. Robert *Boyle's Medicinal Experiments*, in 12°. 1696 & the third Volume 1698. he was Fellow of the Royal Society.
22. James *Cooke's Mellisicium Chirurgiae*, in 12°. 1648.
23. Wm. *Salmon's Polygraphices*, Or the Arts of Drawing, Limning, Painting, Engraving, Etching, Dying, &c. in 8°. 1685.
24. *Jeremiah Love's Clavis Medicinae*, or Practice of Physick reformed, in 8°, 1674.

Johañes Colerus p. 75. recoñendirt denen gemeinen einfältig luten folgende *Antores in re Medicâ* zu lesen: Opera Gualtheri. Hermañi Ryfen. Frisij Speculum Medicinae; Hieronymi Braunschweigers Haus Apotheke, Thesaurus Pauperum genannt. D. Joañis Driandri Artzney u. Practicier-büchlein, Jacobi Theod. Tabernaemontani neues Artzneybuch. Jt sein Kräuterbuch. D. Oswaldi Gabelkövern Artzneybuch. Remberti Dodonæi Cruyde-boeck, in fol. 1554.

Die Natur u. art aller Kräuter, thier, Edelgestein erlernet man aus dem Theophrasto; Bockio; Lonicero; Fuchsio; Dondonæo; Dioscoride mit den Coñmentarijs Matthioli. Camerarij horto Medico. Mattkioli Compendio de Plantis. Lovel's Compleat herbal. Culpeper's English Physician. Thurneissers Kräuterbuch."



MANUSCRIPT OF FRANCIS DANIEL PASTORIUS' "BEEHIVE."

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3. Beehive.

It is safe to say, that, of all the original German American documents representing European culture in the Colonial period, the most interesting and extensive is the *unicum*, the folio manuscript left by Francis Daniel Pastorius, "the Pennsylvania Pilgrim," the founder of Germantown. This document, containing Pastorius' *Bee-Hive* or *Bee-Stock*, is the Magna Charta of German culture in colonial America and a veritable *speculum scientiarum* of the seventeenth century—the first American Encyclopedia, antedating the epoch of the French Encyclopedists. It has a number of title-pages of which this may be taken as one of the shortest:

Francis Daniel Pastorius | his | Hive or Bee-stock | Containing
above two thousand little Honey-Combs; | Begun in the year
1696 | And continued for the use of his Children.⁷

The origin and history of the *Beehive* of Pastorius are significant, as showing the integrity and loyalty of German family tradition in America in colonial times. Pastorius, evidently painfully conscious of the peril of cultural deterioration confronting his descendants in the wilds of the west, where books were few and the love of them scarce, composed this thesaurus of the useful knowledge of his time as a heritage to his children, his two sons, and, let us confess, as a memorial of what their father had known. On the inside of the parchment cover, in his own hand, is the following, referring to the book:

"This book saith thus to my two Sons:

"Part not with me! J'm excellently good,
If rightly read and rightly understood."

From the book itself we learn (p. 50) the purpose of the *Beehive*:

⁷ The most important variant title-pages may be seen in the photographic reproductions.

"At the first undertaking of this Book my mean scope was, for the future Imitation of my two Sons, onely to collect common Proverbs, witty Sentences, wise and goodly sayings, with the like substantial marrow of other men's writings, etc." See page 55.

And again (p. 51) he states the same fact, speaking of himself as follows:

"When he took this in hand, he did not think
To show any man his Paper and his Jnk.
His only Purpose was, in Black and White,
With his two little ones (departing) to abide.

"Nevertheless, this may live when he is dead; and thus he leaves it to the Perusing of his Readers; not caring a doit whether they will like it or dislike it. He knows that it will not please all, and doubts if it will please some."

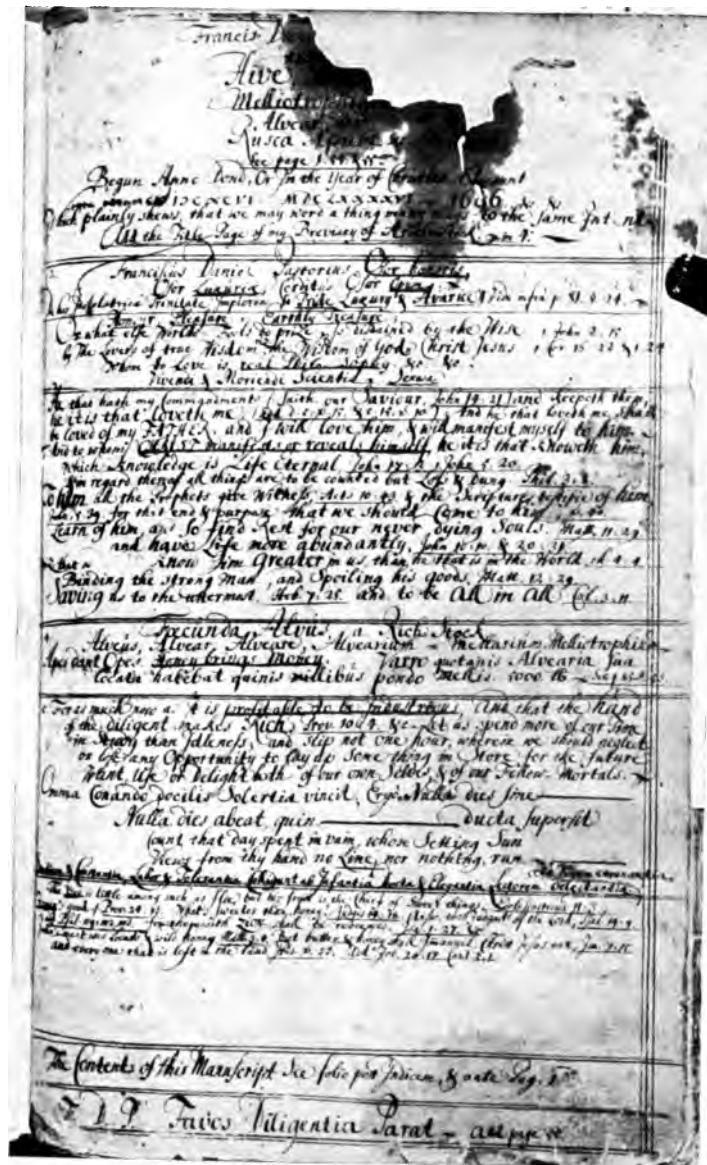
Intimation of a change of plan is given on p. 55 of the MS.:

"But afterwards considering the copiousness of Words, Phrases and Expressions in the English (my said two Sons' Country-language; for, seeing J and my wife are both Germans, J dare not call it their mother-) tongue, which they, if possible, should perfectly learn to read and write and to indite."

And also p. 51, quoted above, and in revised form, p. 55:

"After J had collected two Volumes of delightful Proverbs, witty Sentences, wise and godly sayings; comprising for the most part necessary and profitable caveats."

The history of the *Beehive* manuscript is similar to that of most old manuscripts—a succession of disappearances, reappearances and not a little mutilation. A tradition of this document (still current in the Pastorius family) says that Pastorius directed that it should be kept in the possession of the male descendant next in line within the limit of ten miles of Germantown. This wish of Pastorius seems to have been heeded by all the heirs of the manuscript. A few years ago the document was loaned to the late Professor Oswald Seidensticker, through the medium of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and, after being duly returned to the Pastorius family, disappeared for a time. Efforts were



A TITLE PAGE OF FRANCIS DANIEL PASTORIUS' "BEEHIVE."

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made by persons in and outside of the State to rediscover it, but to no purpose. Rumors were afloat that the MS. had gone with Washington Pastorius' family to Boston, and thence to Colorado Springs. A few years ago, however, late in 1896, the present writer was given a clue to the whereabouts of the document, by Julius F. Sachse, Esq., and finally allowed by the holder, Mr. Daniel Pastorius Bruner, of Germantown, to make use of it for the purpose of bringing the most important parts of it before the public in an accurate print of the original with critical treatment. It seems now that up to that time the MS. had never been away from Germantown, except during the period in which it was loaned to Professor Seidensticker in Philadelphia. Mr. Bruner wrote me, under the date of April 13, 1897, as follows, giving the names of the members of the family through whom the MS. has been handed down:

"I don't know positively that the 'Bee-Hive' was ever taken away from Philadelphia. Mr. [Washington] Pastorius kept a quantity of papers, etc., in the Bank in Germantown, and he stated to me that he intended to keep it there. Hence I think you can safely state that it has never been out of Philadelphia county, and out of Germantown only during the time that Mr. Seidensticker had it. The Family Record shows pretty well in whose possession it has been since the death of Francis Daniel Pastorius. The writing is in the hand-writing of

- "1. Francis Daniel Pastorius.
- "2. Henry Pastorius, his son.
- "3. Daniel Pastorius, grandson.
- "4. Abraham Pastorius, great grandson
- "4. Daniel Pastorius, " "
- My great grandfather.
- "5. Washington Pastorius.
- "6. Francis Daniel Pastorius, son of Washington.
- "7. Daniel Pastorius Bruner."

After the death of D. P. Bruner the MS. was returned to Francis Daniel Pastorius, of Colorado Springs, who placed it on exhibition at the Library of the University of Pennsylvania, with special permission to the present writer to make use of it in this work.

The *Beehive* manuscript presents the external appearance of a mediæval document. It is written on thin paper, in folio $7\frac{1}{2} \times 12$ inches, and bound in a parchment cover, taken evidently from still older books or other documents (one contains the text of an old writ of release) and the whole is tied together with two strips of faded red leather. Upon the cover is found the following title:

Alvearium Apiculæ Germanopolitanæ Anglicanum.

(written on the edge of the folding cover, also on the back of cover, under the folding edge, and in apparently older form on the inside reverse of the cover). Each repetition of the title represents probably a rebinding or rearrangement of the book.

The writing itself of the *Beehive* is in the very regular, fine, legible hand of Pastorius, whose signature and handwriting are so familiar to those acquainted with the early records of German-town indited by the jurist-scribe while agent of the Frankfurt Company and afterwards. The first few pages of the MS. in its present form have crumbled away at the top under the corrosive effect of the ink, which was black, except in a few instances where red ink was used for underscoring. The German passages are written in German script, the rest in Latin script.

The pages of the MS. are ruled along the margins up and down and across, and each ruled space, containing a separate entry, is numbered.

Occasionally a pen-drawing is found which is intended for illustrating or ornamenting the text. The favorite emblem is a heart, a pipe or some geometrical figure.

The fact that the manuscript is slowly disintegrating and has lost some folios makes it desirable to place the contents of the surviving folios on record. The contents at present in the order of the MS. are the following:⁸

⁸The interrogation point (?) after numbers indicates that the number is either wanting or illegible.

- Pages 1 ?-2 ? contains an introductory account of the origin of the *Beehive*.
- 3?-5? The title of the *Beehive* in seven languages (Greek, Latin, English, Dutch, German, Italian, French) and other introductory matter in prose and verse.
- 5? Address to different classes of readers.
- 6? Blank.
- 7? A second title page.
- 8?-24. Index of words or subjects treated in the book.
- 24? "An alphabetical register of the names of those who [forsooth] are immortalized by Epitaphs rehearsed in the Manuscript from p. 11, etc."
- 25-40. "A Peculiar Index or Table to Onomastical Considerations which begin page 63, 111."
- 41-45. Blank.
- 46-48. "Symbola Onomastica vide infra pag. 55, 66, 67, 1, quæ hic continuantur."
49. "Francis Daniel Pastorius his Book, 1696." A title-page.
50. "The Contents of this Portable Volume of Importation."
- 1? (New numbering.) "Francis Daniel Pastorius his Alphabetical Hive." A title-page.
- 2?-10? "Tantum Quantum seu Donum Bonum Inscriptionum. Inscriptions of sundry Sorts, And yet the most in Latin Words."
- 11-15. "Some Epitaphs ex Libello Epitaphiorum Olim à me Collecto."
- 16-17. Blank.
- 18-21. Inscriptions &c.
22. A copy of Verses written by Thomas Elwood.
23. Blank.
24. Gospel of Nicodemus and other books discussed.
- 25-53. "Emblematical Recreations."
54. "Mellitotrophium Apiculæ Germanopolitanæ, F. D. P."
- 55 first. "Francis Daniel Pastorius His Hive or Beestock," etc.

- 55 second. "Being a Supplement to the next three Leaves, Quakers."
- 56-58 first. "Quakers."
- 58 second. "Some Treatises of God's People called Quakers in General."
- 59 first-61 first. "No Quakers."
- 61 second. "Quakers." Collection of Friends Writings, &c.
- 62 first-63 first. "No Quakers."
- 63 second-64 first. "Friends' Writings."
- 64 second. "No Quakers."
- 65 first. "No Quakers."
- 65 second. "Some more Anonymous Writings published by those called Quakers."
- 66-67 first. "A few Supplements to my former Emblematical Recreations."
- 67 second-67 fourth. "Continuatio Symbolorum Onomasticorum."
- 68 first-68 second. Two leaves pasted together, containing "sorry Rimes."
- 69-70 second. "Index seqq. Metrorum," to the following poems.
- 70 second-122 (59 pp.). "Silvula Rhytmorum Germanopolitanorum." First 14 pp. have no numbers visible; 86 and 87 are two leaves pasted together.
- 123-131. Blank, except at the bottom of 131.
- 131-133. Epigrams and so forth.
134. Blank.
135. More Epigrams.
- 136-140. "Continuatio Symbolorum Onomasticorum, adde supra p. 55."
- 141?-143? Blank.
- 144? Loose page.
- []. 1 page containing deed of Henry Cassel to Thomas Rutter.
- []. One unnumbered page, blank.
- 86 third-87 second. Blank (evidently confused).

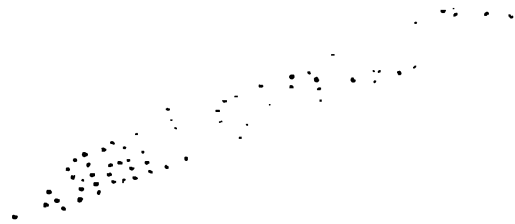
To Son Henry, Our friend, Mariche having been here of late, visiting
 there was by her, that both you and thy Mother would not have thee to launch
 out far into Maryland, which had been the Ruin of John Smith and others.
 But advise thee for thy own best to live for some time with Matthew and
 there to perfect thyself in the Shoemakers Trade. He perceives that
 at present thou art at work at the Mill quite upon back fire, and thereby
 must earn good wages in (use the man who employs thee does honestly pay,
 For we hear that he is much indebted, and so perhaps after thy work is done
 will be thee go without Pay. they say that if John Smith had lived thus
 himself, thou mightest be more sure of it than now. Therefore endeavor
 to get thy Pay for what thou labourst in that piece, or else do not spend
 thy time and work in vain, but rather betake thyself to Mathias heartiness
 and if before thy going thither thou thinkest it convenient to see us,
 we shall make thee as well come as we can. Thy brother does his duty
 very faithfully at home, and so we desire thee to mind thy business as long as
 thou art abroad, that no fault blame may be made against thee. We are all in
 health as we use to be, and our kind love and salutation as also that of Sister
 is to thee this, and so I commend thy affectionate and loving father
 P. D. Mathias.

These
for Henry Pastorius,
now either at Buckrich-
ville

Bumbyhook

Dingel ein fassend, den Esch bezeugt,
 daß der Komet bei dem Kaut.

LETTER OF PASTORIUS TO HIS SON HENRY
With Address on the Back of the Sheet.



1

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- 88-110. "Genethliacum, or An hearty Congratulation" and "Some Onomastical Considerations occasioned by Our dearly Esteemed Name-Sake, John Penn," &c.
(Six unnumbered pages. Then page 93 numbered, followed by eight unnumbered pages, and then pp. 104, 105?, 106 to 110.)
- 111-124. "Plus Ultra, or Some Further Onomastical Considerations."
- 126? Omitted.
- 127-159. Continuation of "Plus Ultra."
- 160-163. "The Tithe-Teacher Plaintiff, the Poor Man Defendant."
- 164-252. Continuation of Onomastical Considerations from p. 159.
- 253-259? Blank.
- []. "Commemoratory Poem on Francis Daniel Pastorius, Howell Powell fecit 3^{mo}. 3^{tii}. mensis 1720" (In another hand).
- 220 second?-225 second. Genealogical Table and Sketch of Pastorius Family, 6 pp.
- 226 second-227. Blank, 2 pp.
- 228 second-230? The Pastorius Necrology, 3 pp.
- []-208. Unnumbered pages—a sort of Alphabetical Encyclopedic Dictionary.
- 82d p., numbered as 217). "Additions," with a new marginal numbering (No. 1-1005, 149th-150th pp. loose).
- 375 (numbering resumed). "The Writings of Some called Quakers, as also of some other honest men."
376. "The Writings of Some called Quakers and other good Authors." (General bibliography, 102 titles in all.)
- 377-379? 4 pp. "Those that will read may read the following Folios, Quartos, etc." List of facts on various subjects, numbered 111 ff.
- 380? Books Published by those of the Philadelphian Society.

- 381 (vide Port-folio 48). Continuation to Encyclopedic Dictionary (93 pp., with the 94th numbered as 380).
380-385. Continuation of "Additions" to Encyclopedic Dictionary (No. 1006-1510).
386. "Catalogue of Francis Daniel Pastorius his Manuscripts, besides this present Alvearium or Alphabetical Hive (The Contents whereof are specified above, on the first leaf.)"
387-398 (followed by ten pp. unnumbered, and then by 409-411 and 411?-542?) Continuation of "Additions" (No. 1511-4950).
[] Two loose sheets.

The best impression of the *Beehive* can be derived from a perusal of the title-pages as they stand, in each of which some new phase of the work is elaborated; to this end the text of the title pages in their present order in the MS. was carefully printed in the *Americana Germanica*.⁹

The apology for such a *Common-Place-Book* and the chief sources of the work, are given by the author himself on the first page as follows:

"For as much as our Memory is not Capable to retain all remarkable words, Phrases, Sentences or Matters of Moment, which we do hear and read, It becomes every good Scholar to have a *Common-Place-Book*, & therein to Treasure up whatever deserves his Notice, &c. And to the end that he may readily know, both whither to dispose and Insert each particular, as also where upon Occasion to find the same again, &c. he ought to make himself an Alphabetical Index, like that of this *Bee-Hive*, beginning infra page 10.

And Seeing it is the largest of my Manuscripts, which I in my riper Years did gather out of excellent English Authors, whose Names ye may see pag. 56, &c.

My Desire, *Last Will and Testament* is, that my Two Sons John Samuel and Henry Pastorius shall have & hold the same with the Rest of my Writings, mentioned infra page 386. to themselves & their heirs for ever, and not to part with them for any thing in this World; but rather to add thereunto some of their own, &c. Because

⁹ Cf. *Americana Germanica*, I 4, p. 74ff.

the price of Wisdom is above Rubies, and cannot be Valued with the precious Onyx or Sapphire: And to get Understanding is rather to be chosen than Silver and Gold. &c.

Prov. 16:16. Job. 28:16, 18.

Francis Daniel Pastorius.

1. In this Volume J only collected the Best out of English (or Englished) Books, as you may see from foll. 55 to 64. Excepted never the less some few lines out of the *Dutch Writings* of *Sebastian Franck*, a honest & notable man in his Time, Vid. fol. 59, num. 114, 115, 118.
2. Item out of Georgji *Hornij* Arca Mosis; Ejusdemq. Orbe Imperante & Politico, vid. fol. 60, num. 138.
3. Item out of Henrici Cornelij *Agrippae* libello de Vanitate Scientiarum, vid. fol. 59, num. 31.
4. Item out of Johannis Valtini *Andreae* Menippo sive Dialogis Satyricis, vid. fol. 59, num. 32.
5. Item out of the high-German Medicinal & Chirurgical Works of *Theophrastus Paracelsus*, fol. 60, num. 219; whereof these are printed in the same Year, viz. 1603, both in folio at Strassburg & in 4^o. at Frankfort, J quote them only Parac. fol. & Parac. 4^o. where in their very Compleat Indexes or Tables you may look for the pages, as also in mine *Alvearialis*¹⁰ (a small Mscript in 8^o.) from page 170 to 274.
Of these writings I further carried a deal into my Collectanea Theologica, and into my Talia Qualia Medicinalia, &c.
6. Item out of Nehemiae *Grew's* Tractatu de Sale Cathartico Ebeshamensi, Vide fol. 59, num. 125.
7. Item Petri *de Vege* Medici Gratianopolitani Tractatus duo, I. Pestis præcavendæ & curandæ Methodus certissima.
- II. Per Dogmaticorum cum Spagiricis, in 12^o. 1628. Petrus de Vege sive Vegæus.
8. Item Cornelij *Drebelij* Belgæ Tractatus duo, I. de Naturâ Elementorum; II quinta Essentia in 12^o. 1628.
9. Item Jan *Loets* Wintersche Avonden. gedrukt tot Utrecht, in 12^o. 1650.
10. Item Guldene Annotatien van Franciscus *Heerman*; den vyfthiende Druck, t' Amsterdam, in 12^o. 1676.¹¹

¹⁰ Cf. The table contents of *Alvearialis*.

¹¹ In this Hive there are also alledged a few notable Sentences of the primitive Fathers, viz. Ignatius, Polycarpus, Dionysius, Justinus Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullianus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Origenes, Gregorius Thacem[?], Cyprianus, Arnobius, Lactantius, Eusebius Cæsariensis, Athanasius,

The author himself calls the book an encyclopedia in the following verses taken from one of the several title-pages:

"A Encyclopady of all that can be known, | Those very *well*-may
make by Common placing do * * * |
The *better* sort of things, out of the *best* of Books, | Who happily
their Spears beat into Pruning hooks. | "

The further history of the MS. is seen from the following:

"At the first undertaking of this Book my mean Scope was, for the future Jmitation of my two Sons, onely to collect *Common Proverbs*, witty Sentences, wise and godly Sayings, with the like substantial Marrow of other Men's Writings, &c. See pag. 55.

But afterwards Considering the *Copiousness* of *Words, Phrases* & Expressions in the English (: my said two Sons Country-language; For seeing J and my wife are both Germans, J dare not well call it their Mother:)-Tongue, which they, if possible, should perfectly learn To Read & Write, and to Jndite, J took as much pains & patience as to Jmport into this Alphabetical Alvearium all & Singular Terms, Jdioms, Mañers of Stile & Speech used in the same. Now Jnasmuch the former is to supply the place of honey, so these latter J would have to be accounted if not for Wax, yet for hive dross. &c. See pag. seq."

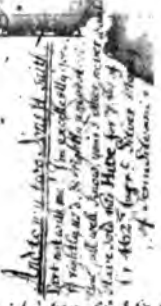
"When he took this in hand, he did not think To shew to any man his Paper and his Jnk; His only Purpose was in black and white With his two little ones (: departing:) to abide. Nevertheless this may live when he is dead; And thus he leaves it to the perusing of his Readers; not caring a doit, whether they will like or dislike it."

The genesis of the book and the mode of procedure are given in what seems to be the earliest form of the title-page.¹² Here

Hilarius, Cyrillus, Ephræm Syrus, Basilius Magnus, Gregorius Nazianzenus, Epiphanius, Ambrosius, Gregorius Nyssenus, Theotoretus, Hieronymus, Chrysostomus, Augustinus, Petrus Chrysologus, Prosper, Fulgentius, Gregorius Magnus, Isidorus, Beda, Johañes Damascenus, Nicephorus, Theophylactus, Anselmus, Rupertus, Bernardus, Petrus Lombardus, Alexander Hales, Bonaventura, Thomas Aquinas. N. B. Those of Thomas à Kempis you'll find in my Collect. Theolog. in 4°.

¹² Cf. the title-page in seven languages, especially the English form of the title:

"Francis Daniel Pastorius' Paper-Hive.
Whose Beginning once was in Page Fifty-five."



TITLE PAGE OF FRANCIS DANIEL PASTORIUS' "BEEHIVE".
(Manuscript temporarily deposited by a lineal descendent of Francis
Daniel Pastorius in the Library of the University of Pennsylvania.)

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we find the interesting statement that the original form of the *Beehive* was written on a quire of paper which Jacob Tellner gave Pastorius before leaving for Europe:

"After J had collected Two Volumes of delightful Proverbs, witty Sentences, wise and godly Sayings; Comprizing for the most part necessary & profitable Caveats, Advises, Doctrines & Instructions; out of many Authors of many minds & different Opinions, not only in my Mother-Tongue, but likewise in the Low-Dutch, French, Italian and Latin which both Books in 4° are still with me. For the better learning of the ENGLISH, and that my two Sons (: who probably will never attain to the Understanding of the said Languages :) might hereafter have some of their Fathers Steps, thereby to be guided to the same Diligence & Assiduity of *Picking the Best* out of Good Writings, J endeavoured at Spare-times to make this present Hive on a Quire of fine Paper, which a Friend of mine [: *Jacob Tellner* :] departing for Europe did give me; And when allover filled up with honey-combs, J was Constrained to enlarge my Hive with more courser, homely or home-spun Stuff of this Country-Product. Thus J leave it for the Perusing of those for whom it was contrived in the first beginning thereof; Nevertheless Jf any other besides them should happen to be benefitted by these Miscellanies, Jt will not sad, but glad my heart.

Nam Prodesse volo cunctis, nulliq. Nocere: }
Semper amare bonos, et tolerare malos. } F. D. P.

As for my performance herein J could heartily wish it might prove to all honest people's good liking.

The final fullest form of the title seems to be that in seven languages, which runs as follows:¹³

[*Folio 3?*]

Ἡ τοῦ φρανζισχοῦ Δανιήλ Παστοριοῦ Κυφελῆ Μελιτῶν

Franciscus Daniel Pastorius *Alvear* istud

Jure sibi proprio vindicat atq. suis.

Francis Daniel Pastorius's Paper-*Hive*,

Whose Beginning once was in page Fifty-five

adde pag. 54, 51, 49, 9, 8, & 7.

Franz Daniel Pastorius syn *Bie-Stock*.

Frantz Daniel Pastorius sein *Immen-korb*.

L'Avia (Albio o Cupile) di Francesco Daniele Pastorio.

La Ruche (Auge, Panier ou Catoire) de Francois Daniel Pastorius.

¹³ Cf. the photographic reproduction.

Jn these Seven Languages J this my Book do own, vide infra p. 7 num
Friend, if thou find it, Send the same to Germantown;
Thy Recompense shall be the half of half a Crown:
But, tho' it be no more than half the half of this,
Pray! Be Content therewith, & think it not amiss.
Yea and if, when thou com'st, my Cash perhaps is gone,
(For Money is thus scarce, that often J have none)
A Cup of Drink may do: Or else, alas! thou must
Trust unto me a while, As J to Others Trust,
Who failing make me fail: A thing extreme unjust!
To which J have no lust; But must per Force, poor Dust.

Freund, *Was du findest, wiedergieb,*
Sonst hält man dich vor einen Dieb
In diesem; und in jenem Leben
Folgt anders nichts als Höllen-pein.
Gott Selbst hat disz Gesetz gegeben
Zu thun, wie man Gethan will seyn.
Quod Tibi vis fieri, hoc facias Alijs.

2. *My Brains J may not longer break, When now the Hive itself
does speak.*

Come Friend! Be't Gentleman or Groom,
Peruse me in my Master's Room;
But never talk of Borrowing,
He mightily dislikes the Thing. &c.
J once was lent, and almost lost;
Henceforth J'll keep at home,
And thus attending on my Post,
Fear nothing that may come.

F. D. P.

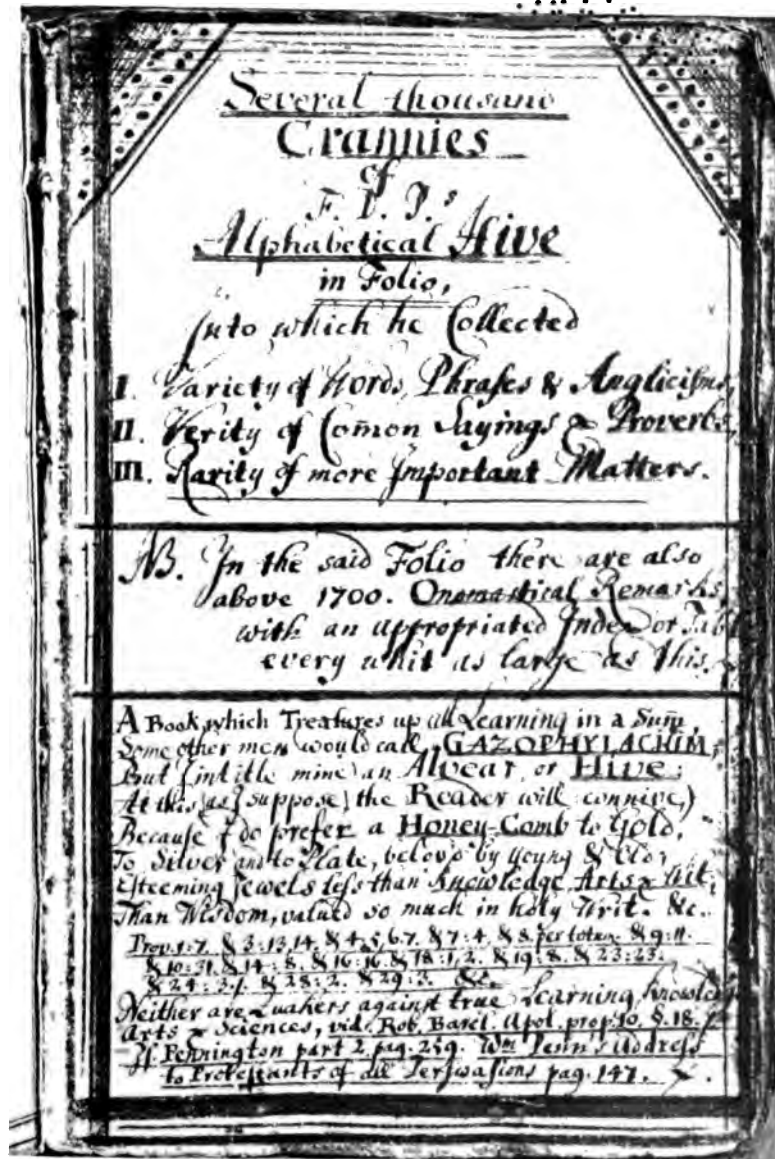
Fretus Dei Præsentia,
Fatigabo Difficultates Patientia,
Frustraborq. Dolos Prudentia.

Fortunante Deo Pietas Fert Denique Palram, vide infra pag.
55 & 67.

And to my two Sons It saith:

Part not with me! J'm excellently good,
If rightly us'd & rightly understood.
You full well know, your father never would
Have sold this Hive for 7 lbs. of Gold
Or 462 sh. Curr. Silver Money
of Penn Silvania.¹⁴

¹⁴ Written vertically on right margin.



INDEX TO FRANCIS DANIEL PASTORIUS' "BEEHIVE."

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YANBAI GONGXIN

Ρόδον Μελίσταις μὲν γλυκὴ στάζει Μέλι,
 Εὐθεν δ' Ἀράχνης αἰανὸν ἴον πίει. Adde infra pag. 54, § 3.
 Rosa quidem Apibus Mel dulce stillat,
 Sed inde Aranea grave efficit Venenum.
 From that Rose, whence the Bees their sweetest *honey* pluck,
 The Spiders, Tarantuls, the worst of *Venom* suck.
 Besser bringt man Honigseim
Immen-gleich von fernen heim,
 Als dass man nach art der *Spinnen*
 Selbst was giftigs solt ersinnen.
 Ἀγαπᾷ Μέλι Ὑρκτος. Mel diligit Ursus.
 Ursus Ego: laetor liquidi dulcedine Mellis,
 Inq. meis Nectar dispono dapsile Cellis.
 Μὴ νεμέσα βαιοῖσιν; Χάρις βαιοῖσιν ὀπηδεῖ.
 Ne parviducas Parva, est sua Gratia Parvis.
 J with Demochares, *small Things* to scorn forbid:
 Oft in a little Place great Treasures may be hid.
 A Nightingale is better than a kite. Levit. 11:14.
 No Alms, nor Gift above the Widows Mite. Mark. 12:42.
 A small *Diamond* is of more worth than the largest *Brick*.
 In kleinen Säcken ist das best Gewürtz.

4. Index to the Beehive.

Several thousand | Crannies | of | F. D. P.s | Alphabetical
 Hive | in Folio, | Into which he collected |
 I. Variety of Words, Phrases & Anglicisms, |
 II. Variety of Common Sayings & Proverbs |
 III. Rarity of more Important Matters. &c.¹⁸

The MS. is 3¾ x 6 inches in size and contains 53 written pages, 3 blank pages and one fly-leaf in the front, upon which is written:

"Presented Aug. 18. 1859
 To Mrs Ann Eliza Schuster
 by Charles M. Wagner,
 Presented to Washington Pastorius
 by his cousin Ann Eliza Pastorius Schuster"

done in the handwriting of the respective donors. The book is

¹⁸ For the detailed title-page see the photographic reproduction.

bound in boards, on the inside of which is pasted, front and back, a sheet of the same paper as that upon which the book is written. Back of these inside pages and on the last page of the MS. are mottoes and sentiments written in Pastorius' hand. The first inside cover page contains the following anagram and verses:

"F. D. P. Favos Diligentia Parat
Studium et Constantia,
Labor & Tolerantia
Colligunt ab Infantiâ,
Lectorem Delectantia.
Et Finem Coronantia.

Jf we not exercise our Wit,
A short Time's Sloth corrupteth it.
Jgnavus: Jgnarus.

Neglectis urenda Filix innascitur Agris.
Wie in syn Lant geen Koren saeyt;
'Tis seeker, dat hy Distels maeyt.

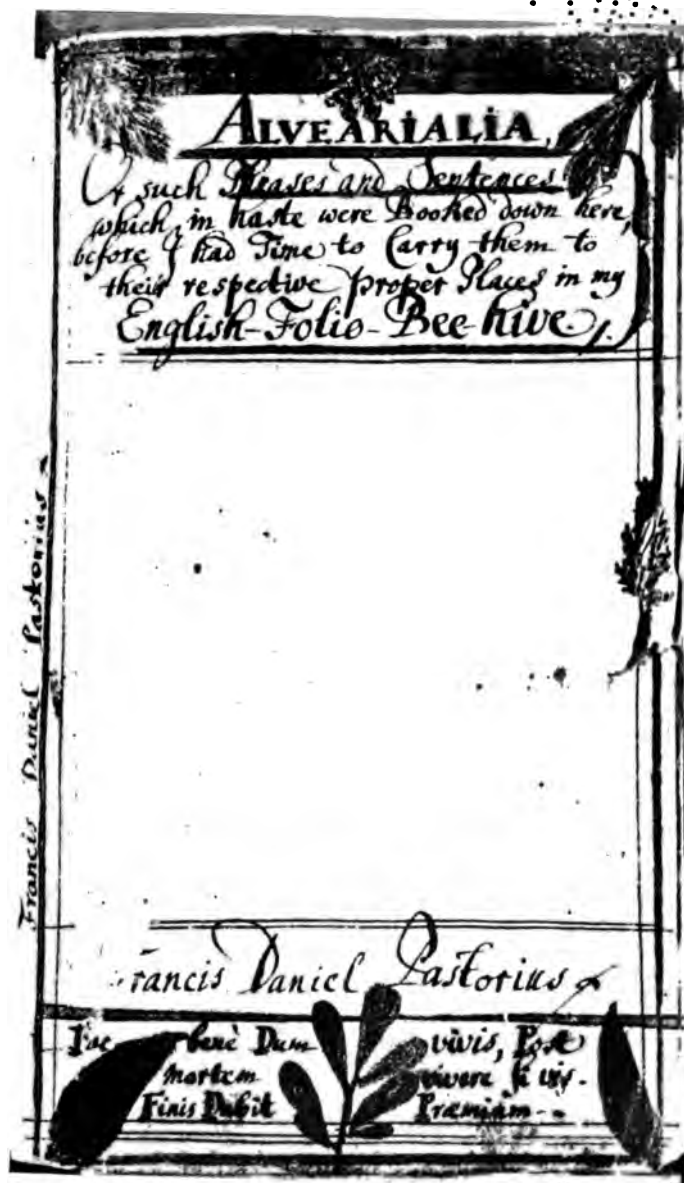
An Encyclopedia of all what can be known,
May very Well be made by Common-placing down
The Better Sort of Things out of the Best of Books;
And such a Work, no doubt, the Best of men would own,
Some Better lay aside their Surplis & their Gown,
Yea and Good Captains beat their Spears to Pruning-hooks.
Fac Deus Providebit."

5. Alvearialia.

Alvearialia, | Or such Phrases and Sentences, | which in haste
were Booked down here, | before J had Time to Carry them to |
their respective proper Places in my | English-Folio-Bee-hive. |
Francis Daniel Pastorius. | Fac benè Dum vivis, Post | mortem
vivere, si vis. | Finis Dabit Præmium. |

On the left margin of the title-page is written: "Francis Daniel Pastorius." As will be seen from the photographic half-tone, the title-page is decorated with leaves done in colors, which are much dimmed with age and use.

The size of the MS. is a small 8° of the time, containing 359 written and 17 numbered blank pp. bound in vellum, covered with brown paper. On the vellum and paper cover is written on



TITLE PAGE OF FRANCIS DANIEL PASTORIUS' "ALVEARIALIA."

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margin and top *Alvearialia*. On the inside of the cover, on the right margin, is a faint but partially legible Latin inscription; "Me juvat Innumeros."

A kind of explanatory title preface follows the title proper:

"F. D. P.

Looking over of late my Rejectanea or Waste-papers, | among a great heap of others J met also with | these here partly Inclosed & partly stitch'd together, | which making (as you see) a pretty Little Book, | deserve (methinks) a Frontispiece or Title-page | and forasmuch as all whats cancell'd is Inserted | in mine English Bee-Hive in folio, | J thought convenient to call them | *Tatum Quantum Lac Infantum, Or Talia Qualia Alvearialia*, | *What others did contrive J carry to my Hive*. | desiring those, to whose hands they may come, | that perhaps shall never have the Opportunity | to behold mine abovesd Alphabetical Hive to | make good Use of these hasty Puddings or Schediasms, | minding always the h: Apostles wholsom Admonition | 1. Thess. 9: 20. |

Omnia explorantes *Bonum tenete*. | the ear trieth words, &c. *Job. 34. 3.* |

Read Reader, read Judiciously, |
Shun Implicit Credulity: |
Prove first and then Approve what's Good: |
Judge not of things not understood. |

These foregoing few Lines are in lieu of a Preface, | And if any would have me dedicate it to some Body, | I herewith Complementally consecrate the same | *To himself*, | of what Quality Soever; | provided nevertheless he be One of the Excellent | *Spirited in this New English World, &c.* | OR A TRUE ENGLISH SOUL, AS THE ATHENIA ORACLES phrase is. |

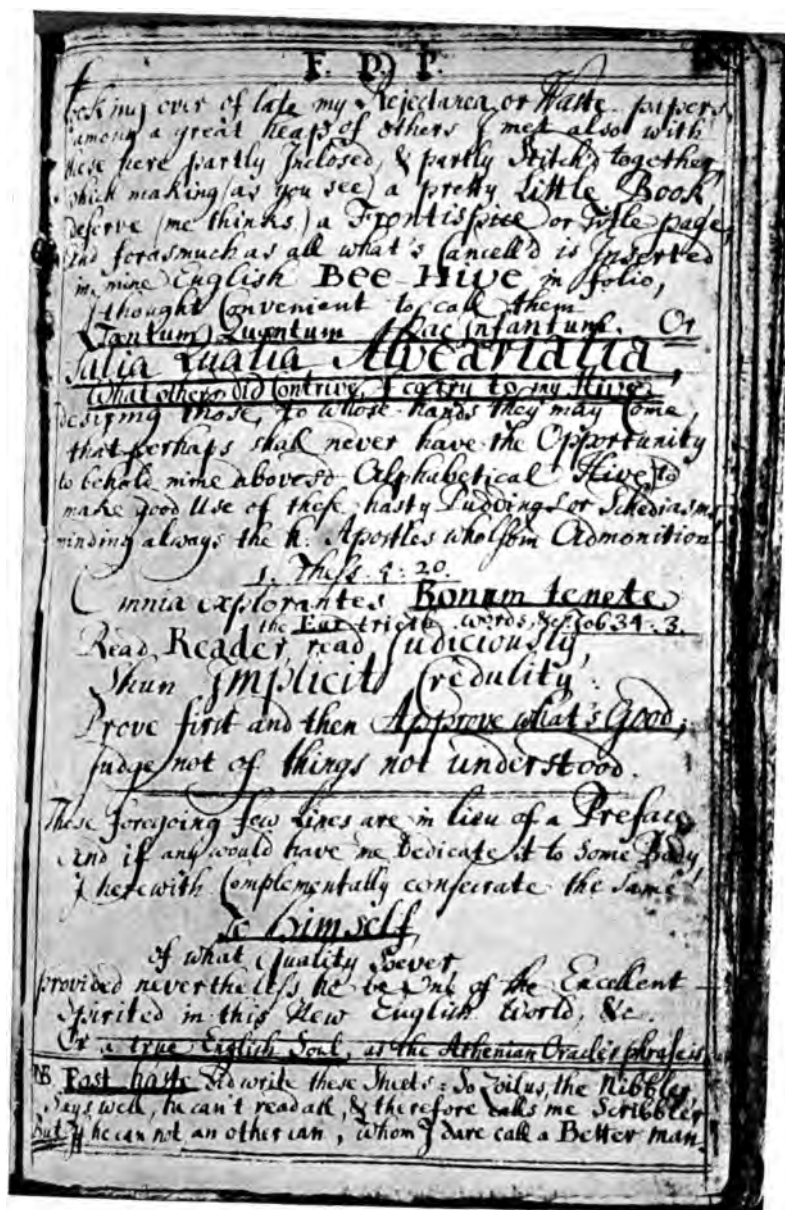
NB. Post haste did write these Sheets: S Zoilus, the Nibbler, Says well, he can't read all, & therefore calls me Scribbler:

BUT IF HE CAN NOT AND other can; Whom J dare call a Better man.

The Authors, whereout J | after the manner | of Bees have gather'd the little Honey & Wax | which you find in the following sheets, are |

1. the first Volume of the <i>Athenian Oracle</i> ,	p. 1
2. <i>Reginald Scot's</i> discovery of Witchcraft	p. 35
3. The <i>Rights of the Christian Church</i> asserted agt all priests who claim an Independent Power over it.	
<i>Anonymous</i>	p. 41
4. <i>E. W.</i> the husbandman's Manual	p. 53
<i>R. B. nine worthies</i>	(sic)

5. *W^m Temples* two Volumes of Letters and his Observations on the United provinces of Netherland p. 57
6. *Edward Cocker's* Arithmetick p. 72
7. *Poor Robins* Almanack 1686 p. 73
8. *Francis Quarles* Emblems & hieroglyphicks p. 77
9. the Trueborn Englishman *D'Foe* p. 85
10. *Henry Sackeverell's* Sermon p. 91
11. *Ainsworth's* Quotations upon the 5 books of Moses, Psalms p. 93
12. *Mamut* or the Turkish Spy's first volume. p. 103
Ejusdem Seventh and Eighth Volumes p. 125
13. p. 113
14. *William Penn's* divers Treatises p. 147
15. *Don Diego Saavedra's* 100 Emblems p. 157
16. Still *Ainsworth's* Quotations upon the Song of Songs p. 169
17. *Theophrasti Paracelsi* Opera in Fol^o. two Volumes p. 170
18. Don Francesco de *Quavedo's* Visions p. 181
19. *Pietae Hallensis*, concerning the *Orphan-house* at *Glenska* p. 197
20. *Ashhurst's* Remarks on Nath. Heywood's Life p. 201
21. *Henry Coley's* Almanack 1698 p. 205
22. *Geo. Parker's* Almanack 1699 agt John Partridge p. 206
23. *John Partridge's* Almanack 1699 p. 211
24. *Jane Lead's* Message to the Philadelphian Society &c Bundle of Revelations untied &c p. 212
25. *Jacobi Viverij* Werelt's Beschryvinghe p. 213
26. *N. H.* the husband forced to be Jealous p. 216
27. *Culpepper's* Physician's library or ye London Dispensatory p. 221
28. *le Febure's* Compleat Body of Chymistry p. 224
29. *Edward Phillip's* Theatrum Poetarum p. 230
30. An account of the Success of the two *Danish Missionaries* in *Malabar*, 1709 p. 233
31. Out of *divers Writings* J know not which. However from p. 235 to p. 242 much is taken out of THE LIFE of Ambrosius Merlin, written by Thomas Heywood in 4^o quem merito Valem dixeris atq Magum—a prophetical poet p. 234
31. *John Tomkins* Piety promoted, Second part p. 250
32. More out of *Jane Lead's* Writings p. 252
More out of *Theophr. Paracelsi* Operibus p. 255
33. Concerning the *repealing Penal Laws* and Test p. 274
34. *John Beaumont's* Treatise of Spirits 1705 p. 281
35. *John Tomkin's* Piety promoted, first part p. 291
36. Reflections upon a Book called *Pax Vobis* p. 75



PAGE OF FRANCIS DANIEL PASTORIUS' "ALVEARIALIA."

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37. *Mass Aurello's* history, the second part p. 275
38. the Life of *Cornifie, Count of Ulfeld* Great Master of
Denmarck 1695 p. 276
39. *John Hepburn's* Essay agt. Negro-Slavery p. 278
40. *Arthur Dent's* Path-Way to Heaven p. 292
41. The Secret Amours of *M. de Maintenon &c* p. 329
42. *Tho. Creeck's* The Life of Alexander the Great p. 278
43. *Will. Chandler's* brief Apology p. 312
44. *Culpeper's* Astrological Judgmt. of Diseases p. 312
45. *Free-holder* begun the 23th day of December 1715 p. 333
46. *A Dream at Woodstock* p. 297
47. *Gazettes or News-Letters.* Ibid. p. 330
48. *Joseph Glanvil's* Saducimus Triumphatus p. 335
48. *Robert Boyle's* Medicinal Experiments 3 parts p. 316
49. *John Tomkin's* Piety promoted, third part p. 300
50. Reflections upon the book *Pax Vobis* p. 75
51. The Loyal Americans *Almanack* 1715 p. 76
52. *Z. Hawkins* the Life of Gilbert Lateys p. 303
53. *Anth. Will. Böhm's* the faithful Steward (Hen. Will.
Ludolf) p. 316
54. *Reliquiae Ludolfianae* p. 318
55. *Wm Peñ's & Geo. Whithead's* Serious Apology p. 154
56. *Frances Shaftoe's* Narrative p. 345
57. *Ralph Winterton's* Consider^{ons} upon Eternity p. eodem.
58. *London Yearly Meeting's* Epistle 1718 p. 303
59. *Dr. Stoughton's* Elixir Magnum p. Ibid.
60. *Geo. Wither's* Abuses Stript & Whipt p. 304
61. *The Spectator* Vol. 1 p. 156: 5th Vol. 2^d p. 156
62. *Abr. Cowley's* Works in fol. 1688 p. 292
63. *Wm Hughes* Flower Garden & Compleat Vineyard, p. 319
64. *Julian the Apostate* ./ n. 8^o 1682 p. 320
- [5?]
65. *Fra. Bacon's* Resuscitatio ./ in fol. 1647 p. 321
66. The Life & death of *Lazarillo de Tormes* in which book
was a defect from p. 5. to 21 p. 156
and from p. 74. to 95. & from 100. to 117
67. *John Nicholl's* hourglass of Indian News p. 353
68. *Francis Fairweather's* pleasant prognostication p. 326
69. *Rich^d Peeke's* Three to One: An English-Spanish Com-
bate p. 327
70. the pleasant history of *Jack of Newberie* p. 353
71. *W. Kempe's* the Education of Children in Learning p. 327
72. the Secret history of *Q. Elizabeth & the E. of Essex* p. 354
73. *Sir David Lindsay's* Works in 12^o 1714 at Belfast p. 357
74. the history of *Genesis* in 8^o 1708 p. 358
75. *A New Academy of Complements* in 12^o 1717 p. 296."

6. The Young Country-Clerks Collection.

The young Country-Clerk's Collection | of the best Presidents of Bills, Bonds, Conditions, Acquittances, Releases, | Indentures, Deeds of Sale, Letters of Attorney, Last Wills & Testaments, &c. | With many other necessary and useful Forms of such like Writings | as are vulgarly in use between Man and Man. | An Alphabetical Table whereof is thereunto prefixed. | by Francis Daniel Pastorius &c. ¹⁶

The MS. is 6 3-16 x 7 11-16 inches. It begins with page 200 and continues to page 383 (pp. 372-381 apparently missing). As regards the first 199 pages, the compiler gives this information at the Cope of the title-page:

"Where is the Rest, One hundred ninety-nine?¹⁷
Within some Sheets (: most like to these:) of mine."

The book was a most indispensable handbook for the scrivener of that day. The forms are in English for the most part, but occasionally in German. The MS. bears the marks of other and later hands, into which it came; for example, on one of the original blank pages (266) is written:

"The Property of Charles Macknet Pastorius, the great great Grandson of the Author of this Book. Presented by his Uncle, his best friend, and Adopted Father:
January 1st 1812."

On page 315 is found a Deed of Sale with the following heading, and the name of the famous English scrivener, Charles Brockden:

"Short Deed of Sale. Ch. Brockden."

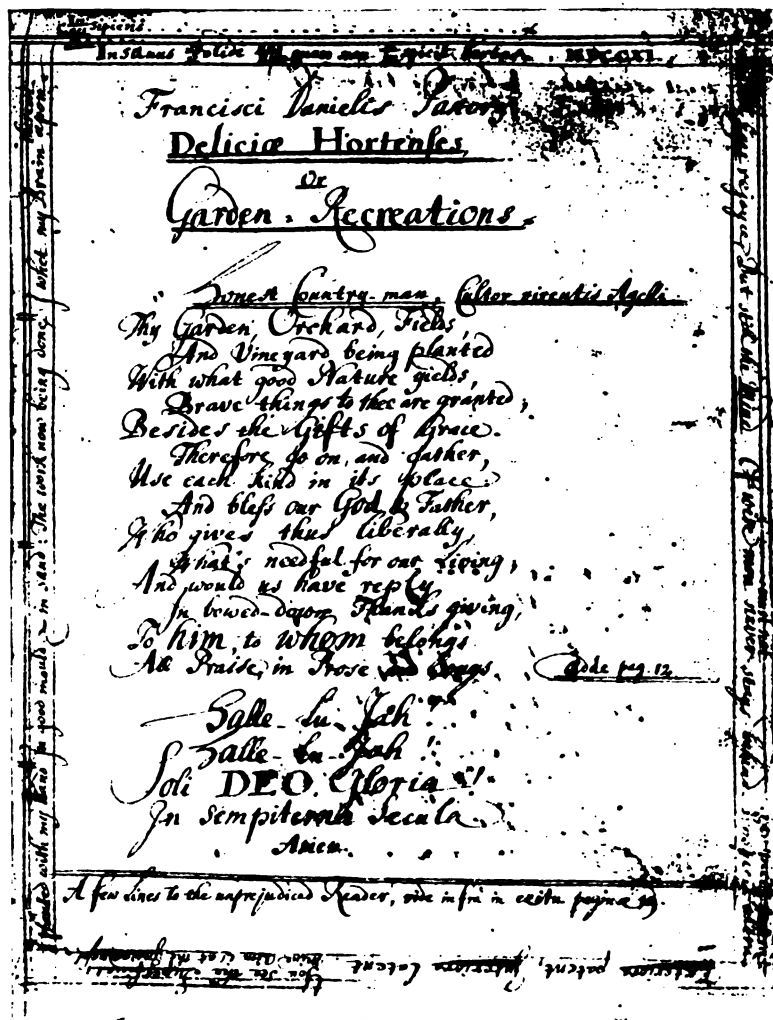
7^a. *Deliciae Hortenses, &c.*

Francisci Danielis Pastorij | *Deliciae Hortenses*, | Or | Garden-Recreations. |

Honest Country-man, Cultor virentis Agelli |
Thy Garden, Orchard, Fields,

¹⁶ For full detail of the title-page see the photographic reproduction.

¹⁷ The last half of the first verse almost entirely gone.



TITLE PAGE OF FRANCIS DANIEL PASTORIUS' "DELICIAE HORTENSES."

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And Vineyard being planted
With what good Nature yields,
Brave things to thee are granted;
Besides the Gifts of Grace.
Therefore go on, and gather,
Use each kind in its place:
And our God & Father,
Who gives thus liberally,
What's needful for our Living;
And would us have reply
In bowed-Down Thanksgiving,
To HIM, to WHOM belongs
All Praise, in Prose and Songs. Adde pag. 12.
Halle-Lu-Jah!
Halle-Lu-Jah!
Soli Deo Gloria!
In Sempiterna Secula.
Amen.

The above is the title-page proper. Around all four margins are written sentiments in English and Latin, as may be seen in the half-tone reproduction of the title-page. The second part has the following title-page:

7^b. Voluptates Apianae.

Pars Altera Libri, | Sive | Voluptates Apianæ: | Nectar et
Ambrosia | id est | A little Time of Leasure Full of the
greatest Pleasure. | or |

A mouthful of fresh Air among my BEES,
The sweetest of all Birds man ever sees.
Brave-harmless Creatures, which do always sing,
Hymn hum! & never bite; but sometimes sting
Unchaste or Wanton-ones, and Drunkards too;
Vor ihnen gute Leut hab'n gute Ruh.
That is to say, All those for them have Rest,
Who may be call'd Good, Better, Best.
Thou that art None of Such, The smallest Bee
Here in my Garden is Convincing Thee
Of thy Mis-doings, and we want no more.
A thousand Witnesses! My Friend therefore
Repent of all what's bad; Amend, and then
A sure Reward will crown the End. Amen!^{17a}

^{17a} Cf. photographic reproduction for full title-page.

8. Res Propriae.

Francisci Danielis Pastoij / Res Propriae.

A small, neatly written manuscript, bound, measuring from margin to margin $6\frac{1}{8} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$ inches, and containing:

- P. 1 Epitome of his life till 20 of June, 1715.
- P. 2 Genealogical chart.
- P. 3-9 Kurtzer Lebens Lauff, &c.
- P. 10 Blank.
- P. 11-14 Additamenta zu vorgehen, &c.
- P. 14 (Repeated) 30 Inventory of effects brought to America, Book, &c.
- P. 31. Blank.
- P. 32-39 Account Ennecke Klostermann's land.
- P. 40-41 and two unnumbered, giving an account of his two sons.

The *terminus ad quem* is 1715, as is to be seen in the fact that Pastorius gives an epitome of his life till June, 1715, entries are made as late as 1716/17. This manuscript is invaluable for data relating to the early life of Pastorius and has been freely drawn upon in this biography.

PASTORIUS' OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS.

In addition to the works in manuscript already discussed, Pastorius left a number of important public documents, which bear the impress of his mind, ranging all the way from the *Protest against Negro Slavery* of the year 1688, to the *Record of Friends Certificates of Marriage*. These works are here mentioned by title and treated briefly in order to give a complete view of Pastorius' activity as a writer. They are five in all, and numbered here for convenience in chronological order.

The most important question of public moment touched upon by Pastorius was that of Negro Slavery. While we have no statement that he formulated the *Protest* brought by the Germans before the Friends Meeting in 1688, it is easy to detect the earmarks of his style and manner of thought in the quaint Germanisms of the document. The handwriting also is his.

TABLE 1. Summary of the 1997-1998 season of the 1000-hour study.

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I.

Germantown Friends' Protest Against Slavery, 1688:

"This is to y^e Monthly Meeting held at Richard Warrell's.

These are the reasons why we are against the traffick of men Body, as followeth: Js there any that would be done or handled at this manner? viz., to be sold or made a slave for all the time of his life? How fearfull & fainthearted are many on sea when they see a strange vassel, being afraid it should be a Turck, and they should be tacken and sold for slaves into Turkey. Now what is this better done as Turcks doe? yea rather is it worse for them, w^{ch} say they are Christians; for we hear that ye most part of such Negers are brought heither against their will & consent; and that many of them are stollen. Now, tho' they are black, we cannot conceive there is more liberty to have them slaves, as it is to have other white ones. There is a saying, that we shall doe to all men, licke as we will be done our selves; making no difference of what generation, descent or Colour they are. And those who steal or robb men, and those who buy or purchase them, are they not all alike? Here is liberty of Conscience, w^{ch} is right & reasonable; here ought to be likewise liberty of y^e body, except of evildoers, w^{ch} is an other case. But to bring men hither, or to robb and sell them against their will, we stand against. Jn Europe there are many oppressed for Conscience sake; and here there are those oppressed w^{ch} are of a black Colour. And we, who know that men must not comitt adultery, some doe comitt adultery in others, separating wives from their housbands and giving them to others; and some sell the children of those poor Creatures to other men. Oh! doe consider well this things, you who doe it; if you would be done at this manner? and if it is done according Christianity? You surpass Holland and Germany in this thing. This mackes an ill report in all those Countries of Europe, where they hear off, that y^e Quackers doe here handel men licke they handel there y^e Cattel. And for that reason some have no mind or inclination to come hither, and who shall maintaine this your cause or plaid for it? Truly ~~we can~~ not do so, except you shall inform us better hereoff, viz: that christians have liberty to practise this things. Pray! What thing in the world can be done worse towards us, then if men should robb or steal us away, & sell us for slaves to strange Countries, separating housband[s] from their wives & children. Being now this is not done at that manner, we will be done at, therefore we contradict & are against this traffick of menbody. And we who profess that it is not lawfull to steal, must likewise avoid to purchase such things as are stollen, but rather help to stop this robbing and stealing if possible; and such men ought to be delivered out of y^e hands of y^e Robbers & and sett free as well as in Europe. Then

is Pennsylvania to have a good report, instead it hath now a bad one for this sake in other Countries. Especially whereas y^e Europeans are desirous to know in what manner y^e Quackers doe rule in their Province; & most of them doe loock upon us with an envious eye. But if this is done well, what shall we say is done evill?

If once these slaves, (:w^{ch} they say are so wicked and stubborn men:) should joint themselves, fight for their freedom and handel their masters & mastrisses as they did handel them before; will these Masters and mastrisses tacke the sword at hand & warr against these poor slaves, licke we are able to belive, some will not refuse to doe? Or have these Negers not as much right to fight for their freedom, as you have to keep them slaves?

Now consider well this thing, if it is good or bad? and in case you find it to be good to handel these blacks at that manner, we desire & require you hereby lovingly, that you may informe us here in, which at this time never was done, viz., that Christians have such a liberty to do so. to the end we shall be satisfied in this point, & satisfie likewise our good friends & acquaintances in our natif Country, to whose it is a terrour or fairfull thing that men should be handeld so in Pennsylvania.

This is from our Meeting at Germantown held y^e 18. of the 2. month 1688. to be delivred to the Monthly Meeting at Richard Warrel's.

gerret hendericks
derick op de graeff
Francis Daniell Pastorius
Abraham op Den graef."

"At our monthly meeting at Dublin, y^e 30—2 mo—: 1688 we having inspected y^e matter above mentioned & considered of it, we finde it so weighty that we think it not Expedient for vs to meddle with it here, but do Rather comit it to y^e consideration of y^e Quarterly meeting; y^e tennor of it being nearly Related to y^e truth.

On behalfe of y^e monthly meeting.

Signed, P Jo: Hart."

This, above mentioned was read in our quarterly meeting at Philadelphia, the 4 of y^e 4th mo 88 and was from thence recommended to the Yearly Meeting and the abovesaid Derick and the other two mentioned therein to present the same to y^e Abovesaid meeting it being a thing of too great A weight for this meeting to determine.

Signed by order of y^e meeting
Anthony Morris."^{17b}

^{17b} These two minutes are written on the original document.

[illegible]

FAC-SIMILE OF FIRST PROTEST AGAINST SLAVERY

Minute of Burlington Yearly Meeting Minute on the above Protest:

"At a Yearly Meeting held at Burlington the 5th day of the 7th month, 1688.

A Paper being here presented by some German Friends Concerning the Lawfulness and Unlawfulness of Buying and keeping Negroes, It was adjudged not to be so proper for this Meeting to give a Positive Judgment in the Case, It having so General a Relation to many other Parts, and therefore at present they forbear It."^{17c}

2.

The Generall Court Book | of the Corporation of | Germantown.
| oder | Rathsbuch | der Germantownischen Gemeinde, |
angefangen den 2 ten tag des 4 ten Monats Anno 1691.

The MS. is 8 3-16x12 11-16 inches in size and contains:

1. The *Raths-Buch*, pp. 1-32.
2. Alphabet to Book I, Vol. 5, 7 pp.
3. An old plot of survey.
4. 79 pp. (unnumbered and all blank except two).

This MS. of the *Raths-Buch* is evidently the original minutes of the General Court of Germantown, as the entries are in different hands. Three different languages—German, Dutch, English—are used in various parts of the record. The *Raths-Buch* is a most valuable document for the history of the German language in America, inasmuch as it shows that the speech mixture, so familiar in the later day American German, especially the Pennsylvania German, began with the pioneers almost immediately after their arrival.

3a.

Lex Pennsylvaniensis | in Compendium | redacta.: | h. e. | The
Great Law of Penn- | silvania—abridged, | for the particular
use of | Francis Daniel Pastorius. | Salus Populi Suprema Lex
esto! MDCXCIII.

^{17c}A sequel to the *Protest* is found in *An Exhortation and Caution To Friends Concerning buying and keeping of Negroes*, printed in 1693, "the first protest against slavery printed in America."

A manuscript $5\frac{1}{4} \times 8$ 1-16 inches in size, containing:

Title page, 1 p.

Index, 6 pp.

Laws of Pennsylvania, beginning with No. 20 (Laws 1-19 are wanting), 22 pp.

Blank 2 pp.

The laws in this part are briefly abstracted for ready reference in practice.

3b.

Leges Pennsilvanianae | h: e: | The great Law of the | Province
| of | Penn Silvania. | Francis Daniel Pastorius
his Book | . . . 1690

The size of this manuscript is $6 \times 7\frac{7}{8}$ inches. The contents are:

Title page, 1 p. (See photographic reproduction.)

Entry of the dates on which the laws were enacted, p. 2.

The full text of the laws, pp. 3-82.

Blank, 4 pp.

Index, 3 pp.

Blank, 7 pp.

3c.

1. Copia des Germantownischen Charters. |
2. Gesetz, Ordnungen und Statuten der Gemeinden¹⁸ | zu
Germantown, in denen daselbstigen generalen | Rath's Ver-
samblungen von Zeit zu Zeit gemacht | und publicirt |¹⁹
3. The Laws of the Province of Pennsylvania | antecedent to
the sd Charter & By-Laws . | | M. DC. XCIII.

The manuscript measures 6 3-16 ($6\frac{3}{8}$) $\times 7\frac{3}{4}$ inches and contains 28 pages in all. It was originally bound in rough black pasteboard, which is still preserved.

All three of these MSS. are now bound up together in the order here given, and found in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. As the title page shows the *Leges Pennsilvanianæ*

¹⁸ Written "Gemeind" in title to the section containing the text.

¹⁹ Replaced by "verfertigt" in the title before the text.

codex is the oldest of the three. It is probable that the third codex, containing the *Gesetz, Ordnungen und Statuten* of Germantown, are of equally early date, although transferred later to this MS.

4-

Grund- und Lager-Buch | aller und jeden unbeweglichen |
Güter, | geklärt- und ungeklärten | Landes, | in der gantzen |
German Township | Durch Ordre Einer daselbstigen Generalen
Court | angefangen | von | Francisco Daniele Pastorio. . . .

The book is a large MS. folio, 11½ x 18 inches, and has the following contents:

Title page, 1 page unnumbered; Ansprach an die Nachkömmlingschafft, &c., 1 unnumbered page; Copia des Patents oder Grund-Brieffs über die gesaunte Germantownship, p. 1; Number of acres bought by original purchasers and number of acres in the four towns, Germantown, Krissheim, Sommerhausen, Crefeld, p. 2; List of original purchases, p. 3; Purchases in Krissheim, p. 4; Purchases in Sommerhausen, p. 5; Purchases in Crefeld (no names entered), p. 6; Blank, pp. 7-10; Die Franckfurtische Compagnie (no entries), p. 11; Blank, 12-42 (4 pp. less than numbering calls for); Jacob Tellner (no entry), p. 43; Blank, pp. 44-48; Power of Attorney of Johan Stripers and his wife, p. 50; Blank, pp. 51-54 (2 pp. wanting); Dirck Lipman, ein Erster Käuffer (no entry), p. 55; Blank, pp. 56-60; Govert Remkins, ein Erster Käuffer (no entry), p. 61; Blank pp. 62-64; Lenert Arets, ein Erster Käuffer, p. 65; Blank, pp. 66-70; Jacob Jsaacs, ein Erster Käuffer (no entry), p. 71; Blank, pp. 72-76 (2 pp. wanting); Franz Daniel Pastorius (no entry), p. 77; Blank, pp. 78-80 (81-82 wanting); Geörg Hartzfelder (no entry), p. 83; Blank, pp. 84-86; Peter Keürlis (no entry), p. 87; Blank, pp. 88-90; Tünes Kundes (no entry), p. 91; Blank, pp. 92-94; Jan Lensen (two documents), p. 95; Blank, pp. 96-98; Reinert Tisen (five documents), pp. 99-100; Blank, pp. 101-104; Jan Lücken (one document), p. 105; Blank, pp. 106-110 (111-112 wanting); Gerhard Henrichs (no entry), p. 113; Blank, pp.

114-118; David Scherckges (no entry), p. 119; Shoemaker document, p. 120; Blank, pp. 121-122; Wolter Simens (no entry), p. 123; Blank, pp. 124-126; Dirck Kolck (no entry), p. 127; Blank, pp. 128-130; Wigart Levering (no entry), p. 131; Blank, p. 132; Herman von Bon (no entry), p. 133; Blank, p. 134; Gerhard Levering (no entry), p. 135; Blank, pp. 136-138; Henrich Sellen (no entry), p. 139; Blank, pp. 140-142; Jsaack Schefer (no entry), p. 143; Blank, pp. 144-146 (147-148 wanting); Heinrich Buchholtz (no entry), p. 149; Blank, pp. 150-152; Cornelis Bom (no entry), p. 153; Blank, pp. 154-156 (157-158 wanting); Isaac Dilbeeck, pp. 159-160 (two documents); Blank, pp. 161-162; Eñecke Klostermans (two documents), p. 163; Blank, pp. 164-166; Jan Doeden (no entry), p. 167; Blank, pp. 168-170; Andres Souplis (no entry), p. 171; Blank, pp. 172-174; Willem Rüttinghusen (no entry), p. 175; Blank, pp. 176-178; Claus Rüttinghusen (no entry), p. 179; Blank, pp. 180-182; Dirck Keyser (no entry), p. 183; Blank, pp. 184-186; Willem Strepers (four documents), pp. 187-189; Blank, p. 190; Dirck op de Graeff (no entry), p. 191; Blank, pp. 192-194; Herman op de Graeff (one document), p. 195; Blank, p. 196; Five op den Graaff documents and memorandum, p. 197; Herman Dors document, p. 198; Abraham op de Graeff (one document), p. 199; Blank, pp. 200-201; George Walker (one document), p. 202; Jan Simens (one document), p. 203; William Strepers document, p. 204; Blank, pp. 205-206; Paul Wulff, pp. 207-210 (five documents); Johannes Bleickers, pp. 211-212 (two documents); Blank, pp. 213-214; Jacob Schumacher (no entry), p. 215; Blank, p. 216-218; Heifert Papen (double document), pp. 219-220; Blank, pp. 221-222; Jacob Jansen Klümges (no entry), p. 223; Blank, pp. 224-226; Cornelis Sjoerts (no entry), p. 227; Blank, pp. 228-230; Hañs Peter Umstat (no entry), p. 231; Blank, pp. 232-234; Peter Schumacher (four documents), pp. 235-236; Blank, pp. 237-238 (239-240 wanting); Claus Tamson (one document), p. 241; Blank, pp. 242-244; Hanns Milan (no entry), p. 245; Blank, pp. 246-248; Henrich Frey (no entry), p. 249; Blank, pp. 250-252; Johannes Kassel und



TITLE PAGE OF THE "GRUND- UND LAGER-BUCH".

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Arnold Cassel (four documents), pp. 253-254; Blank, pp. 255-258; Aret Klincken (three documents), pp. 259-260; Blank, pp. 261-262; John Silans (three documents), p. 263; Blank, pp. 264-266; Reinier Hermans (no entry), p. 267; Blank (268-269 wanting), pp. 270-272; Henrich Sellen (no entry), p. 273; Blank, pp. 274-276; Dirck Sellen (one document), p. 277; Blank, pp. 278-281; Gerard Rüttinghousen (one document), p. 282; Blank, pp. 283-288; Willjam Streper's document and Matthias van Bebber document, p. 289; Blank, pp. 290-304; William Streper's document and Matthias van Bebber document, pp. 305-306; Blank, pp. 307-323; Thomas Tresse (one document), p. 324; Blank, pp. 325-338 (2 pp. numbered 328); William Streepers (three documents), pp. 239-241; Blank, pp. 342-344; Abraham Tönnis (one document), pp. 345-346; Blank, pp. 347-368; In het Lands van Crefelt (one document), p. 369; Blank, pp. 370-380; [Index], 2 unnumbered pages and 1 blank page.

The *Grund und Lager-Buch* is in a sense the most national book indited by Pastorius, inasmuch as it is addressed to the German people in America and their descendants. It is also from the literary point of view the most interesting document emanating from him alone because the Latin "Address to Posterity" has become immortalized as classical in English American literature by the Quaker poet Whittier, in his *Pennsylvania Pilgrim*. The Latin and German addresses are given here both in the original and in English translation, as well as in the photographic reproduction.

"Salve Posteritas!
Posteritas Germanopolitana!
et ex argumento insequentis paginæ
primitus observa,
Parentes ac Majores Tuos
ALEMANIAM,
dulce Solum, quod eos genuerat, alueratq' diu,
voluntario exilio
deseruisse;
[: oh Patrios Focos! :]
ut in silvosâ hâc Pennsilvaniâ,
desertâ Solitudine,

minus Soliciti
residuum Ætatis
Germane, h. e. instar Fratrum,
transigerent.
Porrò etiam inde addiscas,
Quantæ molis erat,
exantlato jam mari Atlantico,
in Septentrionali ist hoc Americæ tractu,
GERMANAM
condere gentem.
Tuquè
Series dilecta Nepotum!
ubi fuimus exemplar honesti,
nostrum imitare exemplum;
Sin autem à semitâ tam difficili aberravimus,
Quod pænitenter agnoscitur,
ignosce;
Et sic te faciant aliena pericula Cautam.
Vale Posteritas!
Vale Germanitas!
Æternum Vale!

F. D. P."

"Ansprach an die Nachkömmlingschaft, und Alle, die dieses Lager-Buch continuiren oder fortsetzen.

WEHRTE UND GELIEBTE NACHKÖMLINGE! Damit Ihr zu allen Zeiten wissen möget, von weme, wann, wie undt warumb die so genannte Germantownship sey angefangen worden; und also Eurer Vor- Eltern ursprung merckliche ungemächlichkeiten und wohlmeinendliche Jntention Euch kürztlich entdecket werde, habe ich allhier Vorredswis was wenigens darvon bey zu fügen meiner Schuldigkeit zu seyn erachtet. Anfänglich nun Nachdem Carolus, dieses Nahmens der Zweyte, König von Engelland, durch sonderbahre Schickung des Allerhöchsten und aus erheblichen ursachen hiesige Landschafft Pennsilvanien an Willjam-Penn und seine Erben, krafft offenen brieffs de dato den 4ten Martij 1680., übergeben und abgetretten hatte, sind nebenst andern auch einige Personen in Hoch- und Nieder Teutschland (:deren Nahmen in dem allgemeinen Patent oder Grundbrief über diese Germantownship p. 1. zu ersehen :) bewogen worden, in allem 43000. Acker lands in gemeldter Provinz Pennsilvanien von gedm Willjam Penn, vermittelst Benjamin Furly, dessen gevollmächtigten zu Rotterdam in Holland, an sich zu kauffen, der zuverlässigen Absicht, bey damahligen schweren laufften sowohl selbst aus dem verwirrten Europâ anhero [: als in ein zweytes Pellam:] zu entfliehen, wie nicht minder andere redliche und arbeitsame leut zu transportiren umb allhier unter mehrerwehnten Willjam Penns verhoffentlich

gerechten und liebeichen Regierung ein friedsam, still und Gottgefälliges Leben zu führen. Anno 1683. den 2ten tag des 2ten Monats (:Aprilis:) begab ich Frantz Daniel Pastorius mich (:gleich ein Vorläuffer vermuthlich vieler nachfolgenden ehrlichen lands leute:) auff den weg, und arrivirte den 20ten des 6ten Monats (:Augusti:) mit etlichen knechten und mägden Gott lob! frisch und gesund zu Philadelphia. Bald darauff nembl. den 6ten des 8ten Monats (:Octobris:) kamen ebenfalls in besagtem Philada. an Dirck- und Herman- und Abraham Jsaacs op den Græff, Lenert Arets, Tünes Kunders, Reinert Tisen, Willhelm Strepers, Jan Lensen, Peter Keurlis, Jan Simens Johaṇes Bleickers, Abraham Tünes und Jan Lücken, mit dero respectivē Weibern, Kindern und gesind, zusammen 13. Familien. Da wir dann ungesäumt von Willjam Penn beehrten, dass Er das sämtliche von obgedn Hoch- und Nieder Teutschen erkauffte Land an einem stück, und zwar bey einem schiffbaren Strom, solte auslegen und abmessen lassen. Dieweilen Er aber uns hierinnen nicht willfahren kunnte, sondern bisz zu überkunfft mehrerer Hausgesinde eine Township unfern dem Philadelphischen Stadtgebiet etliche meil oberhalb des Scullkill Falls, anpräsentirte, haben wir sothanen Landstrich besichtigt und demnach derselbe uns seiner hohen gebürg halber nicht anständig, von oftgem. Willjam Penn versucht, die Township lieber buschwärts ein auff ebenern grund zu zustehen; dessen Er wohl zufrieden, und darauff den 24ten Octobris durch Thomas Fairman 14. losen oder Erbe abmessen liesz, umb welche oberwehnte 13. Familien den 25ten dito durch Zettul das los zogen, und sofort anfiengen Keller und Hütten zu machen, worinnen sie den Winter nicht sonder grosse beschwerligkeit zubrachten.

“Den Ort nennten wir Germantown, welches der Teutschen item Brüder Statt bedeutet; Etliche gaben ihm den bey Nahmen Armen Town, sindemahl viel der vorgedn. ersten begiñere sich nicht einst auff etliche wochen, zu geschweigen Monaten, provisioniren kunnten. Und mag weder genug beschrieben, noch von denen vermöglichern Nachkömmlingen geglaubt werden, in was Mangel und Armuth, anbey mit welch einer Christn. Vergnüglickeit und unermüdetem Fleiss diese German Township beguñen sey; da daß mehrgem. Willjam Penns oftmaliger durchdringender Anmuthigung und wirklichen assistenz nicht zu vergessen; wie auch, dasz, als Er nacher Engelland abgesegelt, gegen das Vorjahr einigen der Einwohner ihr muth so gar entfallen, dass sie anders wohin verhausen wolten; welches doch auff der beständigern Zusprach unterblieben ist, und Sie anjetzo beederseits ursach haben, Gottes vätterliche Güte und Vorsorg dankbarlich zu rühmen.

“Anno 1684, den 20ten und folgende tag des 12ten Monats (:Februar:) wurde von gedm. Thomas Fairman der umbkreis der Germantownship, nemlich nach Jnnhalt des von Willjam Penn ertheilten, und ins general landmesser Amt eingelieferten, warrants,

6000. Ackers abgemessen, kurtz darnach aber durch dessen ordre (: unerachtet wz wir dagegen einwenden kunnten :) 1000. ackers darvon, längs der Scullkillseite, wieder abgeschnitten; wobey es also verblieben, bisz Anno 1687. den 29. Decembris diese unsre Germantownship zum andern mahl von Thomas Fairman, und zwar mit accurater sorgfalt, gemessen, und darinnen 5700. acker lands befunden worden, über welche wir das auff folgender Seite abcopirte Patent oder Grundbrieff genömen haben.

“Ferner wurden zu selbiger Zeit allen und Jeden Einwohnern zu Germantown ihre gantze und halbe losen in richtiger Ordnung zugemessen, wie aus dem draught oder Abriss und gegenwärtigem buch, clärer erhellet; Nembl: 2750. ackers. Anno 1689. den 4ten des 2ten Monats (: Aprilis :) haben die Käuffer und Erbpachts leut, denen die übrige 2950. ackers der Germantownship zugehören, dieselbe durchs los unter sich in drey absonderliche Dorffsschafften vertheilt; und Anno 1690. den 14ten des XIten Monats (: Januarii :) von Thomas Fairman die Durchschnitt dardurch thun lassen; den vordersten an Germantown anstossenden Theil Kriszheim; den Mittelsten (: von meiner geburts statt :) Sommerhausen; und den hintersten Crefeld benahmset; wie p. 2. umbständlicher ausweist.

“Hierbey ist gelegentlich zu erinnern, dasz wir die Urheber dieses Wercks, wegen ermangelter sattsamer experienz in solcherley sachen, vieles gethan haben, das wir hernach theils selbst ändern, theils der klügern Nachfahren Verbesserung anbefehlen, müssen. Dañ in ansehung der beschwerlichen Ausrottung des holtzes &c. haben wir anfängl: die Erb oder Losen nur 7. ruthen breit ausgelegt; jedoch nachgehends, da mit dergleichen harten arbeit was beszer gewehren kunnten, dieselbe um andere 7. ruthen und 4. Fuss erweitert. Auch war unser ersteres Vornehmen, es bey 25. losen bewenden zu lassen; weszhalb wir dann vor dem sechsten Erb auff der Westseite (: als neben einer Zwerchstrasz, und inmitten des Orts :) einen acker zum Marck- und begräbnisz platz, auch zu gemeinen Gebäuen vorbehalten haben. Dieweilen aber verschiedene, beedes gewesene Dienstboten und aus Teutschland überkomende, gern bey uns zu Germantown bleiben und wohnen wolten, vergrösserten wir die anzahl der losen auf 55. Jngleichen hatte unserer Jntention nach die lange strasz in einer geraden Nord West linj durch gantz Germantown lauffen und die zwerchstraszen recht gegen einander über und von einerley Weite seyn sollen; welches doch die darzwischen fallende Sümpff und unbequemheiten; hauptsächl: aber die mit dem Volk anwachsende diversität der Sinnen und andere dergestaltige umbstände verhindert haben.

Zum beschlusz mag ich wohl mit einem angehenckten NB. denen Nachkömlingen zu wissen fügen, dasz German Towns vornehmste eusserliche Auffnehmen (: wofern bereits so zu reden geziemet :) vom Flachs bau, spinnen und weben herrühre; und sonder

Zweifel durch dieses Kräutlein auch hinfüro die Armuth und Dürftigkeit noch vieler curirt werden könne; weshalb daß daselbe mit gebühlichem Fleiss zu säen und wahr zu nehmen ist.

“Hiermit nun abbrechende, wünsche ich von hertzen, dasz die leider! schon all zu viel überthätige Zwietracht und Uneinigkeit aus der Germantowner hertzen und gemüthern gänzlich vertilgt werde, sie sämtlich aber, alte und Junge, grosse und kleine in wahrer Liebe zu Gott und ihrem Neben Menschen fromm und gerecht leben, gedultig leiden, selig sterben, und so in die Ewige Ruh u. Herrlichkeit eingehen mögen! Amen.

Frantz Daniel Pastorius.”

Translation.

“Hail to Posterity!
Hail future men of Germanopolis!
Let the young generations yet to be
Look kindly upon this.
Think how your fathers left their native land,—
Dear German land! O sacred hearths and homes!—
And where the wild beast roams
In patience planned
New forest homes beyond the mighty sea,
There undisturbed and free
To live as brothers of one family,
What pains and cares befell,
What trials and what fears,
Remember, and wherein we have done well
Follow our footsteps, men of coming years!
Where we have failed to do
Aright, or wisely live,
Be warned by us, the better way pursue,
And knowing we were human, even as you,
Pity us and forgive!
Farewell, Posterity!
Farewell, dear Germany!
Forevermore farewell!

F. D. P.”^{10a}

Address to posterity and all who shall continue or keep up this Land Record.

DEAR AND BELOVED SUCCESSORS. In order that you may know at all times by whom, when, how, and why the so-called Germantownship was begun and that the origin, noteworthy

^{10a} The verses are from Whittier's *Pennsylvania Pilgrim*.

hardships and well-meaning purpose of your forefathers may be briefly disclosed to you, I have considered it my duty to add a little about it here by way of preface. In the beginning, then, after Charles, King of England, the second of this name, by the special Providence of the Most High and for weighty considerations had granted and ceded to William Penn and his heirs the Province of Pennsylvania in a public charter dated March 4th, 1680, a number of persons in High and Low Germany (whose names may be seen in the general patent or grant of this Germantownship p. 1) among others were led to purchase of the said William Penn through Benjamin Furly his plenipotentiary at Rotterdam in Holland 43000 acres of land in all in the above mentioned Province of Pennsylvania, with the confident expectation that by fleeing hither from Europe, as it were into a second Pellam, we might escape the disturbances and oppressions of that time, and, likewise transport other honest and industrious people in order that we might lead a quiet, peaceful, Godly life under the rule of the oft-mentioned William Penn, which it is hoped, will be just and benign. On the second day of the second month (April) 1683, I, Francis Daniel Pastorius (a forerunner presumably of many honest countrymen who are to follow), began the journey and arrived the 20th of the sixth month (August) with a number of hired men and maids, God be praised, safe and sound, in Philadelphia. Soon afterwards, viz. on the 6th of the eighth month (October) arrived likewise in Philadelphia Dirck and Herman and Abraham Isaacs op den Graeff, Lenert Arets, Tunes Kunders, Reinert Tisen, Wilhelm Strepers, Jan Lensen, Peter Keurlis, Jan Simens, Johannes Bleickers, Abraham Tunes, and Jan Lücken, with their respective wives, children, and servants, together thirteen families, when we without delay requested of William Penn that he should have laid out and surveyed in one tract on a navigable stream all the land bought by the above mentioned High and Low Germans.

Inasmuch as he could not accede to our wishes in this matter, but offered a township some miles above the Falls of the Schuylkill not far from the city of Philadelphia, awaiting the arrival of a number of families, we examined the land, and, as it was not suitable for us because of its high hills, we requested William Penn that he grant us the township on more level ground in the wooded region, to which he agreed and afterwards on the 24th of October had fourteen lots or hereditary shares, surveyed by Thomas Fairman, for which the above mentioned thirteen families drew lots on the 25th of the same month, and began forthwith to construct cellars and houses, in which they spent the winter, not without great hardships.

We called the place Germantown, which signifies likewise the

city of Germans and the city of Brothers; some gave it the name Armentown (Poortown) because many of the aforesaid settlers could not procure themselves provision for even a few weeks much less months. And it cannot be adequately described nor believed by the more prosperous decedents, in what want and poverty, but at the same time with what Christian contentment and unwearied industry this Germantown was begun.

Therefore, the frequent earnest encouragement and actual assistance of William Penn, who has often been mentioned, are not to be forgotten; also the fact that when he had sailed to England, and the courage of some of the inhabitants had failed at the thought of the previous year, so that they wished to take up their abode elsewhere, which however was prevented by his continued encouragement; and you now have reason on both accounts to gratefully praise the fatherly goodness and care of God.

Anno 1684, the 20th and following days of the 12th month (February) the tract of the German township viz., 6000 acres according to the purport of the warrant issued by William Penn and delivered to the Surveyor General's office, was surveyed; but shortly afterwards by his order 1000 acres of it along the Schuylkill were again cut off (regardless of what we could say against it). Thus it remained until this our German township was again surveyed a second time by Thomas Fairman on the 29th of December, and this time with scrupulous accuracy and found to contain 5700 acres of land for which we have taken out the patent or land charter copied on the next page.

Moreover, at the same time the whole and half lots were surveyed in proper order to the inhabitants of Germantown, all and singly, as may be seen more clearly from the draft or chart and this book, namely, 2750 acres. On the 4th of the second month (April) 1689, the purchasers and hereditary tenants to whom the remaining 2950 acres of the German township belong, distributed this land among themselves, by lot, into three separate villages, and, on the 14th of the 11th month (January) 1690, had it laid off by Thomas Fairman, and called the nearest portion, adjoining Germantown, Krissheim, the middle portion Sommerhausen, after my native city, and the farthest portion Crefeld, as is shown more in detail on page 2. In this connection it is to be incidentally remembered that we, the beginners in this work, because of the lack of sufficient experience in such things, have done many things which we afterwards must ourselves change or recommend to our wiser successors for improvement. For because of the difficult clearing of the woodland, etc., we laid out in the beginning only seven-rod tracts or lots, but afterwards when we were able to get along better with such difficult labor, we added to these lots seven rods and

four feet. Then, too, our first intention was to stop with 25 lots; accordingly, we then reserved an acre for a market place, a graveyard, and also for public buildings on the west side in front of the sixth lot by a cross street in the middle of the town; but inasmuch as a number of former servants and others arriving from Germany wished to remain and live with us in Germantown, we increased the number of lots to 55. In like manner, it was our intention that the long street was to run in a straight northwest line through the entire village of Germantown, and the cross streets directly opposite each other and of one width, which, however, the intervening swamps and inconveniences, but chiefly the growing diversity of opinion among the people, prevented.

In conclusion, I may properly add with an appended N. B., for the information of those that are to follow, that Germantown's most prominent external prosperity, so far as it is befitting to speak of such at this early stage, is due to flax raising, spinning, and weaving, and doubtless by means of this little plant, also in the future the poverty and want of many can yet be remedied, and for this reason it should be sown and cared for with becoming industry. Closing with this, I wish sincerely that the dissension and strife which, alas! are all too rife, may be entirely erased from the hearts and minds of the people of Germantown, and that they all, old and young, great and small, may live piously and honestly in true love to God and their neighbors, suffer in patience, die happy, and thus enter into eternal peace and glory. Amen.

Franz Daniel Pastorius."

5.

A Record | of Friends Certificates of Marriage | belonging to the Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia 1672.

The first marriages recorded took place in England. The last entry in Pastorius's hand is dated "15th, 4th, 1699." The record is then continued in another hand.

PASTORIUS' MANUSCRIPTS AND PRINTED BOOKS.²⁸

A complete list of books in Pastorius' library is preserved in his own hand and is here printed:

An Manuscriptis habe ich

²⁸ An earlier and slightly variant but less complete list is found in the *Beehive*, p. 386. The list here given is taken from the *Res Propriae*, which is later than the *Beehive*. Seidensticker (*First Century of German Printing in America*) printed the shorter list.



TITLE PAGE OF FRANCIS DANIEL PASTORIUS' BOOK OF FORMS, "THE YOUNG COUNTRY CLERK'S COLLECTION."

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LIBRARY

In Folio.

1. Alvearium or Alphabetical Hive.

In Quarto.

1. Academische Spaarstunden.
2. Miscellanea Theologico-Moralia.
3. Exercit. Arithmet.
4. Emblematical Recreations.
5. Ein dick ungeschrieben buch.
6. Young Countrey-Clerk.
7. Confusanea Geometriae.
8. Grammatical Rudiments of the Latin Tongue.
9. Pensylvane. Gesetz. Item Germantone. Statutae.
10. Deliciae hortenses & Voluptates Apianae.
11. Anleitung zur Englischen Sprach.
12. Poetica Pastoriana.
13. Moral Sayings meeterly Versified.
14. Johannis Godtmanni Speculum Sapientiae.
15. W^m Peñs Schlüssel von mir übersetzt.
16. An Omer full of Maña for my Ship-mates.
17. Good Counsel for bad Lawyers & Attornies.
18. Vaticinium de Reditu Guillielmi Penni.
19. A Compendium of Arithmetick.

In Octavo.

1. Meine Reisbeschreibung od Jtinerarium.
2. Phraseologia Teutonica.
3. Academischer Spaar-Stunden Vorlauffer od Miscellanea prima.
4. Liber Epitaphiorum.
5. Artzney- und Kuntsbüchlein.
6. Haushaltungs-Reguln.
7. Rudimento Linguae Angl.
8. Collections Biblicae oder Theologica Anglicana in grün Pergament nebenst vielen andern, so uneingebunden.
9. Melligo Sententiarum latinè.
10. Calendarium Calendariorum.
11. Angling & other Tracts of Husbandry.
12. The Monthly Monitor.
13. Discipline of the Church of Christ.
14. Deliciae hortenses Germanopolitanae.
15. Arithmetick and Copies.
16. Apiarium: oder Bienen-büchlein.

17. Onomastical Considerations.
18. Bernh. Pet. Karl's Catechism English'd by me.
19. English Rhymes. twice.
20. W^m Peñs Früchte der Einsamk, von mir verteutsch.
21. Alvearialia.
22. Private Annotations.
23. A Fascicle of Several Mens Mscripts.
24. J Saml. Pastorius his Cherry harvest of Arithmet.

In Duodecimo.

1. Law-Terms added to the Compleat Justice.
2. Additamenta ad Feñe's Gramaticam Gallicam.
3. - - - ad Caffae - - - Jtalicam.
4. - - - ad the Writing Scholars Companion.
5. Latinae Primordia Linguae.
6. Ein geschr. Anhang an Tim. Rolls Garten-büchlein.
7. Spiegel eines wahrhaftig bekehrten Christen.

An Land-Charten, Die 4 Welltheil u. Teutschland.

NB. Mein zu Altorff gewesener Stubengesell Willhelm von Düten J. U. Lic. enthielt mir 2. geschriebene Phrasesbüchlein.

[Two works at least, which are known to have existed, but are not included in this list, are:

1. Res Propriæ.
2. Cash Book.]

An Gedruckten Büchern habe ich theils mit ins land gebracht, theils verehrt bekom̃en, auch einige wenige gekauft: Hingegen andere verkaufft und weggegeben, als hier mit angemerckt steht.

In Folio.

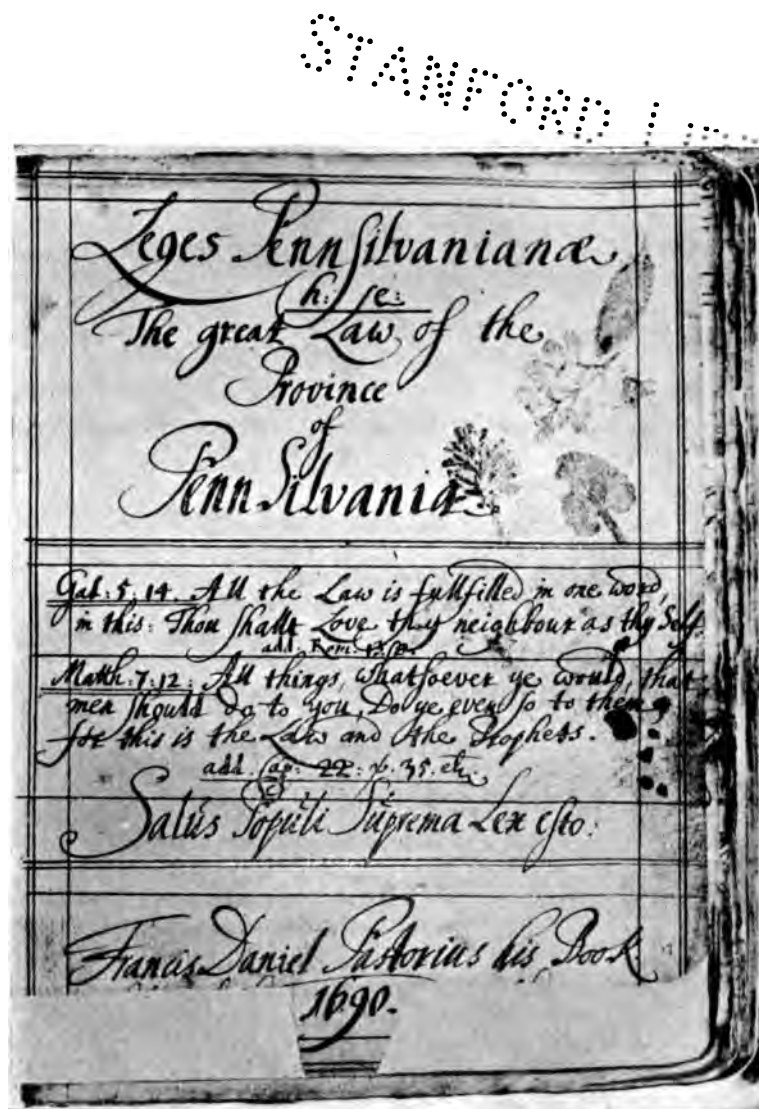
1. Ed: Leighij. Critica Sacra.
2. Der Staten Bibel.
3. Cambridge Concordance.
4. Hohbergs Georgica Curiosa.
5. Tabulae Chronologicae Helmstadiensis.
6. Sebast. Franckens Cosmographia.
7. Nich. Bayard's Tryal for high Treason.
8. An Act for Ascertaining the Currency of Money.
9. The Bishops Declaration.
10. John Casimir's Catalogue of Medicines.
11. G. Fox to the Planters in America.
12. Philaretus agt. Swearing & Cursing.

13. Concerning Election of Assembly men.
14. Conc. Cæsar's Due.
15. Th. Layths Warning.
16. Joh Clausen Zeugnisz.
17. Ben. Fletcher's Proclamation.
18. Geo. Joy's Complaint agt New England.
19. D. Erberfelds frauen leich-Reimen.
20. Proceeding agt Rebels.
21. Yearly Meeting Epistles.
22. G Keiths Appeal.
23. Tho. Budd agt W^m Peñ.

In Quarto.

1. An English Bible, printed at Oxford.
2. Rob. Barclay's Apology.
3. Ein Hochteutsche Bible, gedruckt zu Lünenburg.
4. A Collection of several Friends Writings.
5. Nich. Hunt's Newborn Christian.
6. Joh. Henr. Voigts prognostica.
7. Ant. W^m Boehm. fun. Sermon to Pr Geo: twice, gave to each one.
8. Jac. Telner's Treatise.
9. Dan. Leeds rebuked.
10. Js. Peñingtons Wegh des Levens ende Doots. to Henry P.
11. Rob. Barcl. Apology nederduytisch. to Henry P.
12. Du Mont's Reyse naa het Oosten.
13. Fragmentum Alcorani, in hochteutsch.
14. J. Tauleri Kern-lehr.
15. Casp. Panthesij Jtinerarium.
16. Geo: Keith's Universal Grace asserted.
17. Marg. Fells Standard of the Lord revealed.
18. An Abstract of the Laws of Peñsilva.
19. In einem Band: Jn-liefde tot de Verloorene. Js. Peñingt. wegh des levens en doots. W Ames van den Wegh des levens. W. Pens Waarheynt ontdecht. J. Park's Chr. Jesus verhooght. G. Fox wat wy van Christo geloven. M F. Vrouwen Spreken. Fr. Howgils heerlyckheynt van de waere Kerch. Stephen Crips geklanck des alarms. Bened Figken beantworet. Jtem Gerrit Roosen. Jt: ein Jesuit. Jt. Ds Minist. zu Hamburg Verschiedene Sendbrief. Morgan Watkins Marks of the true Church. Nic. Knights Comparison between true & false Ministers. Tho. Hudchinsons forced Uniformity. R. Farnsworths pure langvage, & W. Peñs farewell.

20. Sonst Zusammen gebunden: Pens & Meads Tryal. W. Pens Answ: to a libell. Ejusd. Answ: to a Letter. W. Shewens agt. Talebearers. G. Foxes line of right. Clergy-mans letter to a Clergy man. A letter to R. Bridgeman Shipton Wives & others prophecies.
21. G. Foxes Vision. [?] Beware of Seducing Spirits. Quakers no plotters. An answ: to Semper Jdem. agt. persecution. Qrs. assemblies vindicated.
22. W. P. Continued Cry of the Oppressed for Justice. G. Benson conc: Oaths & Swearing. Th. Ellwoods Caution to Constables. Ben. Lindleys Shibolet of Priesthood. R. Haydocks Skirmisher Confounded. Tam Quam for Jurors. Jñocency defended agt. Lord Cornbury. Dying-words of some young men.
23. G Whiteheads Truth & Jñocency vindicated. Answer to Lod. Muggleton. the Anabaptists lying wonder. religious Meetings no Conventicles.
24. E. Burne's Looking Glass. W. Smiths earthly Wisdom Confounded. J. Parke's God's Judgments upon the wicked world. J. S.'s the Case of Qrs. conc: Oathes. the Case of protestant dissenters, shewing those to be no papists, & the Law of absenting from Church not agt. them.
25. Dan. Leeds rebuked. G Keith proved a prevaricator: proteus Ecclesiasticus, or G K proved an Apostate. the Bomb Search'd. Remarks upon the great Mystery of Fox-Craft. J. Wyeth's Vindication of W. P.
26. G Ks refutation of 3. Opposers to Truth. Ejusd Serious Appeal. Qrs. of Rhode Island vindicated. G Ks plea of the Innocent. Ejusd. Some Fundamental Truths. Ejusd. Expostulation with Tho: Lloid. An Exhortation conc: buying of Negroes. Gross Error & hypocrasie detected in Geo: Whitehead. W^m Lancasters questions.
27. the Rulers & Priests of Somersset shire persecuting the faithful Witnesses of the Lord.
28. John Perrots Epistle &c. & Judas his 30. pieces.
29. G. Foxes family order of Whites, Blacks & Jndians. Appeal that there may not be a beggar in England. Wm. Shewen agt. Talebearers.
30. W^m Russels No Seventh-day-Sabbath.
31. A short View of the Prelatical Church of England.
32. Hen. Bernh Kösters Advice for all Professors.
33. Edw. Coote's English School-master.
34. Ziegenbalgs bericht aus Tranquebar. R. Coppers 2. Schreiben. T. L. Kohlhansen schrift an die Obrigkeit zu Dantzig.



OLDEST TITLE PAGE OF PASTORIUS' COPY OF THE "LAWS OF PENNSYLVANIA".

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1

1

35. Wederlegginge H. Jungs. G. Foxen Sendbrief u. Richt
snoer. P. Hendricks Answ: aen Gerrit Roosen. R
Barcl: brief aan de Ambass. tot Niñegen. St Crisps
Oorsaecken van de Ellende der Nederlanden. Spiegel
voor de Stad Emden. Jt. voor Niew-York door J. T.
G Ks antw op XI. Vragen. S Crisps Klaren Wegh.
36. G. Foxen antw: an Tob. Stietman. P. Henrichs ad
eundem. R. Barcl. Antw. an Ben. Figken. G. Fox ad
eundem. Jtem an Adrian Pauli.
37. S. Crisps Klang des Allarms. G. Fox von d tauß. James
Parnels Untersuchung des glaubens. W. Catons Wort
zu rechter Zeit. W. Ames Guter Rath. G. Fox wider
Verfolgung. Antw. an Ben. Figken. Jt. an Gerrit
Roosen. W. Gibsons Ansprach an die Obr. zu Dant-
zig. G Foxen Warnung an die Obr. zu Hamburg.
38. Disputatio Jnauguralis F. D. P.
39. W. Catons een Woort ter rechten tyt. M. F. vrouwen.
Spreeken gerechtvaerdigt. Fr. Howgils Erfdeel Jakobs.
W. Catons Ondersoeker voldae. W. P. Christenryck
gedagvaart. M. Stephensons Roep van de Dott tot het
leven.
40. Fr. Howgils Eröffnung des bauchs der Morgenröthe.
Edw. Burroughs Baniere allen Völckern dargestellt.
Warumb die Qrs d. Weltlehrer verleugnen. G. Fox an
alle König. Ejusd. Sendschreiben an John III König in
Pohlen.
41. Den Grooten en Witten Duyvel.
42. De Bisschop voor Groningen, Tragi-Comedie.
43. Joh. Rode Baniere of Standaert des Heeren.
44. Quadrans Astronomicus & Geometricus.
45. Conductor Generalis, Or a Guide for Constables. &c. 1686.

In Great Octavo.

1. B. Ariæ Montani Nov. Test. Graeco-lat.
2. Elisha Coles Dictionary.
3. Biñarti Dictionarium Belgico-lat.
4. Nath. Duez Diction: Jtalico-Gallicum.
5. Mich. Pexenfelder Apparatus Eruditionis.
6. Macarij u. anderer Altvätter Schrifften.
7. Claude Mauger's Gramaire Françoise.

In Octavo.

1. An English Bible printed at Oxford.
2. Pauli Tossani Loci Cōmunes Theologici.
3. Jer. Dyke's good Conscience.
4. Nich. Culpper's English Physician.

5. Jac. Schützij Compedium Juris Civilis.
6. Andr. Reyheri Manuductio Poetica.
7. Comenij Lexicon Atriale.
8. Ejusd. Janua Lingu: Lat: Germ: Gall: & Ital.
9. Ejusd. Janua Lingu. Lat: & Angl.
10. Joh. Val. Andreae Menippus.
11. Melch. Ad. Pastorij Contemplatio terrestr. Vanitatum.
12. Bart. Keckernañi Systema Logicae.
13. Riverij Observationes Medicae.
14. Pet. Rami Praelectiones in Virgilij Georgica.
15. Joh. Boemi Mores omnium Gentium.
16. Le Maitre d'hotch verehrt an Elisabeth Hill.
17. Xtian Keiman Gramatica Graeca.
18. Lutheri Teutsche Bibel. gegeben an Heinrich P.
19. Ejusd. Neu Testament, cum Judice Manuscripto.
20. Felbingers neu Testament.
21. Rob. Barclay's Catechismus in Latein.
22. — Jtem in English. to J. Samuel Pastorius.
23. — Jtem in Nieder-teutsch. to Henry P.
24. Tho. Chalkley's loving Jnvitation. twice. gave to each one.
25. Wm. Penn's Call to Christendom.
26. Wm. Dell's Laerdom om Daabe.
27. Betrübter Seelen Heiligthum.
28. Wm. Penns No Cross, No Crown.
29. Rob. Barclay's English Catechism bought for 1s.
30. Dan. Leed's Trumpet, for 1s.
31. the 12. Patriarch's Testamts. twice, for 2s. to each one.
32. A Short Jntroduction of Gramar. for 10d.
33. Wil Bartjens Cyfferinge.
34. Christ All in All, & Woe to Drunkards.
35. R. H. the young Clerks Guide.
36. Edw. Cocker the young Clerk's Tutor.
37. Wel-Levens-Kunst.
38. The Elements of Geometrie.
39. Old Almanacks.
40. Kohlhansens Eriñerung.
41. Ejusd. Anmerkungen.
42. Ejusd. abscheul. finsterniss.
43. P. Henr. Entdecker Entdeckt.
44. St. Crisps Triumph d Wahrheit.
45. Th. Lawson's Antwort.
46. The Young Mans Companion.
47. The privilege of Liberty & Property.
48. Geo. Fox the Younger's Collection.
49. G. F. & E. H. Arraignmt. of Popery.
50. E. P. Rabshakeh rebuked.

51. Th. Elwoods Answer to G. Ks. Narrative.
52. Kohlhansens Schrifften wider Löbern.
- auch sein und mein Brief an die Pietisten.
53. Rich. Baker's Testimony to the power of God.
54. Guill Penn's la Clef.
55. J. Bockett's ye poor mechanick's Plea.
56. Jos. Wyeth's primitive Christianity continued.
57. Th. Elwood's Truth Defended.
58. G. Keith's pretended antidote proved Poyson.
59. Dan. Leeds News of a Trumpet.
60. Pietas Hallensis. part 2d & Progress of the Conversion of the Malabarians. part 2d.
61. Jerem. Love's Clavis Medicinæ.
62. Hinr. Meisznerns Arithmet: Blumgärtlein.
63. Steven Crisp's Triumph der Wahrheit.
64. Th. Lawsons Antwort an Zentgraff.
65. A just Censure of Fr. Bugg's address to the Parliamt.
66. W^m. Davis's Answ: to John Wats.
67. A Letter to Mons. Pettecum.
68. Reflexions on the State of the Church Universal.
69. Ant. Will Boehm's Sermon on ye day of Epiphany.
70. Pet. Henrich's Antwort an P. Reinhard Hermanni.
71. G. Foxen Sent-brief.
72. John Tribbeko's Farewel-Sermon to the Palatines.
73. Pet. Hendrich's algemeene Sendbrief.
- & Benj. Furley's Wederlegger wederleght.
74. Geo. Foxe's la primitive Ordination des Evéques.
75. Dan. Leeds brief Reply to Caleb Pusey's mscript.
76. Abr. Fuller's Testimony concerning his Son Joseph.
77. Zusam̃ gebunden: M. J. Baurin abschieds-reden. Disquisitio de SS: Trinitate. Arnds Vorred. Justiniani bekehrung ungläubiger Völcker, Jt.: Verlaugnung sein-selt. Geist. lieder. the Christian a Quaker. good husbandry. Geode Vrydag. der Vlamingen geloofs Confessie. Felbingers Politien. Christ: huyshoudinge. Betkij leidens gemeinschaft. Lobwasser vom Reich Christi. Joh. Michaelis Glaubens grund. Domin. Beer ged: über Biblische Sprüch.
78. Van Gods Voorweetenschap en's Menssn Vrye Werking.
79. Dirk Muller's Christelycke Gesangen van Christus.
80. Spiegel der lydsame Heyligen.
81. Wortel der Nederlantsche Oorloghen.
82. Le Guide de Londres. 1710.
83. Le Nouveau Testament. à Mons. 1677.
84. Claudius Mauger's French Gramer, 1688, an Heinrich P.

In Duodecimo.

1. Th. Tryon's Miscellanea. 19:2d.
2. Ejusd. Some Memoirs of his Life.
3. The Compleat Justice.
4. The young Secretaries Guide.
5. Joh. Arnds Wahres Christenthum, sold for 15^s.
6. Statij Schatzkammer der glaubigen, for 10^s. Speñer's priestherthum, for 2^s.
7. Wm. Shewen's Christian Faith & Experience.
8. Ejusd. Council to the Christian Traveller.
9. Spira respirans.
10. Meditationi di S. Agostino.
11. Subyte Geestelycke Meditatie by J. Clemens.
12. Freyburgers Chiliasmus Sanctus.
13. Adam Reussners Psalmenbuch.
14. Ralph Venning's Orthodox Paradoxes.
15. Theatrum Poetarum by Edw. Phillips.
16. Welt-Alter.
17. Cheureau L'Ecole du Sage.
18. Comenij Synopsis Physicæ.
19. L. An. Senecæ Opera.
20. Guil Amesij Casus Conscientiæ.
21. J. Soet's Wintersche Avonden.
22. Geo: Hornij Orbis Imperans & Politicus.
23. Ejusd. Arca Mosis.
24. W. C. Kriegsmann von Einzeln Zusammenkünften.
25. John Seller's hydrographia.
26. An English Bible bought of Rich. vander Werf for 17s.
was spoiled by J. Pettinger, to H. P.
28. The Writing Scholars Companion. for 1^s. 3^d.
29. J. D. Grammatica Hispanica. Grammaire Espagnole.
30. Fr. de Fene Grammatica Gallica
31. Caroli Caffæ Gram. Italica. { cum Annotat.
 { manuscriptis.
32. Tho. Upsher's Epistle to Friends in Ireland.
33. Jac. Böhmens Aurora.
34. Ejusd. Weg zu Christo.
35. The Negro Christianized.
36. A Catalogue of Books.
37. Jer. Dykens Würdiger Tischgenoss.
38. Wil. Saldeni Christliche Kinderschul.
39. Ladies rich Closet of Rarities, lent to Eliz. Hood.
40. And. Schotti Itinerarium Italiae.
41. Jod. Sinceri Itinerarium Galliae.
42. Weghweyser door Vranckryck.
43. Gotfr. Hegenitij Itinerarium.
44. Mart. Beers Enchiridion Geographiae.

45. Fr. Heerman's guldene Annotatien.
46. Defensie van D. Martin Luther.
47. D. J. Bedæ Judicium de bonorum Seccessione à malis.
48. Dr. Jac. Spenneri pia desideria.
49. Raed aen de gescheyrde Christenhyt.
50. La Lyturgie ou Prieres publiques.
51. Catechisme familial par Phillippe le Noir.
52. The English Schoolmaster.
53. Tim. Rolls Blumen Büchlein.
54. M. A. Pastorijs Soliloquia. Ejusd. Institutio Xtiana.
55. Wasenburgij gheestelycke Scheepvært. an Mar-Sprick.
56. G. Foxe's Primmer.
57. Keache's Instruction for Children.
58. Lubini Clavis Græce linguæ.
59. Dictionariolum Germ: Gall: Latinum.
60. Histoire Amoureuse des Gaules.
61. Char. Hooles Vocabularium parvum.
62. Ein anders von 8. Sprachen.
63. John Tomkin's Trumpet Sounded. & W^m. Tomlinson's short work of greatest Concern.
64. J. Aug. Lietzheimer- u. August Herman Franckens Schrifften.
65. Keñzeichen eines Wahren Christen.
66. Corn. Drebelij de Naturâ elementorum.
67. Nich. Bifield's Signs of a godly man.
68. Henr. Corn. Agrippa de Vanitate Scientiarum.
69. J: Axford's hidden things brought to Light.
70. Oliver Heywood's heavenly Converse.
71. Mar. Jul. Baurin lebens-lauff.
72. W^m. Peñs Expostulacon with the Jnhah. of Pensilva.
73. An Essay towards the peace of Europe.
74. Edw. Cooks Reports.
75. Hier Cardani Neroos Lof (?)

In 24°.

1. Joh. Wollebij Compendium Theologiæ.
2. Edw. Cooks Reports in 12°.
3. Graad Boecxken.
4. Ben. Baxter's Cases of Difficulty.
5. [crossed out]
6. Bacchean Magazine by W. Y.
7. Pauli Egardi Königlich Priesterthum.
8. Micro-Cosmographie.
9. Ch. Marshall's Epistle.
10. Lutheri Neu Testament.
11. Lud. Baily's übung der Gottseligkeit.
12. Joh. Jonstonij Constantia Naturæ.

13. Th. a Kempis 4. libri de Imitatione Christi. in latein.
14. Jtem, in English, given to Sarah Goodson.
15. Jtem, in French.
16. Joseph Hall's beschaffenheit eines wahren Christen.
17. Gedenkbüchlein, und Psalmen Davids.
18. Joh. Matthiæ Ramus Olivæ Septentr.
19. Er. Roterod. Encomium Moriæ.
20. Dionisij Speculum Amatorum Mundi.
21. J. H. Horbij Von Gott besuchtes Wintzheim.
22. Enchiridion of Popish Devotion.
23. Gesangbüchlein.
24. Nieder Teutsch Testament. Sold for 4^s.

Although the range of Pastorius's reading in English literature includes the Venerable Bede among the Church Fathers, and Chaucer among the poets, he seems to have known nothing of Shakespeare. Indeed, it is surprising that in the century when English comedians had made a deep impression upon the German stage, including in their repertoire a number of Shakespeare's plays, a German scholar like Pastorius, who had himself been in England in the early eighties of that same century, should not once mention the name of the Bard of Avon. This shows how little the personality of Shakespeare meant to the Continent, as for that matter, to England itself, in the second half of the seventeenth century, and it explains the dazzling effect of the discovery of Shakespeare's genius in the middle of the eighteenth century in Germany.

On the other hand, Pastorius was strongly influenced by the religious literature of England, as may be clearly seen from the title of the books from which he made extracts for his *Beehive*, and from the works mentioned in his library, as well as from the enormous collection of Quakeriana and other works mentioned or recommended in the *Beehive*.

The poetic technique exhibited in his poems is that of the seventeenth century. The Alexandrine is perhaps the most prominent form of verse in Pastorius's serious poems. The poems dedicated to the daughters of Thomas Lloyd and to William Penn and others are written for the most part in Alexandrines.

An equally frequent form is the "Knittelvers" of Hans

Sachs.²⁰ Instead of the rimed couplets, which are the rule in Hans Sachs, Pastorius occasionally continues the same rime scheme for ten or more verses, as in the poem on books.²¹ Another form of verse quite frequently employed is the four-stress trochaic verse which is derived from the mediaeval Latin hymn.²² In addition to these very typical forms of verse Pastorius employed a great variety of shorter verse-forms, combining them frequently into strophic groups of unusual rhythmical effect. Even the antique is reflected in his work, but he seems to have preferred for his own thought the metrical forms of the period lying closer to his own time. There is little evidence that he was particularly interested in the content of the writings of either the First or Second Silesian School of Poets. He seems to have drawn his inspiration, like Opitz and Fleming, from earlier sources.

PASTORIUS'S LAST DAYS.

Although Pastorius seems to have had a "choleric" temperament, suggesting physical disorder, he seems to have enjoyed general good health. Nevertheless he had a number of severe illnesses and seems to have had his share of malaria, which then sprang up spontaneously out of the new soil and densely wooded swamps. He relates that seventeen months after his arrival he was attacked by a severe exhausting fever, January 23, 1685, which jeopardized his life. Then in 1713 he suffered intensely from a gathering on the thigh, which healed only after a long time, during which period he re-wrote his treatise on *Good Counsel to Bad Lawyers and Attorneys*. The next year, May 16, 1714, he had another attack of fever (such as he had frequently experienced and cured it with rum and pepperberries), curing it with Epsom salt. February 25th, 1716-17 he was seized with a severe cough and expectoration, and, after holding out some days in the schoolroom, was attacked by a fever and was criti-

²⁰ Cf. The poems entitled: *Zur Zeit der Anno 1692 in Pennsylvanien entstandenen Trennung..* (Printed from the *Beehive* in *Americana Germanica* I, 4, pp. 107-110.)

²¹ *Silvula Rhythmorum Germanopolitanorum*, No. 35. (Cf. *Americana Germanica* I, 4, pp. 106-7.)

²² Cf. the Latin Epistle addressed to Schumbergius. (Cf. *Silvula*, No. 121 in the *Beehive* and also *F. D. P.* and the *Beschreibung*.)

cally ill, but recovered his appetite after three weeks. He mentions Griffith Owen, Richard and Hannah Hill, Samuel Preston, Isaac and Mary Norris and "several of the Germans" as having been very kind and attentive to him during this illness.

We learn here incidentally that Pastorius was still teaching school in 1716-17 within some two years of the time of his death. The attack last described was evidently pneumonia or incipient tuberculosis and showed a deterioration of his system.

The exact date of Pastorius's death is not known, but was between December 26th, 1719, the date of his will, and January 13th, 1720, the date the will was proven. In his will he described himself as "being at present very sick and weak in body." The inventory of his effects was filed January 21st, 1720. The late D. P. Bruner left this note:

"I think he must have died unexpectedly, December 27, 1719."

The older statements that Pastorius died September 27th, 1719, as recorded in the *Beehive*, by Henry Pastorius, his son, is evidently a mistake, as Pastorius wrote and witnessed a deed from Reese Potts and Elizabeth, his wife, to John Cunrads the "First day of October in the sixth year of the reign of King George over Great Britain, &c., A. D., 1719."

He was interred presumably in the Friends' Burying Ground,^{28a} in Germantown, although neither record nor tombstone tells us where.

It was fitting that he who cared so little for the esteem of the world while he lived should, like his fellow Pietests and Friends, rest in obscurity in the little German Town, which has

^{28a} Mr. Edwin C. Jellett, of Germantown, under date of Sep. 3, 1908, kindly sent me the following letter after this chapter was in press:

"There is a tradition in Germantown, that he was buried in the 'Geissler Burying Ground.' This I believe, though I cannot prove. Pastorius, you well know, lived on the 'Great Road,' between D. Geissler and J. Doeden. With Geissler lived Dr. Witt; and both were friends of Pastorius. In early Germantown it was not usual to bury on home grounds, but Geissler laid out a private ground, and the right to its use he reserved at the time of sale. Both Geissler and Witt were buried in this lot, and the tradition is that Kelpius and Pastorius were also buried in it. The lot is now partially covered by the vestry room of St. Michael's P. E. Church. Hoping this may be new to you, I am,

Very sincerely and truly yours,

EDWIN C. JELLETT.

I Francis Daniel Pastorius of Germantown in the County of Philadelphia
 being at present very sick and weak in body, but of a sound and
 disposing mind, memory and judgment, I have as be to God therefore
 to make this my last will and testament concerning my small worldly estate
 in manner following, that is to say, I give, devise, give and bequeath
 unto my Eldest Son John Samuel Pastorius fifty acres in Germantown
 above lately conveyed to him by me and my wife by deed of sale
 duly executed and recorded from I give and bequeath unto the
 same my eldest son three hundred acres of land in the aforesaid
 County lying at North East Branch of Marple Creek &
 at the North West end of my tract granted unto me by Patent
 to have and to hold both the said fifty acres and two hundred
 acres with the hereditaments and appurtenances thereof to
 him his heirs & assigns forever from I give and bequeath to
 my Eldest son an English Bible in 42 and a weavers loom
 and harness thereunto belonging as also a gun from I
 give and bequeath unto my youngest son Henry Pastorius
 three hundred acres of the above mentioned Land situate
 and lying at opposite side of my said tract adjoining to the
 Land of James Dickinsons to have and to hold the said three
 hundred acres with the hereditaments and appurtenances
 thereof to him his heirs and assigns forever, from I give
 and bequeath to the said my youngest son an English Bible in
 82 and all the tools belonging to the Shoemakers trade toge-
 ther with my silver watch, from I give and bequeath unto
 my two aforesaid sons all and singular my Manuscripts to
 make use of them mutually, or interchangeably one of either
 of them dies unto the survivor ^{and the heirs of the deceased} from I give and bequeath
 unto my said sons all my other books whatsoever to divide
 them between them selfs share and share alike, from I devise
 give and bequeath unto my dear wife Anne Pastorius the
 Reversion of the above said tract viz three hundred and ninety three
 acres of Land with full Power and authority to sell the same
 unto such Persons as shee shall think fit and sign seal and
 deliver and acknowledge deeds of Conveyance according to Law

WILL OF FRANCIS DANIEL PASTORIUS

I then I give and bequeath unto my 3^d wife all the profits of
the one hundred and seven acres in German town aforesd henceforth
lawfully to be recovered. But if she do not sell her abovementioned
three hundred and ninty three Acres my will is that the same shall
be divided in two equal shares between my 3^d two sons the eldest
to have the choice of the shares, and that what shall be received
of the last mentioned one hundred and seven acres in German town
like wise to be equally parted betwixt them or their heirs.
I then I give and bequeath unto my 3^d wife all my personall
estate and book debts during the full term of her naturall
life, and after her decease equally to be parted betwixt my
two sons or their heirs, I then I nominate and appoint my
3^d wife Anne Pastorius sole and whole executrix of this
my last will and testament, and from and immediately after
her death I constitute my afore 3^d two sons Joynt Exe-
cutors thereof. Finally I here by revoke and disannull all
former wills and legacies at any time heretofore by me
in any wise made and bequeathed, declaring this alone and
no other to be my last will and testament, In witness
whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal, this
six and twentieth day of December Anno Domini 1719

Signed sealed published
and delivered by the abovesd
Testator as his last will
and testament, In the
Presence of us
after y^e words (and the heirs
of the deceased) were
interlined)

Francis Daniel Pastorius

Anna Pastorius
Conrad Conrad
George Brunghurst

The Inventory of all and singular the goods Chattels
and Credits of Francis Daniel Pastorius late of
Germantown in the County of Philad^a Yeoman
deceased Taken and appraised the 21st of Janu-
ary Anno Domini 1712 by us whose names are
hereunder written L & D

Impments in Cash	15 00 00
Item in Book debts	27 00 00
Item his wearing Apparel	07 00 00
Item eight Shirts, neckcloaths and handkerchiefs	05 00 00
Item one Feather Bed a bolster two Pillows a Sugg- a Blanket and a pair of Sheets	05 00 00
Item an other Feather Bed a bolster three Pillows two Blankets and a pair of Sheets	04 15 00
Item four pair of Sheets	02 10 00
Item twenty yards of Linnen at 3 ^d for yd	03 00 00
Item eight Table Cloaths four napkins five towels and five Willow Cases	01 09 00
Item a silver watch	02 10 00
Item a gun	01 00 00
Item two money Scales and weights	00 15 00
Item Linnen yarn	02 04 00
Item two Bed heads	00 16 00
Item a Chest	02 00 00
Item three Picars	00 07 00
Item five Hovel and tongs	00 04 00
Item three Saws two Nippers and a Ratmer	00 06 00
Item three Hatchets one or three and a plane	00 10 00
Item a Spinnwheel and reel	00 10 00
Item a Lanthorn Lamp and Candle Stick	00 04 00
Item a furnace	02 00 00
Item a Kettle	01 10 00
Item two little Kettles	00 10 00
Item a great Pot	00 09 00

INVENTORY OF THE EFFECTS OF
FRANCIS DANIEL PASTORIUS

Item a flat pot	2 8 2
Item a little pot	00 04 00
Item powder ware	01 00 00
Item a smoothing Iron a grid Iron a chopping knife	
a Little Kinner and two boxes	00 16 00
Item a pot hanger	00 04 00
Item two frying pans	00 06 00
Item a Chamber pot and truel	00 03 00
Item a knife and fork	00 01 06
Item a barrel and tups	00 05 00
Item a Table	00 03 00
Item a kneading trough	00 02 00
Item a Sewter lancher and a earthen Pan	00 02 00
Item a Compass	01 00 00
Item Dividers boxes and files	00 12 00
Item two raisers and Rones	00 10 00
Item three Locks and six glass bottles	00 16 00
Item six quire of paper	00 04 06
Item a trunk and a desk	00 05 00
Item a great Bell	00 06 00
Item a English Bible in 4 ^{to} and an other in 8 ^{to}	02 10 00
Item French books	01 00 00
Item English books	12 00 00
Item a Greek Testament	00 06 00
Item Latin books	12 00 00
Item 14 Dictionaries	08 00 00
Item High Dutch books	00 00 00
Item Low Dutch books	06 00 00
Item 100 primers	04 00 00
Item two Eggs	04 10 00
Item two Ropes	09 00 00
Item 873 acres of Land	100 00 00
Appraised by us	
Dirck Jacobsen	
Peter Schoemaker	

INVENTORY OF THE EFFECTS OF
FRANCIS DANIEL PASTORIUS

kept pace with the march of the centuries without losing many of its old landmarks.

It would be easy to select an epitaph for the German Jurist-Pioneer from the testimony of his contemporaries, such as the tribute of William Penn, who called him

“Vir sobrius, probus, prudens & pius.”

or the poetic tribute paid by Howell Powell a short time after the death of Pastorius :

A Commemorative Poem on Francis Daniel Pastorius.

What Francis Daniel Pastorius
 Hath tane his flight from hence to Olympus?
 Lost to his Posterity, y^e German Town Speci'lly
 Lost (tho' great gaines to him) it was to many.
 The Hermes, Glory, Crown, and Linguist's gone
 Who oft Interpreted Teutonick tongue,
 The Scribe, and Tutor, German's Bolar Guide,
 An Antiquarian that was far from Pride,
 Religious Zealous Amanuensis;
 An Universal man in Arts [&] Sciences:
 Who Lov'd his Friends; Britains; yea are Na[tions]
 Zealous for the Truth, full of Compassions
 Ah! may Germanopolis be 'gen supplied
 Of that great Loss, their Honour Once, their Guide,
 A wise Achilles as he was be Sent
 Lowly, Lovely Learn'd Lively Still Content.
 Now free from Cares, Dire troubles that attend
 This brittle Case, the Heav'nely Quire befriend
 Him Still: Joyes in the Glorious Lamb alone
 Seeth the Beatifick Vision
 You his Family offspring take Example
 By Francis Just Sincere & truly humble
 Tho' you Condole the Loss of 's Company
 He got a better; be Content thereby,
 Tho many Lost a Friend; He got, yet they
 Rejoyce that he hath Nobler still for ay:
 Tho Dead to his Corp'ral Form, that Sleep, He Lives
 Jn Jmmortality needs no Reprieve.
 Vade Dijs Superis homo Scandere Culmen Olympi,
 Francisce æque vale; tu cape carpe viam.
 Opto simul quieris, vestigia recta sequiq;
 Te pedibus verbij, te simul esse bonos.

Howell Powell fecit

31 mo 3th mense 1720

APPENDIX A.

Diplomatic Print of the Agreement of the German Company of Frankfurt.

Im Nahmen und zur Ehre GÖttes!

Wir Unterschriebene urkunden und bekennen hiemit / demnach wir zusammen fünff und zwanzig tausend Acker / Englischer Masz / unvertheilten Lands / in der Americanischen Provintz *Pennsylvania*, gesampter Hand gekauffet / auch jeglicher sein Antheil nach Ausweis darüber besagender Rechnungen würcklich bezahlt haben: Nemlich

Jacob von <i>de</i> Wallen.....	2500	}	5000.
und Caspar Merian 2500. jetzund Jacob von <i>de</i> Walle	833 $\frac{1}{3}$		
und Daniel Behagel.....	1666 $\frac{2}{3}$		
Lt. Johann Jacob Schütz.....	4000	}	5000.
Johann Wilhelm Überfeld / jetzund Franz Daniel <i>Pastorius</i>	1000		
Jacob von <i>de</i> Wallen.....	1666 $\frac{2}{3}$		
Georg Strausz / jetzund Johanna Eleonora von Merlau /		}	5000.
M. Johann Wilhelm Peters ²⁴ Hauszfrau.	1666 $\frac{2}{3}$		
Daniel Behagel	1666 $\frac{2}{3}$		
Dr. Gerhard von Mastricht.....	1666 $\frac{2}{3}$	}	5000.
Dr. Thomas von Wilich.....	1666 $\frac{2}{3}$		
und Johannes <i>le Brun</i>	1666 $\frac{2}{3}$		
Balthasar Jawert	3333 $\frac{1}{3}$	}	5000.
Johannes Kemler	1666 $\frac{2}{3}$		

Summa....25000.

Dass wir wegen sothaner Güther / vor uns / *respectivè* unsere Hauszfrauen / kinder und Erben / im Nahmen GÖttes eine Gemeinschaft oder *Societät* angetreten und geschlossen haben / auff Art und Weisz als hiernach folgt:

I. Obbesagte Landereyen [sic] wie und wo sie uns sampt und sonders angewiesen seyn / oder ins künfftige angewiesen werden mögen / selbstn auch die über obig *specificirte* / uns *competirende* Stadt-losz / nämlich die vier oder sechs Plätze in der Stadt *Philadel-*

²⁴ Mistake for Petersen, see the signature at the end of the document.

Alles treulich und sonder Gefährde: Dessen zu wahrer Urkund ist gegenwärtig nach reiflicher Überlegung von allen Interessenten einmüthig befehlter Brief unter aller und jeder eigenhändigen Unterschrift und vorgemerktem Insegl abgedruckt aufgesetzt und jeglichem dessen ein exemplar zugestellet auch eines zu den gemeinschaftlichen documents geteilt worden. Welcher gegeben zu Frankfurt am Main den 11. Novemb. anno 1686.

SIGNATURES OF THE "AGREEMENT" OF THE FRANKFURT COMPANY,
NOVEMBER 12, 1686.
(Original in the Collection of George C. Thomas, of Philadelphia.)

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phia zum Auffbauen neuer Häuser / und *incirca* beyläufftig 300. Acker in der Stadt Gerechtigkeit und Freyheit vor und umb *Philadelphia* gelegen / und das neulichst / zur Ziegelbackerey [sic] / an Schollkiel / erkauffte Land / sampt allen und jeden / an allen Orten und Enden in gantz *Pennsylvanien* auffgerichteten und künfftigen Gebäuen und anderen *meliorationen*, auch dahin gesendete / dorten gekauffte oder sonsten erlangte *Victualia*, Kauffmanns Wahren / Viehe / Hauszgeräth / &c. erlangte und künfftige *Real-* Rechten und Gerechtigkeiten / sollen jetzt und künfftig / in gleichen Rechten gemeinschaftlich seyn und bleiben / nach eines jeden *obspecificirtem* Antheil / so er in derselben *Compagnie* hat.

2. Alles und jedes / was zu deren *cultivirung* und Anrichtung / zu Gebäuen / *item* zu Überschickung [sic] der Dienstbotten / Pacht-Leuten und andern Personen / auch der Kauffmanns-Wahren / Lebens-Mitteln / Werckzeug &c. und dorten im Lande an Handwerker und Tagelöhner &c. Summa an allen Kosten / wie die Nahmen haben mögen / in *America* und *Europa* biszhero angewendet worden ist / oder künfftig auff hiernächst benahmte Weisz / verwendet werden möchte / soll auff gemeine Kosten geschehen *pro rato* eines jeden Antheils.

3. Dargegen auch alle Nutzungen / Gefäll / was daselbsten erworben / gebauet / gepflantzet / fruchtbar gemacht / und gezeuget wird / es sey an Erd-Gewächs / leibeigenen Menschen / Viehe / *Manufacturen* &c. nichts überall ausgenommen / sollen unter allen Interessenten *pro rato* der Ackerzahl / gemein seyn.

4. Was dieser *Compagnie* Angelegenheit betrifft / sollen die fünf Haupt-Stämme (jedes 5000. vor ein Haupt-Stamm gerechnet / oder wie man sich künfftig etwan anders vergleichen mag) unter sich überlegen / und nach den meisten Stimmen (jegliches tausend Acker hat zehen Stimmen) förderlichst beschliessen.

5. Dorten im Land soll jederzeit ein Bevollmächtigter der *Compagnie*, und auff dessen Sterbens-Abwesens- und Unvermögens-Fall / demselben ein *Substitutus*, mit Schriftlicher / von beyden Partheyen ausgefertigten Bestallung / verordnet seyn: Diese beyde sollen jährlich unter ihrer beyder Hand-Unterschriften / und der *Compagnie* Pettschaft / ein ordentliches *Inventarium*, alles dessen / was die *Compagnie* dorten hat / mit *Specification* der gebauten und ungebauten Aecker / Wiesen / Wasseren / Waldungen / Häuser / dero Grentzen / auch des Gesindes / der Pacht-Leuten / des Viehes / der Früchten / *Victualien*, Kauffmanns-Wahren / Schulden und Gegenschulden / Paarschaften &c. verfertigen / und neben dero Rechnung / über Kosten und Nutzungen / Einnahmen und Auszgab / Ab- und Zugang / in allen Stücken / an demjemgen / welchem jedesmahls der *Compagnie* *Correspondentz* *committiret* seyn wird / und mit einem andern folgenden Schiff / dessen noch ein auszuge-

fertigtes *Original* herausz senden / auch auff solche Manier den dortigen Zustand zeitlich berichten.

6. Hier zu Land sollen ein oder zwey Schreiber der *Compagnie*, entweder aus den *Compagnons* oder Frembden / durch die meiste Stimmen / schriftlich bestellet werden / welche der *Compagnie* Rechnungen und *Correspondentz* in *Americam* führen / dero gehörige Brieffen erbrechen / ihren Jnhalt *Extracts* Weise / oder da es nöthig / Copeylich / an die. 5. Haupt-Stämme (von welchen und durch welche ferner alle und jede *Interessenten* das Jhrige zu erlangen / auch zu bestellen und zu verrichten haben) *insinuiren* / das Tag-Buch / wegen des *Pennsylvanischen* Wercks / ausz dortigen Brieffen / oder hiesigen Begebenheiten / mit kurtzen Worten / doch auszführlich und fleissig einschreiben / was zu bestellen oder zu beobachten ist / in ein sonderes *Memorial* notiren / die Rechnungen nechst *revision* der *Inventorien* / und *annotation* des Zu- oder Abgangs / mit Tag und *datum*, so weit man ausz Brieffen oder sonsten kommen kan / alle Jahr *ultimo Decembr.* schliessen / nach beschehener *approbation* der fünff Haupt-Stämme / oder dero Bevollmächtigten / in ein Buch zusammen schreiben / und neben den *Documenten* und dero *Compagnie Original*- Schreiben / mit auffgeschriebenem Tag und *datum*, auch Copeyen der abgelassenen Brieffen / an einen sichern der *Compagnie* beliebigen Ort / und zwar zu jetziger Zeit zu Franckfurt am Mayn / als woselbstn dieses Werck seinen ersten Anfang genommen / und die stärkste Theil noch zur Zeit hingehören / in guter Ordnung nach dero Register / unter zweyen Schlössen verwahren / und in allem ohne der fünff Haupt-Stämme absonderliche Bewilligung nichts Hauptsächliches unternehmen oder auszfertigen / dabeneben vor alle diese Mühe / nach Gestalt der Sachen / eine mittelmässige Ergetzlichkeit ausz der *Compagnie* geniessen sollen: Dabeneben mag jeglicher Haupt-Stam vor sich und seine zugehörige Theilsgenossen / was ihme beliebt / ausz sothanen Brieffen *extrahiren*: Die *Originalia* aber sollen in der Schreiberey verwahrt bleiben.

7. Künfftig sol die *Compagnie* dero Brieff und *Contracten* &c. mit einem besondern / nebens vorgedachten *Original documentis* verwahrten Siegel auszfertigen / auch ein anderes / in Grösse und Umschrift etwas unterschiedenes Siegel dero *Factorn* in *Pennsylvania*, dessen sich daselbstn gleicher massen zu bedienen / übersenden: Ohne solche Siegel sollen keine Brieff oder *Contracten* / im Nahmen der *Compagnie* hin und her gesendet / oder gültig geachtet werden.

8. Dafern jemand von uns / oder unsern Erben selbstn nach *Pennsylvanien* reisen / oder ihm einen Sitz zubereiten einen vorausgehenden Bevollmächtigten vor sich allein senden / und allerley

Eigenthumb zu seinem Gebrauch deme mitgeben oder mitnehmen wolte / so mag der oder dieselbe / solches auff seine eigene Kosten und Gefahr thun / folgendlich *pro rato* seines Antheils vor jedes tausend Acker sechzig an einem Stück unbereitetes Land / wie wir es von dem *Gouverneur* empfangen / vor sich auszulesen / und davon soll er der *Compagnie* jährlich von jeden zehen Acker einen Englischen Schilling / als Erb-Pacht / zur *recognition* entrichten: Und wo ihm dieses Land nicht genug / sondern zu enge seyn würde / sollen ihme noch weiter / nach *proportion* seines Antheils / 60. Acker wie gemeldet / von tausenden gerechnet / umb die Helfft des Preises / als es die *Compagnie* selbiger Zeit an Frembde in Erb-Pacht auszugeben pfeget / auch im Fall er noch mehrers Land verlangte / wann es die *Compagnie* entbehren mag / in dem Preisz / und mit denen *Conditionibus*, wie einem Frembden überlassen werden. Auff diesen Ländern nun / welche einer oder der andere solcher Gestalten vor sich allein beziehet / soll derselbe nach Belieben handeln / auch allerley gemeinschaftliche / dortige bewegliche und unbewegliche Güter / für andern Frembden / gebrauchen und genießen; doch dasz dieses alles dem gemeinen Wesen der *Compagnie* ohnnachtheilig seye; auch sollen solche in *Pennsylvania* wohnende *Compagnons*, der *Compagnie* dortigem *Factor*, den Landsüblichen Zinsz / Lohn / Bezahlung oder Wehrt von allem / was sie gemeinschaftliches vor sich gebrauchen / entrichten; worvon sie bey folgender *repartition* ihren Antheil wieder zu empfangen haben. Wolte aber die Gesampte *Compagnie* auff allgemeines Gutbefinden / jemanden von ihren Theilgenossen / zu ihrem gemeinschaftlichen Dienst / und auff ihre gemeinschaftliche Kosten dorthin übergehen lassen / so soll mit selbigem auff solchen Fall absonderlicher Vergleich getroffen werden: Auff allen Fall aber und in allen Stücken die dortige *Compagnons* und deren Erben nicht weniger als die in *Europa* seynd / an diesem *Contract*, und der meisten Stimmen künftige Verordnungen / verbunden seyn.

9. Dafern die Schreiber oder sonsten einer oder mehrere mit der *Compagnie* Gutbefinden / als obgemeldet / Geld vorschieszen würden / so sollen solche *debitores* dero vorgeschossenes *Capital* auffs längste innerhalb Jahres Frist / von *dato* des Vorschusses / sampt fünff *pro Cento* Jährlichen *Interesse* wieder zu entrichten schuldig / und desswegen ihr Antheil zur *special-hypothec* hiemit in bester Form Rechtens verschrieben seyn.

10. Da jemand von uns / oder den unserigen / über kurtz oder lang / ohne Ehegemahl / und ohne Eheliche Leibs-Erben verstürbe / auch wie er es mit seinem Antheil / dieser gemeinschaftlichen Güter / nach seinem Todt gehalten haben wolle / *per Testamentum* oder andere schrift-oder mündliche glaubwürdige Verordnung nicht auszdrücklich und absonderlich erkläret hätte / so soll dessen Antheil der

sämtlichen *Compagnie*, jeden nach *proportion* seines habenden Antheils / anwachsen und hiemit übergeben seyn / auch anders nicht / als ob er allein den Gebrauch solcher Güter / Zeit seines Lebens sich vorbehalten / und das wahre Eigenthumb der *Compagnie* gleich Anfangs *incorporiret* hätte / gehalten werden; und sollen alle die Sterb-Fäll der *Compagnons*, auch wer derselben in diesem Werck nachgelassene Erben seyen / von dero jedesmahliger Schreiber in beglaubter Form entweder unter des Verstorbenen gesampter nechsten Verwandschafft / oder anderer beglaubten Persohnen *attestat*, förderlich berichtet / oder bisz zu dessen Gewissheit / des Verstorbenen Nahmen in Rechnungen und Bücher *continuiert* / und dessen etwa erfolgendes *contingent*, in der *Compagnie Cassa*, bey den *Original-Briefschafften* verwahret werden.

11. Es soll niemand / so ein *Participant* in dieser *Compagnie* ist / bemächtigt seyn / sein Land oder dessen Gerechtigkeit / alles oder zum Theil / an jemanden / ausser der *Compagnie*, ohne Bewilligung / oder wenigstens ersten Anbietung / der *Compagnie*, zu veräußern; wolte aber eines oder das andere von uns / unsern Weibern / Kindern / oder wer künftigt *Participant* der *Compagnie* seyn möchte / seine *portion* oder dero Antheil über kurtz oder lang begeben / aber ausz der *Compagnie* niemand selbiges an sich bringen oder kauffen / alsdann erst soll dem Verkauffer frey stehen / an jemanden anders zu verkauffen / doch dergestalt / dasz jederzeit die *Compagnie*, oder wann sie es nicht haben wolte / jemanden ausz der *Compagnie* innerhalb drey Monat / nach geschehener Anzeigung der Veräußerung / frey stehen solle / das Verkauffte mit Darlegung des Kauffschillings an sich zu nehmen / und zu ihrem *Profit* zehen *pro Cento* vom Kauffschilling abzuziehen / oder weniger zu geben / als solcher neue Käufer das veräußerte Antheil gekauft hat: Dessen Wehrt der Verkauffer und Kauffer auff sein Gewissen anzuzeigen schuldig seyn soll.

12. Im unverschofften Fall über kurtz oder lang zwichen uns / unseren Erben und Nachkömnen / wegen dieser Güter und deren *dependentien* einiger Miszverstand oder Anlass zum Streit vorfallen möchte / soll solches zwischen den Gliedern der Gesellschaft / oder dafern diese von beyden Theilen nicht gantz unpartheyisch gehalten würden / durch andere von den uneinigen Partheyen / einmüthiglich erwählte zwey redliche Persohnen / mit Macht / dasz diese zwey erwählte Persohnen / die dritte / wann sie es nöthig achten / zu sich nehmen / auff Art und Weisz / als jetzt beschrieben wird / geschlichtet werden: Nemlich die erwählte Schieds-Freunde sollen auff bestimmten Tag und Orth / in Beywesen der misshelligen Partheyen / oder dero Bevollmächtigten / nach Anruffung Göttlichen Beystands / und reifflicher der Sachen Überlegung / das Werck nach ihrem besten Verstand und Gutdüncken durch ihre Urtheil / wann

sie die Partheyen nicht vergleichen können / entscheiden. Im Fall aber diese drey nicht enig werden / oder die meiste Stimmen nicht auszufinden könten / so sollen sie sich bey ein oder zweyen Haupt-*participanten* Rathes erholen / und darnach die Urtheil verfassen und aussprechen: Wogegen hernacher auff keine Weisz oder Weg etwas ferner gethan / gehandelt oder *admittiret* werden soll / auff keine Weisz oder Weg / mit Recht oder mit Gewalt / von keinem Richter oder Menschen / der gantzen Welt / in *Europa* oder *America*: Und dafern jemand hiergegen sich zu setzen anmassen wolte / soll er *ed ipso* seines gantzen Antheils verlustig / und darzu des Orts / wo er wohnet / allgemeinen Allmosen-Kasten mit einer Straff / von 200. Rthl. ohne alle *exception*, auch ohne fernere *declaration*, *ipso facto* verfallen seyn.

Alles treulich und sonder Gefährde: Dessen zu wahrer Urkund ist gegenwärtiger nach reifflicher Überlegung von allen *Interessenten* einmüthiglich beliebter Brieff / unter aller und jeder eigenhändigen Unterschrift und vorgetrucktem Insiegel zwölfmahl ausgefertigt / und jeglichem dessen ein *exemplar* zugestellet / auch eines zu den gemeinschaftlichen documentis geleyet worden. Welcher gegeben zu Franckfurt am Mayn / den 12. Novemb. anno 1686.

(Seal) Johann Jacob Schütz

(Seal) Gerhard Von Mastricht

(Seal) Daniel Bahaghel

(Seal) Jacobus Vande Walle

(Seal) iohan Wilhelm Petersen

(Seal) Johannes Kemler

(Seal) Frantz Daniel Pastorius

(Seal) Thom. v. wylich

(Seal) Johan Le Brun

(Seal) Balthaser jawert²⁸

²⁸ The foreign words are written in antiqua in the original, according to the custom of the time, but are here set in italic. A sample page with signatures is reproduced in half-tone from Pastorius' own copy of the Agreement, which is now in the Collection of Mr. George C. Thomas, of Philadelphia.

APPENDIX B.

Exemplum sine Exemplo.

Or

(to borrow the Inscription of One of John Wilson's Plays.)
The Cheats and the Projectors.

J Francis Daniel Pastorius having formerly, (to wit these 28 years past,) by Doctor Schultz & other honest men in high Germany, (Purchasers of 25000. Acres of land in this Province of Pennsylvania, and known by the name of the Francfort Company,) been made & Constituted their Attorney, And still being concern'd as Copartner with them, to clear my Conscience (as touching the Administration of their sd Estate,) before all People, to whom the Reading hereof may come, as J always endeavour'd to keep the same void of offence towards the all-seeing Eyes of God, J am, if it were, constrained to publish this short Relation, for as much as the aforesd Francfort Company is at present Ejected outof their 25000. Acres of land, suñno Jure i. e. Suñna Injuriã, by extreme Right, extreme Wrong. Now Jntending Brevity, J shall let my Reader know, that the sd Company (: being all persons of approved Integrity & learning became at least some of them personally acquainted with out Worthy Proprietary & Govern.^r William Penn, and purchased of him at a full rate the abovementioned 25000. Acres, & in the very Infancy of this sd Province disbursed large Suñns of money for the transporting of Servants Tenants and others: And that J according to the best of my poor Ability (as many of the primitive Jnhabitants & Settlers yet Surviving Swedes Dutch and English may testify,) administred their Affairs 17. years and an half; But conscious of my weakness, have often requested them to disburden me of this Load of theirs J took on my shoulders by their frequent Assurance to be behind my heels into this Country as soon as the Jce were broken: Whereupon the heirs of the sd first Purchasers did appoint in my room Daniel Falkner, John Kelpius & John Jawert, NB to act *Jointly & not Severally*.

However when the sd John Kelpius had a forecast, in what chanel things would run, he with all speed in a certain Jnstrument (: of Geo: Lowther's devise, who was the first Lawyer, that unhappily got an hand into the Companies business,:) declared his Unwillingness to be any further Concern'd therein, & therefore was termed Civiliter Mortuus. Then Daniel Falkner & John Jawert acted in the dual number as the sd Companies Attornies for some few years: For he the sd Jawert being married and Settled in Marieland, Falkner turn'd such a Spent-thrift and Ever-drunk-ever-dry, that

he made Bone-fires of the Companies flax in open Street at Germantown, giving a bit of Silver money to one Lad for lighting his Tobacco-pipe, and a piece of Eight to another for shewing him a house in Philadelphia, which in his Sober-fits he knew as well as his own. &c. Hereupon his Joint-Attorney John Jawert affixed an Advertisement at the then Meeting house of Germantown aforesd dated the 9th of November 1705. wherein he forewarn'd all persons, who had any Rent or other Debt to pay into the sd Company, to forbear the Paying thereof, &c. And so all was a sleep, as Dormice do in winter, till about 2. years agoe one, John Henry Sprogel, arrived in this Province, who being he, that by the Collusion and treachery of the sd Daniel Falkner, & by the wicked Assistance of the Projectors hereafter to be spoken of, has through J know not what Fiction of the Law, Ejected the sd Company out of their real Estate of 25000. Acres, J think it not amiss to give some little Account of him.

His Parents, I hear, are of a good report, and to be pittied for such a Scandal to their Family; this Degenerate & Prodigal Child came the first time into this Province in anno 1700. and quickly Owing more than he was worth, went over to his Native land in order to procure some cash of his Father, whom he said to be a rich Bishop on that side. In his return he was taken by the French, & carried to Dunkerk, whence he escap'd with an empty Brigantine into Holland, and by the (now repented of) Recommendation of Benjamin Furly & his Book keeper H. L. found so much Credit with John van der Gaegh Merchant at Rotterdam & others as to bee Intrusted with a deal of goods; After he departed outof that country and could not be found when search'd for in England, he came at last to Philada. and there took his Oath, (as J am credibly inform'd) that all the sd Goods were his own directly & Indirectly. Some of the Germantown people then Visiting this their Great Countreyman, and inquiring for Letters, were looked upon as Slaves, he being the only Anglified in all the Province of Pennsylvania.

How be it, none of us all (J believe,) will ever have such a base and disloyal heart towards our Sovereign Lady the Queen of Great Britain, as to get his Naturaliation by the like disingenuous knack as he did, viz. to borrow a key & to wear another man's Coat as though it were his own. &c.

But to return to the Francfort Companies Concern, he the aforesd John Henry Sprogel, having along with him a Letter of Attorney from the sd Benjamin Furly, sold 1000. Acres of land, part of the sd Furly's Purchase in this Province unto David Lloyd, at a reasonable price, so as to have his Jrreasonable advice in Law for the most unjust Entry upon the Companie's land. For he the sd Sprogel finding no means to satisfy his Old and Just Debts, was forced to cantrive a New untrodden way of Clearing his Scores, and

to play the Gentleman sprung outof a Grocer's Shop; Therefore Among a Swarm of tedious Lies, (:wherewith J dare not trouble the Reader,:) he also spread this, that he stroke a bargain for the Companies land with Doctor Gerhard van Mastricht, one of the partners, of whom J but newly received an extreme kind Letter to the clean Contrary thereof; Moreover, the sd Sprogel to pacify the above mentioned John Jawert, (: who likewise has a Share in the sd Company :) proffered unto him 700. Pounds Peñsylvania Silver money for the land, and 100. Pounds besides as a Gratuity to himself, &c. But he, the sd Jawert being to honest for an Imposture & Bribe of this black stamp, Sprogel was driven to that Extremity (: hap what may, and let Frost & Fraud have hereafter as foul Ends as they will,:) that he now must Obtain the 25000. Acres & Arrears of Quitrents due to the Francfort Company solely & alone of Daniel Falkner, who plunged in needlessly contracted Debts over head & ears, could expect no gladder Tidings, (as he said himself :) than the same Proffer made unto him. Here David Lloyd (: whom to name again, J am almost ashamed,:) very gingerly to play his Roll, Fictionem Juris ad re ipsa detrudendos veros Possessores, the which never the less, it seems he was not bold-faced enough to do in his proper Clothes, but one Tho: Macnamara, a Lawyer, if it were, started up for the purpose outof Marieland, (: for a couple of Periwigs, which he himself told me was all the Fee he had of this my brave Client for blushing in this Case :) Nominally inserted in the Ejectment, lending like as the Cat her Paws to a more crafty Creature, for the drawing of the rosted Chestnuts from off the glewing Coals. Jf any demand how this D—Ll. and Macnamara could possibly in so horrible a manner Circumvent the County Court? J suppose, the fittest Answer, J can give to this Question, is what Judge Groudon declared before our honourable Lieutenant Goven.^r sitting in Council, viz that at the tail of the Court Daniel Falkner and John Henry Sprogel did appear, and the aforementioned D—Ll. and M. laid the Matter before the Court, and none there, to Object any thing, &c. (: For this cheating trick was managed so Clandestinely, that J and John Jawert were altogether ignorant thereof, And when Tho: Clark the Queens Attorney then present in Court did but rise, the others Suspecting he might say somewhat in Obstruction of their hainous design, was gently pull'd down by the sleeve, and promised 40. Shillings to be quiet, when he had nothing to offer,:) Thus they surprised the Court, and Ob-et Subreptitiè compassed the Ejectment. Three days after the breaking up of the aforesd Court J heard of this unhandsom Juggle, and gave Jntelligence thereof to John Jawert, who forthwith came up, and putt in his humble Request to our sd well respected Lieutenant Govern.^r and his hon'able Council, we had the sd Tho: Clark assign'd to defend or Plead our Cause, and so Jawert paid him a Fee of ten Pounds, but to this

day the sd Sprogel still stirs his stumps in the Companies lands & Rents without the least Controlment.

Since all this there arrived divers Letters from beyond Sea, deciphering pretty fully abundance of the detestable gulleries, where by he, the sd Sprogel, ensnared & trapan'd the Implicity of Upright & plaindealing people in Holland, Admonishing him not to persist in his Evil-doings, but to Confess and make reparations to the defrauded, if not fourfold as peninent Zaccheus did, Yet as far as his ill gotten Griff-graff gains would reach, &c. And further there came also fresh Letters of Attorney from all the Partners of the Francfort Company Living in Germany Impow'ring some very able Men in Philada. to redress their so horribly disdressed Estate in this Province, by one worse than the worst Land-Pirate in the world could have done, the which J hope they will undertake, and heartily wish, that the LORD (: who is called a Father of the fatherless, and a Judge of the Widows, whereof there are at this Instant Several in the abovesd Company :) may prosper their Just Proceedings, and all, who reverence Righteousness & Equity, Countenance them therein and not be partakers of the Spoil, (: nor of the Curse entailed thereon :) with the aforesd John Henry Sprogel, for whom notwithstanding the foregoing discoverey of his unheard-of Villainies J retain that sincere love as to pray to God Almighty to Convict & Convert of & from his Perverseness, that he forsake his diabolical lies, pride, bragging and boasting, and not longer continue the Vasal of Satan and heir of Hell, but become a child of heaven, and a Follower of Christ, our Ever-blessed Saviour, who as he is Truth Jtself, so likewise meek and lowly in heart, leading outof all Cozening Practices into the way of holiness & Eternal Felicity.

APPENDIX C.

Description of the Map of Germantown, 1688.

Situation der Germantonship in Pennsylvania.

6 Englische Meil von Philadelphia gelegen.

Diese Township begreift 5190 acker lands, deren Lini aus gegenwärtigem abrisz von Marckbaum zu marckbaum kann ersehen werden. Sie komt Eigenthumlich denen furtischen und Crefeltn. Kaüffern in gleicher Helffte zu, wie bereits anderwärts gemeldet.

Die Scolkill num 2. ligt nur eine halbe stund darvon, u. können wir bey stillem Wetter den daselbetigen Wasserfall num: 1. deutl: hören.

Aus gedm. Scolkill fliszt ein bach, von den Indianern Wesehetkum genannt, num: 3. in etl. noch Kleinere vertheilt, durch unsere Township. auch rinnt noch einander bach in unser land nahmens Wingacocum. num. 4, an welchem Gerhard Heinrichs dicht hinter seinem Vatter eine mühl num. 5 zu bauen Vorhabens ist.

Im der vor etl. Jahren angelegten Statt Germantown sind 54. Statt Erb od lösen auffgenommen, und bisz auff Sieben bereits beseht. unsere Compe hat darinn 5½ losz so bisz auf eines geclärt und besämt; die übrige aber an Erbpachtsleut ausgethan worden. Der Compe los sind sub num 6. mit+ notiret, und steht deroselben Haus aua denen zwey ersten.++

Die lange strasz mitten durch den platz ist 60 und die Zwerchgassen 40 fusz jedes los aber 14 ruthen breit die Einwohner sind folgende in nachsetzter ordnung. auff der ostseite 1. Peter Keurlis. 2. Thunes Kunders. 3. Jan lensen. 4. Lenert Arets. 5. Reinert Tissen. 6. Jan Lücken.* 7. Abraham Thünes.* 8. et. 9. Geerhart Heinrix. 10. David Scherges.* 11. Wolter Simens.* 12. Derick op den Kalck.* 13. Wigart Levering. 14. Hermann von Bonn.* 15. Gerhard Levering.* 16. Heinrich Sellen. 17. Jsaac Schäfer.* 18. Heinrich Buchholtz.* 19½. die Ffurte Compe 20. Cornelis Bom.* ¼. Jsaac Dilbreck.* [sic] 22. Ffurt. Compe. 23½. Jan Duten. 24. Andres Suply.

Auff der Westseite. 1. Jann Strepers. 2. Derick op den graef. 3. Hermann op den graef. 4. Abraham op den graef. 5. Willjam Strepers. 6. Paul Wulff.* 7. Johannes Bleikers.* 8 und 9. Ffurte Compagnie. 10. Jacob Schumacher. 11. Jsaac Jacobs. 12. Jacob Tellner. 13. Heifert Pape.* 14. Jacob Klümkes.* 15. Cornelis Sjoert. 16. Hanns Peter Umbstet. 17¼. Peter Schumacher. 18½. Jacob Tellner.* 20½. Baron Wunderlich.* 21¼. Andres Kriskum. 22. Claus Tamson.* 23. Hanns Millan.* 24½. Heinrich Frey.*

NB.: Die Nahmen, worhinter ein * stehet, sind unserer Compe Erbpachtleut.

Dieweilen wir Germantown num 6. angelegt, ehe uns dz land zugemessen worden, und sich nachgehendts auf der Seite nach Philadelphia weg der Statt Liberty nicht eben viel land vor uns finden laszen, komt es, dasz sothan Germantown gleichsam auff der fordersten Spitz der township lieget, damit aber nun ebenwohl das hintere land auch möge employirt und genutzt werden, haben wir zusammen entschlossen, ein neu Dorff num. 7. fast am end anzulegen, auf dasz beede plätz ihre felder und Vietrifft in mitten der township, und also nach möglich bey hand haben mögen. Dieser Neue ort ist noch nicht begonnen, hat auch noch Keinen nahmen. Dürffte aber nun bey der letztmahligen Krisheimer freund glückln überkunfft ein anfang alldar gemacht werden, und Johannes Caszel einer von den ersten alldort seyn. worvon mit nechstem umbständre nachricht ertheile.*

*English, French and Latin words and names are written in Latin script in the original, the rest of the text is in German script.

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APPENDIX D.

Letter of Attorney to Falkner, Kelpius and Jawert.

Wir Endesunterschriebene urkunden hiemitt undt bekennen demnach wir 25000 Acker unvertheilten Landes in *pensylvania* lauth deren darüber besagten *documenten*, mit besondern *privilegien* und Gerechtigkeiten gesaßter Handt gekauft, und deszwegen in Krafft desz den 12ten 9bris 1686 beliebten Brieffes, eine *Societät* geschlossen, auch zu *Cultiuir*, und *Administrirung* solchen Landes Herren Frantz Daniel *pastorium* U. J. Ltum, besage desz unterm 2ten Aprill 1683 ausgefertigten *procuratorii*, bevollmächtigt haben; und aber durch absterben einiger Häupter dieser unsrer *Compagnie* und darzwischen eingefallenen Französischen Krieg wie nicht weniger wegen abwesenheit des Herren *Gouverneurs* und *indisposition* unsers besagten *Factors* diese Sachen ins stecken gerathen sindt, mehrgemeldter Herr *pastorius* auch biszhero in verschiedenen Brieffen ersuchet hat, Jhme diese verwaltung wieder abzunehmen; Dasz wir zu solchem Ende Vollkomene Macht undt *special* gewalt aufgetragen haben, Herren Daniel Falckner, undt Herrn Johann *Kelpio*, alsz nünmehrigen Einwohnern in *pensylvania*, wie auch Herrn Johann Jawert, alsz Sohn eines *principalen* Nahmens Herrn Balthasar Jawerts von Lübeck, welcher dahin zu reisen entschloszen ist, also undt dergestalt dasz diese unsere drey gevollmächtigte gesambter Handt, oder in Fall eines oder des anderen todtlichen Hintrittes, die oder der noch in leben übrig bleibende die *Administrirung* aller unserer daselbst habenden Güther und Landereyen, wie und wo sie unsz sambt undt sonders angewiesen seyn, oder noch anzuweisen, und zu zu meszen sindt, auch deren über die 25m. Acker Landes unsz *Competirenden* Stattlosze, nemblich der vier oder sechs pläze in der statt *philadelphia* und *incirea* 300 Acker in der Statt gerechtigkeit undt Freyheit vor und umb *philadelphia* gelegen, und desz an *Scollikiel* zur Ziegelbäckery erkaufften Landes, sambt allen und Jeden auffgerichteten Gebäuden, undt anderen *meliorationen* auch dahier gesandten, dorten gekauften oder sonsten erlangten *victualien* Kauffmans Wahren, Viehe, Hauszgeräth Werkzeug, Dienstbotten Pachtleuthen, und andern Persohnen in *optima forma*, haben, auch deszwegen in unserem Nahmen von obbesagtem unseren biszherigen bevollmächtigten *pastoris* rechnung fodern, pflegen und abnehmen. Hierauff alle solche unsere güther undt *Effecten*, da einige davon ohne unszer wiszen vereuszert wären, zufoderst *vindiciren*, so dann überhaupt, oder besonders, wie sichs am besten

wird thun lassen, verhandlen vertauschen verkaufen,, dasz geld dafür erheben darüber *quittiren transijiren* [?], *Documenten* ausfertigen Wehrschaften leisten, und in *Summa* alles thun undt lassen sollen, was wir selbstn zugehen, thun und laszen solten könten oder möchten *cum potestate substituendi et Substitutionem, toties quoties revocandi, cum eis clausulis, rati, grati, omnibusq; aliis, illius cori et fori necessariis et consuetis*, und da mehr gemeldte unsere bevollmächtigte eines weiteres Gewaltsalszhierinnen enthalten bedörfftig sein solten, denselben wollen wir Ihnen gleichfalls wiszentlich hiermit ertheilet, auch dasiegen Orthes Herren *Gouverneurs* und Obrigkeiten gebührend ersuchet haben, selbige dafür zu erkennen und denenselbigen alle Obrigkeitliche Hülffe, da sie solcher benöthiget sein würden, auff ihre ansuchen zu leisten, dahingegen werden diese unsere bevollmächtigte sambt undt sonders angewiesen an die beyde Hauptstäme zu Franckfurt am Mayn, weyl Herrn Jacob von de Walle und Daniel Behagels seelig Erben, von allen und Jeden ihren Verrichtungen zeitlich *part* redt und rechnschafft zu geben, auch gelder oder wahren an dieselben über Engellandt zu *addressiren*, mit ihnen zu *Correspondiren* und von ihnen in Nahmen der ganzen *Compagnie* mitt welcher sie dieszfalls ferner *Comuniciren* und ihren *Consens* einholen werden, ferner *ordre* undt *mandaten*, da nötig zu erwarten; Endlich undt zum Lezten [sic] geben wir ihnen auch hiemit noch *special* Gewalt zum behuff eines Schulmeisters in *Germantoon* 50 Äcker Landes daselbst von den unserigen dazu zu wiedmen, damit die Jugendt im lesen, schreiben, gutten sitten, zucht undt ohnpartheyischer Vermahnung zu Gott undt Christo angewiesen und unterichtet werden möge. Alles Treulich undt ohne gefährde. Deszen zu wahrer urkundt haben wir diese Vollwacht eigenhändig unterschrieben, besiegelt, und unter öffentlicher *Autorität* ausfertigen laszen, So gegeben zu Franckfurth am Mayn. den 2ten Januarii, 1700.

(Seal) Catharina Elisabetha Schützin, wittib
(Seal) *de weduwe van Jacobus vande Walle salig*
(Seal) Daniel Behaghels Seel Erben
(Seal) *Johannes Kemler*
(Seal) *Balthasar jawert*
(Seal) *Johan Wilhelm Petersen*
(Seal) *Gerh. von Maastricht*
(Seal) *Johan Le brun*
(Seal) *Maria van de Wall weduwe van Doctor tho. von*
Wylich salig met haer intressende
Johann Jawert
Gevollmachtigte *Daniel Falkner*
M. Johannes Kelpius

[illegible]

PAGE FROM AN AUTOGRAPH LETTER OF MARTINUS PASTOR, Dated
January 8, 1619 (Original in the Archives of Warburg).

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APPENDIX E.

THE PASTORIUS FAMILY.

The name Pastorius (Pastor, Pastoir) was doubtless originally a cognomen. The earliest record of the name thus far found is that of "Herrn Pastor von Burtscheid," Feb. 11, 1325. The name of "Pieter der Pastoir" with that of his father, "Ritter Ludwig von Cleberg," is mentioned as a "Burgmann" of the House of Grentzau, Nov. 11, 1338. Both Pieter and his father have the title Ritter von Cleberg. This accounts for the clover leaf in the coat-of-arms of certain branches of the Pastorius family, for the three hills on the datestone of Melchior Adam Pastorius' house in Sommerhausen and possibly for the clover leaf which Francis Daniel Pastorius placed on the seal of Germantown.

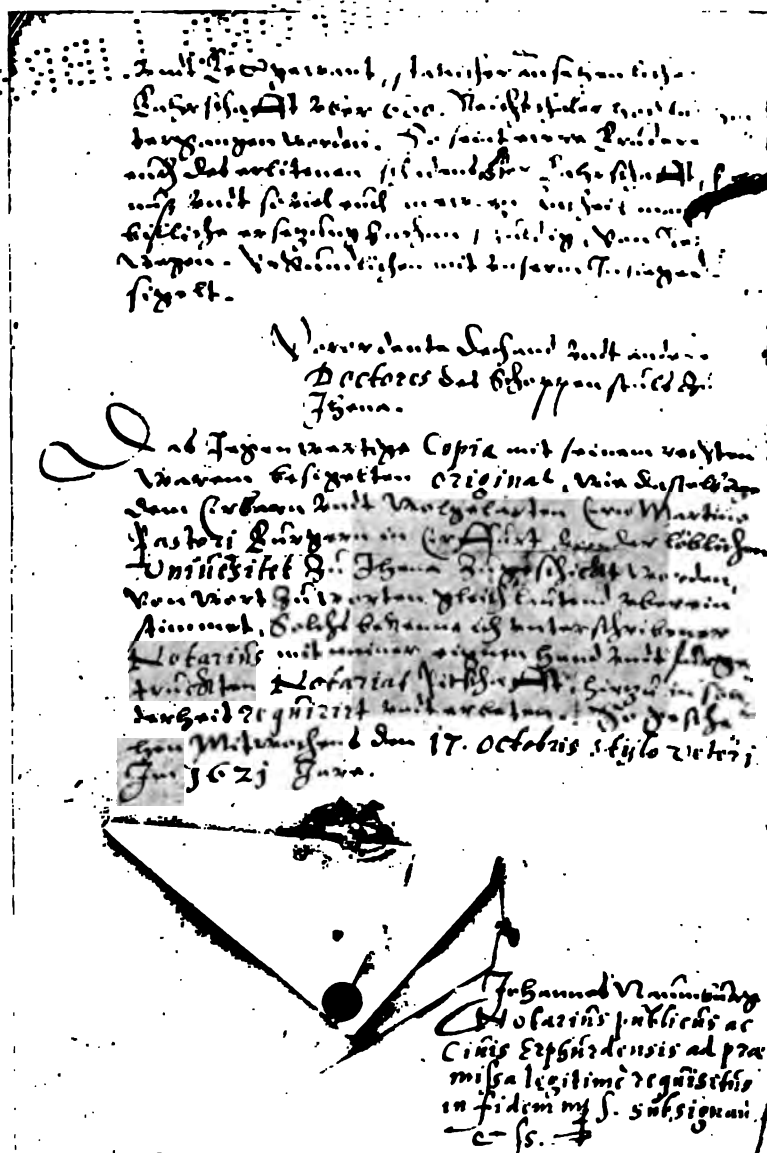
The present writer has been able, with the aid of newly discovered sources, to trace the Westphalian branch of the Pastorius family, the ancestors of Francis Daniel Pastorius, the founder of Germantown, back to the early fifteenth century. The name appears in the Low German form of "Scepers" in the list of the members of the City Council (Stadtrat) of Warburg, Westphalia, for more than a century, as the following names and dates from the list of the Warburg Council will show :

- 1439 Henrich Scepers.
- 1440 Ioan Scepers.
- 1441 Henrich Scepers.
- 1442 Ioan Scepers.
- 1443 Henrich Scepers.
- 1444 Ioan Scepers.
- 1445 Henrich Scepers.
- 1447 Ioan Scepers.
- 1449 Ioan Scepers.
- 1451 Henrich Scepers.
(Starb in diesem Jahr.)

- 1452 Ioan Scepers.
- 1459 Henrich Scepers.
- 1461 Henrich Scepers.
- 1463 Henrich Scepers.
obiit hoc anno
- 1475 Henrich Scepers.
- 1478, 1480, 1485, 1487, 1489, 1491, 1493, 1496, 1498, 1500,
1504, 1506, 1508, 1510, 1512 Henrich Scepers.
- 1513, 1517, Hillebrand Scepers.
- 1518 Henrich Scepers.
- 1519 Hillebrand Scepers.
- 1520 Henrich Scepers.
- 1521, 1523 Hillebrand Scepers.
- 1524 Ioan Scepers.
- 1525, 1527 Hillebrand Scepers.
- 1528, 1530 Henrich Scepers.
- 1531, 1533, 1535 Hillebrand Scepers.
- 1536 Henrich Scepers.
- 1537 Hillebrand Scepers.
- 1538 Henrich Scepers.
- 1539 Hillebrand Scepers.
(bekleidete im Stadtrate das Amt eines Weinherrn
u. starb um Ostern des Jahres.)
- 1540 Henrich Scepers.
- 1541 Balzer Scepers.

In the Archives of Warburg other valuable manuscript documents were found relating to the Pastorius family. Among these are three letters written by Martinus Pastorius (or Pastor as he signs himself) of Erfurt, to recover a debt due him from his brother Henrich and his half-brother Herbold as his part of the inheritance—a consideration of 27½ rix dollars, fixed July 24, 1618, by two commissaries of the Council, Henrich Thwing and Jobst Thoman, as one letter relates. The three letters are addressed to the City Council of Warburg and dated Jan. 8, 1619 (correcto stilo), Feb. 18, 1620, and Oct. 26, 1621, respectively.

DECISION OF THE JURISTIC FACULTY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF JENA IN
THE SUIT OF MARTINUS PASTOR, October 17, 1621 (O. S.).



DECISION OF THE JURISTIC FACULTY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF JENA IN
 THE SUIT OF MARTINUS PASTOR, October 17, 1621 (O. S.).

In the letter of Oct. 26, 1621, we learn that the half-brother, Herbold, robbed his old father and cruelly treated him and that the father died at Easter 1620.²⁶

The case of Martin Pastor against his brothers was finally decided by the Juristic Faculty of the University of Jena in a document, which we reproduce here photographically, because of its interest as a legal form of the time. The document is dated Oct. 17, 1621 (O. S.).

The other letter found among the Archives of Warburg is addressed by Melchior Adam Pastorius of Windsheim to the Council of Warburg, inquiring about his ancestors. Here we learn for the first time that the (High) German form of the Pastorius name was "Schäffer," and that the family were weavers by trade. The text of the letter, which is in Melchior Adam Pastorius' own clear hand, is printed here for the first time:

"Wohledle Fürsichtige undt Hochweise
Insonders Groszgünstige Hochgeehrte Herren.

Denenselben mag ich hierbey nicht verhalten, wie das mein gelibter Vatter Martin Pastor, zu Teutsch Schäffer genanth, gewester assessor des löbl. Chur Mayntzischen Gerichts in der Statt Erfurtt, seel. aus dero Statt gebürttig, und Eines Warburgischen Burgers Sohn gewesen, dessen Brüdere dem Verlauth nach etwa Zeugwebere gewesen sein sollen:

Wann dann nun durch die passirte sowohlen 30. Iährige, als auch nach der hand mehr gefolgte Kriegs Tumulten Ich unter andern obgedachten Martin Pastors kindern weith in die frembde gerathen, und mich bey 3½ jahren in Jtalien, zu Rom, nachgehends in Franckreich und Oestreich uffgehalten, bis mich durch Göttlichen Rath und schickunge in dess heyl. Römischen Reichs Statt Windsheimb in Francken häuslich niedergelassen, und anfänglichen Eine Rath: nach der handt Burgemeisters Stelle sampt andern Ehren Aemptern vertreten, auch mitt lieben kindern von Gott gesegnet worden bin, so zum theil ihre studia absoluiet, zum theil aber denen noch incumbiren, vnd Nun ich sampt disen posterirenden lieben Meinigen sehr hohes Verlangen tragen etwas wenig von unserm Origine und lieben VorEltern in notitiam und Wissenschaft zu bringen. So will solchem nach die guete zuuersicht zu Meinen Groszgünstig: Hoch-

²⁶ "Und Montag Anno 1620. inn den heyligen Osternn mein lieber Vatter verstorben," &c.

geehrten Herren tragen, die werden ob solchen meinem hertzlichen Verlangen nit allein kein Missfallen tragen, sondern auch der lieben Warheit zu steur Mir so Viel gutthat und freundschaft erweisen, das sie aus dero Burger Registern sowohn, als dem Statt Tauffbuche Nachschlagen und uffsuchen lassen, all der ienigen Schöffere Nahmen undt hanthierungen, welche in dero löbl. Statt iemahls gewohnet haben, vnd solche durch dero verodneten Syndicum oder Stattschreiber vmb die dancknehmige gebühr extrahiren und vnter dero Cantzley Secret expediren, so dann Einem Kauff: oder Handelsmanne, welcher nacher Franckfurtt correspondiret zuestellen zu lassen, deme dann alle notificirende spesen und Amptsgebühren durch He. Caspar Reinen Meinen gevollmächtigten mitt höchstem Dancke restituiert werden sollen.

Vndt gleich wie ich mich hierinnfalls hochgeneigter gratification undt willfähigkeit getröste, als werde dise mir vor meinem Ende causirende frewede durch meine posteros gegen alle Warburgische Statt Kinder in zuetragenden gelegenheiten aller möglichkeit nach vergelten lassen, Inmassen dann nechst heylwärttiger Göttl. empfehlunge allsteths bin und verbleibe:

Meiner Insonders Groszgünstigen Hochgeehrten Herren
Dienst bereith ergebenster
Melchior Adam Pastorius J. V. Dr.
Aelterer Burgemeister, Scholarcha,
und Bawherr in des. Heyl. Röm. Reichstatt
Windsheimb in Francken.

Datum Windsheimb den 23/13. Jan. 1680.

PASTORIUS GENEALOGY.²⁷

FRIDERICUS PASTORIUS, of Warburg, Westphalia, died at Easter, 1620 (Melchior Adam Pastorius says he died in 1640, leaving an only son, Martinus Pastorius, but Martinus in a letter addressed to the Council of Warburg mentions two brothers, Heinrich and Herbold, designating the latter as "half brother," and stating that the father died at Easter, 1620). Francis Daniel Pastorius, son of Melchior Adam, gives the name of his great grandfather as Christian and not Fridericus. It is possible that he mistook the name of his maternal grandfather, Christianus von Flinsberg, for that of his paternal great grandfather.

²⁷ The genealogy, printed in the following pages, was collected by the late Daniel Pastorius Bruner. No attempt has been made to complete it. It is printed here, with some additions and corrections, in the hope that some member of the family may continue it.

Children: Martinus,
Heinrich,
Herbold.

MARTINUS PASTORIUS (Fridericus),²⁸ born in Warburg, Westphalia, 1576, settled in Erfurt, probably in 1618.

Married as his first wife, Eva Rödiger.

Children: Casparus.

Married as his second wife, Brigitta Flinsberger.

Children: Johannes Augustinus,
Margaretha (married Laurentius Bebler, a Chirurgus in Elfeld),
Henricus,
Rebecca,
Melchior Adam,
Balthasar.

MELCHIOR ADAM PASTORIUS (Martinus, Fridericus), born at Erfurt, September 22, 1624, died at Nürnberg, February 4, 1702.

Married as his first wife, January 22, 1651, Magdalena Diez (born, February 4, 1607, died, March 27, 1657).

Children: Franciscus Daniel Pastorius.

Married as his second wife, February 9, 1658, Eva Margaretha Gelchsheimer (daughter of Johann Gelchsheimer, Jurium Doctor et Jure Consultus in Windsheim; died, June 14, 1661).

Children: Susanna Eva (born, December 7, 1658, died, January 4 [14], 1659).

Susanna Eva (born, June 10, 1660),
Anonymous.

Married as his third wife, January 21, 1662, Barbara Greulich (or Greulich née Heider, in Hfflittenheim; died, March 26, 1674).

No issue.

²⁸ The Christian names of the ancestors back to Fridericus are given in *cus*). For particulars of those members of the family having issue, see the paragraphs giving the names of the children.

Married, as his fourth wife, September 22, 1674, Dorothea Esther Volckmann (or Volckmanns, daughter of Adam Volckmann, in Nürnberg).

Children: Johann Samuel (born, Oct. 15, 1675, died, Aug. 18, 1687).

Anna Catharina (born, March 20, 1678).

Margaretha Barbara (born, Aug. 14, 1680).

Augustin Adam (born, Aug. 5, 1682).

FRANCISCUS DANIEL PASTORIUS (Melchior Adam, Martinus, Fridericus), born, September 26, 1651, in Sommerhausen, Franconia; died, in 1719, in Germantown Pennsylvania. Married, November 26, 1688, in Germantown, Enneke Klostermann, of Mühlheim-on-the-Ruhr (died, March 9, 1723).

Children: Johann Samuel,
Heinrich.

JOHANN SAMUEL PASTORIUS (Franciscus Daniel, Melchior Adam, Martinus, Fridericus), born, March 30-31, 1690,²⁹ in Germantown; died, April 29, 1722.

Married, May 30, 1716, Hannah Lucken (daughter of Jan Lucken), passed meeting May 30, 1716.

Children Daniel (born, December 22, 1717).

John (born, July 16, 1721; died, Jan. 2, 1749-50); will dated November 2, 1749, proven January 17, 1750, buried at Germantown Meeting, November 4, 1749.

HEINRICH PASTORIUS (Franciscus Daniel, Melchior Adam, Martinus, Fridericus), born, April 1, 1692, in Germantown.

Married Sarah Boutcher, passed meeting November 30, 1720. (An entry in the *Beehive* gives date of marriage thus: "Anno 1720-1 the 7th day of February.")

²⁹ Pastorius left this note in the *Beehive*:

"NB.: This child being born on a First-day-night, the First in the house we now dwell in;" &c. Here we have the approximate date of Pastorius' occupancy of the Germantown house.

Children: Mary (born, January 18, 1722).
Samuel (born, March 15, 1724).
Hannah (born, March 1, 1726; died, August 12, 1727).
Benjamin (born, August 4, 1728; died, October 18, 1728).
Ann (born, November 5, 1729; married John Wynn, about 1750; died Sept. 1, 1790.

DANIEL PASTORIUS (John Samuel, Franciscus Daniel, Melchior Adam, Martinus, Fridericus), born, December 22, 1717; died, November, 1754.

Married Sarah Shoemaker, February 23, 1743.

Children: Hannah (born in Germantown, November 17, 1743).

Abraham (born, October 10, 1745).

Daniel (born, November 13, 1747).

Samuel (see below).

ANN PASTORIUS (Heinrich, Franciscus Daniel, Melchior Adam, Martinus, Fridericus), born, November 5, 1729; died, September 1, 1790.

Married John Wynn⁸⁰ (died, April 19, 1787).

Children: Pastorius (died, April 25, 1787; unmarried).

Sarah (married, February 11, 1772, James Hall.

Isaac (born, March 29, 1759; died, February 16, 1798; married, July 8, 1784, Mary Eastburn, born August 3, 1769; died, August 26, 1803, daughter of Robert and Esther (Franks) Eastburn.

Mary.

Ann (born, August 1, 1765; died, August 5, 1857; married May 15, 1789, Thomas

⁸⁰ "The above family usually spelled the name Wynn without the "e" as do all of their descendants to the present day."—J. Clifford Campion, Jr.

Hooton, Jr., born, July 20, 1866; died, June 11, 1806, son of Thomas and Bathsheba () Hooton of Evesham Township, Burlington Co., N. J.).

ABRAHAM PASTORIUS (Daniel, John Samuel, Franciscus Daniel, Melchior Adam, Martinus, Fridericus), born in Germantown, October 10, 1745, in 1779 adjudged a traitor and lost his property by confiscation, after which he went with his family to Canada, died in New Orleans, in May, 1815.

Married, April 20, 1769, Eleanor Leech (died Feb. 29, 1779, and buried at Oxford Meeting House.)

Children: First child stillborn (buried at the Oxford Meeting).

Eleanor (born, January 8, 1772; died, October 5, 1773).

Charles (born, February 15, 1774).

Daniel (born, December, 1776).

Margaret (born, October 4, 1777, on the night of the battle of Germantown).

Eleanor Leech (born, February 29, 1779).

SAMUEL PASTORIUS (Daniel, John Samuel, Franciscus Daniel, Melchior Adam, Martinus, Fridericus), born in Germantown, September 13, 1747, died in Philadelphia, of yellow fever, September 6, 1798; buried in the Friends' Burying Ground in Germantown.

Married, Sarah Lincoln (died of yellow fever September 11, 1798; buried in the Friends' Burying Ground in Germantown).

Children: Sarah, married John Tull, and had a large family.

Francis Daniel,

Mary (married Mr. Story).

John (born, October 4, 1777, on the night of the battle of Germantown; died in February, 1865, unmarried).

Esther (died in childhood).
Abraham (born in Philadelphia, married Charlotte Wilson, in 1816, lost at sea in 1825.
Samuel (married and lived in Baltimore; no children).
Rachel (died in childhood).
Ann (married John Allen, died in 1876).
Hannah (died in infancy).
Charles Macknett.

DANIEL PASTORIUS, SECOND (Daniel, John Samuel, Franciscus Daniel, Melchior Adam, Martinus, Fridericus), born in Germantown, will dated January 31, 1831, proven February 14, 1831.

Married Elizabeth Mechlin, April 19, 1786.
Children: Mary (born, September 5, 1788; married John Reiff, of Montgomery Co.).
Letitia (born, December 6, 1790; married Mr. Thomas).
Joseph (born, March 7, 1793).
Charles (born, October 5, 1795; married Margaret Broadus. This item is entered also under Joseph).
Daniel (born, August 2, 1797).

FRANCIS DANIEL PASTORIUS, SECOND (Samuel, Daniel, John Samuel, Franciscus Daniel, Melchior Adam, Martinus, Fridericus).

Married Margaret —
Children: A daughter; married Mr. Lawrence Shuster, of Spring Garden, Philadelphia.

ABRAHAM PASTORIUS (Samuel, Daniel, John Samuel, Franciscus Daniel, Melchior Adam, Martinus, Fridericus), born in Philadelphia.

Married Charlotte Wilson in 1816.

Children: Washington,

Margaretta (born in Phila. July 2, 1820; married
Elton Rogers; had two children; died March
31, 1849).

John (died in infancy).

Francis Daniel (born, May 1, 1825; died, 1828).

CHARLES MACKNETT (Samuel, Daniel, John Samuel, Franciscus Daniel, Melchior Adam, Martinus, Fridericus).

Married Ann Rex Hortter, of Germantown.

Children: Jacob Macknett (died, October 11, 1832, aged 4
years).

Rachel (married Lemuel Zell, and had a number
of children).

Anna (born, August 26, 1833).

Charles Macknett,
Henry.

MARY PASTORIUS (Daniel, Daniel, John Samuel, Franciscus Daniel, Melchior Adam, Martinus, Fridericus), born, September 5, 1778.

Married John Reiff, of Montgomery County.

Children: Jacob,
Daniel P.,
Elisabeth,
Letitia,
William,
Susan,
Charles.

DANIEL PASTORIUS (Daniel, Daniel, John Samuel, Franciscus Daniel, Melchior Adam, Martinus, Fridericus), born, August 2, 1797; died, 1864. Married Tacy Styer, daughter of Charles and Tacy Styer, of Whitpain Township, Montgomery County, Pa.

Children: Myra (died in infancy).
John (born, 1824; unmarried).
Mary Macknett (see below).
Elisabeth Sheppard (born, February 20, 1828;
married, 1866, Rev. John S. Cromlich, of
Pittsburg. No children).
Daniel (died in infancy).
Francis Daniel (married Frances Beaver; no
children).
Daniel (see below).
Joseph } (Twins died in infancy).
Tacy. }

WASHINGTON PASTORIUS (Abraham, Samuel, Daniel, John
Samuel, Franciscus Daniel, Melchior Adam, Martinus, Frideri-
cus), born in Philadelphia, January 4, 1818; married Mary W.
Wolff.

Children: Henry Wolff (born in Germantown, July 12,
1855; died, August 11, 1869).
Sallie Wolff (born in Germantown, July 11,
1858, married Joseph N. Damon; issue,
Mary Pastorius, Samuel Foster and Sallie P.
Damon).
Washington (born in Roxboro, June 27, 1861).
Francis Daniel (born in Roxboro, September
27, 1863; married, December 4, 1891, Ger-
trude White; issue, Washington Pastorius,
(born, September 1, 1892); married, March
14, 1903, second wife, Mary A. Lockhart).
Charles Sharpless (born in Germantown, April
22, 1866).
Charlotta (born in Germantown, January 23,
1868; married Edmond McKendrie; issue,
Edmond McKendrie, Jr.).
Horace Evans (born in Germantown, September
11, 1876; married, April 15, 1903, Elizabeth
Walcott Hoagland; issue, Horace E. Pas-
torius, Jr., born, September 28, 1904, and
Josephine Lillian Pastorius, July 3, 1907).

CHARLES MACKNETT PASTORIUS (Charles Macknett, Samuel, Daniel, John Samuel, Franciscus Daniel, Melchior Adam, Martinus, Fridericus), born, October 5, 1837; died, September 28, 1870. Married Hannah Nice, of Germantown.

Children: Samuel Nice,
Annie,
Sallie,
Ida.

HENRY CLAY PASTORIUS (Charles Macknett, Samuel, Daniel, John Samuel, Franciscus Daniel, Melchoir Adam, Martinus, Fridericus), born, February 7, 1850. Married Mary de Huff Smith.

Children: Jacob Macknett.
Cyrus Tatman (born, 1875).
Henry Clay (born, February, 1877).

MARY MACKNETT PASTORIUS (Daniel, Daniel, Daniel, John Samuel, Franciscus Daniel, Melchior Adam, Martinus, Fridericus), born, September 2, 1826. Married, August 1, 1849, Davies E. Bruner, son of Ab. Bruner, of Columbia, Lancaster County, Pa.

Children: Davies Evans (born, September 12, 1850).
Daniel Pastorius (born, May 15, 1852).
Rebecca Tacy (born, December 2, 1857; died, January 4, 1858).
Abraham (Abram), (born, January 9, 1859).

DANIEL PASTORIUS (Daniel, Daniel, Daniel, John Samuel, Franciscus Daniel, Melchior Adam, Martinus, Fridericus), born, March 6, 1836. Married Clara Dalzell, youngest daughter of William Dalzell, of New Jersey.

Children: Clara Dalzell (born, November 3, 1869).
Daniel Berkley (born, July 31, 1871).

Altho I have the other that I call the Hand of Providence, whereby some seeking their solace from one word among these forefathers, find not at all whether these own hands be written in the book of life or no, what relations they had, and what relations they still may have alive in high Germany, or elsewhere, I shall set down on this part a summary account of my forefathers, &c. and of my own self, humbly praying the Lord, to keep the do not two sons & all the offspring which He shall be pleased to give unto them, in His Fear & favour, & that to guide them by His Holy Spirit through the troublesome Vale of Tears, that at last they may happily arrive in the Eternal Mansions of Bliss, Rest & Glory, then to praise Him for ever and ever. Amen.

Now to begin with my Grand-father Martin Pastorius of Strasbourg, a citizen of Strasbourg (re.) I shall only tell them, that he was twice married, & that his first wife Elizabeth brought him a son, called Augustin, who became a Popish Priest, & a Voluntary Curate of the second wife Brigida, a daughter of Christian Felschberger inhabitant of the Imperial City of Mulhausen in Thuringen, he had six children, viz. Augustin, Henry, Rebecca, Melchior, Adam, & Gallebas. The aforesaid Martin Pastorius has been a member of the Electoral Council in Esford, the Metropolis of the Principality of Thuringen, a man of a good estate; &c. but when the Swedes (during the Dutch War, which lasted 30 years,) took the city his several houses therein with all his goods were burnt in one night, and he himself in his journey towards Mentz (intending to go to the Elector his Master,) being obliged to lodge one evening in a Village where Dutch Soldiers did lie, hid himself in a straw under some straw, but was betrayed by his own servant, and by the soldiers searching & pricking after him with their naked swords, some wounded in his poor Widow (my Grand-mother) lived several years after his decease, however destitute of all outward means to do much for her six Orphans: When my Father at his going to the University bore her farewell, she could give him but one Lacat (or two pieces of Eight) besides her good Blessing, neither did he ever get more (nor a farthing) of all his patrimony, which made him the often remember the great Virtue or efficacy of a Lacat given by a well-wishing Mother.

Of the aforesaid many Charles & Aunt I saw none but Augustin & Rebecca: And in the so Augustin before was seven years of age, he then sojourning for a few weeks at some haunts, where his very loving Grandfather together with a couple of fiery Jesuits, he laboured hard to bring him back to the Roman Church; but seeing his endeavours fruitless, my so Uncle & his wife his own Mother & me too, notwithstanding he himself was never married, & had gotten a deal of wealth by his Lawyrship both at the Court of Rome & that of the Elector of Mentz, & also a fat estate in Hungary, the Emperor having given him the title of a Baron, by the name of Augustin von Hertenfels, &c.

When Aunt Rebecca I saw, when I passed through Esford towards Jena, one Mr. Winter an ancient parson of the Cathedral in the so City of Esford, sending for her out of the (Latin) library she lived to his dwelling house, where he among many books distributed also desired the great difference of the Jewish Gifts which I do observe upon his front teeth, for, said he, notwithstanding I studied in the so received five Talents as a reward by his own ordinary writings, showing unto me the Reichs-Regierung (other words, by him published) Melchior Adam but two, and this harmful Nun, pointing at my so Aunt, hurried me. And really she looked to be extreme innocent, & if not meriting heaven through her self-concited good works, I thought, it would be pity she should deserve hell.

My Father Melchior Adam Pastorius was born at Esford above the 22. of September 1612, and there having been at school, he went (June 1632) to the University of Wurstburg, thence with the Cardinal Johannes Serelli the then Rector of the so, unto Rome, where at first he studied Divinity, (as they call it) in Collegio Germanico, together the Elector of Mentz (at that time was Leopold Bishop of Wurzburg) did send & recommend him, but my so Father, not willing to be a Priest, & to do without doing by many strange tricks, disentangled him self out of the so (albeit, turning to the study of the Law, and keeping mostly with his brother Augustin, who was already a Practitioner & Attorney for several Dutch Princes at the Pontifical Court. Out of Italy my so Father (at the expense of the aforesaid Elector) travelled through France & other foreign Countries, till at last he arrived at Wurzburg again, and then by the so Elector's consent he took upon him the Office of a Counsellor of the Temporety of Wurzburg, residing at Domerhausen (but two German miles distant from Wurstburg aforesaid) in Frankenland. There my so Father associated himself to the Lutheran Party, giving two Reasons, why he forsook the Roman Religion, one in Print, chiefly thereunto moved (as I heard him often say) by reading the Epistles of the Apostle Paul; and thereupon married his first Wife Margaret, the Widow of Johannes Schen the 22. of January 1638, and kept no other (his own but myself alone) as my so Aunt. She being dead, he married the 16. of February 1648, his second Wife Elizabeth, the youngest daughter of Johannes Felschberger, p. d. & Counsellor of the Imperial City of Wurzburg in Frankenland aforesaid. He bore him the 7th of December in the so year 1648 a child, which they called Augustin, viz. the 10th of June 1660 an other, to whom they gave the same name. And 1665 the 28. of May he had a Wife being great with young, not able to bring forth a dead male child, and cut or ripped out of her belly, & the next day morning 17th of June she also died herself, and both the aforesaid children, soon after followed their Mother to the Grave.

Upon 1662, the 23rd of January he took his Third Wife Barbara, the Widow of one Paulich, her Maiden name having been Stengels, who of her former husband had one daughter & three sons, viz. Michael, Adam, and Johannes, who at my departure out of Germany had very one of them, these wives & children living at Wurzburg, a matter of three Dutch miles from Wurzburg. She was a noble kind & very loving Mother, she died, dying the 26th of March in the year 1674, and never bore any child to my so Father.

and Clemens, viz. 1674 the 22nd of September, married her fourth & last wife, Barbara (the youngest daughter of Adam Zeltmann, J. U. D. deceased, who also in his lifetime has been the youngest daughter of the Marquess of Brandenburg Bayreuth), solemnizing his wedding at Nürnberg. Of her he begot the year of October 1681, a Son, named Georgius Samuel, who died the 12th of August 1687. Further she bore him, the 20th of March 1685, a daughter which they called Anna Catharina, born Anno 1689, the 1st of July, a daughter, called Barbara, and Anno 1690, the 1st of July, a daughter, called Barbara. Of the above my dear & well beloved Father, shall here by way of a grateful Memorial of his Remembrance, tell, by two Sons, his Grandchildren, that he was of a well composed Countenance, much like to that of our friend Christoph Owen, free from pride & affectation, could be as affable to the poorest sort of men, cheerful, sweet & pleasant in his discourse, not willing to give any offence to the very least in the Company, a man of singular Learning & diverse Languages, speaking Latin, Italian & French as perfect as his own Mother tongue, given a little to Poetry, quick in Apprehension, sound in Judgment, slow to be provoked: a lover of pure Religion & Mystical Theologie, hating Superstition & formalities, in his lucubrations & (small) light writings almost insatiable, and as good a Lawyer as any ready to be, and never the least not overcautious, he, out of a Father's Reputation, being highly esteemed by the Country & other Great men of the Province, wherein he chiefly was Employed. He was Juris Utinque Doctor, and after his coming from Sommerhausen to Windsheim he there served as publick Consistorial of the City one Year, so then was chosen one of the Senators to wit the 30th of September 1689, and afterwards made Scholarcho or President of this Gymnasium, from Windsheim, viz. as also the 21st of September 1690, one of the four chief Burgomasters, and finally Anno 1693, Chen. Rector, or Mayor during his life, which dignity the Emperor confirmed upon him, etc.

Having thus spent some years also in this place of Trust he growing weary of the Court, laid plaine of his own accord all his Office down, and retired to a Garden, belonging to the above Marquess of Brandenburg Bayreuth, situate near Nürnberg, in which City my above named eldest Sister Anna Catharina was married the 6th of December 1693, to Johannes Matthaeus Schleiss, Secretary thereof, and my youngest Sister Margareta Barbara, at the very same day & year took Georgius Samuel to himself, J. U. D. of the 30th of May to be her husband, each of em having in the year 1700, a Son, viz. in the House of the 30th Garden, my 3rd Sister died the 1st day of February in the morning between 3 & 4 of the Month 1702, being almost eight days before unexpectedly stricken by a Spleen in his left Side, and 22 years & 6 months & 16 days of age.

My Mother Magdalena was the daughter of Stephanus, Bailiff of Norheim; her Mother's maiden name has been Magdalena Schleiss. She the Magdalena was born the 21st of February 1607, and married the 17th of November 1629, Henry Schleiss, Secretary at Wormhausen to whom she bore three Children, who all died very young. Her 1st first husband being departed this life the 17th of November 1634, she took for her 2nd husband the 18th of February 1639, viz. Johannes Schleiss, Rector of Sommerhausen, with whom she had four Children, whereof two died, when little & very young, but her daughter Margareta & her son Johannes I know, and loved, as my own self. My 3rd of January 1648, her 2nd second husband likewise went to his last long home, whereupon my eldest Children Anna Catharina married, her the 22nd of February 1650, & begot no other Children of her besides my self, ut pluribus infra. Anno 1687, the 17th of March (being the good Friday, as it is commonly called) in the morning between 8 & 9 of the Clock she was freed of all her troubles & exercises to which we are subject in this present evil world, by being removed (as I well hope) to a better, and buried at Sommerhausen after the 24th of the same month & year, my 3rd Father testifying his firm & constant affection towards her in a printed Funeral Oration upon the words of holy David, Psalm 138, v. 23, 24, which were in a manner her Symbolum, Motto or Device, and found according to Martin Luther's Dutch translation verbatim thus: When I have but thee, I care not for heaven & earth, And though my body & soul be pine away, yet art thou, O God, alway the comfort of my heart & my portion. She was a Woman fearing the Lord, and reading the Holy Scriptures as much as in her lay, having for that end a small Apothecary Shop, but soon weary being herself pretty skilful in Physick. viz. I shall say no more of her, for I left too early, but 6 years & 6 months old.

Francis Daniel Schleiss was born at Sommerhausen in Franchland the 26th of September between 7 & 8 a Clock in the morning, Anno 1693, & had (after the Lutheran fashion) from his Father Matthaeus Schleiss, Rector of Wormhausen, and Daniel Schleiss, J. U. D. living at Seggau. At the removal of my Father from Sommerhausen to Windsheim the 20th of September, clothed me in red Scalet giving me also a little sword & hat with three plumes of feathers, a pair of white boots, &c. making a foot of my seven in my tenderest years. In Windsheim I had good schooling, chiefly towards or more young Carl Burckhardt, a noble man, (children for school fees, were being then an excellent Rector of the Gymnasium by name Salomon Zeltmann, a Magister by birth, who could speak almost no Dutch, so that it was not allow'd to use any other language but the Latin, &c. Anno 1698, the 31st of July I went with some others to the University of Altdorf, thence to be initiated among Students (which they call Depositionem) amongst these Novices with advantage of important promises in the Hall of Wisdom, del. Supplicium, and Anno 1699 the 11th of August to the University of Leipsburg where I studied the Laws, still making a beginning to learn French. Anno 1699, more fully I visited also the University of Basel, & was by the way at Schaffhouse (strangely attacked by the Air of a Malaria, to say the least) & read over the heads of St. Augustine & other Fathers that might convince me. On the 23rd of November, even at Windsheim, I returned to Windsheim, where I stay'd all that Winter, and the next 12th of April 1699, I went again to Altdorf, but not finding the place for some reason, left it the 2nd of July, going to Altenberg, thence to Leipsburg, and so on to Genoa, where I arrived

the 15th of the aforesaid month of July, continuing the study of the law, learning more and more of it. I then, the 15th of August, moved to the city of Amsterdam, where I continued to study the law, and to attend the lectures of the famous Dr. Grotius, who was then in the city. I was very much pleased to find that I had met many of my former friends, and to be able to converse with them in my own language. I was also very much pleased to find that I had met many of my former friends, and to be able to converse with them in my own language. I was also very much pleased to find that I had met many of my former friends, and to be able to converse with them in my own language.

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