

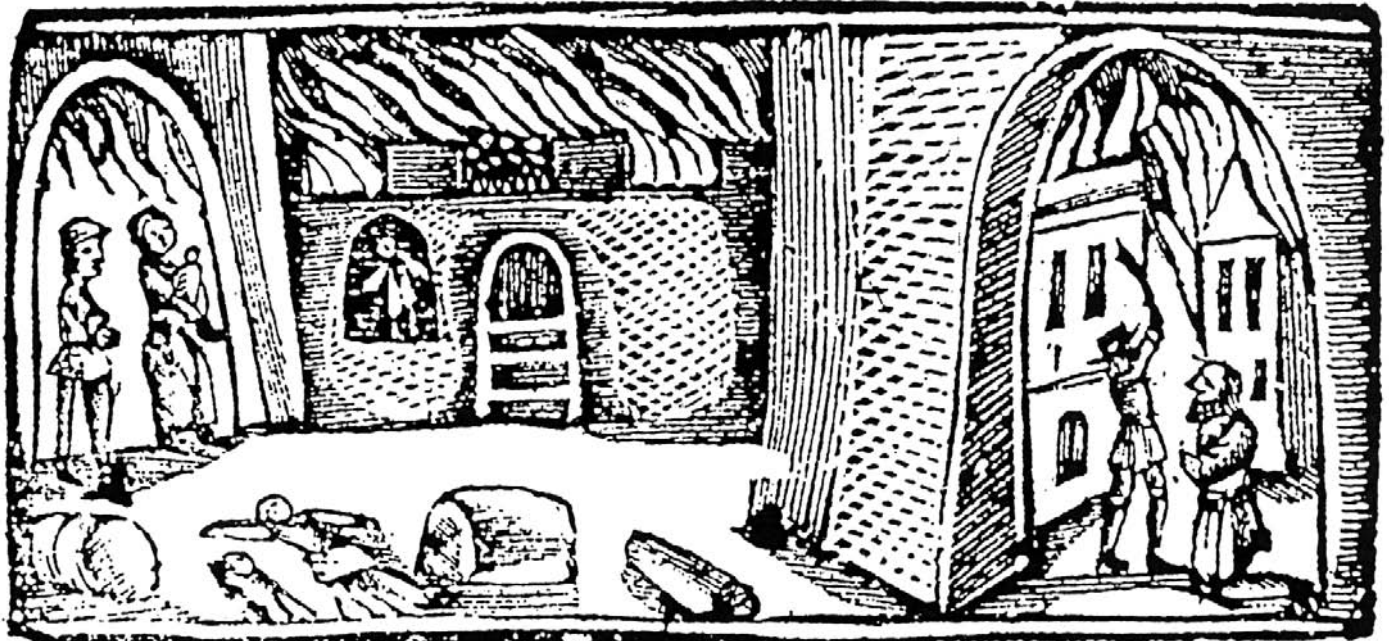
Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage



Volume 31, Number 4

October 2008

Kocherthal: A Tricentennial Commemoration
of the Palatine Migration of 1708/1709



Contributors to This Issue

Andreas Mielke was born in 1943 in Aken/Elbe (Sachsen-Anhalt), Germany, and studied literature and philosophy at Hamburg University. After his marriage to Bärbel Meyer, a daughter Myriam was born in 1967. From 1974 to 1976 he lectured at Glasgow University, Scotland, and then continued studies in Edmonton, Canada. He earned his M.A. and Ph.D. (1982) degrees from Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut. Along with appointments at various universities he works as an independent scholar and has produced numerous publications on German literature. Before concentrating on the biographies of eighteenth-century German pastors in colonial America (Josua Harrsch-Kocherthal, Henrich and Johann Friedrich Haeger, father and son Johann Caspar Stoever, George Samuel and Samuel Klug, Jacob Franck, and others), he authored three published monographs and several articles on the image of Africans in Western thought. He has also produced three theatre plays and poetry. He may be reached in King of Prussia, Pennsylvania, by e-mail: mielkeandreas@yahoo.com.



Andreas Mielke

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Sandra Yelton

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THE COVER

This woodcut shows the German city of Speyer in flames. During the 1689 war the French soldiers of Catholic Louis XIV (1638-1715), king of France and Navarre, set fire to the Speyer cathedral and many other buildings. Thousands were forced to flee. It was safer to study in Wittenberg than near the French border at universities in Freiburg, Heidelberg, or Tübingen. In fact, it was under Josua Harrsch's nephew Ferdinand Amadeus that Freiburg surrendered to the French in 1713.

This woodcut appeared in *The State of the Palatines for Fifty Years to This Present Time* (London, 1710), which notes that King Louis "sent the Dauphine, his Son, with a great Army into that Countrey, who ruined it in the most deplorable Manner that was ever heard of":

The first City they took was *Spire*, a noble, flourishing Town, and instantly put it under Contribution; quartering also Six Thousand Men in it, and demanding Sixty Thousand Crowns of the Inhabitants, under Pain of Burning it to the Ground; they reduced themselves almost to Beggary to pay this sum, which the Baron de *Monc'air* had no sooner receiv'd, but he caus'd Proclamation to be made with sound of Trumpet, that the People should all retire with their Goods, because the Town was to be Burnt the Fifth Day after; and to add to the Cruelty of their Punishment, they were not suffered to pass the *Rhine*, where they might have found some Assistance among their Friends and Relations, but were forc'd to retire to *Alsace*, among the *French*, who Treated them like so many Beasts, without the least Mark of Humanity or Compassion. After all these Severities they might have found some Consolation, even in the Extremity of their Affliction, if they had been furnish'd with Waggons for the Exportation of their Goods; but they were not to expect the least Favour. . . . Tears and Lamentations were seen and heard in every Place; the Women especially mov'd the hardest Hearts to Compassion, their Despair making them Tear their Hair, and strike their Heads against the Wall [p. 4].

Two letters from the Lutheran pastor Josua Harrsch to his superior document his assessment of the dismal ecclesiastical situation in the Kraichgau of 1699. Minority Lutheran parishes were being pressured by majority Calvinists (Reformed) and ruling Catholics alike. A pastor's mere survival depended on the number of parishioners.

The Ecclesiastical Situation in the Kraichgau: Two 1699 Letters from Pastor Josua Harrsch to Superintendent Johann Philipp Schlosser

Translated by Andreas Mielke

Eschelbronn, 17th June 1699.

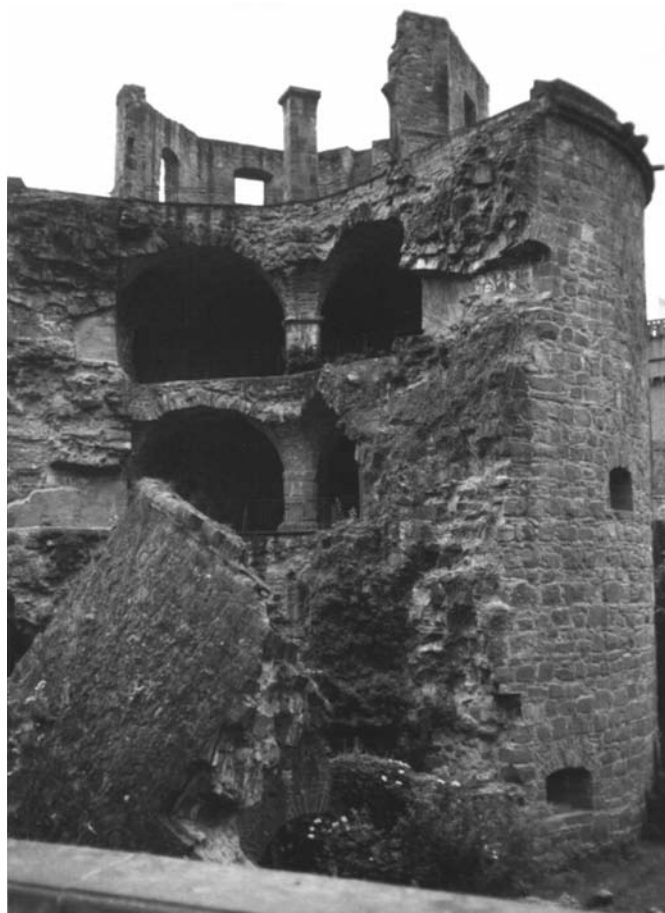
Highly Dignified, Highly Respectable, Highly Learned, in Particular, Most Highly Honored Lord Patron, and Highly Potent Supporter!

After having had the honor about four years ago [1695] to visit Your High Honor in Frankfurt,¹ at which time You not only showed me Your strongly inclined *affection* towards my insignificance but also intimated that, in case a place would need some service, You would actively help me toward a respectable *promotion* to Saarbrücken, and although since that time I have constantly been willing to visit Your High Honor to declare my mind's desire to show my gratitude for such undeserved favor, I regret in my heart that I have been unable to do so until now because of various obstacles that showed up:

But by the recently received [letter], Your High Honor's uncommon love for the promotion of the neighbor and, in particular, for the *clients'* welfare [can be seen], I now likewise see how far You have *effected* the increase of our Evangel. [Lutheran] church in the Palatinate through the grace of God, and *in particular*, through Your recent letter addressed to me in Your own hand. It is more than abundantly visible through the Same's quite uncommon eagerness for the promotion of God's honor, for which reason I also doubt not that such will be rewarded in the future with highly blessed acceptance by the great God in the temporal and later [in the eternal world], in and with the splendor of heaven, forever and overflowing.

Concerning the desired report in the letter mentioned, however, I herewith want to notify You most obediently, 1. that the Möckesheim hundred are in the fol-

¹Superintendent Schlosser lived in Frankfurt before he moved to Heidelberg whereas the prince elector lived in Düsseldorf.



After Catholic Louis XIV's Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in France in 1685, thousands of Protestant refugees from France settled all over Europe and America. In his further attempts in German lands to destroy Protestant Christianity, the twenty-one-foot-thick wall of the powder tower of Heidelberg Castle was blown apart in 1688. These seventeenth-century ruins from a section of the castle that was not rebuilt still bear silent witness (1999 photograph) to the European and American religious wars.



Left: Karl II (1651-1685), prince elector of the Palatinate, reigned as a strict Calvinist from 1680 until his death five years later. He married Princess Wilhelmine of Denmark, but their childless marriage enabled the Catholic Johann Wilhelm to become prince elector of the Palatinate.

Right: Princess Wilhelmine Ernestine Oldenburg—sister of Queen Anne Stuart's husband, Prince George—was born on June 20, 1650, at Copenhagen, Denmark. The daughter of Frederik III Oldenburg, king of Denmark, and Sophie Amalie, princess of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, she married Karl II, prince elector of the Palatinate, son of Karl I Ludwig and Charlotte, *Landgräfin* (countess) *von Hessen Kassel*, on September 20, 1671. She died on April 22, 1706, at Lichtenberg. She was also titled Princess Wilhelmine of Denmark; likewise, her brother was also Prince George of Denmark.

lowing localities—namely, in the upper half: Mückenloch [interlinear illegible name, “but belongs to Württemberg”]; Wemmerspach, cloister and village [insert illegible]; Lobenfeld; Spächbach; Münchzell; Eschelbronn; Daÿspach; and Zuzenhausen.² Of which eight places these three—Eschelbronn, Daÿspach, and Münchzell—depend on stewards,³ in which the *ecclesiastical laws* depend on the barons [here: *Freiherrn*, three Lutheran lords directly responsible to the emperor] alone and therefore have been supplied at all times by a Lutheran pastor at Eschelbronn (as is still the case indeed). In the other places the *ecclesiastical laws* belong to the Palatine elector, but although in each are both Lutheran and Catholic subjects, they have always and exclusively been served by a Reformed minister and since a short time ago only, now also by a Catholic priest.

To the lower half of the said country⁴ belong the following villages—namely, [interlinear insert illegible] Wiesenbach, Bammenthal, Hillspach, Geÿberg, Schadhausen, Angeloch, Maur, und Möckesheim; of these, also, three have been supplied thus far by the pastor at Maur. In the remaining five places the *ecclesiastical laws* also belong solely to the Palatine elector and therefore until now still have had no other clergyman but a *Reformed* one (even though subjects of both *religions* live there).

2. All places listed here are distant from the other by a half, some by an entire hour; some also a little above that. They therefore cannot be well supplied other than by two Lutheran ministers—namely, by one in the upper and by one in the lower half:

In the upper half, the services would be done first at [p. 2] Wemmerspach, to which the people from Mückenloch, as lying nearest, could also go; and second

at Spechbach, where the Lobenfelders would also have to go; and third at Zuzenhausen, so that one could make the round three times in this upper half because the three stewardship localities—Eschelbronn, Daÿspach, and Münchzell—which already have their pastor, do not belong here.

In the lower half, the divine service would have to be first at Wisenbach [Wiesenbach], to which the Geÿberger could also go; second at Bammenthal, where the Hilspacher would also have to go; and third at Möckesheim, so that one could also get around three times there because the [other] three steward localities—Schadhausen, Angeloch, and Maur—are not to be taken into account (as they, like the previous three, have already appointed a pastor.)

3. The number of souls adhering to the Lutheran *religion* [denomination] in each half may come to at least one hundred or 150 souls [people]—that is, an estimated total of about two hundred or three hundred (but excepting the steward townships, which reach a far bigger number); of which a completely correct report cannot be given by me, nor by any subjects, but rather by office-chairman Mr. Kauffmann⁵ as tithe collector [*Cent grave*, evidently *Zehntgraf*] of this Möckesheim hundred, who is also of our *religion*. When requested from him by the lordships, one could soon get the reports from all places by way of public announcement.

4. Regarding our report, it should be kept in mind, furthermore, that the request for a Lutheran pastor should not come from all Lutheran subjects in the land but exclusively from those who have been my *communions*. Of the others, who are unknown to me, I cannot, in fact, report anything except that I suspect that they would be of the same opinion as the others. Local office-chairman Mr. Kauffmann could best acquire a report about these [from them].

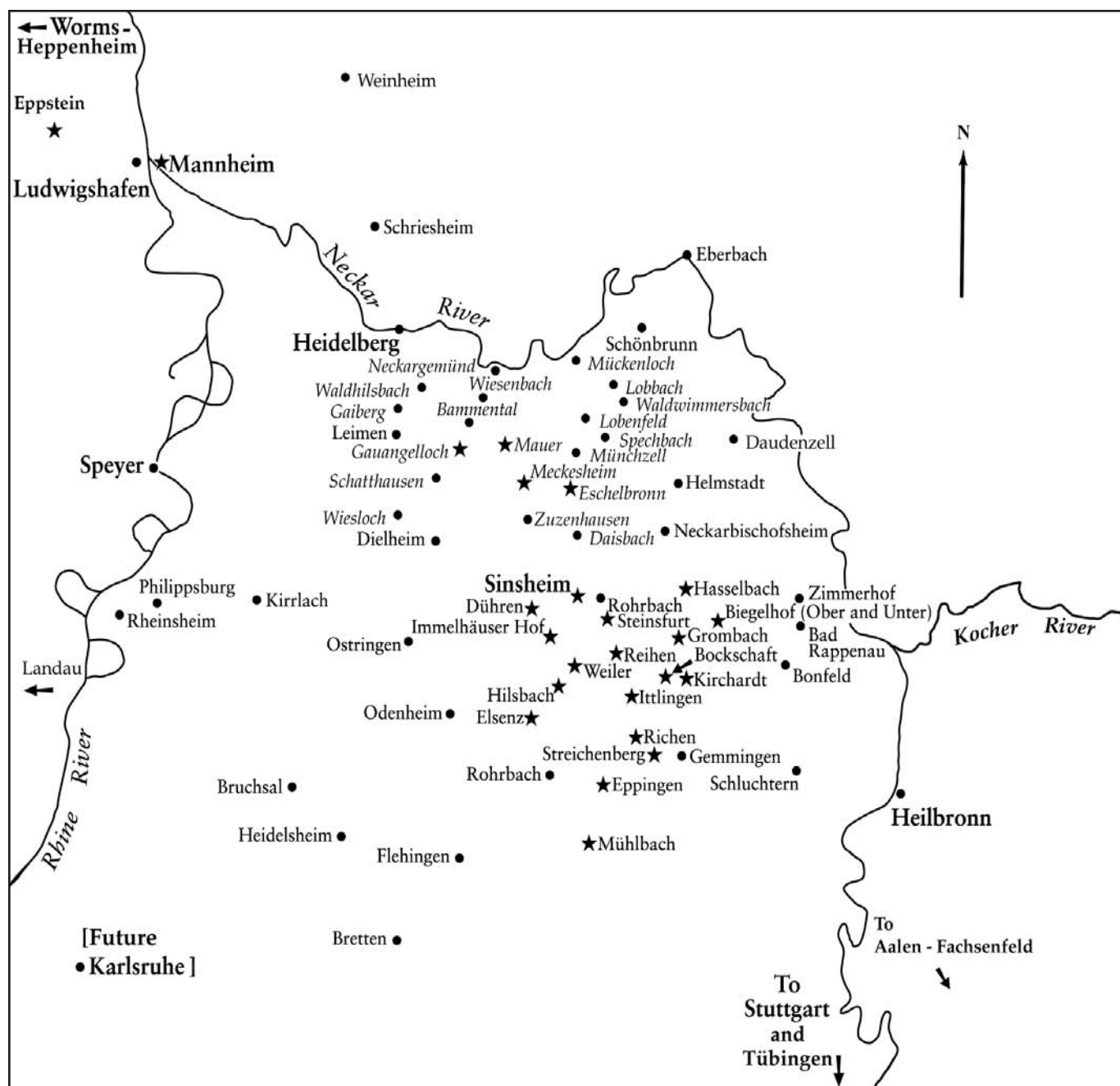
5. It is to be observed what kind of pastors apply. That is to say, if one or more of them are, in fact, already

²The upper (eastern) half of the *Meckesheimer Cent* (*Zehnt*, or tithe district) includes the following towns, identified in parenthesis by their postal codes and modern names: Möckesheim (74909 Meckesheim), Mückenloch (69151 Neckargemünd-Mückenloch), Münchzell (74909 Münchzell [served by Harrsch]), Daÿspach (74915 Daisbach [served by Harrsch]), Eschelbronn (74927 Eschelbronn [served by Harrsch]), Wemmerspach/Waldwimmersbach (74931), Lobbach (cloister and village) and Lobenfeld (74931 Lobbach), Spechbach (74937 Spechbach), and Zuzenhausen (74939 Zuzenhausen). At this time Harrsch's Eschelbronn precursor Anton Jacob Henckel (1668-1728) was preaching in 74858 Daudenzell.

³A *Vogt* is an administrative steward. Josua Harrsch was the son of Georg, steward in the service of the von Wöllwarth family. Several documents with his name are extant in the Ludwigsburg library: Bestand PL 9/2, Archiv der Freiherren von Wöllwarth zu Essingen: Urkunden, Regesten Wöllwarth-Laubach. The Harrsch family documents in Karlsruhe are presently not open to the public.

⁴The lower (western) half includes Schadhausen (69168 Wiesloch-Schatthausen), Angeloch (69181 Leimen-Gauangeloch), Bammenthal (69245 Bammenthal), Geÿberg (69251 Gaiberg), Maur (69256 Mauer), Werenpach (69257 Wiesenbach), and Hillspach (69151 Waldhilsbach).

⁵*Archivamt* Gabriele Wüst of the Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg, Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe, Karlsruhe, Germany, identified the Kauffmann mentioned in the letter as Johann Georg Kauffmann of Sinsheim, who became *Schultheiss* (mayor) and *Zentgraf* (tithe count or tax collector) at Meckesheim in 1679. Repeated mention of Kauffmann occurs in Rüdiger Lenz, *Kellerei und Unteramt Dilsberg: Entwicklung einer regionalen Verwaltungsinstanz im Rahmen der kurpfälzischen Territorialpolitik am unteren Neckar* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1989).



Map of Kraichgau area of Germany, including sites of Lutheran interest (italics) mentioned in the 1699 Harrsch letters to Superintendent Schlosser. Many localities, small as they may have been, also had Mennonite connections in the seventeenth century—for example, Harrsch's Eschelbronn and other starred villages and towns. See also Heinz Schuchmann, "Schweizer Einwanderer im früheren kurpfälzischen Streubesitz des Kraichgaues (1650-1750)," *Schriften zur Wanderungsgeschichte der Pfälzer* (Kaiserslautern: Heimatstelle Pfalz) 18 (1963).

appointed in the neighborhood, in that case the *assigned* salary cannot be gotten from the Palatine elector, or these circumstances might not last, and one might have to shamefully dismiss them [pastors] again.

6. It is also necessary to consider how to solicit Lutheran ministers and that one does that, not by way of *voluntate efficiente*,⁶ but rather by *voluntate approbante*⁷ only. Otherwise, nobody would spend a penny for the creation of a *supplication* or for any other expenses and hardly step out of the door, not to mention go as far as Heidelberg or Weinheim.⁸ But if they come here to confession and if I can talk to them seriously (which has to be

done with the greatest care lest they become bitter and even stay away and do without *communion* for years and days, knowing well that there is no *secular arm* and that the clergy is obliged alone to our stewards but has not the least authority to order them [the people]), they consider this to be a good thing. Yet, it is said: he who gives advice

⁶With immediately effective appointment?

⁷By probationary appointment?

⁸Today all mentioned localities lie southeast of Heidelberg. Schlosser's colleague Georg Debus lived in Weinheim (69469 Weinheim).

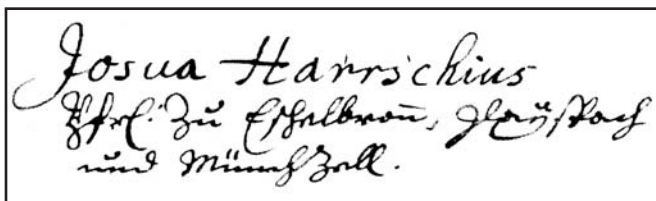
should follow it by deed. Were I not bound by my conscience not to ignore the apparent opportunity for growth of our church, all temporal interest in what I must expect from these people would certainly not be worth what I care to set down with the quill: Today's lukewarm attitudes in Christianity are lamentable. By the same token, this is not too remarkable in people who lived all their lives among the *Reformed* as sheep that have no shepherd and in these wartimes are becoming quite neglected [going astray].

In view of the entire Palatine Lutheran church, my simple mind would not know any other advice than that Your High Honor cared to make the effort and have someone draft the concept for a *supplication* [inserted from margin: "either immediately or upon further report from Mr. Kauffmann"] in the name of the *petitioners* [and] send it over here. Once it is cleanly copied, also signed by me and the parson in Maur in the name of the *petitioners* (because the *petitioners'* own *subscriptions* might take a long time), and again *remitted* to Your High Honor, it could then be forwarded with an *intercession* of the highly laudable *consistory* to the prince elector's government. If God then adds his blessing to a good effect, one has to thank him for that; if not, one must leave to God what one cannot improve.

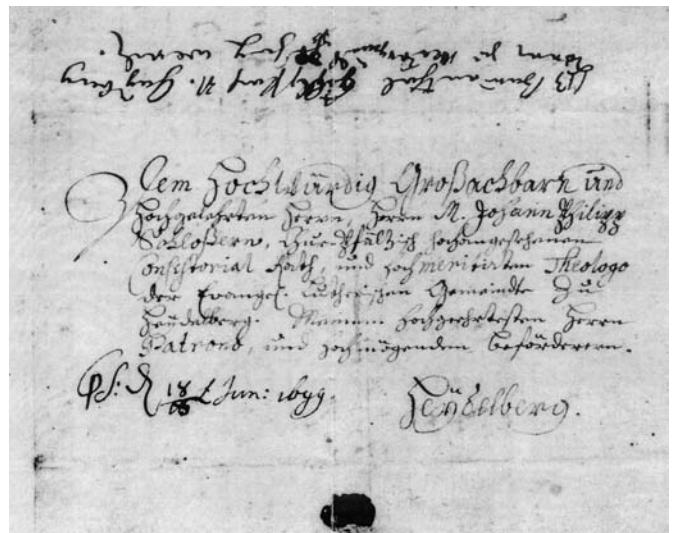
I am probably abusing Your High Honor's patience with my long-windedness but ask permission to consider just one more point. Thus far the stewards' Lutheran pastors in the Palatine localities were only allowed *private communion*. About four weeks ago, however, I served communion at Spechbach to a Lutheran man in his sickness, who died soon afterward. Then the arriving Catholic priest demanded that I should administer the *sepulture* [burial] and not allow the *Reformed* parson to do so. But as I have neither order nor *vocation* to assume [this function] in the Palatine church, I herewith submissively wish to request information as to when in the future a *sepulture*, baptism, or *marriage* among Lutheran people occurs in the neighboring Palatine places and I should be asked to perform such an *act*, might I gratify them herein and assume the use of church, churchyard, and bells? In answer to these questions I would be highly *obliged* should Your High Honor grant my inferior being a few special lines (to enable me to show as my *legitimation* should that become necessary), nevertheless remaining all my life as:

Your High Honor, as My Most Honored Lord *Patron* and Highly Potent Supporter

In prayer and service most obedient,
Josua Harrschius
Parson at Eschelbronn, Daßpach, and Münchzell.



Harrsch's June 17, 1699, signature from letter to Superintendent J. Philipp Schlosser



Address portion of preceding letter to Superintendent Schlosser at "Heßdelberg," June 18, 1699

Highly Dignified, Greatly Respectable, Highly Learned, in Particular, Greatly Most Highly Honored Lord *Patron*!

Your High Honor will not object to being interrupted with the present [report] amidst Your other *affairs* because I learned at my recent visit with Your High Honor that the Catholic priest at Spechbach has already *instigated* some things against me in Heidelberg, and thus [I] seriously worried that he might have done the same secretly with My Merciful Lordships [the prince elector], primarily because They are also of the Catholic *religion*. In addition, a good friend entrusted to me that the said priest had been overheard saying that if only he could drive the Lutheran pastor at Eschelbronn [Harrsch] away from the Möckesheim hundred, he would soon succeed in having all Lutherans turning to him for at least infant baptisms, marriages, and funerals. If people in Glaubenzell or Neckar Gmünd⁹ or any other place were directed to a Lutheran pastor of a remote place, they themselves would soon tire of walking so far. As previously, Lutherans could be made to get used to a Reformed parson, why not now also to a Catholic one, etc.?

When I then learned on the same day in Heidelberg that the *convention of pastors* was announced under the designation

⁹Today's Rhein-Neckar Kreis district includes Altlußheim, Angelbachtal, Bammental, Brühl, Dielheim, Dossenheim, Eberbach, Edingen-Neckarhausen, Epfenbach, Eppelheim, Eschelbronn, Gaiberg, Heddesbach, Heddesheim, Heiligkreuzsteinach, Helmstadt-Bargen, Hemsbach, Hirschberg, Hockenheim, Ilvesheim, Ketsch, Ladenburg, Laudenbach, Leimen, Lobbach, Malsch, Mauer, Meckesheim, Mühlhausen, Neckarbischofsheim, Neckargemünd, Neidenstein, Neulußheim, Nußloch, Oftersheim, Plankstadt, Rauenberg, Reichartshausen, Reilingen, Sandhausen, Sankt Leon-Rot, Schönau, Schönbunn, Schriesheim, Schwetzingen, Sinsheim, Spechbach, Waibstadt, Walldorf, Weinheim, Wiesenbach, Wiesloch, Wilhelmsfeld, and Zuzenhausen (italized towns are those mentioned in the above letters). None of these places is near Landau, the often-claimed place of Harrsch's origin: 76829 Landau is in the Palatinate west of the Rhine, and the Bavarian 94405 Landau is on the river Isar.

In the original documents—extant in the Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg, Signature 229/26934—words in *italics* appear in Latin script within the otherwise old German script.

The translation of the second letter was extremely difficult, mostly because several men are referred to only by title and without name. The titles may refer to either the prince elector, the three (not only) secular lords, or the ecclesiastical superior. Respect is also shown by the potentially misleading personal pronoun plural (Your~Euer/Eure/Ewr). Therefore, the reader may confuse one or the other of the many lords mentioned. The prince elector of the Palatinate was the Catholic Johann Wilhelm von der Pfalz, Duke of Julich and Berg (1658-1716), *Kurfürst* of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, whose superior was the Catholic emperor Leopold I (1640-1705).

Within the Kraichgau part of the Palatinate, however, Pastor Harrsch's secular superiors were three Lutheran lords: Johann Anton von Fels appointed him at Eschelbronn on February 28, 1696; Göler von Ravensburg appointed him at Daisbach; and Melchior Freiherr von Festenburg, at Münchzell. Apparently these free lords (*Freiherren*) were not subject to the Catholic prince elector, but rather, loyal directly to the emperor, who although Catholic, found himself obliged to fight both the Turks besieging his residential Vienna and the invading French of Catholic Louis XIV (1638-1713), whose armies repeatedly pillaged the (mostly Reformed) German Rhine lands.

In addition to these more or less worldly masters, Pastor Harrsch had his clerical superior in Superintendent J. Philipp Schlosser (1653-1732) in Heidelberg. It is therefore never quite clear to whom he refers in his letters as lord and lordship: *Ewr. Hochwürden*, translated literally, means "Your High Dignities" but is translated here as "Your High Honor." *Pfarrer* can be translated as "minister, parson, pastor, or priest." Although Harrsch uses the same term for Lutheran and Catholic clergy, here the Catholic *Pfarrer* is translated "priest."

In 1699 and 1700 Schlosser and his Kreuznach colleague, Consistorial-Rath Georg Debus, catered to both the prince elector and their own Lutherans by rejecting Reformed/Calvinist pamphlets as "lies and insults" in repeatedly published titles claiming to promote "truth, innocence, and the saving of honor"—for example, *Wahrheit/ Unschuld/ Und/ Ehren=Rettung/ Wider allerhand unverantwortlich so/ wohl gegen das höchste Landes=Haupt/ Ihro Churfürstl. Durchl. zu Pfaltz/ [et]c./ Unsern Allertheuersten Gnädigsten Landes=Herrn/ [et]c./ Als uns Endsbemeldte/ Von Gewissen=losen böshafftigen Menschen/ außgesprengte/ Lügen=Schriften/ Und/ Lästereien;/ So dann kurtzer doch wahrhafter Bericht// Vom verwichenen und gegenwärtigen Zustand der/ Chur=Pfaltz Evangel. Lutherischen Kirchen// Außgefertiget/ Von M. Joh. Philippo Schlossern// Und/ Georgio Debus, Chur=Pfaltz Luthe=rischen Consistorial=Räthen und Predigern zu Heydelberg/ und Creutzenach der ungeänderten Augspurgischen Confession/ zugethanen Gemeinden. Gedruckt zu Weinheim/ Johann Mayren/ Chur=Pfaltz Hoff= und Universitäts=Buchdruckern, 1700. (Truth, Innocence, and the Saving of Honor against Several Irresponsibly*

Wahrheit/ Unschuld
Und
Ehren= Rettung
Wider allerhand unverantwortlich so
wohl gegen das höchste Landes= Haupt
Ihro Churfürstl. Durchl. zu Pfaltz/ &c.
Unsern Allertheuersten Gnädigsten Landes= Herrn/ &c.
Als uns Endsbemeldte
Von Gewissen=losen böshafftigen Menschen
außgesprengte
Lügen= Schriften
Und
Lästereien;
So dann kurtzer doch wahrhafter Bericht /
Vom verwichenen und gegenwärtigen Zustand der
Chur = Pfaltz Evangel. Lutherischen Kirchen/
Außgefertiget
Von M. JOH. PHILIPPO Schlossern/
Und
GEORGIO DEBUS, Chur= Pfaltz Luthe=
rischen Consistorial=Räthen und Predigern zu Heydelberg
und Creutzenach der ungeänderten Augspurgischen Confession
zugethanen Gemeinden.
In verlag der Authorum Anno M. D C C.
Gedruckt zu Weinheim /
Durch Johann Mayren/ Chur= Pfaltz Hoff= und Universitäts=
Buchdruckern.

Wahrheit/ Unschuld Und Ehren=Rettung. . .—Superintendent Johann Philipp Schlosser's *Truth, Innocence, and the Restitution of Honor*—is extant in several editions from 1699 and 1700, including a Latin one: *Veritas, Innocentia, Et Defensio Honoris*. The title claims to be a defense, also, of the ruling prince elector.

Scattered Publications of Lies and Insults Both against the Highest Head of the Land, His Grace, the Palatine Prince Elector, Our Dearest and Most Merciful Landlord, etc., as also against Us Mentioned at the End, by Unconscionable, Mean People; and a Brief but Truthful Report of the Past and Present Situation of the Protestant Lutheran Churches in the Palatine Electorate, Prepared by M. [Magister?] J. Philipp Schlosser and Georg Debus, Palatine Lutheran Councillors and Preachers in the Heidelberg and Kreuznach Congregations, Adhering to the Unaltered Augsburg Confession).

A decade later their combative title documents the continued opposition of these Lutherans to the alleged lies of the Reformed (or Calvinist) denomination: *Der zwar von denen Chur=Pfälz . . . Reformirten befleckte, doch gänzlich gesäuberte Wahrheits Spiegel* (The Mirror of Truth, Though Dirtied by the Reformed in the Palatinate, [now] Completely Cleansed) (1710).

synod and that I would be attending the same without My Lordship's [Your] prior knowledge and because the Catholic priest might again take the opportunity to report something against me to My Lordship, I let My Merciful Lord's [Schlosser] officials know about this immediately and by *express*. He [Schlosser] *replied*, however, that He found it prudent that I either not attend the *gathering* at all or only as an *itinerant guest, attending by chance*, because it is customary in all other places to let only invited persons attend a *synod*. Otherwise, the Most Merciful Lordships might [p. 2] conclude that I had obliged myself secretly and without Their knowledge against the Palatine elector. After some brief but hopefully wise deliberation, I considered it imprudent not to heed such advice. I meant to see Your Honor the next day in private—after the service and after reporting the reasons mentioned—and then bid farewell. I then saw, however, that Your *affairs* grew nearly instantaneously, especially since the arrival of His Prince Elector might require still more attention. I was able to conclude easily that a visit would be impossible at the same time.

Although I have been with My Merciful Lordship [Schlosser] since and noticed as much—that to oblige myself towards the Palatine elector would be objectionable if such duty were done without *legal basis* [*juriby ohn Exjudicirlich?*]*—another obstacle* showed up here in the meantime as the local subjects here, and in part the lords



Catholic Prince Elector Johann Wilhelm von Pfalz-Neuburg (1658-1716), ca. 1700. After the Peace of Westphalia, which supposedly ended the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), the denominational preferences of the ruler determined the denomination of his people, according to the motto *cuius regio, eius religio*. As inappropriate as that policy may seem today, it is the basis for much of the modern distribution of Catholics and Protestants throughout German lands. Incidentally, Austria's "re-Catholicization" led to the Protestant Salzburgers' coming to Georgia.

themselves [the three lords of Eschelbronn, Daisbach, and Münchzell], are concerned that if I were to go to places of the Palatine Electorate [proper], the Catholic priest at the Palatine Spechbach would come hither as well for the few Catholics here and thus force the *Simultaneum*¹⁰ upon the *exclusively Lutheran religious rites* practiced here for so long and thus far, ever since the old Peace of Westphalia [1648]. People can already show a written *Attestatum*,¹¹ in which is demanded that *for that reason* the Palatine elector will begin to force the *Simultaneum* upon them in case the congregation were to *oppose* such plan.

This is what I meant to reveal to Your High Honor first of all and most obediently *consult* with You about what to do in this matter. As to my own insignificance, I am ready to serve to my ability the neighboring Lutheran subjects in the Palatinate Electorate upon a *decree* from the highly laudable *consistory*, be it in *perpetuity* or until a different order; but without the presentation of the requested *attestation*, such can hardly be done.

[p. 3] Should Your High Honor prefer to discuss this in person, I shall be visiting next week and shall try to seek more counsel—that is, if possible, the coming Monday, the twenty-first of this month (but cannot say for certain as I have to take care of My Lordship's various businesses assigned to me). But in the meantime I remain with most obedient *commendation* [of my services] and the recommendation of divine *protection* [for myself and You].

Eschelb[ronn], 14th September, 1699.

Your High Honor

In prayer and service most obedient,

Josua Harrschius
p.t. parson here

P.S. Should Your High Honor demand more information from Mr. Kauffman[n] and have no time to write to him because of other important affairs, I simply ask You to notify me through a little piece of paper about what points one should ask him for information. Upon receipt of the same, I shall write him immediately. The woman presenting this [letter] goes from here to Heidelberg every eight days; hence, everything that cannot be answered this time because of the shortness of time can be postponed for eight days.□

¹⁰The simultaneous use of a church by two denominations with alternating priorities; or even one church building administratively divided into two sections. The Treaty of Rijswyck established that Catholics and Protestants were to share (Protestant) churches. This may appear like a reasonably peaceful compromise; however, it was used under Catholic Prince Elector Johann Wilhelm, *Kurfürst von der Pfalz* (1658-1716), to promote a systematic re-Catholicization of the Protestant Palatinate. The Lutheran resistance hoped first for Protestant Brandenburg's influence, and the elector responded in public print to the protest of its ambassador, J. A. von Wylich (see <http://www.vd17.de>). Soon the Palatinate was invaded by Catholic Bavaria from the east and Catholic France from the west. The ruthless invasions of France's forces before and during the War of the Spanish Succession (or Queen Anne's War) resulted in England's military interference soon after Anne (Stuart) became queen of England.

¹¹Statement, claim (probably an ephemeral flyer or poster, the time's popular means of propaganda).

As a tercentenary memorial, the translator provides background to Kocherthal's Description of Carolina (1708/09), including biographical details and the immigration experience of its author.

Who Was Kocherthal and What Happened to His Party of 1708?

By Andreas Mielke

Kocherthal's *Carolina* is a hitherto-unrecognized variant of the grand utopian ideas set down by John Locke and Anthony Ashley Cooper, first earl of Shaftesbury, in their "Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina." In contrast to the philosophers' theoretical ponderings,



English philosophers John Locke (1632-1704) and his patron, Anthony Ashley Cooper (1621-1683), first earl of Shaftesbury, had utopian ideas for the colony Carolina in their *Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina*, first proposed in 1669. We have found no evidence that any modern scholar has recognized the philosophers' direct impact on Kocherthal's *Carolina* and the subsequent immigration and peopling of the British North America.

Kocherthal's treatise practically directed the first mass migration to the New World, a series of events that dramatically changed North America—and with it the balance of powers in the rest of the world. This Lutheran's small but "extensive" treatise showed thousands of "Palatine" refugees of all denominations an escape from the French (Catholic) occupation and destruction of the Rhine lands towards England's Protestant colonies, specifically to Carolina and Pennsylvania.

Initially, however, the realities in the New World were still those of the Old World. In New York the English employed the Germans in the ill-conceived project to produce naval stores (from trees that did not deliver); or, even worse, the refugees were mustered to march to distant Canada and fight the French there. As both ideas had to be abandoned, neither the English nor the Germans knew how to continue their odd collaboration. New ways and means had to be tried, and the methods varied as much as the individuals involved. The result, however, is best expressed in the concept "united peoples of America."

Pastor Josua Harrsch (1669-1719), better known in America as *Kocherthal*, was the most successful German emigration promoter of his time. He was also the author of a book with the deadliest of consequences: not many books—if any—initiated so catastrophic a mass migration as his small but "extensive" *Description of Carolina*.¹ Three editions of 1709—each an expansion of the last, expanded presumably by publisher Georg Heinrich Oehrling²—helped direct the flood of refugees from the Palatinate and the neighboring dominions to America.

The pressures exerted on the emigrants came through wars and the repeated burning and pillaging carried out by the Catholic forces from France and Bavaria that invaded the Rhenish states, including Harrsch's homeland, the Palatine Kraichgau—today a tranquil area in the north of Baden-Württemberg. Kocherthal's tract offered an escape to the people suffering these pressures; and shortly after the pastor left, thousands of Germans followed. He did not lead them; rather, his book misled them. They left their homes for America as if Carolina were Canaan, or the "promised land."



Lutheran Prince George Oldenburg of Denmark (1653-1708) and consort of Queen Anne Stuart (1665-1714)

¹A 1706 edition does not appear to exist; considering the "hasty" quality of the second edition, there may not have been one. Note that the narrator's "I" that mentions "Landau" in the introduction is not Harrsch/Kocherthal.

²In 1683 Georg Heinrich Oehrling inherited the Frankfurt bookstore from Caspar Merian of the famous family of artists, engravers, and publishers with numerous interests in the New World. (The Labadist Caspar had been an early investor in the Frankfurt Land Company that financed Germantown, Pa.)

The book was not the cause of this exodus; it was a guide to a way out. Kocherthal's description of the English Carolina was but one specific lure towards Queen Anne's American provinces. Other lures suggesting other destinations were those published in and after 1682 by Quaker William Penn and his Pennsylvania promoters. Even older were the colonization ideas advanced by the odd mercantile philosopher Johann Joachim Becher (1635-1682),³ to whose *Psychosophia* Kocherthal refers twice with unusual precision. Calvinist Prussia invited Huguenot and Mennonite refugees as well; and the General States (of the Netherlands), in particular, helped many a persecuted Mennonite. In southeastern Europe, Transylvanian lands along the Danube also opened more possibilities of escape.

Compared to the negligible response to John Archdale's meager 1707 publication effort to promote⁴ Carolina, Kocherthal's equally meager booklet was a uniquely successful one as far as the quantitative impact is concerned. About three thousand of the "Palatines," as they were called in England, made it to New York; and several hundred sailed to Carolina (via Virginia). Good and dependable estimates of the numbers of refugees who made it to Pennsylvania and the New England colonies are lacking, but all in all, it is safe to say that there were thousands more. One anonymous contributor to Moritz Wilhelm Höen's anthology of critical essays and pious warnings, *Das verlangte, nicht erlangte Canaan* (1711), calculated the total of German refugees who went to England as numbering exactly 32,468.⁵



John Churchill, first duke of Marlborough (1650-1722). Although the much-celebrated Marlborough intervention in the German empire stopped the immediate series of Catholic successes, the French continued to occupy many German towns on both sides of the Rhine. The battles and claims during two world wars show that the resulting problems lasted well into the twentieth century and concluded only with the end of petty provincial patriotism and the gradual establishment of a European union.

G O D ' s

Inevitable Judgments

O N

Perjured Princes :

A

S E R M O N

P R E A C H E D

To the *Prussian* Congregation in the *Savoy*, the
7th Day of September, 1704. being the So-
lemn Thanksgiving for the seasonable and
fatal Overthrow of Perfidious *Bavaria*, with
a *French* Army, near *Hochstet* in *Germany*.

By J. J. CÆSAR, Chaplain to the
King of *Prussia*.

L O N D O N :

Printed for Awnsham and John Churchill, at the Black Swan
in Paternoster-Row. MDCCIV.

God's Inevitable Judgments on Perjured Princes: A Sermon Preached To the Prussian Congregation in the Savoy. . . . Even into this century, authors declared that Harrsch was from Bavaria. Pastor Johann Jacob Caesar's (d. 1719) title illustrates that Catholic Bavaria was "with a French Army"—that is, on the other side of the war. In 1709 the Reformed or Calvinist Prussian Caesar introduced young Johann Friedrich Haeger (1684-1721), Kocherthal's Anglican New York colleague-to-be, to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. In 1710 Pastor Caesar also associated with the Swiss-born Carolina landgrave Christoph von Graffenried (1661-1743).

³Becher has not been fully recognized in the literature on the causes for the Europe-America migration, but he has at least been discovered as interesting; to him, "the Minists [Mennonists] and the Quakers come closest to this Christian life." See Pamela H. Smith, *The Business of Alchemy: Science and Culture in the Holy Roman Empire* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994), 273.

⁴After John Archdale had failed with his Thuringian conspiracy (Saxony's envoy discovered the secret correspondence between the Carolina proprietor and the mayor of Langensalza), he could do little of influence but publish his own small pamphlet: *A New Description of that Fertile and Pleasant Province of Carolina* . . . (London: Wyatt, 1707); yet, an influence on Kocherthal or Oehrling cannot be determined.

⁵Moritz Wilhelm Höen, ed., *Das verlangte, nicht erlangte Canaan bey den Lust-Gräbern; Oder, Ausführliche Beschreibung Von der unglücklichen Reise derer jüngsthin aus Teutschland nach dem Engelländischen in America gelegenen Carolina und Pensylvanien wallenden Pilgrim, absonderlich dem einseitigen übelgegründeten Kochenthalerischen Bericht wohlbedächtig entgegen gesetzt*. . . . Alles aus Liebe zur Warheit und Patriotischem Wohlmeinen zusammen verfasst (Frankfurt/Leipzig: [Andreä,] 1711).

Das verlangte / nicht erlangte Canaan
bey den Lust-Gräbern ;
 Oder
Ausführliche Beschreibung
 Von der unglücklichen Reise derer jungsthin aus Teutschland nach dem
 Engelländischen in America gelegenen
Carolina und Pensylvanien
 wallenden Pilgrim / absonderlich dem einseitigen übelgegründeten
Kochenthalerschen Bericht
 wohlbedächtigt intgegen gesetzt

- In
- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>I. Einem Beantwortungs-Schreiben etlicher dieſe Sach angehenden Fragen ; nebst einer Vorrede Moritz Wilhelm Höens.</p> <p>II. Ermahnungs-Schreiben an die bereits dahin verreiſte Teutſche / Anthon Wilhelm Böhmenſ.</p> <p>III. Der Berg-Predigt Chriſti / und Gebettern vor die noch dahin auf dem Weg begriffenen ꝛc.</p> | <p>IV. Königl. Engliſchen deswegen nach Teutschland erlaſſenen Abmahnung.</p> <p>V. Kurzen Relation, jener dabey erlittenen Elendes und Schickſals.</p> <p>VI. Hied einer andern Relation davon.</p> <p>VII. Einem Stück der Warnungs-Predigt von Hn. Johann Tribbeko ꝛc. den zuruckreisenden in London gehalten.</p> |
|---|---|
- Alles aus Liebe zur Wahrheit und patriotiſchem Wohlmeinen
 zuſammen verfaſſet.

 Frankfurt und Leipzig / M DCC XI.

Das verlangte nicht erlangte Canaan bey den Lust=Gräbern; Oder Ausführliche Beschreibung Von der unglücklichen Reise derer . . . nach . . . Carolina und Pensylvanien wallenden Pilgrim . . . dem Kochenthalerschen Bericht wohlbedächtigt intgegen gesetzt (1711). This title is often wrongly attributed to contributor Anthony William Boehm. The editor's name after the preface is that of an otherwise unknown Wilhelm Moritz Höen. Another named contributor is John Tribbeko. Although the adjectival name variant Kochenthalerschen appears on the title page, there is no other reference to Harrsch/Kocherthal in this strange anthology of quite varied contributions.

Another contributor was the Lutheran Pietist Anton Wilhelm Böhm (a.k.a. Anthony William Boehm, 1673-1722),⁶ Prince George's esteemed court preacher at the Palace of Saint James. He was not "asked" to criticize Kocherthal with the *Canaan* publication (as one can read here and there); he merely answered emigration-related questions posed in a letter from an unknown correspondent. He answered prudently and thus actually helped pave the way for future emigrants, his serious concerns and warnings notwithstanding. Upon Böhm's return from Halle/Saale and other stops on the Continent late in 1709—that is, after many Palatines had already been dispersed or died—the number of German refugees that he reported in London fluctuated between twelve and fourteen thousand.⁷ All such high numbers will become even more impressive in light of the information that at the turn of the century the English colony New York had only about five thousand (European?) inhabitants.

Thousands of these "poor Palatines" were sent to Ireland, into military service, or to a few English lords as cheap labor; still others were sent to the Hanseatic city of Danzig (today Gdansk in Poland) on the Baltic Sea. Catholic refugees were directly sent back across the Channel to the Continent and on to a completely

⁶See Anton Wilhelm Böhm, *Sämtliche Erbauliche Schriften*, ed. Johann Jacob Rambach (Altona: Gebrüder Korte, 1737), 122.

⁷Anton Wilhelm Böhmens weiland Sr. Königl. Hoheit, Prinz Georgens von Dännemarck, Hof=Prediger zu London, *Erbauliche Briefe, welche in teutscher, lateinischer und englischer Sprache von ihm geschrieben worden; mit einer Vorrede, in welcher von dem Herausgeber nach dem Exempel des sel. Verfassers gezeigt wird: Daß man einen jeden müsse sein Recht genießen lassen, wenn man von ihm urtheilet*, ed. Johann Jacob Rambach (Altona/Flensburg: Jonas Korte, 1737). Pages 55 and 76 have twelve thousand refugees; pages 120 and 122 have fourteen thousand.

unknown future.⁸ For many thousands, the sudden mass exodus had become—in the baroque language of the 1711 pamphlet written in rebuttal to Kocherthal's "Canaan"—a journey into the *Lustgräber*, into the graves of their desires.

Kocherthal may indeed have seen his role as that of a Joshua leading his people to "Canaan." His daughters certainly did in retrospect: the significant biblical reference is also alluded to in the inscription chosen by the three women for the New York gravestone that they dedicated to their "Josua" in 1742. The sisters deliberately



D. Friderici Balduini Superintend. Generalis ac. P.P. Witteberg. Commentarius in Omnes Epistolas Pauli . . . (1691). This title-page illustration for Friedrich Balduin's (1575-1627) commentary on the letters of Saint Paul gives some idea of the time's employment of visual arts in Lutheranism—incidentally a quite neglected field of study. At the end of the seventeenth century, Martin Luther's university at Wittenberg represented a combative orthodox branch. While orthodoxy was quantitatively powerful, it fought in vain against the Pietist movements that led, for example, to the foundation of a university in neighboring Halle. Its most famous professor was August Hermann Francke (1663-1727), also the dissertation advisor of Johannes Tribbechow (1677-1712), better known to American Palatine researchers as Prince George's chaplain John Tribbeko. Today, the nondenominational universities are united, and Francke's social and missionary work is administered and represented by the Franckesche Stiftungen. (See also *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* online.)

chose a rather strange and enigmatic inscription for the memorial slab,⁹ and their mason added a number of severe spelling oddities, probably with less intention.

Kocherthal's Identity

With "Harschias" (a pseudo-Latin form of the German family name Harrsch), a hint is given that could have revealed Kocherthal's German identity early on; yet the secret came to light only with Heinz Schuchmann's article of 1967—nearly three hundred years after Josua Harrsch's birth.¹⁰ An essay on Harrsch's wife followed. Both articles were immediately—albeit freely—translated into English by Frederick S. Weiser.¹¹

Schuchmann's parochial *Mitteilungen* could not easily correct widespread errors in distant America, not even after their immediate translation. Old mistakes die hard or fade away very slowly; it is easier to republish them than to do new research. Among the best—but far from dependable—relevant reprints are those of Henry Eyster Jacobs,¹² Frank Ried Diffenderffer's *The German Immigration into Pennsylvania*,¹³ and Lou MacWethy's *Book of Names*.¹⁴ Don Heinrich Tolzmann republished the works of Jacobs and Diffenderffer in 1993. The newest relevant New York publications are by Philip Otterness and Kerstin Löw.¹⁵

⁸Still one of the best books on these Palatines is by Walter Allen Knittle, *Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration: A British Government Redemptioner Project to Manufacture Naval Stores* (Philadelphia, Pa.: Dorrance & Co., 1937; repr. Baltimore, Md.: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1985); relevant primary German documents were published by Julius Goebel Sr., "Neue Dokumente zur Geschichte der Massenauswanderung im Jahre 1709," in *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter: Jahrbuch der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois* 13 (1913), 181-201.

⁹Each of the half-dozen transcriptions and translations published so far of the German text on this memorial tombstone—located within Saint Paul's Lutheran Church, West Camp, New York—differs from the other.

¹⁰Heinz Schuchmann, "Der 1708 nach Amerika ausgewanderte Pfarrer Josua Kocherthal hieß ursprünglich Josua Harrsch," *Mitteilungen zur Wanderungsgeschichte der Pfälzer* 4 (1967): 121-128; an essay on Harrsch's wife followed in *Mitteilungen* 7 (1970/71): 25-28.

¹¹Frederick S. Weiser [trans. and ed.], "Notes on the Origins of Joshua Kocherthal," *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly* 41 (1968): 146-53; and "Sibylla Charlotta Winchenbach, the Wife of Joshua Kocherthal," *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly* 44 (fall 1971): 136-40.

¹²Henry Eyster Jacobs, "The German Emigration to America (1709-1740)," *Pennsylvania-German Society Proceedings and Addresses* 8 (1898): 31-79.

¹³Frank Ried Diffenderffer, "The German Exodus to England in 1709," *Pennsylvania-German Society Proceedings and Addresses* 7 (1897): 257-413. See also Don Heinrich Tolzmann, ed., *German Emigration to America: The First Wave* (Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books, 1993); hereafter Jacobs and Diffenderffer.

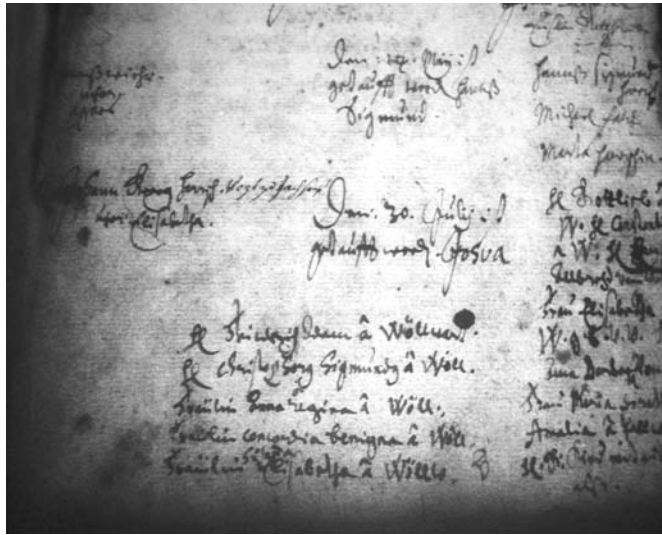
¹⁴Lou MacWethy, *The Book of Names Especially Relating to the Early Palatines and the First Settlers in the Mohawk Valley* (Baltimore, Md.: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1969 [reprint]); www.fortklock.com/nameskocherthal.htm.

¹⁵For New York see Nancy Wagoner Dixon, *Palatine Roots: The 1710 German Settlement in New York as Experienced by Johann Peter Wagner* (Camden, Maine: Picton Press, 1994); Kerstin Löw, *Deutsches Lutherthum in "amerikanischer Wildnis": Eine religionssoziologische Studie über die Akkulturation deutscher Lutheraner am Beispiel der Kolonie New York* (Marburg: Tectum Verlag, 2003); Philip Otterness, *Becoming German: The 1709 Palatine Migration to New York* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2004); Heiko Diekmann: *Lockruf der Neuen Welt: Deutschsprachige Werbeschriften für die Auswanderung nach Nordamerika von 1680 bis 1760* (Göttingen: Universitätsverlag, 2005).

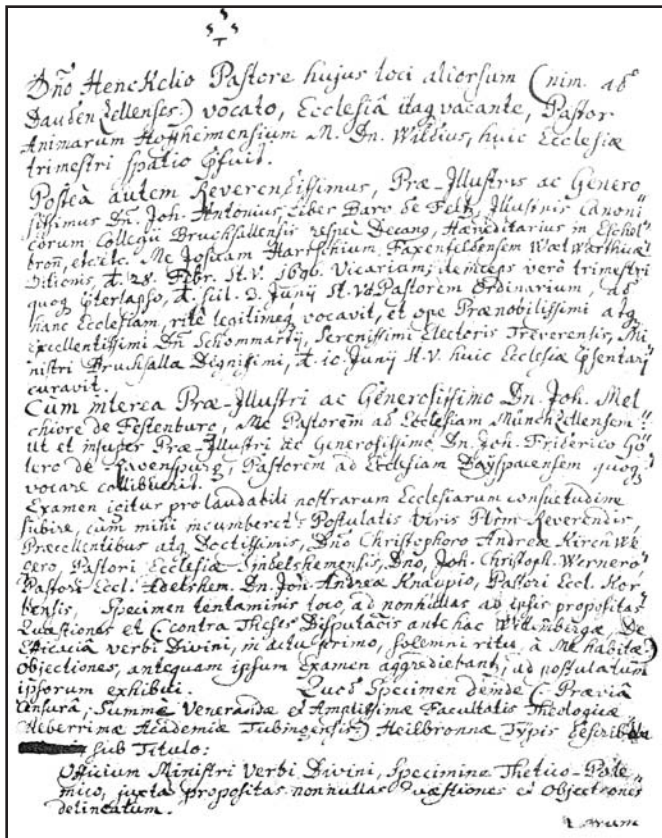
Complete reprints are generally better than the selected and often badly cited information from such old sources. Worst are the numerous Web sites composed by variously talented copycats and found scattered through the diverse fields of inquiry, both online and offline. For over a quarter century now, personal computers have

allowed a revolution in the availability of knowledge; they have also allowed the uncontrolled dissemination of misinformation and errors.¹⁶

To err is human. Mistakes by individuals may be pardoned easily. It is more difficult to forgive institutional incompetence. The online *Christian Cyclopedia of the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod*¹⁷ is pitifully wrong:



This 1669 baptismal entry for Josua Harrsch in the Lutheran church book of Aalen-Fachsenfeld shows many baptismal sponsors, mostly of the noble family von Wöllwarth. Josua's father, Johann Georg Harrsch, was their steward in Fachsenfeld. Elisabetha was his third wife. Various documents concerning the steward are extant in the Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg (Findbuch zum Bestand PL 19).



Harrsch's biographical Latin entry in the Eschelbronn Church Book, showing names of the stewards and ministers who credentialed him, precedes his 1696 birth entries.



Devota Davidis In Necessitate & Calamitate Pietas; Das ist Christliche Leich=Predigt. . . . Following Affrae von Wöllwarth's 1669 death and funeral in Essingen, Pastor Johann Martin Harrsch had the funeral sermon printed in Schwäbisch Hall in 1670. Of the many half brothers, Johann Martin Harrsch is the first listed on Josua Harrsch's Wittenberg dedication of 1695 and seems to have been the closest to the von Wöllwarth family.

¹⁶The online article "The Kochertal Party" by Barbara (Boring) Bauer, for example, will forever continue to confuse an invented "Seven Years' War (1641-1648)" with the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), even after she may have corrected the mistake in a different version. See www.minerd.com/memoir-bauerbarbara3.htm.

¹⁷The full text by the anonymous contributor reads: "Kochertal, Josua (von) (Joshua; original name: Harrsch; ca. 1669/70–December 27, 1719). B. in or near Bretten, Ger.; pastor Landau, Palatinate; after Fr. invasion 1703, visited London 1704 to investigate feasibility of emigration to Am.; reached New York December 31, 1708, with ca. 50 followers; he returned to Eur. 1709; led ca. 10 shiploads of Palatines to Am. 1710; settled them along the Hudson in E Camp and W Camp." *The Christian Cyclopedia of the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod* at www.lcms.org/ca/www/cyclopedia/02/.

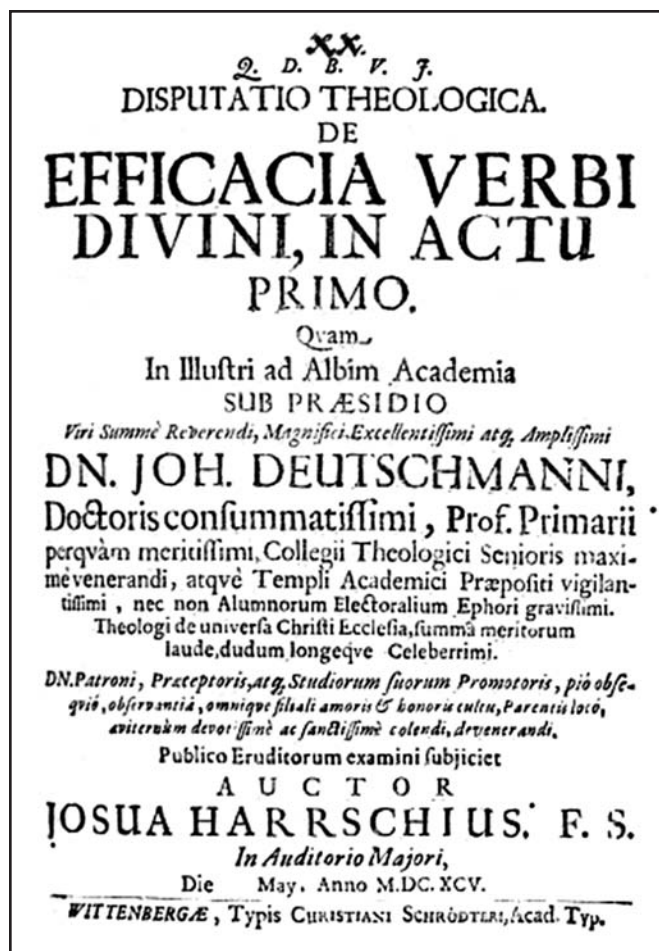
Kocherthal was neither a “von” nor “born in or near Bretten”; he was never German pastor at Landau in the Palatinate, nor did he lead shiploads of Palatines to America; he did not settle them along the Hudson in East Camp and West Camp; and he died on Saint John’s Day in the summer of 1719, not in December of that year.

That is not to say that the printed word is more trustworthy than the sites on the Web. For example, Anthony Gregg Roeber’s Kocherthal entry in the *American National Biography* contains about a dozen errors.¹⁸ Some of these mistakes have never been caught, some had long been corrected, some seem hardly worth mentioning—for example, the name’s misleading “von.”

Harrsch was no “von.” He was not born in or near Landau as some, apparently ignorant of German, inferred from publisher Oehrling’s introduction to the promotional pamphlet, in which he merely mentions the French taking of fortress Landau.¹⁹ On July 30, 1669, Josua Harrsch, son of the *Vogt* (steward, bailiff) Johann Georg and his wife, Elisabetha, was baptized in Fachsenfeld near Aalen; several members of the ennobled family “à Wöllwart” served as sponsors.²⁰ The village Fachsenfeld lies in the fertile valley of the river Kocher, which runs north through the town in the dale (*Thal*) of his birth and into the Neckar, the famed Rhine tributary; this is the origin of the emigrant’s adopted name, (*de*) *Kocherthal*.



Professor Johannes Deutschmann (1625/26-1706), superintendent at Wittenberg University, served as Harrsch’s dissertation advisor. Deutschmann wrote very much but apparently little of lasting importance.



Disputatio Theologica De Efficacia Verbi Divini, In Actu Primo. . . This Harrsch dissertation was printed in 1695 in Wittenberg and is extant at the famed Herzog-August-Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, Germany (<http://www.hab.de>).

Harrsch attended high school in Schwäbisch Hall, possibly living with his mother’s father (bucket maker Georg Dietrich Leonhard) or an uncle, before studying theology at the orthodox Lutheran university at Wittenberg in (today’s) Saxony Anhalt. He graduated in 1695 with a learned disputation on the divine Word in the first act of Creation, *Disputatio Theologica de Efficacia Verbi Dei, in*

¹⁸“Kocherthal, von,” *American National Biography* (1999). A[nthony] G[regg] Roeber claims in *Palatines, Liberty and Property: German Lutherans in Colonial British America* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 75: “Daniel Falckner’s first task, performed for the Halle fathers, would be to address the Württemberg pietists led to New York by Josua Harrsch.” There is no known reason to call the emigrants “pietist” or claim that Falckner had the “task” to address Kocherthal. Whereas Kocherthal closely collaborated with Justus Falckner, historiography has not—to my knowledge—documented that he ever met the peculiar Daniel Falckner.

¹⁹See “Die Belagerung von Landau, 1702/1703,” <http://www.kuk-wehrmacht.de/gefechte/17021703landau.html>.

²⁰Landeskirchliches Archiv Stuttgart, *Kirchenbücher des Kirchenbezirks Aalen-Fachsenfeld*; film no. 1346034, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints Library, Salt Lake City, Utah; hereafter LDS Library. The Kocher Valley from Schwäbisch Hall to Untergröningen was reformed in 1544 by Johannes Brenz (1499-1570), who is quoted in Harrsch’s 1695 dissertation.

Actu Primo. It was written under the guidance of Johannes Deutschmann (1625-1706) and printed in Wittenberg by Christian Schrödter in 1695.²¹ An unusually large number of appended congratulatory poems in Latin and German indicate the popularity of the student and his work. Harrsch himself added his personal appreciation by naming six established half brothers on the dedication page:

Johann Martin Harrsch, pastor at Essingen (today 73457 Essingen),
 J. Theophil Harrsch, pastor at Bottwart in the duchy of Württemberg (71672 Marbach-Bottwartal),
 Jacob Gotthard(t) Harrsch, Baron von Wöllwart(h)'s prefect at Laubach (56759 Laubach/Pfalz),
 Johann Georg Harrsch, Baron Zobel's prefect at Gibelstadt (97239 Gibelstadt),
 Christian Alexander Harrsch, senator of the Imperial Republic of Esslingen and prefect of Fürstenfeld (*Cænobii Præfecto*) (73728 Esslingen),
 Gottfried Harrsch, physician and most experienced surgeon at Essingen (73457 Essingen).²²



D. Johann Heinrich Feustking
*Hoch Fürstl. Durchl. zu Sachsen-Gotha Ober-Hoff-Pre-
 diger Beicht Vater, Ober-Consistorial und Kirche-
 Rath. Geb. d. 7. Martij. 1672. Gest. d. 23. Martij. 1713.*

Johann Heinrich Feustking (1672-1713), as a young man, was one of the many congratulators whose verses are appended to Harrsch's Wittenberg dissertation. His biographical anthology of remarkable or odd, pious women, *Gynaecium Haeretico Fanaticum* (1704), is the only work by a contemporary Wittenberg professor found in Harrsch's New York library. Interestingly, included in Feustking's book are the early Germantown, Pennsylvania, investor Johanna Eleanor von Merlau-Petersen (1644-1724) and the "Erfurt prophetess" Anna Maria Schuchart from Thüringen, said to have become Daniel Falckner's (1666-1741) Pennsylvania wife. (The latter curious couple deserves more serious study.) Mrs. Petersen's husband, Lübeck Superintendent Johann Wilhelm Petersen (1649-1727), is also known as an early Germantown investor.

VIRIS
Plurimum Reverendis, Nobilissimis, Amplissimis
ac Spectatissimis
DNO. M. JOH. MART. HARRSCHIO,
Ecclesiae Essingensis Pastori.
DNO. J. THEOPHILO HARRSCHIO,
Eccl. Bottwartensis in Ducatu Würtembergico
Pastori.
DNO. JAC. GOTTH. HARRSCHIO,
Præ-Illustris ac Generosiss. Liberi Baronis,
à Wöllwarth, Præfecto Laubacensium.
DNO. JO. GEORGIO HARRSCHIO,
Præ-Illustris ac Generosiss. Liberi Baronis Zobel,
Præfecto Gibelstadiensium.
DNO. CHR. ALEX. HARRSCHIO,
Imperial. Reipubl. Esslingensis Senatori, ibidemque
Fürstenfeldensium Cænobii Præfecto. Denique
DNO. GODOFR. HARRSCHIO;
Medico & Chirurgo experientissimo Essingensi.

Charissimis Fratribus suis

Specimen hoc Academicum

Amoris & honoris ergo

offert & dedicat

A U C T O R

Viris Plurimum Reverendis, Nobilissimis, Amplissimis ac Spectatissimis . . ., the dedication of Harrsch's *Efficia Verbi* (1695) to his six honored half brothers, indicates the spread of the respectable Harrsch family.

²¹*Disputatio Theologica de Efficacia Verbi Dei*, in *Actu Primo*. It was written under the guidance of Johann Deutschmann (1625-1706), an otherwise rather insignificant anti-Pietist professor, and printed in Wittenberg by Christian Schrödter, 1695; see <http://www.vd17.de>. "Already during his life time, he [Deutschmann] was seen as a dim light both as to his character as to his talents." August Tholuck, *Der Geist der lutherischen Theologen Wittenbergs im Verlaufe des 17. Jahrhunderts, theilweise nach handschriftlichen Quellen* (Hamburg and Gotha: Friedrich and Andreas Perthes, 1852), 220.

²²To the well-established half brothers on the dedication page, the name of a relatively famous (later Catholic, and ennobled) nephew may be added. See Walter L. H. Buchholz, "Die bürgerliche Herkunft des Grafen Ferdinand Amadeus von Harrsch [1661-1722]," *Genealogie: Deutsche Zeitschrift für Familienkunde* 17 (1968): 33-49. The Freiburg story and an image of this officer and Marlborough correspondent can be seen online at http://www.freiburgs-geschichte.de/1648_1714_Louis_xiv.htm.

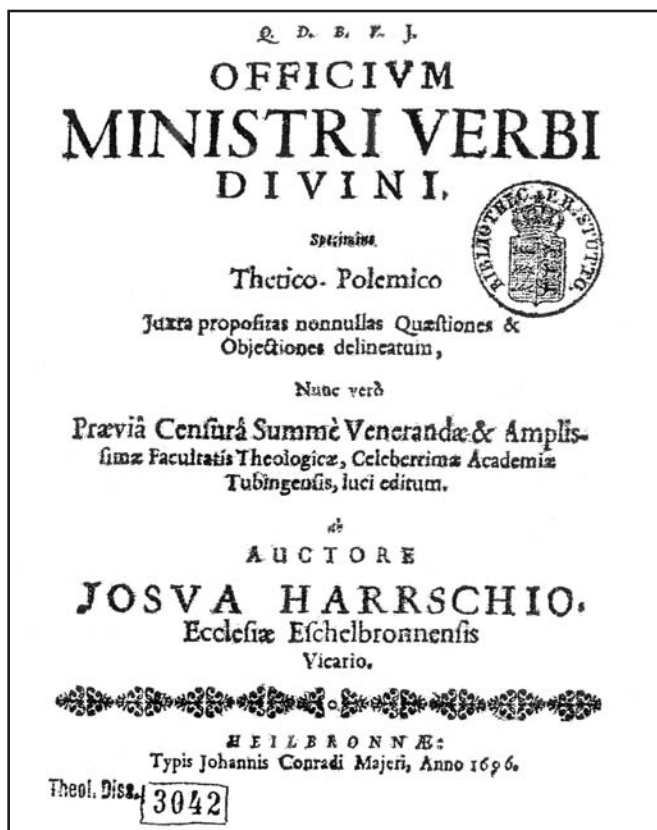
Congratulatory poems published by three friends in Jena may have led to the belief that Harrsch, too, graduated from Jena university²³; but the complete title of this poetic publication makes it absolutely clear that Harrsch was a publicly disputing student at Wittenberg whereas his congratulating fellow students had moved to Jena:

*Als der Wohl=Ehrenvest/ Großachtbare und Wohlgelehrte Herr Josua Harrschius SS. Theol. Cultor Summè Strenuus. Den 24. May dieses 1695. Jahrs/ auff der Weltberühmten Universität Wittenberg/ vermittelt einer de graviarduoq; Argumento Preißwürdigst von demeselben elaborirten auch Mannlich defendirten solennen Disputation ein öffentlich Specimen summæ diligentæ solidæque eruditionis höchsttrühmlichst exhibirte: Solten vermittelt nachgesetzter Verse ihre Dinstschuldigkeit öffentlich bezeugen. Desselben Weyland auff wohlbenannter Universität Wittenberg gewesene Commilitones nunmehr aber auff der Universität Jehna sich befindende Studiosi*²⁴

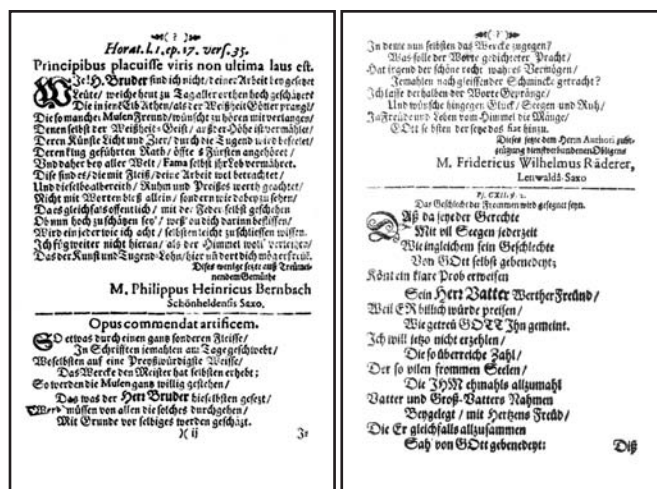
Als der Wohl- / Ehrnvest / Großachtbare
und Wohlgelehrte Herr
JOSUA HARRSCHIUS
SS. Theol. Cultor Summè Strenuus,
Den 24. May dieses 1695. Jahrs / auff der
Weltberühmten Universität
Wittenberg /
vermittelst einer de gravi arduoq; Argumento
Preiswürdigst von demselben elaborirten auch Mañ,
lich defendirten solennen Disputation ein öffentlich Specimen
summæ diligentiz solidæque eruditionis
höchst rühmlichst exhibirte:
Solten vermittelst nachgesetzter Verse ihre Dinstschul-
digkeit öffentlich bezeugen.
Desselben
Weyland auff wohlbenahmter Universität
Wittenberg gewesene Commilitones nunmehr
aber auff der Universität Zehna sich befin-
dende Studiosi,
Jenæ, Typis Krebsianis.

Als der Wohl=Ehrnvest/ Großachtbare und Wohlgelehrte Herr Josua Harrschius SS. Theol. Cultor Summè Strenuus, den 24. May dieses 1695. Jahrs auff der Weltberühmten Universität Wittenberg . . . gives the exact date of Harrsch's 1695 Wittenberg disputation or oral defense along with congratulatory poems by three otherwise unknown Jena students—Philipp Heinrich Bernbach, Friedrich Wilhelm Räderer, and Joh. Jacob Ziegler.

A second learned dissertation, “*Officium Ministri Verbi Divini*” (On the Office of a Minister of the Divine



Officium Ministri Verbi Divini, Specime Thetico-Polemico. . ., the title page of Harrsch's 1696 Tübingen dissertation, was printed in Heilbronn. It is extant in Stuttgart but not online at <http://www.vd17.de> or in the Herzog-August-Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, Germany.



Two pages of congratulatory poems from Jena students

²³See, for example, Marliese Echner-Klingmann, "Eine grosse Persönlichkeit Eschelbronn's: Josua Harrsch-Josua Kocherthal," in *1200 Jahre Eschelbronn* (Eschelbronn: Rathaus, 1989), 80-83; same problem in Roeber, see n. 18. Apparently Harrsch's Wittenberg dissertation is completely unrecognized in scholarship on both sides of the Atlantic.

²⁴Both the Wittenberg dissertation and the Jena congratulations are extant at the famous Herzog-August-Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, Germany. The titles can be seen online at <http://www.vd17.de>.

Word), submitted to the Swabian university at Tübingen in the next year, qualified the vicar to become ordained as minister for three parishes. It was printed in Heilbronn by Johann Conrad Majer in 1696.²⁵

Under the imperial baron Anton von [der] Fels, Harrsch became pastor in Eschelbronn—serving also the baronies Mönchzell and Daisbach in the Kraichgau, the Palatine province east of the Rhine between the recently ruined Heidelberg, the prince's residence, and the town of Sinsheim. Here, just north of reformer Philip "Melancthon's fatherland"—as the daughters' New York memorial stone recalls—he served for over a decade, a rare Lutheran pastor surrounded by Calvinist and Catholic ministers, competing not only for the souls of their parishioners but also for their own survival. The two 1699 letters to his professional superior, Superintendent Johann Philipp Schlosser (1653-1732) in Heidelberg, document how Pastor Harrsch viewed the dismal situation of the Lutheran parishes in his neighborhood.²⁶

Migration

Customarily, historians tend to assume that a clergyman among emigrants must have been their leader as well. There is no direct evidence that Harrsch *led* anyone in his journey from the Kraichgau to England—although he may well have. After all, he had been in England in 1704 and had learned enough to compose a brief summary of points he considered relevant for Carolina. It is possible, however, that he was not the leading man in this



Lucas Cranach's 1532 portrait of Philip Melancthon (1497-1560) hangs in the Luther Hall at Wittenberg.



Pastor Georg Andreas Ruperti (1670-1731) hailed from the legendary Harz Mountains in northern Germany. He served during three decades as pastor of the Savoy Lutheran church and, upon frequent request, at the royal chapel at Saint James. His congregation included London's many German officials; and his church book is a plethora of information on the migrant Palatines, in particular, in the years 1709/10 and 1717. In America he is mainly known as coauthor of the Palatine lists, next to Prince George's John Tribbeko.

traveling endeavor but the "trusted friend" he mentions. (One hypothesis could identify the trusted friend as Johann Christian/Christoph Jacobi, who was a minister in Essingen near Landau in the Palatinate between 1694 and 1703.²⁷ Might this have been a relative of London's Johann Christian Jacobi (1670-1750), who served as Harrsch's translator in 1708? This is a tempting speculation, but it must be resisted here.)

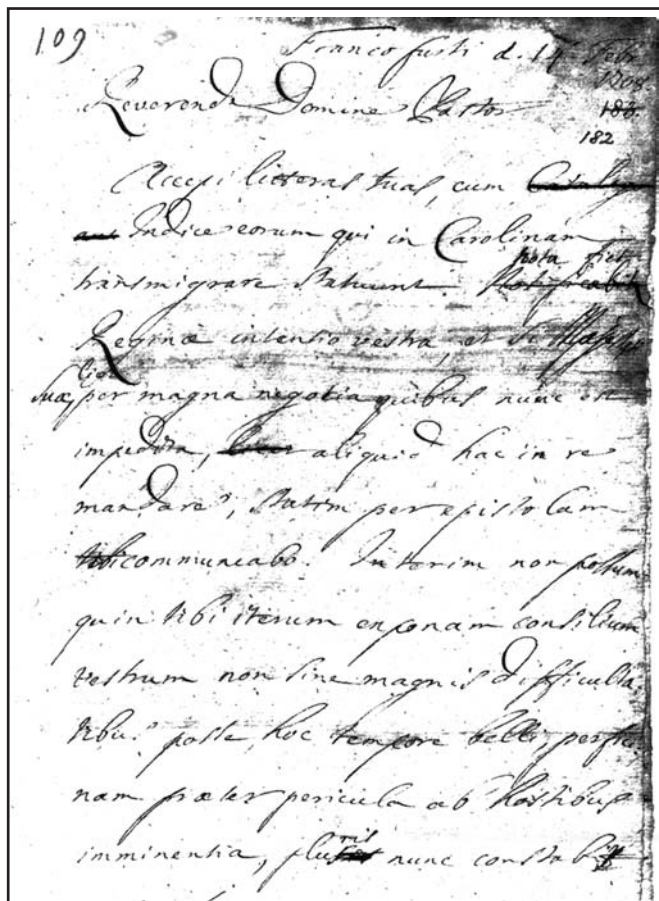
²⁵We appreciate the remarkable assistance of Stuttgart librarian Luitgard Nuss, who researched and answered many questions and immediately sent us a film of the second Harrsch dissertation: *Officium Ministri Verbi Divini, . . . ab auctore Josva Harrschio Ecclesiae Eschelbronnensis Vicario*. A copy is extant at the Landesbibliothek Stuttgart; it is mentioned in the *Kirchenbuch* of Eschelbronn, ed. Evang. Landskirche Baden, film no. 626, no. 1189275, LDS Library.

²⁶Under date of February 1699, Heidelberg Lutherans informed "happy England, to be free from such Biggotted Princes," of the dismal situation of the Palatine Protestants: *An Account of the Present Condition of the Protestants in the Palatinate in Two Letters to an English Gentleman* (London: Printed for Richard Parker at the Unicorn under the Royal Exchange, and Sold by A. Baldwin near the Oxford Arms in Warwick-Lane, 1699). Invaluable details of the ecclesiastical situation in the Palatinate can be found in Burkard Struve's voluminous collection of documentary evidence, *Burcard Gotthelf Struvens Ausführlicher Bericht von der Pfälzischen Kirchen-Historie* (Frankfurt: Hartung, 1721), esp. ch. 13.

²⁷Anno 1694 ist H. Johann Christoff Jacobi auß Sachsen gebürtig hier Pfarrer worden, und hier geblieben biß 1703. Dafür wegen erlittener plünderung zu der Talardischen belagerung der festung Landau Freijwillig die pfarreij verlassen. See "Heiraten, Sterben, 1705-1764, Essingen Luth. Heiratsregister, Sterberegister, Konfirmations-Register," film no. 247597, 358-59, LDS Library. See also Georg Biundo, *Pfälzisches Pfarrer und Schulmeisterbuch* (Kaiserslautern: Evang. Verein für die Pfalz, 1930), 346.

With Pastor Harrsch's February 1708 appearance in Frankfurt, his new name, *de Kocherthal*, also appeared, both in the English documents and on the titles of his forthcoming *Extensive Description of Carolina*, issued and enlarged by publisher Oehrling within months in second, third and fourth editions²⁸—all with the date 1709. The German Josua Harrsch had taken the English name Joshua Kocherthal, a name derived from the dale of the Kocher River, where he was born.

The [Carolina] Book is chiefly a commendation of that country. What further encouraged them to leave their native country, was the ravages the French had made and the Damages the hard frost had done to their vines and accordingly one Joshua de Cockershall, a Lutheran Minister with some other Palatines to the number of 61 persons applied to Mr. Davenant²⁹ at



Portion of Latin letter of Henry Davenant, the envoy, to Kocherthal, February 14, 1708, regarding emigration to Carolina:

Honorable Pastor, Sir:

I have received your letter with the list of names, or summary, of those who have decided to emigrate to Carolina. Your intention will become known to the Queen, and if Her Majesty cares to show interest in the important business matters in which she is now involved [and] it will become possible to report something regarding this matter, I will immediately communicate it to you by letter. I am not able to support your intentions without great difficulties in this time of war and the threatening dangers from the enemy. As soon as you will be more certain in your emigration [plans], more help will be made available to you. I am willing to be quick to respond in duty to all things and ready to help.



"Great Numbers of them [Palatines in England, 1709/10] go every Sunday to their Church [Saint Mary's] in the Savoy, and receive the Sacrament of their own Ministers." Boehm, however, was shocked that many had left without even a Bible.

Frankfort for Passes; but he refused them Passes, Moneys, and Recommendations for fear of disgusting the Elector Palatine.³⁰

Exactly when and from where they left and how many started out traveling together remain knotty mysteries to be untangled by future researchers. The route one J. J. W. [Jacob Weber?] took is outlined in an April 1708 letter appended to the fourth edition of the *Carolina* description; they traveled to London via Rotterdam, the Hague, Hellevotschluiss, and Harwich.

Ich lebe der Hoffnung/ es werden dieselbe mit allen ihren Angehörigen annoch bey Gesundheit und gutem Zustande sich befinden/ mich belangend/ so bin ich mit meiner lieben Hauffsrauen und 3 Kindern Gott Lob ebenfals noch gesund/ und gehet es uns/ und unserer gantzen Compagnie viel glücklicher und besser/ als wir bey unserer Abreyse hätten hoffen/ oder uns einbilden dürfen/ wir haben aller Orthen/ durch Gottes Gnade/ überaus gutthätige und hülfreiche Leuthe angetroffen. Auff dem Rheinstrohm haben uns unterschiedliche Leuthe etwas an Geld und Brod/ zum theil auch Fleisch/ Butter/ Käse/ und einigmal etwas an

²⁸Aussführlich= und umständlicher Bericht von der berühmten Landschaft Carolina/ In dem Engelländischen America gelegen. An Tag gegeben Von Kocherthalern. Vierter Druck. Mit Anhängen/ Zweyer Engelsen Autoren gethanen Beschreibung/ und eines auff der Reyse dahin begriffenen Hochteutschen auss Londen Benachrichtigung; Nebst Einer Land=Carte von Carolina vermehrt (Frankfurt am Mayn: Zu finden bey Georg Heinrich Oehrling, Anno MDCCIX). A 1706 edition does not appear to exist; the second edition has 42 pages; the third, 72 pages; and the fourth, 80 pages. The text by "J. J. W.," describing the journey to England, may have been composed by J. Jacob Weber. Theoretically, von Kocherthalern could be a plural and refer to more than one author from the dale of the Kocher.

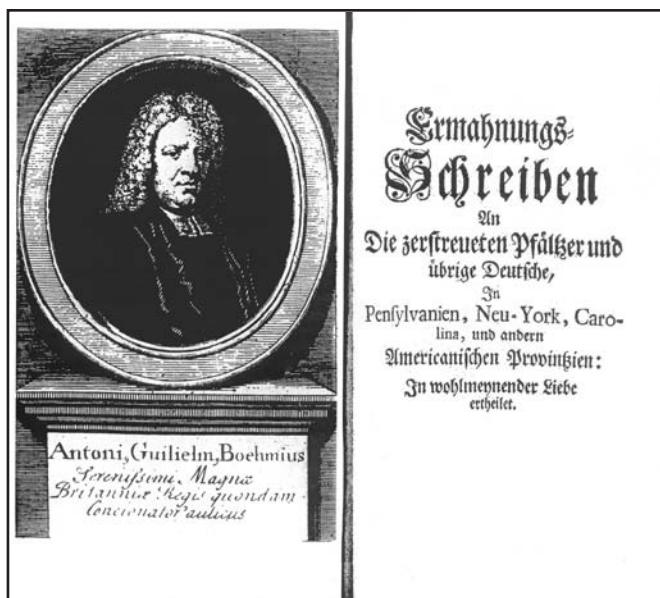
²⁹Henry Davenant was the English Resident at Frankfurt with credentials "To Circles of Electoral Rhine, Swabia, Upper Rhine, and Franconia 14 Feb. and 1 March 1703" and to the "(Upper Rhine only) 11 Aug. 1709." "Arrived Frankfurt 16 April 1703." D. B. Horn, ed., *British Diplomatic Representatives, 1689-1789* (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1932), 68-69; see also Jonathan Swift, *Journal to Stella*, ed. George A. Aitken (London: Methuen, 1901), 419. In addition to the fifty-five persons mentioned in this article, these petitioners included Johann Jacob Schmid, Heppenheim, Calvinist vintner and farmer (with wife and three children); Johannes (with wife and four children) and Joh. Conrad Hauser (with wife and one son), Wächenheim, Lutheran stone sculptors(?); Balthasar Siebenhaar, Wächenheim, Lutheran bachelor vintner; Joseph Ancker, Calvinist bachelor miller; Johann Jacob Klein, Bobenheim, miller or baker and vintner (with wife and two children). Correspondence of Henry Davenant, February 13, 1707/08, Circles of Empire State Papers, SP 81/89, The National Archives, Kew, England.

³⁰*Journal of the House of Commons*, 16, Reprinted by the Order of the House of Commons (London, 1803), 597.

Kleidungen verehrt/ in Rotterdam schenckte uns ein Mann allein 40. Holländische Gulden/ etliche andere gute Leuthe gaben uns auch unterschiedliches an Geld. Der Stadt=Rath in Rotterdam verehrte uns 25 fl. und ließ uns auf ihren Kosten/ in einem der Stadt zugehörigem Schiff nach Hellevotschluß bringen. Im Haag haben wir von dem Engelländischen Envoye erhalten/ daß uns freyer Paß biß Engelland gegeben wurde/ und also seynd wir auß Hellevotschluß in Holland/ biß nach Harwich in Engelland/ ohne einigen Hellers Kosten gebracht worden. Wir fuhren gantz glücklich herüber/ aber vertheilt und in drey Fahrten/ weil kein Pacquet Boot uns alle auff einmal einladen kunte/ von Harwich/ biß hieher nach Londen/ musten wir zwar zahlen/ doch nur die alten Personen; Kinder und Bagage nahm der Schiffer umsonst mit [77-78].



Palatines camp on the Black Heath outside London in 1709. This woodcut illustrates the title page of *The State of the Palatines for Fifty Years Past to This Present Time* (London, 1710).



Anton Wilhelm Böhm (Boehm or Böhme, 1673-1722). The Westphalia-born Anthony William Boehm, Prince George's Lutheran Pietist preacher, was August Hermann Francke's most important mediator between Germany, Denmark, and both the East and the West Indies. Boehm met Harrsch-Kocherthal in 1708 but the relationship appears to have been rather cool; only one Boehm to Kocherthal letter is known. Nonetheless, it was probably the prince's preacher who introduced the parson from the Kraichgau to the royal prince—unless it was a second meeting and the Lutherans had met already during Harrsch's first visit to London in 1704. Perhaps that visit was initiated by Harrsch's superior, Schlosser, who once dedicated one of his works to Prince George's sister, Ernestine Wilhelmine von Oldenburg, the childless widow of the previous prince elector of the Palatinate.

[Translation: I hope you and all of your family are still in good health. As to myself, I with my dear wife and three children are, thank God, likewise still healthy. And our entire company is much more fortunate, and we are doing much better than we could have hoped or imagined at our departure. On the river Rhine various people granted us some money and bread; sometimes also meat, butter, and cheese; and several times clothing. One man in Rotterdam alone gave us forty Dutch guilders; several other good people also gave us different amounts. Rotterdam's City Council donated twenty-five guilders and had us transported at its expense to Hellevotschluiss on a ship belonging to the city. In the Hague the English envoy enabled us to obtain free transfer to England, and thus we were brought from Hellevotschluiss to Harwich in England without spending a cent. We crossed over quite comfortably but divided into three trips because no packet boat could load all of us at once. From Harwich to London we had to pay, to be sure, but only the adults. Children and baggage the skipper took along for free.]

The fortunate refugees arrived on the 20th of April, 1708, in London, where the official support began with a per diem rate from April 15. Secretary Henry Boyle forwarded the travelers' petition to the Lords' Commissioners of Trade and Plantations:

Masses of Poor Palatines in England, 1708-1709

It is, without doubt, known through the weeklies in Germany what masses of poor Palatines fled to England from the month of May 1709 until now in the hope of being transported to Pennsylvania, Carolina, or some of the remaining plantations that the English own in West India. Concerning the initial impetus that may have caused the people to come to England in such numbers, it is assumed, not without reason, that those who came here last year from the Palatinate may have caused the strongest awakening of their countrymen for this uncommon migration, the likes of which will not easily be found in the histories. . . . These (whose number was about fifty-three men, women, and children) were kindly received by the English as soon as their case was known; so that Her Majesty, after she allowed the case to be presented to her, also gave the merciful order to hand out an English shilling (according to German coinage, 6 good *Groschen*) to each person daily, not to mention other contributions that were collected then and now by friends for their refreshment. After having been equipped thusly with physical maintenance, as also with new clothing and some tools for construction and field work, paid for by the queen, they were transported free of charge in the month of September 1708 to New York in America, where they also fortunately landed with the new governor, Lord Lovelace (who, however, died soon after his arrival), and after having lost four persons through death during the crossing, thus were reduced to fifty.

—Anton Wilhelm Böhm [England], Excerpt from a letter of November 18, 1709, to "Hrn. B. C. in B." [Germany], in *Erbauliche Briefe*, no. 18 (Altona: Korte, 1739), 39-41

The Enclosed Petition of the Evangelical Minister in behalf of himself & several Poor Protestants came hither out of Germany who desire to be transported to the West Indies, having been laid before the Queen, Her Majesty Commands me to transmit the same to your Lordships with Directions that you do immediately report your opinion what place in the West Indies is most proper to send them to, and how they may most conveniently be Transported thither and that you do cause enquiry to be made into their present Circumstances, and what means of Livelihood they have that due care may be taken for their now sorry subsistence.³¹

The anticipated goal, Carolina, was immediately out of the question, probably because the few unruly (English) inhabitants there had caused problems for the Crown. On May 20 the province of New York had become the refugees' destination. William Lowndes' request to William Popple states no reason for the choice; he is simply

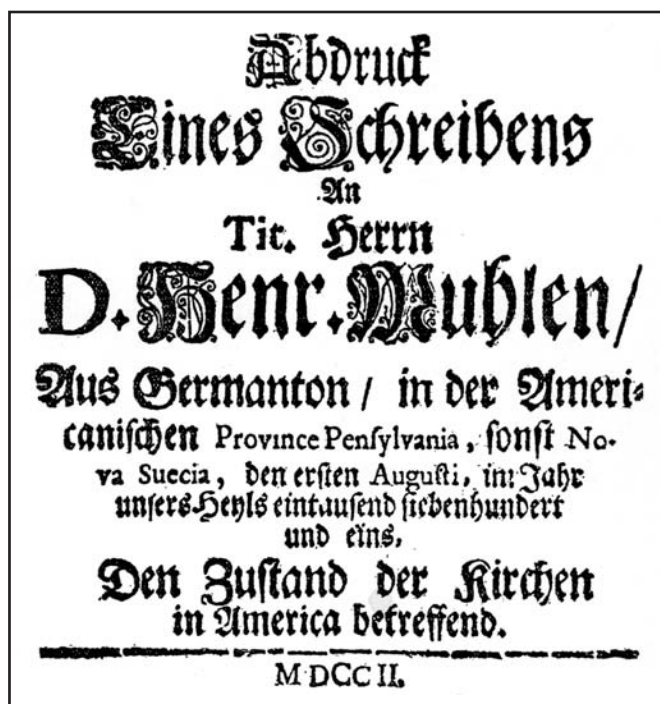
asking for an estimate from the commissioners of Trade for the Transportation to New York of the several poor Lutherans come hither from the Lower Palatinate and for supplying them with necessary tools for agriculture and for subsisting them for one year; as recommended by the Queen on a report from the said Commissioners on the petition of Joshua de Kocherthal the Evangelical³² minister, on behalf of himself & the said poor Palatines.

We could not establish that anyone was from the three congregations of their leader—if he even was their “leader”—his own family of five excepted.

Kocherthal's wife predeceased him, but a mysterious “widow” appears in Ruttenber's old history of Newburgh. One can read there: The glebe land “granted to the widow of Joshua Kocherthal was sold by her children,” July 13, 1741, to James Smith.³³ In 1727 the subscription lists of the Lutheran church in New York City include no widow, but they do include all four children in nice harmony: Benigna, Christian, Susanna, and Louysa Kocherthal.³⁴ Otherwise, the children's eventual fates were quite different from one another.



“Königl. Englisch in Teutschland verschickte Declaration,” December 1709, as reprinted in *Das verlangte, nicht erlangte Canaan*. See title, page 10. This “Royal English Declaration Sent to Germany” officially terminated the English welcome of more-than-asked-for Germans.



Abdruck Eines Schreibens an Tit. Herrn D. Henr. Muhlen/ Aus Germanton, Justus Falckner's (1672-1723) letter of 1701 about the dismal situation of the Lutheran church in Pennsylvania, was published in 1702. It apparently helped qualify the pious Saxon to be ordained by Pennsylvania's desperate Swedish Lutherans even though the former Wittenberg student appears to have had no degree in theology or divinity. He signed his New York church book as an orthodox Lutheran and should not be confused with his older Pietist brother, the problematic Daniel of Pennsylvania's “Falckner's Swamp,” Germantown, and—later—New Jersey.

³¹See Boyle's “Letter to Lords Comm.^{rs} of Trade & Plantations, Whitehall 20th. April 1708: The Enclosed Petition of the Evangelical Minister in behalf of himself & several Poor Protestants come hither out of Germany who desire to be transported to the West Indies. . . .” This was “Rec^d & Read” April 22, 1708, followed by a “List of several German Protestants desiring to be settled in some of her Majesty's Plantations,” April 26, 1708. CO 323/6, 116. William A. Shaw, ed., *Calendar of Treasury Books*, vol. 22, pt. 2 (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1950), 247.

³²The word “Evangelical” at that time referred to all Protestants (in contrast to Catholics) and should not be confused with the more specific term used in today's America. See the citation in Shaw, ed., *Calendar of Treasury Books*, vol. 22, pt. 2, 247.

³³E[dward] M[anning] Ruttenber, *History of the Town of Newburgh* (Newburgh, N.Y.: E. M. Ruttenber & Co., 1859), 33. See <http://books.google.com/books>.

³⁴Simon Hart and Harry J. Kreider, eds., *Protocol of the Lutheran Church in New York City, 1702-1750* (New York, N.Y.: The United Lutheran Synod of New York and New England, 1958), 65 ff. For New York see also *Ecclesiastical Records, State of New York*, 7 vols. (Albany, N.Y., 1850-51); see <http://books.google.com/books>; *The Lutheran Church in New York, 1649-1772: Records in the Lutheran Church Archives at Amsterdam, Holland*, trans. Arnold J. H. van Laer (New York, N.Y., 1946); *Lutheran Church in New York and New Jersey, 1722-1760: Lutheran Records in the Ministerial Archives of the Staatsarchiv, Hamburg, Germany* (New York, N.Y., 1962). A CD-ROM with Kocherthal's “Church Book,” trans. by Frederick S. Weiser and introduced by Henry Z Jones Jr., reproduces old and imperfect photographic images—done, according to a Jones e-mail, by John P. Dern—of the original records. (The present pastor in charge finds it prudent not to allow us a new filming of the deteriorating document.)

Kocherthal-Winchenbach Family

Joshua (de) Kocherthal (1669-1719)		m. 1695?		Sibylla Charlotta Winchenbach (ca. 1669-1713)	
Benigna Sibylla (1697-1781) m. 1727 Pastor Wilhelm Christoph Berkenmeyer (1687-1751) no children	Johannes (1700-1701)	Christian Josua (1701-1732) m. 1729 Cathalina Bensen (b. 1707), dau. of Samson no children; Cathalina m.(2) Peter Lynch, N.Y. constable	Susanna Sibylla (b. 1705) m. 1727 Guillaume Heurretin, goldsmith (b. 1699) 6 children: Elisabeth (b. 1728) Suzanne (b. 1729) Charlotte (b. 1731) Guillaume (b. 1732) Louise (b. 1736) Josué (b. 1738)	Louisa Abigail (1710-1775) m. July 30, 1739, John Brevoort, silversmith (1715-1775) 3 daughters: Charlotte (1740-1790) m. 1757 Whitehead Hicks (1728-1780), N.Y. mayor Margrietje (b. 1741) Louisa (b. 1743)	

Kocherthal's colleague to the Dutch Lutherans in New York was the Saxon domine Justus Falckner (1672-1723).³⁵ Benigna married his German-born successor, Pastor Wilhelm Christoph Berkenmeyer (1687-1751). He came from Lower Saxony and settled at Loonenburg, from where he took charge of some of the scattered German Lutherans as well.³⁶ Benigna remained childless but traveled repeatedly (as baptismal sponsorships indicate) to see her siblings in New York City and New Jersey. On August 7, 1720, for example, she witnessed a baptism in "Raritons" (New Jersey). She survived her husband by thirty years.

After his marriage to Catlyntje/Cathalina Bensen, Christian Josua Harrsch/Kocherthal is mentioned as working with books in the founding of the first public circulating library, located in City Hall, New York. On July 15, 1731, the warrant no. 522

Ordere'd the Mayor Issue his Warrant to the Treasurer to pay to Mr. Christian Kocherthal on Order the sum of Seven pounds four shillings and five pence farthing in full of his acc^t for Brushes Labourers Hire his own labour and attendance in putting up the Books in the Library &c: in August last as appears by his acc^t which is audited and allowed.³⁷

The young man died soon after, in 1732, and was buried in New York City as a "tallow chandler."³⁸

Best documented is the family of Susanna Sibylla and Guillaume Heurretin (a.k.a. William Heurtin) and their children.³⁹ Apparently the goldsmith also helped distribute books and almanacs. *The American Almanack for 1728* was sold by Kocherthal's son-in-law when Benjamin Franklin was manager of Samuel Keimer's printing shop

in Philadelphia: "Printed by S. Keimer, and sold by W[illiam] Heurtin Goldsmith in New York."⁴⁰

Three daughters were born to Louisa Abigail and New York silversmith⁴¹ John Brevoort (b. Sept. 8, 1715), whom she married on July 30, 1739. The oldest and best-known was Charlotte, born in New York City May 22 and baptized on May 26, 1740. Whitehead Hicks, mayor of New York City from 1766 to 1776, married the teenager on October 6 or 15, 1757; they had seven children.

³⁵For the Falckner brothers see Kim-Eric Williams, *The Journey of Justus Falckner* (Delhi, N.Y.: American Lutheran Publicity Bureau, 2003); hagiographic Williams has Falckner study at Pietist Halle instead of orthodox Wittenberg and has Kocherthal hail from a Bavarian Landau. It would be nice to see Justus Falckner's original church book mentioned more and translated or even published in a scholarly edition: "Kercken-Boeck Voor de Christelycke Apostolische Protestantische Lutherische Gemeente toegedaen de onveranderde Confessie van Augsburg in Newyorck en andern daertoe behoorende Plaetsen in America" (Evangelical Lutheran Church of Saint Matthew, New York, N.Y., film no. 1901794, LDS Library).

³⁶John P. Dern, ed., *The Albany Protocol: Wilhelm Christoph Berkenmeyer's Chronicle of Lutheran Affairs in New York Colony, 1731-1750*, trans. by Simon Hart and Sibrandina Hart-Runeman (Camden, Maine: Picton Press, 1971).

³⁷See *Minutes of the Common Council of the City of New York, 1675-1776* (New York, N.Y.: Dodd, Mead, 1905), 4:61.

³⁸See Joyce D. Goodfriend, *Before the Melting Pot: Society and Culture in Colonial New York City, 1664-1730* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992), 150, 266-67. The funeral was recorded by Pastor Knoll upon Domine Berkenmeyer's request: *Christian Kocherthal, gebooren 1701 d 29 Nov. gestoroven d 21 7br, begraaven d 27 dito. Zijn Vader was Zijn Eerwaerd de Heer Josua Kocherdael, Predicant der Lutherse Hoogdoudijtschers op Newton en daer omtrent, nach des Hn Berckenmeijers Zeugnijß habe diese Notiert M.C. Knoll. [Falckner], "Kercken-Boeck," 189.*

³⁹See *Registers of the Births, Marriages, and Deaths of the "Eglise*

Charlotte died February 28, 1790, “the only surviving of the three daughters of John Annes [Johannes] and Louisa Abigail (Kockerthal) Brevoort, and by this marriage became possessed of the Brevoort fortune.” Margrietje Brevoort was baptized on June 24, 1741; Louisa was baptized on August 10, 1743.⁴²

Not all Kocherthal cotravelers were Lutherans; Lutherans were, in fact, in the minority. An account of the denominational make-up of the arrivals in America is given in the diary of the Swedish pastor in—surprise—Pennsylvania. *Andreas Sandels Dagbok* reports that

42 högtyskar, bland vilka fanns 15 lutherska, som hade en präst med sig, Mr Josua Cockerthal, och de andra som var pietister och kalvinister, slog sig ned i närheten av Albany.⁴³

Perhaps the Swedish “pietister” refers to Mennonites or unfamiliar Huguenots here as usually “Pietists” are not separated from Lutherans or Calvinists. Sandel’s brief entry appears to be expanded and oddly translated as:

This month 42 high Germans came to Maratz among them 15 were Lutherans, and they brought with them a minister, Joshua Kockerthal. They settled near Albany, where the Queen of England, among other acts of benevolence, has granted them ground, and permission to build a church.⁴⁴

Main Families

The English documents, Kocherthal’s German church book,⁴⁵ as well as other sources allow us to infer the following alphabetically arranged list of the main families sailing with Kocherthal to America. There may have been a couple of others, but they do not belong to the core of German travelers on the ship *Globe*.

Ffeire, Fiere, Fiero, Fierre, Ferree family, 4. *Ex Palatinatu ad Rhenum*. Reformed farmer from Steinweiler with wife and two children. No Lutheran church book entry; however, Reformed entry records birth of Andreas “Fuer” in 1701.

1. Daniel (32)
2. Wife, Anna Maria (30)
3. Child Andreas (7)
4. Child Johannes (6)

According to various Web sites, Daniel Fierre Jr. was born about 1677 in Landau.⁴⁶ He died in 1762 in Paradise Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. His sister Catherine was also born in Landau and died about 1749 in Strasburg Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. This Landau is a much-fought-over fortress town that fell to France in 1704. Landau is also most frequently and erroneously mentioned as Kocherthal’s home town. Today it is in the Rhenish Palatinate (*Rheinland-Pfalz*), one of the federal states of Germany. Likewise, the births of other Fierre or Ferree children in a mysterious “Rhine Country” in France (!) appear at first glance to be more legendary than documentary until one realizes that this or the other German-speaking area was under French rule, off and on. The descendants of the Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, Fierres/Ferrees (Daniel, Catharine, Mary, Philip, Jane, and John) have some work to do here.⁴⁷

The better-documented brother Philip was born about 1685 in Steinweiler/Bittigheim in the German Palatinate and died in 1753 in Paradise Township, Lancaster County. Land sales document the Pennsylvanian beginnings:

Martin [Kendig] now appearing, desires that the Said Land may be Granted and Confirmed by Pattennt to Maria Warenbur, Widow, for whom the Same was taken up or intended and who is to pay the Consideration for it. But upon further Consideration of the matter it is agreed among themselves that the said Land Shall be Confirmed to Daniel Fierre and Isaac Leffevre, two of the said Widow’s Sons.⁴⁸

françoise à la Nouvelle York,” 1688-1804 (New York, N.Y.: Huguenot Society of America, 1886). See also *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Catalogue of an Exhibition of Silver Used in New York, New Jersey, and the South, with a Note on Early New York Silversmiths* by R. T. Haines Halsey (New York, N.Y.: Metropolitan Museum, 1911), xxxv-xxxvi, 70-71.

⁴⁰See also Franklin’s ad in *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, November 10, 1729. Cited after Benjamin Franklin, “A Documentary History,” at www.english.udel.edu/lemay/franklin/1727frame.html.

⁴¹An odd piece of art attributed to John Brevoort can be seen online at the Yale Art Gallery, <http://artgallery.yale.edu>. Their daughter Charlotte’s husband may be considered a “famous American.” See <http://famousamericans.net/whiteheadhicks/>.

⁴²See James Riker, *Revised History of Harlem* (1904), 478, at <http://books.google.com/books>. Nothing further is known about the daughters at this point.

⁴³*Andreas Sandels Dagbok*, 1701-1743, ed. Frank Blomfelt (Uppsala: Erene, 1988), 64.

⁴⁴“Extracts from the Journal of Rev. Andreas Sandel, Pastor of ‘Gloria Dei’ Swedish Lutheran Church, Philadelphia, 1702-1719,” *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 30 (1906): 298. Maratz appears to be another name for New York.

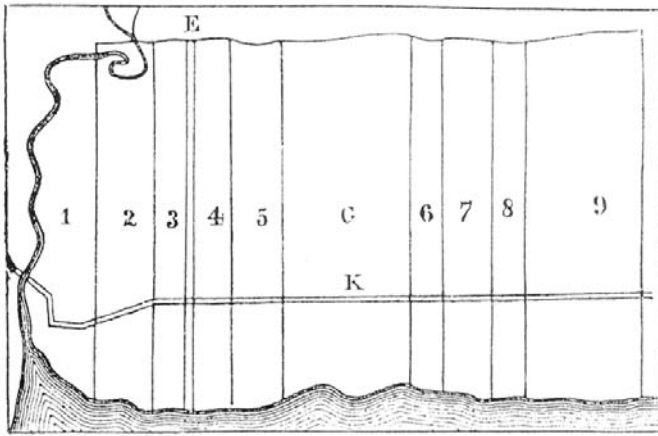
⁴⁵Each of the half-dozen transcriptions and translations of the Kocherthal records published so far differs from the other; none is dependable; some are online—for example, www.fortklock.com/nameskocherthal.htm. The first translated versions were by J. Christian Krahmer, “The Kocherthal Records,” *Olde Vlster* (Kingston, N.Y.) 3 and 4 (1907, 1908): various issues and pages; this was revised and newly prefaced as “A Translation of the Kocherthal Records

of the West Camp (New York) Lutheran Church,” *The Lutheran Quarterly* 57 (January 1927): 92-117; (April): 270-80; (July): 416-18. Closer to the original entries are those in Frederick Weiser’s 1976 typescript, “St. Paul’s Evangelical Lutheran Church, West Camp, Ulster County, New York: Parish Register, 1708-1840.” The best German identifications of couples married by Kocherthal were done by Fritz Braun, “Das Kocherthalsche Kirchenbuch in Amerika, 1708-1719, mit einem Nachtrag bis 1729,” *Mitteilungen zur Wanderungsgeschichte der Pfälzer* [Supplement to *Pfälzische Familien- und Wappenkunde* (Ludwigshafen: R. Louis)] Folge 1-4 (1952): 1-20; (1953): 25-26; (1953): 33-36; (1953): 37-44; Folge 9 (1954): 45-53. We appreciate the photocopied working copy of the Kocherthal records from Karlyn Knaust Elia, Ulster County historian.

⁴⁶The family name appears in a great variety of spellings. See Ammon Stapleton, *Memorials of the Huguenots in America, with Special Reference to Their Emigration to Pennsylvania* (Carlisle, Pa.: Huguenot Publishing, 1901; repr. Baltimore, Md.: Genealogical Publishing, 1964), 100-108.

⁴⁷Some work has been done but not commercially published. See Emory Schuyler Ferree, “The Story of the Ferree Family” (typescript, Brea, Calif.: Author, 1990/91), copy at Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society, Lancaster, Pa.

⁴⁸William Henry Egle, ed., *Minutes of the Board of Property of the Province of Pennsylvania*, vol. 1, Minute Book “H,” *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2nd ser., vol. 19 (Harrisburg: E. K. Meyers, 1893), 529. Daniel Fierre/Ferree (ca. 1677-1762) was Maria (Warenbur) Ferree’s son; and Isaac LeFevre (ca. 1675-1751), married to her daughter Catherine, was actually her son-in-law. As a Huguenot widow, Maria resumed use of her maiden name.



Drawing of New York's "Quassaick" (or Quasaic) Creek lots and glebe, according to Ruttenber, *History of the Town of Newburgh* (and his spellings, pp. 26-27):

- No. 1, the southernmost lot, assigned in 1719 to George Lockstead and Anna Elizabetha (widow Plettel) and her three children, 250 acres;
- No. 2, to Michel and Anna Catharina Weigand and their three children, 250 acres;
- No. 3, to Herman Schonemann and Elizabetha, his wife, 100 acres;
- No. 4, to Christian Henricke [and wife?], 100 acres;
- No. 5, to Sibylla Charlotte Kocherthal, "the widow [sic] of Joshua Kockerthal, and to Christian Joshua, Benigna Sibylla and Susanna Sibylla their children, 250 acres;"
- the glebe, or minister's land, contained 500 acres;
- No. 6, to Burger Meynders [and wife?], 100 acres;
- No. 7, to Jacob and Anna Elizabetha Webber and [only] two daughters, 200 acres;
- No. 8, to Johannes and Maria Barbara Fysher, 100 acres;
- No. 9, to Andries and Anna Catharina Volck and their four children, 300 acres.

Fischer family, 3. Lutheran church book entries.

- 5. Johannes (27), smith and husbandman
- 6. Maria Barbara (26) (d. bef. 1709)
- 7. Andreas (1/2 month)
(Margaretha was baptized by Justus Falckner, pastor of the Dutch, April 19, 1710.)

The best reference to a Johannes Fischer and wife Maria Barbara is found in Heppenheim near Worms, with the wife being the daughter of Jacob Volck at Heppenheim. On June 26, 1707, their marriage is recorded, and the husband is further identified as Otto Fischer's son, a commoner at Ronsbach in the principality Hessen-Cassel. According to Falckner's "Kercken-Boeck," Johannes Fischer served as witness at Kocherthal's first baptisms at Hoogland-upon-Hudson in July 1709. On July 19 Kocherthal performed his first American wedding by uniting the widower Fischer with young Maria Hill "on the Quasaic Kill."⁴⁹ Jacob Weber supposedly sold some of his New York land to Johannes Fischer (his next-door neighbor on lot no. 8) and on August 5, 1724, the remainder, lot no. 7 in the "German Patent," to Zacharias Hofmann.⁵⁰

Gilg, Gülch family, 4/3. No Lutheran church book entry.

- 8. Gülch, Melchior (39), carpenter and joiner
- 9. Anna Catharina (43)
- 10. Magdalena (12)
- 11. Heinrich (10)

Melchior Gülch stayed behind in England to be with his dying wife. A warrant by Treasurer Godolphin to Spencer Compton, paymaster of the Queen's Bounties & Charities, dated November 12, 1708, documents the family's misery:

to pay 4s. a day for 4 months as from Aug 24 last to Melchor Gilles, one of the poor Lutherans that was to proceed with his family to New York; which the Queen is pleased to allow him for the support of himself, wife & 2 children whilst his wife lies under cure of a cancer in her breast; the surgeons being in hopes that she may be cured thereof & be in a condition to proceed to New York in 3 or 4 months' time; they having nothing to subsist on meanwhile.⁵¹

The date and means of his transport are at present unknown, but he did obtain a lot near his cotravelers while in London. There is no Lutheran church book entry; he may have been Reformed (Calvinist); besides, Kocherthal left before the widower Gülch and his children arrived and settled near the glebe lands. His name appears in the tax rolls of the Precinct near Middlehope to 1729.⁵²

[Christian Henricke [Hennicke?] sold lot no. 4 to William Burnet, from whom it was purchased by Cadwallader Colden and others. Henry Wileman divided the lots further into what subsequently became known as the "Old Town of Newburgh Plott."⁵³]

Hubertson/sen family, 2. No Lutheran church book entry; *ex Holsatiâ* [Danish Holstein].

- 12. Hubert (or Peter) Hubertson, widowed tailor
- 13. Jacob Hubertson (15), his son

Widower Peter (or Hubert) Hubertsen and son were apparently part of the emigrant party but not directly part of the Kocherthal immigrants; Governor John

⁴⁹See the marriage records from Heppenheim, Dekanat, Worms, 1697-1770, no. 1347391, 239, LDS Library; Krahmer, "A Translation of the Kocherthal Records," 273 (marriage no. 1, Fischer and Hill). Justus Falckner baptized Mary Hill, 13 years of age, June 13, 1707, which shows that Lutherans lived on the Quasaic Creek before Kocherthal's people arrived.

⁵⁰Or the Quasaic lots no. 8 and no. 9 were jointly sold by Johannes Fischer and Andreas Volck to Zacharias Hofmann, February 20, 1722.

⁵¹Shaw, William A., ed., *Calendar of Treasury Books, 1708, Preserved in the Public Record Office*, vol. 22, pt. 2 (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1950), 433-34.

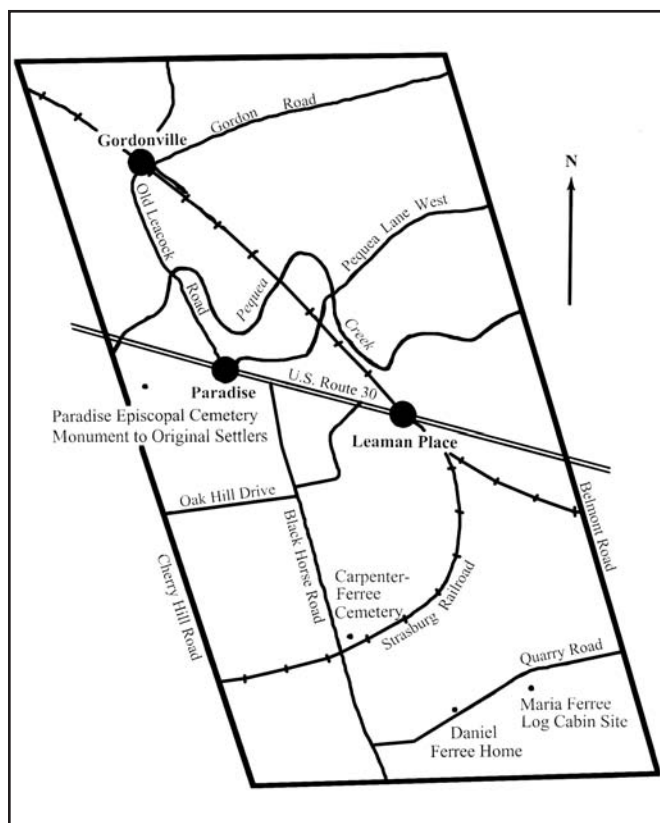
⁵²Ruttenber, *History of the Town of Newburgh*, 263; Melchior Gulch petitioned for an order to the Navy Department for transportation to New York, April 19, 1709. Council of Trade and Plantations to Mr. Secretary Boyle: "Melchior Gilles, one of the poor Lutherans, having had leave to stay behind on account of his wife's illness, who being now dead, he is desirous to proceed with his children on board of a merchant ship now ready to sail for New York. Pray for an Order to the Navy Board accordingly." See Cecil Headlam, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, June 1708-1709* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1922), 281, no. 470.

⁵³Ruttenber, *History of the Town of Newburgh*, 33-34.

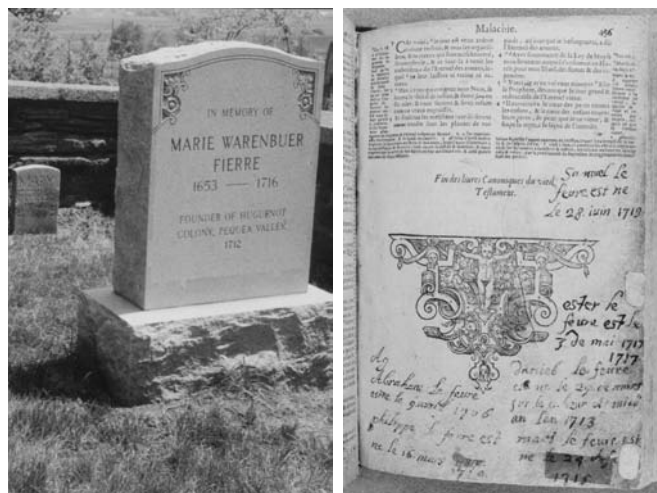
Lovelace had hired the two as his servants.⁵⁴ The family name suggests a northern German, perhaps even Danish, background. They are two of the three latecomers mentioned as “from Holstein,” the third being the bachelor Hermann Schünemann from Hamburg.

Kocherthal family, 5. Several Lutheran church book entries.

14. Joshua Kocherthal (39), minister; moved to West Camp, N.Y. (d. 1719)
15. Sibylla Charlotta (39) (d. 1713)
16. Benigna Sibylla (10), m. Pastor Berkenmeyer; moved to Loonenburg, N.Y.



Top: Patent to Daniel Fierre/Ferree and Isaac LeFevre, “late of Steinweiller [sic] in ye Palatinat of ye Rhine” in the fall of 1712 for 2,300 acres from William Penn and agents including present-day Paradise, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, but then Chester County. They were son and son-in-law, respectively, of Maria (Warenbur) Ferree. Bottom: Historical marker.



Left: Monument (foreground) and gravestone (rear) in memory of “Marie Warenbuer Fierre” in the old Carpenter-Ferree Cemetery along Black Horse Road, about a mile south of Paradise, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. Right: LeFevre records, 1706-1719, in a 1608 French Bible printed in Geneva and now housed at the Lancaster County Historical Society, Lancaster, Pennsylvania

17. Christian Josua (7), m. Catlyntje Bensen; d. in New York City, 1732
18. Susanna Sibylla (3), m. Guillaume Heurretin; reside in Bergen Co., Jersey
(Louisa Abigail was baptized by Justus Falckner in New York City, February 28, 1710.)

According to Falckner’s “Kercken-Boeck,” Kocherthal’s first baptisms at Hoogland-upon-Hudson were in mid-July 1709, more than half a year after the immigrants’ arrival in New York City. When Falckner baptized in March, none of the German newcomers was recorded. Apparently they all stayed in New York, waiting for spring to arrive. When Kocherthal went back to England in the fall, his pregnant wife and the children probably stayed in the city rather than with the settlers at the highland on the Hudson.

Le ffeure, LeFevre, Feber family, 3. *Ex Palatinatu ad Rhenum*. No Lutheran church book entry; Reformed vintner and farmer from Mühlhofen with wife and two children [in February 1708].

19. Isaac Feber (33)
20. Catarina Feberin (30)
21. Abraham Feber (2)

According to the *Pennsylvania LeFevres*, a second son, named Philip, was born to Isaac and Catherine; his baptism is supposedly recorded in Kingston, New York, on

⁵⁴According to Knittle, “The other two Germans not listed had entered the services of Lord Lovelace, . . . the newly appointed governor of New York. Their names are supplied from the list of May 28th . . . as Peter Hubertsen and his son Jacob, a lad of fifteen.” <http://www.threerivershms.com/knittlech2.htm>. Barbara (Boring) Bauer counts “widower Peter Hübertsen and son” as part of the group. <http://www.minerd.com/memoir-bauerbarbara3.htm>. An original Latin document, however, has *Huberto Hubertson et Jacob Filio ejus*. New York State Archives, Series AO453, vol. 10, 241-42. Compare Ammon Stapleton, *Memorials of the Huguenots in America, with Special Reference to Their Emigration to Pennsylvania* (Baltimore, Md.: Genealogical Publishing, 1964), 39. Colonial Office 5/1049, 57, The National Archives, Kew, England.

April 1, 1711.⁵⁵ The following spring the families of Daniel Fierre and of Isaac LeFevre settled along the Pequea Creek in what is now Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.⁵⁶

Plattell, Plettel family, 5 emigrants, 4 immigrants.

22. Hans Jacob Plettel (40), husbandman and vinedresser (d. 1708 in England)
23. Anna Elisabetha (29)
24. Margaretha (10)
25. Anna Sara (8)
26. Catharina (3)

The group's first American birth was that of Johannes by the widow Anna Elisabetha Plettel; sponsors were Johannes Fischer and Anna Maria Weigand. The first Lutheran marriage entry in Kocherthal's church book is that of the widow Plettel: she married the Mecklenburg bachelor Georg [a.k.a. Jürgen] Looksted, September 21, 1709. They settled at or near Quasaic, New York,⁵⁷ and became perhaps the most important family attached to the Lutheran glebe. Falckner baptisms often took place in the distiller's house, and they repeatedly served as witnesses.

Rennau family, 4; extended 6. Lutheran church book entry, 1715.

27. Heinrich Rennau (24), stocking weaver, husbandman, vine dresser
28. Johanna Rennauin (26)
29. Lorenz Rennau (2)
30. Heinrich Rennau (5 months)
31. Susanna Liboscha (15), sister of Johanna Rennau
32. Maria Johanna Liboscha (10), sister of Johanna Rennau

Heinrich Rennau is listed in 1714-15, 1717-18, with "Freeholders, Inhabitants, Residents, Sojourners of County of Ulster, Precinct of Highlands," but not in the 1724-25 list.⁵⁸ *Liboscha* may be a French name, such as *Le Beaujon*, *Le Beaujeux*, or possibly even *Le Bûjotte*. If the not-particularly-German name *Liboscha* could be a French name, one might also ponder *Rennau* as a variant of the French name *Rennault*.

Rose family, also known as Pierre Larose (Le Roux?), 2. *Ex Palatinatu ad Rhenum*. Lutheran church book entries 1709, 1714. Is this not the Reformed tiler or baker [*pan-nifex*?] from Mannheim with wife Johanna?

33. Peter/Pierre Rose (34), "cloath" weaver
34. Johanna Rosin (45)
(no children)

According to Falckner's "Kercken-Boeck," Pieter Rose served as witness at Kocherthal's first baptisms at Hoogland-upon-Hudson in mid-July 1709; Peter and Johanna Rose also served as sponsors at the baptism of Johanna Weber, born in September and baptized October 31, 1714. Before moving away [to Pennsylvania?] in or after 1716, Rose sold his lot no. 6 (one hundred acres on the north side of today's North Street) to Lutheran Burger Meynders from Kingston.⁵⁹

Schüneman(n), Schuneman. The only Lutheran church book entry for this surname is his marriage.

35. Herrman(n), bachelor (28), *Ex Holsatia*, clerk, unmarried

On May (March?) 11, 1711, clerk Herman Schünemann of Hamburg,⁶⁰ also called "a captain of the North German people," married Elisabeth Müller, daughter of the late Georg Müller, of Hamburg. A son Johannes

would be ordained in Holland and become a Reformed pastor in Claverack, New York.⁶¹

Schweizer, Schwisser, Schwitzer, Sweizer family, 3. Lutheran church book entry, 1710.

36. Laurenz/Lorents/Lorenz (25), husbandman and vinedresser
37. Anna Catharina (26)
38. Johanna (8)

A Schweitzer family from Eschelbronn is not documented in the contemporary Kraichgau church book, but there is one from the next generation.⁶² On April 17, 1710, Johan Heinrich Schwitser was baptized by Falckner in the new High German colony at Juffrowshoek in the county of Sopos; godparents were Henry and Janje (Johanna) Rennau.⁶³ A Lawrence Switzer was recorded 1721 in



The DeTurk ancestral home stands on land where Isaac DeTurk and his wife, Maria Weimer, settled in 1711 along the Little Manatawny Creek, a short distance south of Oley in Berks County, Pennsylvania. This property is now better known as the Daniel Boone Homestead (<http://www.danielboonehomestead.org>).

⁵⁵George Newton and Franklin D. LeFevre, *The Pennsylvania LeFevres* (Strasburg, Pa: LeFevre Cemetery and Historical Association, 1952), 6. www.pennsylvanialefevres.org.

⁵⁶See Egle, ed., *Minutes of the Board of Property*, Minute Book "H," *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2nd ser., vol. 19, 529; Isaac Leffevre is documented subsequently in 1713 near Conestoga, 559, and in 1716 at or near Strasburg, 607-608, 628.

⁵⁷Krahmer, "A Translation of the Kocherthal Records," 273 (marriage no. 2, Lockstad and Plettel); see also "The Humble Petition of George Lockstadt on behalf of himself and ye rest of the Germans Settled near Quassaick Creek upon Hudson River, 8 July 1714." New York State Archives, AO272, vol. 6, 57. A member of the church council, he died at the age of sixty-five on March 27, 1727, "Kercken-Boeck," 187R; *Protocol of the Lutheran Church in New York City*, 33.

⁵⁸Ruttenber, *History of the Town of Newburgh*, 139-40.

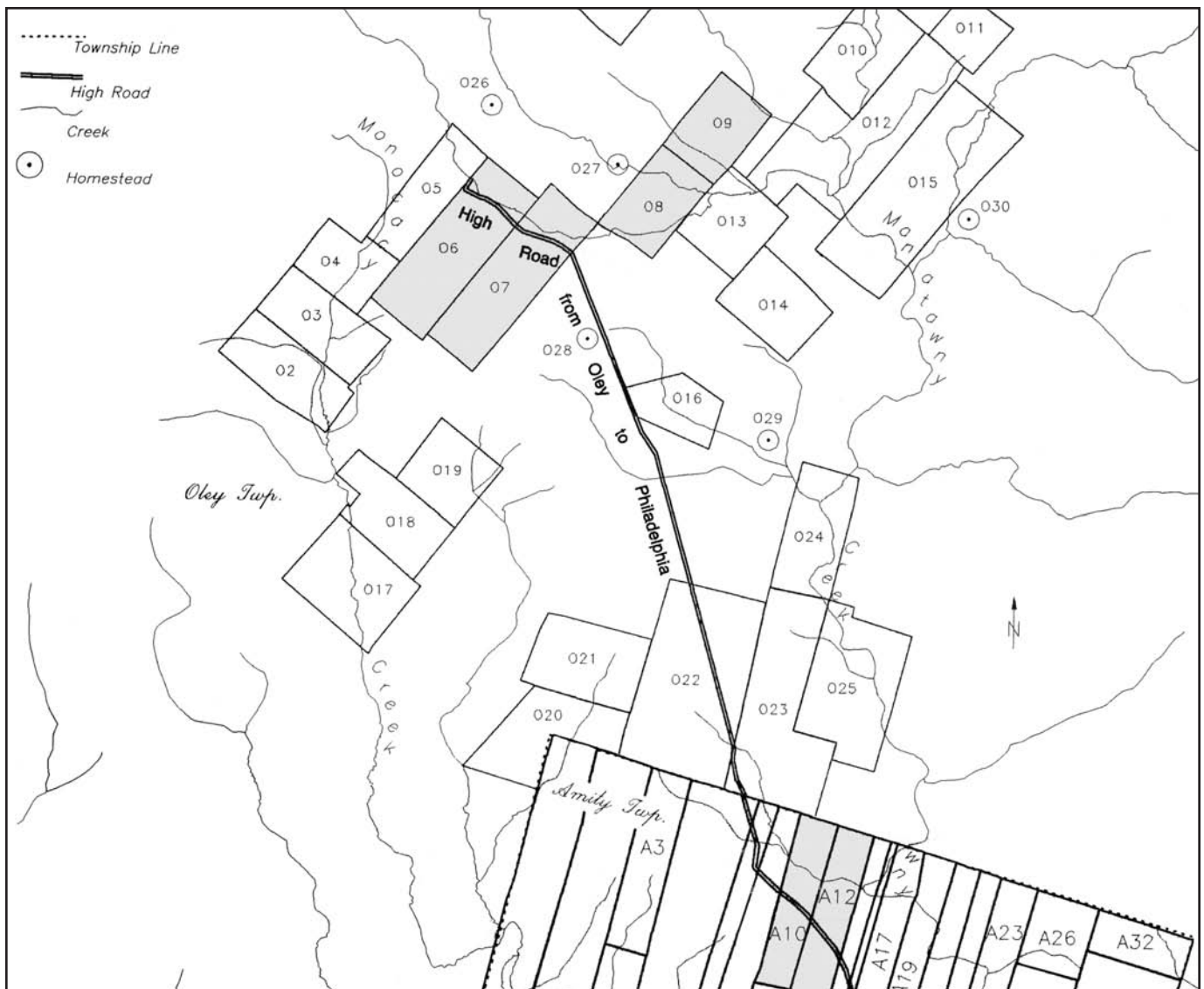
⁵⁹Ruttenber, *History of the Town of Newburgh*, 26, 139-40, 263; a Pieter Roos of Ulster County was naturalized September 8/9, 1715; see Kenneth Scott and Kenn Stryker-Rodda, *Denizations, Naturalizations, and Oaths of Allegiance in Colonial New York* (Baltimore: Clearfield, 1994), 55. Deed BB-386, Ulster County, N.Y.

⁶⁰Krahmer, "A Translation of the Kocherthal Records," 276 (marriage no. 39, Schünemann and Müller).

⁶¹See Petrus Van Vlieden [1737-1821], *Het lot van lichaam en ziel by 's menchen dood, in eene Lyk-reden, op wylen den Weleerwaardigen zeer geleerden Heer Johannes Schuneman, over predik: I 21 7. Uitgesproken in de Kerk van Catskill, den 25 Mai, 1794. Voor zyne Verenigde Gemeenten van Katskill en Kogzacki*. Door Petrus Van Vlieden, Kerk-Leeraar, In de Hervormde Gemeente van Katsbaan of Saugertjes. Catskill, N.Y.: Printed by Mackay Croswell & Co., 1794. M, DCC, XCIV. See also www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~nygreen2/brace_no_14.htm.

⁶²Regina F. Schweitzer, *The Schweitzer Family from Eschelbronn, Baden, Germany, and Rahway, New Jersey, U.S.A.* (Rahway, N.J.: R. F. Schweitzer, 1985).

⁶³Krahmer, "A Translation of the Kocherthal Records," 96.



Map of portions of Oley and Amity Townships in the Oley Valley in eastern Berks County, Pennsylvania, about 1725, showing tracts of Isaac DeTurck (O-6), Johann Heinrich Kersten (O-7), Esther DeTurck (O-8), Katarina Weimer (O-9), Jacob Weber/Weaver (A-10), and Andreas Fulk (A-12, northern half) between the Monocacy and Manatawny Creeks

Pennsylvania: In August he desired "the Grant of about 1,200 acres of Land at a place called Sawcany, about 7 miles to the Northward of E. Oley."⁶⁴

(de) Turck, bachelor, 1. Recorded 1711 in New York City's French Reformed Church.

39. De Turck, Isaac (23), husbandman, unmarried (m. Maria Weimar/Weimer/Wemar).

Isaak de Turck was born January 17, 1685, in Frankenthal (Rheinland-Pfalz); parents were Johannes de Turck and Hester Kip; witnesses were Isaac Balde and his wife, Sara, in whose place served Hans Pieter Kip Junior and his wife, Maria Elisabeth Goz.⁶⁵ He may have married Maria Wemar soon after arrival in New York; their child was baptized in New York City by Louis Rou, April 29, 1711, as *Esther leturque*, born August 30, 1710, daughter of *Isaac leturque et marie sa femme*.⁶⁶

Volck family, 5. Several Lutheran church book entries; Lutheran vintner and farmer from Heppenheim with wife and three children.

40. Volck, Andreas (30)

41. Anna Catharina (27)

42. Maria Barbara (5)

43. Georg Hieronymus (4)

44. Anna Gertrauda (1)

On November 28, 1708, Captain Carolus Congreve witnessed the baptism of Carolus Volck on board the ship *Globe*; the boy's fate is presently unknown. According to

⁶⁴Egle, ed., *Minutes of the Board of Property*, Minute Book "I," *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2nd ser., vol. 19, 709.

⁶⁵Turck's baptism is registered in the *Taufregister, Heiratsregister, Sterberegister, Frankenthal, Rheinland Pfalz*, filmed at Staats-Archiv Speyer, no. 488246, 147, LDS Library. See http://www.historicpreservationtrust.org/hist_sites/jdcabin.html.

⁶⁶*Registers of the Births, Marriages, and Deaths of the "Eglise Française à la Nouvelle York"*: from 1688-1804 (Baltimore: Genealogical Pub. Co., 1968), 122; repr. from *Collections of the Huguenot Society of America* (New York, N.Y.) 1 (1886). "A son, born in Oley on September 23, 1713, who may have been a Mennonite, became a Moravian around 1741, when Nikolaus Graf Zinzendorf visited the Turcks. See "Genealogical Data From The Moravian Church," <ftp://ftp.rootsweb.com/pub/usgenweb/pa/berks/church/moravian.txt>.

Falckner's "Kercken-Boeck," Andreas Volck and his wife, Catharina, served as witnesses at Kocherthal's first baptisms at Hoogland-upon-Hudson in mid-July 1709. Anna Maria Volck was baptized by Falckner on April 17, 1711. Sponsors were Johannes Fischer and his wife. Johannes was baptized by Kocherthal on May 19, 1712.

The Quasaic lots no. 8 and no. 9 near the glebe were sold by Johannes Fischer and Andreas Volck to Zacharias Hofmann on February 20, 1722.⁶⁷ Barbara (Boring) Bauer suspects that in the spring of 1723 Andreas Volck accompanied Conrad Weiser to Tulpehocken; this may also have been the route Jacob Weber and his family took in the late summer of 1724. In 1723 an Andreas "Fulk" had settled on lot A12 in the ten-thousand-acre "Swede's Tract" on the Schuylkill River near Manatawny Creek in Amity Township. Andreas Volck moved to Allemangel (Lehigh County, Pennsylvania), where he died in September 1747.⁶⁸

Weber family, 4. Lutheran church book entries; Lutheran farmer from Nidesheim with wife and two children.

45. Jacob Weber (30), husbandman and vinedresser

46. Anna Elisebetha (25)

47. Eva Maria (5)

48. Eva Elisabetha (1)

(Johannes was baptized by Justus Falckner, pastor of the Dutch, April 19, 1710.)

(Peter)

(Catharine)

Johann Herman Weber was born in 1708 on board the ship *Globe*, apparently while it was still at anchor in England; Kocherthal recorded this baptism on September 14, 1708. Witnesses were Hermann Schünemann, clerk, and an otherwise unknown constable on board named Johann Roth. According to Falckner's "Kercken-Boeck," Jacob Weber served as witness at Kocherthal's first baptisms at Hoogland-upon-Hudson in July 1709. On April 19, 1710, son Johannes was baptized at Quasaic; Peter, born December 25, 1715, was baptized in the "Highlands"; daughter Catharine, born March 20, 1719, in the Highlands, was baptized June 21, 1719.⁶⁹

Jacob Weber sold lot no. 7 on August 5, 1724.⁷⁰ Eva Elisabetha Weber married Peter de Langh/DeLong in Ulster County, New York, and settled in Maxatawny Township, Philadelphia/Berks County, a few miles away from her parents in Amity Township. Her sister Eva Maria (and husband, Friedrich Meinert) settled in Oley Township.

Weigand family, 5. One of only a few families that settled and stayed at Quasaic, New York.

49. Michael Weigand (52), Lutheran vintner from Nidesheim with wife and two children [February 1708].

50. Anna Catharina Weigandin (54)

51. Anna Maria (13)

52. Tobias (7)

53. Georg (5)

According to Falckner's "Kercken-Boeck" (p. 26), both Anna Catharina and her teenage daughter, Anna Maria Weigandin, served as witnesses for different children at Kocherthal's first baptisms at Hoogland-upon-Hudson in July 1709. The teenage girl's sponsorship may indicate that there were just not enough Lutherans to support a pastor in the long run. Perhaps not coinciden-

tally, in 1698 a couple—Hermann and Elisabetha Wigant and their daughter, Anna Maria—took communion in Heppenheim.⁷¹ Secular and ecclesiastical histories have many references to a number of resident descendants well into the Revolutionary War.

Wemar, Weimar, Weimer family, 2. *Ex Palatinatu ad Rhenum.*

54. Maria Wemarin (37), husband woman, widow

55. Catharina (2)

The *cognata vidua* mentioned with Peter La Rose, possibly his sister or other close relative, may well be Maria, Peter Weimar's widow, with daughter Catherina. She probably married Isaac Turck in New York City.⁷²

Dispersal

The first to leave the initial Kocherthal group was Johann Jacob Plettel, a literate man who had signed initial documents in England but died soon afterwards while still in or near London. His young widow (29) and children nonetheless continued the journey to New York. Kocherthal's first Lutheran church book concerns the marriage of the widow Plettel with the Mecklenburg bachelor Jürgen Looksted.

The second to split from the original Kocherthal party was the family of Melchior Gülch. Because Anna Catharina Gülch was mortally sick with cancer, Melchior and their children stayed behind in England. Although he later caught up with the settlers in New York, he remained distant from the original settlers by default and, perhaps, design. He was counted by the English as one of the Lutherans, but neither he nor members of his family appear in the Lutheran church books consulted.

A few months after the emigrants lost their sponsor, Prince George of Denmark, in October of 1708, the immigrants also lost their New York supporter, Lord Lovelace, who died on May 6, 1709. On June 16, 1709, his successor, Lt. Gov. Richard Ingoldesby (d. 1719), informed the Council of Trade and Plantations,⁷³ and to him Kocherthal applied two weeks later for a free passage to England.

⁶⁷Ruttenber, *History of the Town of Newburgh*, 33. The name Volck appears repeatedly in the Heppenheim church book. See also <http://www.medleymeadows.com/Writings/ThePruningOfTheVinedresser.htm>.

⁶⁸See Barbara (Boring) Bauer, http://www.minerd.com/bio-meinert_friedrichs.htm.

⁶⁹The name Weber appears repeatedly in the Heppenheim church book. See also Barbara (Boring) Bauer, "The Immigrants: Jacob and Anna Elisabetha Weber, Ulster County, NY and Berks County, PA." See <http://www.minerd.com/memoir-bauerbarbara2.htm>.

⁷⁰See Ruttenber, *History of the Town of Newburgh*, 33.

⁷¹Heppenheim, Dekanat, Worms: Tauffen, Tote, Heiraten, Konfirmationen, 1697-1770, no. 1347391, 195, LDS Library; see also <http://www.csbvvp.com/Stapleton/stapleton.htm>; see also *Protocol of the Lutheran Church of New York City*, 228-29 [= Hart/Kreider, 207-208].

⁷²See Eugene P. DeTurk, *History and Genealogy of the DeTurk, DeTurck Family; Descendants of Isaac DeTurk and Maria DeHarcourt* (Kutztown, Pa.: DeTurk Family Association, 1934); see also William J. Hinke, *Life and Letters of the Rev. John Philip Boehm, Founder of the Reformed Church in Pennsylvania, 1683-1749* (New York: Arno Press, 1972), 217-18; and discussion at <http://www.archiver.rootsweb.ancestry.com/th/read/PFALZ/2005-04/1112704512>.

⁷³Cecil Headlam, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, June, 1708-1709* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1922), 346-47 (no. 578 from Perth Amboy). (This *Calendar* is a.k.a. *Calendar of Trade*.)

To the Right Honourable Richard Ingoldesby Esq;
Lieutenant Governour and com[m]ander in Chief in
and over Her Majesties Provinces of New York, Nova
Caesaria [New Jersey], and Territories depending
thereon in America &c.

As also to Her Majesties most Honourable Council &c.
The most humble Petition of Joshua Kocherthal, Minister:

Most Humbly Sheweth:

That all his endeavouring hitherto bestowed and
applied can not meet with an effect answerable to his
expectations to find but the utmost necessary expences to
the building of his house and regulating his settlement
upon the land assigned to him, being besides advised by
Mr Kokerell Secretary that he could not (after the latter end
of this month of June:) continue any further with the
procuring and payment of wood and House-rent, in con-

sideration he had fully made up and surrendred all the
accounts concerning our company and their settlement:
wherefore your Honour's most humble Petitioner humbly
undertakes to beseech your Honour's Generosity, to be gra-
ciously pleased, to settle upon him a further continuance of
the said Assistance of Firewood and House-rent (:like Mr
Kokerell hath *hitherto* done:) untill Her Majesties Royal
Most Gracious Resolution concerning my subsistence may
be known.

Your Honour's most humble petitioner is in duty
bound to acquaint your Honour's that he intends to
retransport himself to London by this favorable opportuni-
ty with Your Honour's gracious leave, to acquire the soon-
er and easier by Her most sacred Majesty as wel[l] Her
most Gracious Ratification of what hitherto is done in favor
of him and his Company, as also Her most Clement Royal
Resolutions concerning his settlement for the future: In a
most respectfull manner therefore he implores your
Honour's tender Benignity to be most favourably pleased,
to procure a free Transport for him, in one of Her Majesties
Ships, in Consideration he is not able to find the transport
Charges himself by his present circumstances.

Your Honour's most humble Petitioner takes the
opportunity, most humbly to assure your Honour's, most
humbly and submissively to endeavour to acquire not only
her most Glorious Majesties most gracious Ratification of
the s^d Transport, but also to acknowledge this your
Honour's Extraordinary Favour with an immortal thank-
fulness, as in duty being bound.

New York 29. of June 1709.

Your Honour's Most humble most dutifull
and most obedient Servant

Joshua Kocherthal.⁷⁴

Clearly, his expectations had not been met, but his fate
was not the worst. Kocherthal was not the only petition-
er; on July 2, 1709, Secretary Thomas Cockerill petitioned
Mr. Popple for support of the late lieutenant governor's
widow, who within weeks had lost husband and two
children.⁷⁵

In the middle of July, Kocherthal officiated in the
German "colony on the Quasack Kill," and on July 17 he
baptized "in the home of Saderland, the following":
Joseph, child of Joseph and Helena Practer; sponsors
were Jacob Weber and Anna Catharina Weigand.⁷⁶ Two
days later he united the widower Johann Fischer and
Maria Hill, daughter of the late Carolus Hill, of
Stonetown in New England.⁷⁷ Kocherthal did not stay
long with his people and their lots at the confluence of the
Quasaic Creek and the Hudson River. These July entries
are the last recorded clerical acts Kocherthal performed in
New York before returning to England, the Loockstedt
wedding being the exception. During his absence the
official pastor for the area's Dutch Lutherans, Justus
Falckner, served the Germans as well.

GRONDLYCKE ONDERRICHT
VAN
Sekere Voorname Hoofd-stucken, der
Waren, Loutern, Saligmakenden,
Christelycken Leere,
Gegrondet op den Grondt van de Apo-
stelen en Propheten, daer
Jesus Christus
de HOECK-STEEN.
I S.
Angewesen in eenvoudige, dog stigtelycke
Vragen en Antwoorden,
Door
JUSTUS FALCKNER, Saxo-
Germanus, Minister der Christelycken
Protestantsen Genaemten Lutherischen
Gemeente te N. York en Albanen,
&c.
Psal. 119. v. 104. (God) is Woort maekts niet
Kloek; daarom hate sch alle valsche Wegen.
Godrukt te Nieuw-York by W. Bradford,
1708

Harrsch's Saxon colleague, Justus Falckner, author of
Grondlycke Onderricht (New York: W. Bradford, 1708), needed
to be more fluent in other languages than his Kraichgau col-
league. The Palatine dialect (*Pfälzisch*) was not, by far, the
only dialect spoken by Germans in the early American
colonies. Incidentally, Kocherthal delivered this American
book to Boehm during his return trip to London in 1710.
Usually books went the other way at that time.

⁷⁴E. B. O'Callaghan, *The Documentary History of the State of New-
York*, vol. 3 (Albany: Weed, Parsons & Co., 1850), 546-47.

⁷⁵Cecil Headlam, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series,
America and West Indies, June 1708-1709* (London: His Majesty's
Stationery Office, 1922), 409-410; 617.

⁷⁶Krahmer, "A Translation of the Kocherthal Records," 39.

⁷⁷Krahmer, "A Translation of the Kocherthal Records," 40.

Traveling to Europe required preparation both for the individual traveler and for the congregation. According to the New York Council Minutes, a "Recommendation to the queen for J. C. Codweis and J. Kocherthal" was signed August 6, 1709, as well as "warrants for land patents";⁷⁸ and on August 18, 1709, the administration recorded: "Petition. Joshua Kocherthal, minister, for a certificate of character, &c., he being about going to England."⁷⁹ He had soon realized that New York was expensive and in no way comparable to the envisioned Carolina, the subject of a promotional treatise. Three extant estimates⁸⁰ regarding the construction of a house document the high cost of living in New York; it had nothing to do with the idealized Carolina and even less with any imagined "Canaan."

An Abstract and Translation of Four Severall Letters⁸¹ from Certain persons With Whome the Petitioner Joshua Cocherthall (:High German Minister at New Yorke in America:) hath Consulted about his Maintenance and Living There, viz.^t

A. Sir! To make with a Little Money, Such a Plantation, From wh. you might have Your needfull Maintainance and Support, The Same is at present Impossible to be done here. You can not under £200. build a house, Thô the Same be not much better Than a Common or an Ordinary Farmer's or Boor's house; Besides Ther^e is great Want of all Sorts of Handycraft Men, Since the Major Part of Them, Especially the Young People Were obliged to goe to Canada; Provisions grow dayly dearer and at a great many places none are to be had And the Paper Money that was Introduced hath Spoil'd all Manner of Trade and Business; And Where ever Men, Money and Provisions are Wanting at Such place a Planta'on must needs look very poor. &c.^a

B. Sir, According to Your Request I Send You here an Account of What Charges must be borne at This present Time upon a Small Plantation &c.^a And further You must know That You are to pay Your Debts, Which You have Contracted here And as ye Same, Now at this Time (according to Your Own Confession) doe Amount already to £30. You may be Sure and Certainly Believe, That against the Time of your Return back the Same will come to £70 or £80, Or If you should happen to Stay abroad For a Long Time, Will amount perhaps to £100. and upwards, But Reckoning the Least I shall put down here only. . .

£70	
For Clearing the Ground Where the house and Barn are to be erected and to Remove the Trees and Woods out of the Way, for Wages and Victualls . . .	£10
The Charges of Building a House Will perhaps Amount to above £200. Thô I Charge here only . . .	180
To Erect and make a Barne . . .	70
In Order to Clear a Piece of Ground to Remove the Trees, Woods Roots and Stones And to make the Same fit for the Plow; And Two Years afterwards One other Piece of Ground and so to Repeat the same Three or four Times; The best Way Will be to buy a Couple of Negroe Slaves, Which Said Two Slaves (understanding that Sort of Work) Will Cost about	120
For a Waggon Cart, Plow & Arrow . . .	20
For Three Horses, Four Cows and Two Hoggs Which are Necessary upon a Plantation about . . .	20
Carried over	£490

[next page]	
Brought over from the other side . . .	£490.-
Clearing the Said Land and Sowing, Reaping and gathering the Fruits thereof Will Take up above a Year's Time before any Use Can be made of the product of the Said Land, And in the mean While to provide necessary provisions for a Family of 7. Persons, Viz. ^t a Man and his Wife with Three Children and Two Slaves, the Same Will Cost at Least . . .	80
And a Great Many other Particulars and Odd Things Which Cannot all be Specified here (Thô necessary for a Plantation in this Country) Can not be had under . . .	20
Total	£590.-

But Since all Things are Charged down here after a Very Moderate Rate according to the present Juncture of Time, He the Said Petitioner may Well Take along With him the Sume of Six hundred Pounds, If he should doe all Things as the Same Ought to be done.

L.^{ra} [Littera] C. is a Letter from One other Friend of this Tenour. viz.^t Sir! I have perused the Account You Sent me, And I can assure You That Such a plantation from Which You doe Expect to get Your Maintainance or Living for your Selfe and Your Wife and Children Will Cost no Less But doubtless more; I for my Part doe not Believe That that Sume of Money Will be paid You in London, Yet Since You doe desire Me to give You my Advice I have therefore deliberately Considered of the Matter and can give you no better Council Than What I have here Wrote down, Namely.

That You Should Resign again and Surrender up to the Queen, Those 750 [?] Acres And petition her Majestie That She will Most graciously be pleas'd to grant or allow unto You in Lien thereof Onely One halfe of the Money which the Said Sume Amounts to Viz.^t £300. or thereabouts (:Or in Case That be also too Much Then at least £200.) Out of which Said Sume of Money, You may Then in the first place Pay all your Debts here in New Yorke and provide Provisions and Necessarys For a Year for Your Wife and Family And at the Same Time Keep a Little Money in Your Pocket to bear Your Travelling Charges abroad, When You are about looking out for an other place, or Living. As for the Transportation of Your Wife and Family I hope the Same Will not be denied You If otherwise an Opportunity should offer to goe over in One of the Queen's Ships Her Maj.^{tie} can afterwards Order 7. or 8. Familys to settle there upon those 750 Acres, By which Means the aforesaid New Colony may Mightily be Improved, and So Encrease That in a Short space of Time the Same may become to a Considerable Towne~

L.^{ra} D. That you did (before Your Departure:) With the Assistance of Mr. Faulkner the Minister appoint a fit person upon the Colony As a Prælector or Reader and that he the said Mr. Faulkner also promised to Take Care of these People

⁷⁸Berthold Fernow, Arnold J. F. Van Laer, New York (Colony) Council, *Calendar of Council Minutes, 1668-1783* (Harrison, N.Y.: Harbor Hill Books, 1987), 231; see also further mentions of Kocherthal here: 225, 227, 228, 231, 253, 256, 267.

⁷⁹The petition is said to have been lost in the Capitol fire of 1911.

⁸⁰On January 13, 1710, "The secretary laid before the Board two papers from Mr. Kocherthal, the Lutheran minister lately returned from New York . . . , An abstract and translation of 4 letters written to the said Kocherthal the German minister, concerning his maintenance in that province," *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, February 1708-9 to March 1714-5* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1920-25), 113.

⁸¹Colonial Office document 5/1049-155 (I), The National Archives, Kew, England, United Kingdom, with two cover pages, one for vines essay and another one for finances.

in Sacramentalibus, the Same was very well done, And the Said People may in Such Case, Rest easy and be well Satisfied in Ecclesiastibus. As for the Rest Sir! I must Recomen'd to You to Take all possible Care for discharging Your Debts[.] Otherwise I can Assure You That they Will Seize and Dispose of all what You have in Your House And sell Your Children for Servants.

As to the Report Wee have had That there are So many High Germ[ans] in London Who are to Come hither I doe look upon this to be False, But if the Same be True There are 5. Dutch Ministers in this Province, And the English Minister in Albania [Albany] the Reverend Mr. Barkley doth Sufficently understand the Highdutch Tongue and Can (If Occasion Requires) Officiate and perform his Duty before the High Germans.⁸²

Here followeth an Account of those Debts which I Joshua Kocherthal Am at present Oweing in New Yorke, Viz.^t

For House Rent Firewood And to a Physician and a Nurse Who attended My Wife in her Illness; Likewise for Teaching my Children the English Tongue; Item for a Table, a Bedstead, a Chest, Three Stools and Some other Odd Household Goods; Also for Candles And other Small Things	30.-
For Victualls and Winter provision for my Wife & Family during the Time of my Absence	" 30
For Travelling Money hither to London also for my Expences here and other Charges in my Journey	" 25
	£85.

The "poor Palatines" had been living off the money Governor John Lord Lovelace had provided them as a letter of September 5, 1709, from the hard-hit widow Lovelace "To the Queens Most Excel.^{nt} Majesty"⁸³ shows:

A

S E R M O N

Preached in

Trinity Church in New-York,

In America, May 12. 1709.

At the Funeral of the Right Honourable

John LORD Lovelace,

Barron of Hurley,

Her Majesties Capt. General and Governour in chief
of the Provinces of *New-York & New-Jersey*, and the Territories and Tracts of Land depending thereon in *America*,
and Vice-Admiral of the same.

By William Vesey, A. M. and Rector of the
City of New-York.

Printed and Sold by William Bradford at the Sign of
the Bible in New-York, 1709

Title page of Reverend William Vesey's funeral sermon for John Lord Lovelace, published in 1709

The humble Petition of Charlotte Lady Lovelace Wid.^o of John Lord Lovelace late Govern.^r of Y.^r Majesties Provinces of NewYork & Jerseys.

Whereas y.^r Maj.^{ty} was Graciously pleas'd to grant Y^r Peticon.^{rs} late Husband the Government of New York and the Jerseys, where he went the 6.th day of Octo.^r last, and took with him Y.^r Peticon.^r and three cheildren, wee arrived there in ten weeks but the Sevearyty of the Winter made the voyage soe tedious and terrible, that wee were in very great danger of perishing; at our Landing wee were much indispos'd, and about six weeks after dyed one cheild, in four months dyed Y.^r Peticon.^{rs} dear husband, and in twelve day's after her eldest Son; in this dolefull and miserable State was Y.^r Peticon.^r left, and to add to her Sorrow, Shee was destitute of money, and severely treated by those that ought to have shewn her Mercy.

The Assembly at New York voted her Lord one thousand six hundred pounds his Execut.^{rs} or Administrat.^{rs} the day before his death, but soon after they reduced that to five hundred pounds, as app.^{rs} by the votes annext, and the assembly [Assembly] in the Jerseys voted him Eight hundred pounds, w.^{ch} they are willing to give Y.^r Peticon.^r if Y.^r Majestie will be graciously pleas'd to consent to it.

Y.^r peticon.^r left five Warrants for several disbursments at New York, amounting to three hundred & eight pounds seven shill.^{ss} three pence, w.^{ch} sum Y.^r Matie's Receiver General (Mr. Byerley) wou'd have paid, but he had none of the Publick money in his hands as he hath certified, w.^{ch} is also annext; Also on Acco.^t of Disbursm.^{ts} to the German Protestants that went to New York w.th them, amounting to one hundred seventy two pounds seventeen shill.^{ss} eight pence.

Y.^r Peticon.^r most humbly craves leave to inform Y.^r Maite [tie?] of the great expence they were at in making a decent provision consistent to the Hon.^r of Y.^r Majestie's Gov.^t there the great damage their goods Suffer'd by the Salt water, the Exterordinary charges of a sick family for six months, the burialls of her Lord & two chieldren, the fitting up of the house at New York, and the Expence of their Voyages, amounted together to at least four thousand pounds, and al that her Lord received there was not above Four hundred pounds.

Y.^r Peticon.^r therefore Most humbly begs that Y.^r Majestie will be Graciously pleas'd to order her the paym.^t of the said £1600. and the £800. voted by the Assemblys of New York & the Jerseys for her Lords Gallery, his Exeut.^{rs} or Adm.^{rs} in regard another Gov.^r cannot Arrive there within the Year, and the said £308: 7: 3 being the amo^{ts} of her Warr[an]^{ts}, together w.th the £172:17:8, disbursd for the Germans, w.^{ch} Summs will near discharge the debts that her said Lord left her to pay, he Earnestly desiring that the s.^d sev.^l summs shou'd be soe appropriated, w.^{ch} shall be perform'd, if it pleases Y.^r Majesty to grant the same.

⁸²Stefan Bielinski, "Thomas Barclay," <http://www.nysm.nysed.gov/albany/bios/b/tbarclay.html>.

⁸³British Library Board. ©All Rights Reserved. Additional Manuscripts, 61623, 44-45, 47. Furthermore, at a meeting on August 12, 1709, the lords were acquainted with the financial situation of Kocherthal's New Yorkers through "a letter from the Lord Lovelace, dated in New Jersey the 4th of March last, to the Lord High Treasurer, [and] it appear'd that the Lord Lovelace had not had any directions for subsisting the said Lutherans there; he had done it upon his own credit, and intended to draw for his reimbursements, an extract of which letter was laid [before] their lordships." *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations*, 62-63.

Your Peticon.^r most humbly beseecheth further leave to acquaint Y^r Maj.^{ty} that Shee with a Son about a year & half old, are left entirely destitute of any manner of Estate or maintainance, and what much Augm.^{ts} her Sorrow, Shee's big with chield, Which shee with great humility and Submission, leaves this her most dolefull condition, to Y^r Mj.^{ty}s most Gracious, most merciful and most Compassionate Consideration.

Sep.^r 5th: 1709 And as in duty bound shal Ever pray &ca.
Lady Lovelace's Petition to the Queen's most Excel.^{nt} Majestie. Her Maj.^{ty} is willing to gratifie the Pet[itioner] as far as it is in her Power.

1708/9 German protestants To Lady Lovelace D[ebto]rs

By carrying 45 Load of their Goods to Spring Garden			
[m?illegible abbreviation]	}		
Glencrosse ⁸⁴ warehouse and elsewhere	}	00:16:10½	
by carrying 4 Load of Do.		00:02:00	
by money paid for takeing goods out of the Globe [ship]		00: 1: 6	
by their Eating and drinking at Spring Garden		01:16:00	
by 3 Cord walnut wood at 18	2 14 }		
7 Cord oak	9 3 7: }		
2¼ Do at 7 6	1: 00: 7½ }	10:12: 7½	
7¼ Cord Do at 8	3: 2: }		
¼ Cord walnut at 12	00: 9: }		
By carting the Same		01:04: 7	
By Beer delivered to them		16:09: -	
By fresh meat		42:06: 1½	
By Boards for their houses and transpating [!] them to the Highlands		34:11: 9½	
By Sundrys of pork bread Beef fflower pease[?]		16:01: 2	
By bread delivered to them		33:09: 4½	
By House Rent paid Capt Giles Shelly ⁸⁵	6:00:00 }		
By Do paid Isaac D Riemer ⁸⁶	5: 6: 8 }	15: 6: 8	
By Do paid for the Minister	4:00:00 }		
By Herman Schuneman their Steward		15:00:00	
By Interest of money warehouse and Com[m]ission		15:00:00	
		202:17: 8½	

Examined and found Right by us
Joshua Kocherthal
Herman Schuneman

[next page Crs. 47]

	£ s d
By Sundry Casks Sold for	30:00:00
By Ballance due	172:17: 8½

Mem[oran]d[um] the following provisions Rec^{ed} and expended p[ro?] the Germans Company

Beef	180 peices	}1 puncheon
Pork	304 do	}1 Do
pease	28 Bushells ' 5 Gall	}1 Cask
Oatmeal	52 Bushells ' 1 Gall	}7 Do
fflower	325 pounds	}1 Do
Butter	414 pound	}6 ffirkins

Joshua Kocherthal
Herman Schuneman

On September 2, 1709, the Board of Trade documented the "Account of money disbursed by Governor Lord Lovelace on behalf of the German Protestant Immigrants, and now due to Lady Lovelace. Total, £202-17-8."⁸⁷ The following day the Council of Trade and Plantations



A vineyard illustration from Anton Wilhelm Böhm's *Erbauliche Schriften, Andrer Theil*. The banner bears a quotation from Cant. (Song of Sol.) 2:12-13: "The vine has sprouted buds, and the turtledove lets itself be heard in our land." The most frequently mentioned profession of the poor Palatines is "vineyard."

received another letter from Lady Lovelace in which she bitterly complained of Col. Ingoldsby's "bullying and hectoring endeavours to seize papers entrusted to me by Lord Lovelace for Lord Sunderland, and to prevent my sailing."⁸⁸ Her complaint was immediately successful. On September 5, Queen Anne's orders regarding the man and the matter were clear and effective: "A warrant is to be prepared revoking Col. Ingoldesby's Commission as Lt. Governor of New York."⁸⁹

After uniting the widow Plettel with Georg Looksted in matrimony on September 21,⁹⁰ Kocherthal also turned to England—possibly via Williamsburg, Virginia, where he may have seen Robert Beverley's (1673-1722) amateur efforts to grow vines for grape wines.⁹¹ Probably on the ship he composed an essay on the proper care of grapevines, a topic with which he and his fellow emigrants were quite familiar. Shortly after arriving in

⁸⁴This was probably the warehouse of merchant William Glencross.

⁸⁵The (pirate) captain Shelley had a house on Pearl Street; he is repeatedly mentioned in the *New York Calendar of Council Minutes*, compiled by Berthold Fernow (Harrison, N.Y.: Harbor Hill Books, 1987); see also Gerald J. Barry, *The Sailors' Snug Harbor: A History, 1801-2001* (New York, N.Y.: Fordham University Press, 2000).

⁸⁶Merchant Isaac de Riemer was mayor of New York in 1701. See *The Burghers of New Amsterdam and the Freeman of New York, 1675-1866* (New York, N.Y.: Collections of the New-York Historical Society, 1886), 89.

⁸⁷Signed, Joshua Kocherthal, Herman Schuneman. Endorsed, Rec.^d Read Sept. 2, 1709. CO 5/1049, no. 111; see *Calendar of State Papers*, 458 (no. 710).

⁸⁸CO 5/1049, no. 112; and 5/1121, 399-401; see *Calendar of State Papers, June 1708-1709* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1922), 459 (no. 712).

⁸⁹See *Calendar of State Papers, June 1708-1709* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1922), 459 (no. 714 from Windsor Castle).

⁹⁰d. 21. Sept. Georg Looksted, Juvenis, gebürtig von Mechlin aus dem Mecklenburgischen; mit Elisabetha, weyl. Johann Jacob Plettels nachgelassenen Wittwe, as read by Otto Lohr, "Das älteste deutsch-amerikanische Kirchenbuch (1708-1719)," *Jahrbuch für auslanddeutsche Sippenkunde* (Stuttgart: Weinbrenner) 1 (1936), 54-60, 56; Krahmer, "Translation of the Kocherthal Records," 273.

⁹¹"Of all the Experiments Which hitherto have been Tried That of Mr. Robert Beverley made by him upon the Highlands in Virginia is the Last and Most Remarkable Whose Vineyards and Wine all persons are Talking of in Virginia. The present President and Consuls in Williamsburgh have had this Matter under Their Deliberation, And at my Request They would have granted Me an Attestation and Certificate about the Same under the Seale of the Province." From Kocherthal's unpublished essay; see next note.

December, he submitted the first American essay on viticulture to the English government. (So far it has not been published.)⁹² It was a very timely submission because during his visit to America thousands and thousands of Palatines had left the wine-producing areas along the Rhine and in Hessa. The most frequently mentioned profession of the poor Palatines is "vineyard."⁹³

In 1710 Kocherthal returned to New York in the fleet that was carrying some three thousand Palatines to New York, where they were meant to produce "naval stores."⁹⁴ He did not return to his small group of pioneers on the Quasaic but moved with the newcomers to the "West

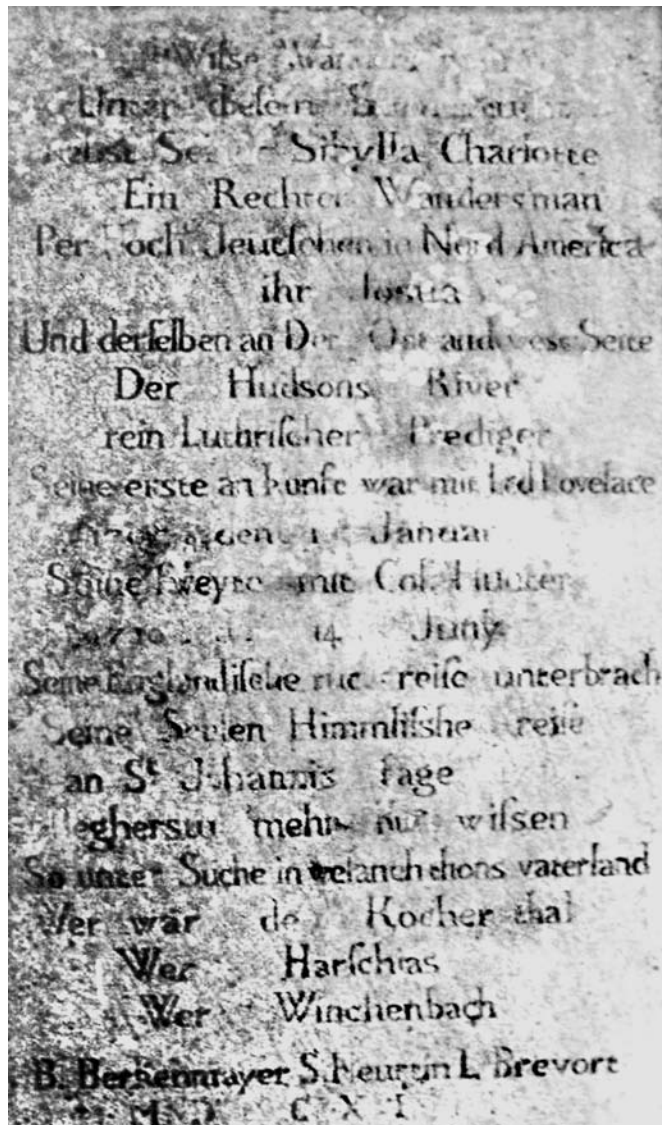


Image of the oft-misquoted Kocherthal memorial slab. The present pastor claims to have no photograph of the stone. At the end of the nineteenth century, the pastor was more collaborative. In a letter to James Grant Wilson, the pastor of the Lutheran Church at West Camp, New York, wrote around 1890: "The stone referred to is in an old graveyard here, located between West Camp Church and the river. It is the first burying-ground of the Palatines. We are considering the matter of bringing up the Rev. Joshua Kocherthal's stone (which is a large slab lying on the grave) and giving it a place in our church-building, to which care and attention it is certainly entitled" (James Grant Wilson, *The Memorial History of the City of New-York, from Its First Settlement to the Year 1892* [New York: New-York History Co., 1892], 141, n. 1).

Camp" on the Hudson. From there he traveled to the various "camps" of the refugee workers from Germany, still known today as "Palatines." The New York church book, which he took to his new abode (where it still exists and gradually turns into dust), has but a few references to the pioneer settlers on the Quasaic. It documents, however, invaluablely the names of hundreds of newcomers, including him, in his own self-characterization on the church book's first Latin page: He considered himself to be the first minister for the Germans of New York. That, however, did not stop him from applying for assistance from the English Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

For nine years he served the scattered Palatines as their Lutheran minister, occasionally assisted by the far-traveling minister for the New York Dutch, Justus Falckner.⁹⁵ Initial competition with the German-born and since December 1709 Anglican minister for the New York Palatines, Johann Friedrich Haeger, apparently did not bar their subsequent collaboration.⁹⁶ After Haeger's severe accident, the Lutheran pastor united the unfortunate German Anglican with a helpmate, Miss Anna Catharina Rohrbach.⁹⁷ All three clergymen died within the span of five years; the Kraichgau pioneer pastor died on Saint John's Day 1719.

As far as we know, Kocherthal's death date is recorded only on the 1742 memorial stone ordered by his daughters, who found it prudent to have the inscription be enigmatic in several details. He died on Saint John's Day, the summer day commemorating the nativity of Saint John, the Baptist. That would be June 24 and not—as often cited—December 27, 1719, the day in honor of "the beloved disciple." Apparently the liturgical days have not changed since the (clumsy) mason laboriously chiseled the words into the Kocherthal memorial stone.⁹⁸

Note: Essential collaboration with Sandra Yelton, the kind proofreading of Professor Paul Klingsberg, and the valuable editorial assistance of Carolyn Wenger are here-with gratefully acknowledged. □

⁹²"Considerations and observations about the planting of vines in the British dominions in America," *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, from February 1708-9 to March 1714-5* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1925), 113; Public Record Office, CO5/1049, 155, The National Archives, Kew, England, U.K.

⁹³Henry Z Jones Jr., *The Palatine Families of New York, 1710: A Study of the German Immigrants Who Arrived in Colonial New York in 1710* (Universal City, Calif.: Author, 1985, 2001); *More Palatine Families* (Universal City, Calif.: Author, 1991); with Lewis Bunker Rohrbach, *Even More Palatine Families: 18th Century Immigrants to American Colonies and Their German, Swiss, and Austrian Origins* (Rockport, Maine: Picton Press, 2002).

⁹⁴Knittle, *Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration*; see n. 8.

⁹⁵Occasionally the two pastors mention the same people but with often curious deviations in the spelling of their names; see n. 35 for the full title of the "Kercken-Boeck."

⁹⁶"At the Desire of those Germans who came hither with Mr. Kocherthal, and are now without a Minister, I did last year make a Journey up in the Highland & baptized there at the Same time Several Children and took that Opportunity also to apply my Exhortation in Sundry Places amongst the Low Dutch, whose Language I know pretty well." See "SPG [Society for the Propagation of the Gospel] Letter Books," ser. A, vol. 7, 224, no. 38, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies at Rhodes House, Oxford, England.

⁹⁷Krahmer, "Translation of the Kocherthal Records," 279 (marriage no. 85, Haeger and Rohrbach).

⁹⁸See Luther D. Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy* (Philadelphia, Pa.: Muhlenberg Press, 1947), 497-98, 502-503.

This small but “extensive” tract directed thousands of Palatine refugees away from European wars and to the American colonies, specifically to Carolina and Pennsylvania.

Extensive and Detailed Report of the Famous Land Carolina, Situated in the English America [1708 / 1709], by Kocherthal [Josua Harrsch]

Translated by Andreas Mielke and annotated in collaboration with Sandra Yelton¹

Inclined Reader!

Here comes to light again that extensive description of the exquisite and blessed country² named Carolina, located in the English America; the first edition that was published Anno 1706 in quarto has entirely been sold out and off.³ What caused the *author* at that time to publish this is, as was announced in the added preface,⁴ the mis-

erable condition into which very many places of our Germany had fallen, partly through the previous, partly through the present war, partly due to other severe pressures. It must be noted, also, that the *author* or composer did not take the entire report from a narrative received only in this country—which would therefore be quite an uncertain one. Instead, [new page] he asked for and received reliable and exact news in England itself (where he had gone for precisely that purpose in the company of a friend, taken along), from those who are best informed about said country.⁵ In order to compose the same correctly and in an orderly fashion, he divided the matter into the following chapters, and these again into certain *paragraphos* or sections. Since the above mentioned edition is entirely gone and since in the meantime the same famous and fertile island⁶ has become gradually better known so that in a short period of time many families have turned there, the author has kindly requested to submit this description to the press again in order to enlighten those who demand correct news to their proper *satisfaction*. This is done herewith and in such a form that curious collectors can fittingly bind the same together with the description of Pensilvania,⁷ which is also an English American island. Wherewith Godspeed!

¹This translation is based on the rare gilt-edged copy in the Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library at Duke University, Durham, North Carolina. The complete German title page reads: *Außführlich und Umständlicher Bericht Von der berühmten Landschaft Carolina, In dem Engelländischen America gelegen. An Tag gegeben Von Kocherthalern. Zweyter Druck. [Dekor.] Franckfurt am Mayn/ Zu finden bey Georg Heinrich Oehrling/ Anno 1709.* A copy without gilded pages is extant at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The annotators wish to acknowledge the kind proofreading assistance of Dorothy Rezvani, Anne Schmidt-Lange, and Carolyn Wenger.

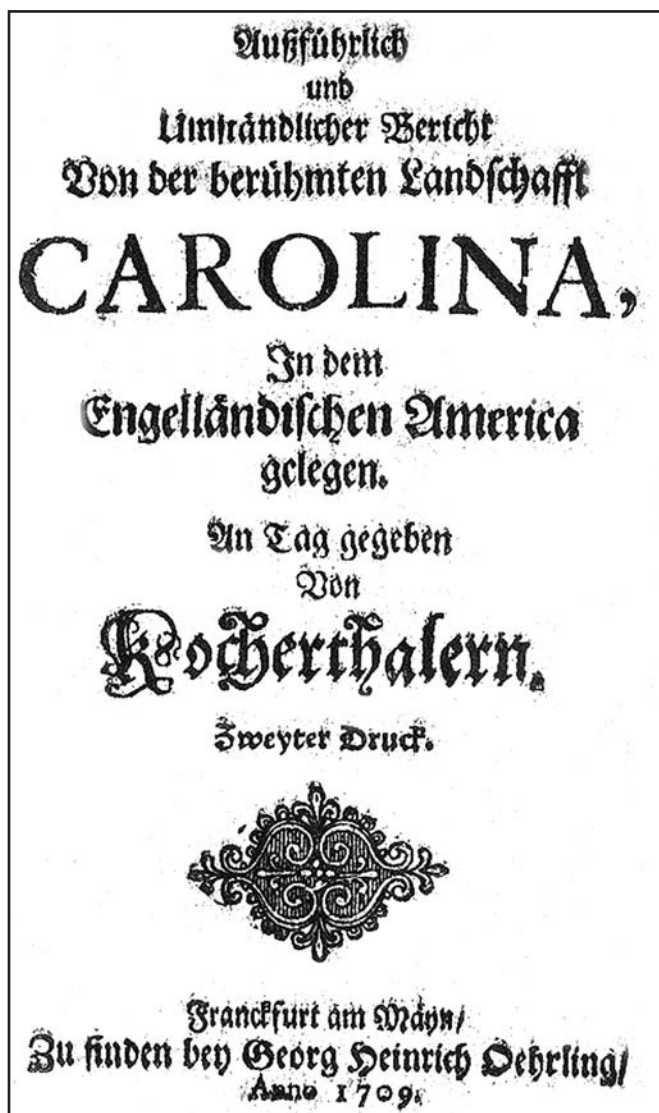
²Modern German *Landschaft* means “landscape”; then it also meant “country,” “land.”

³This first edition has not been found and may be considered lost.

⁴Oddly, the preface was added at the end of the booklet, probably by Frankfurt publisher Georg Heinrich Oehrling (d. 1711). This publisher was one of the minor heirs of the great Merian engraver family; its famous artist-entomologist and Surinam visitor, Sibylle Merian (1647-1717), was honored in 1997 on United States postage stamps; lesser known is her Labadist half brother, Caspar (1627-1686), a cartographer, engraver, and the oldest investor in the Frankfurt Land Company, which founded Germantown, Pennsylvania. More on Oehrling appears in Alexander Dietz, *Frankfurter Handelsgeschichte*, vol. 3 (Glashütten im Taunus: Detlev Auvermann, 1970).



Send-Schreiben vom William Penn/ Eigenthümer und Stadthalter zu Pensilvania in America (Missive from William Penn, Owner and Proprietor at Pennsylvania in America), 1684. While Penn reported directly from his province, friends in England, Germany, and Holland repeatedly solicited settlers and investors on the Continent. The response was slow, however, and a mere trickle compared to the flood that Kocherthal's *Carolina* directed to the New World.



Ausführlich und Umständlicher Bericht Von der berühmten Landschaft Carolina, In dem Engelländischen America gelegen. Am Tag gegeben Von Kocherthalern. Zweyter Druck. Franckfurt am Mayn/ Zu finden bey Georg Heinrich Oehrling/ Anno 1709

The 1st Chapter. Of the Land in General.

1. Carolina is a land in America or West-India, situated at the borders of *Florida* and *Virginia*.⁸ It extends lengthwise along the sea from *Capo Hartaras*⁹ to the river *Campahe*, 60-some German miles distance: Although it would be even further if one were to add the side that lies on the right hand towards the north and then also the point that turns on the left hand towards the southwest.¹⁰

2. The breadth of the land is presently not yet exactly explored, but one has reached at the river *Watere* an area called *Esavv*, which is about 45 German miles.

3. Carolina is divided into the upper or northern part and the lower or southern part; the upper extends to approximately the river *Watere* and is 30-some miles long; [2] the lower, measured to the said river *Campahe*, is 20-some miles long.

4. These two parts are in quality nearly identical; but the lower or smaller part is preferred over the upper in various respects. Therefore, this entire description is to be understood as one essentially and solely NB. [*Nota bene*] of this lower or smaller part that is commonly called South-Carolina.

5. In this South-Carolina a large part on the River *Asly* and on the River *Cooper* is inhabited; likewise, the expelled *Reformed French*¹¹ have begun to cultivate and dwell along the River *Santee*; the rest, however, is still completely empty and uninhabited.¹² Thus, there is still enough space for many 1000 families or households.

6. The entire country with all borders, rivers, or streams as well as towns, villages, mountains, and forests is depicted quite essentially in two maps, the one of which represents the entire Carolina and the other South-Carolina in particular. Both may be had in London, the first from Philip Lea in Cheap Side,¹³ the other from Johann Thornton and Robert Morden in Cornhill.¹⁴

NB. Because *special* maps of Carolina have been published neither in Holland nor in Germany, we¹⁵ were will-

⁸No external document that could verify this journey has been found.

⁹German *Insel* used to mean not only "island" but also any "distant, isolated land."

¹⁰This probably suggests the description by Frantz Daniel Pastorius, *Umständliche Geographische Beschreibung Der zu allerletzt erfundenen Provintz Pensylvaniæ*, ed. Melchior Adam Pastorius (Frankfurt and Leipzig: Andreas Otto, 1700). The title can be seen online at <http://www.vd17.de>.

¹¹Florida belonged to Spain at this time. Virginia was a Crown colony whereas Pennsylvania and Carolina were governed by proprietors.

¹²Names that are easily recognizable have not been modernized.

¹³This somewhat amusing description can be as confusing as the translation of any of the many multistandardized measurements of the time. On Johann Heinrich Huber's Carolina map, done for Johann Rudolf Ochs in Zürich in 1711, the following information on the miles and hours is given: The French mile has 20 in one degree, the English has 60, and the "common" German has 15 miles (or hours) in one degree. The present translation keeps the figures of the original as during the past three hundred years the definition of a "mile" has changed repeatedly in each country.

¹⁴The "Reformed French" may be better known as Huguenots, Protestants who, after the renunciation of the toleration Edict of Nantes, fled from Catholic persecution in France to many countries in Europe,

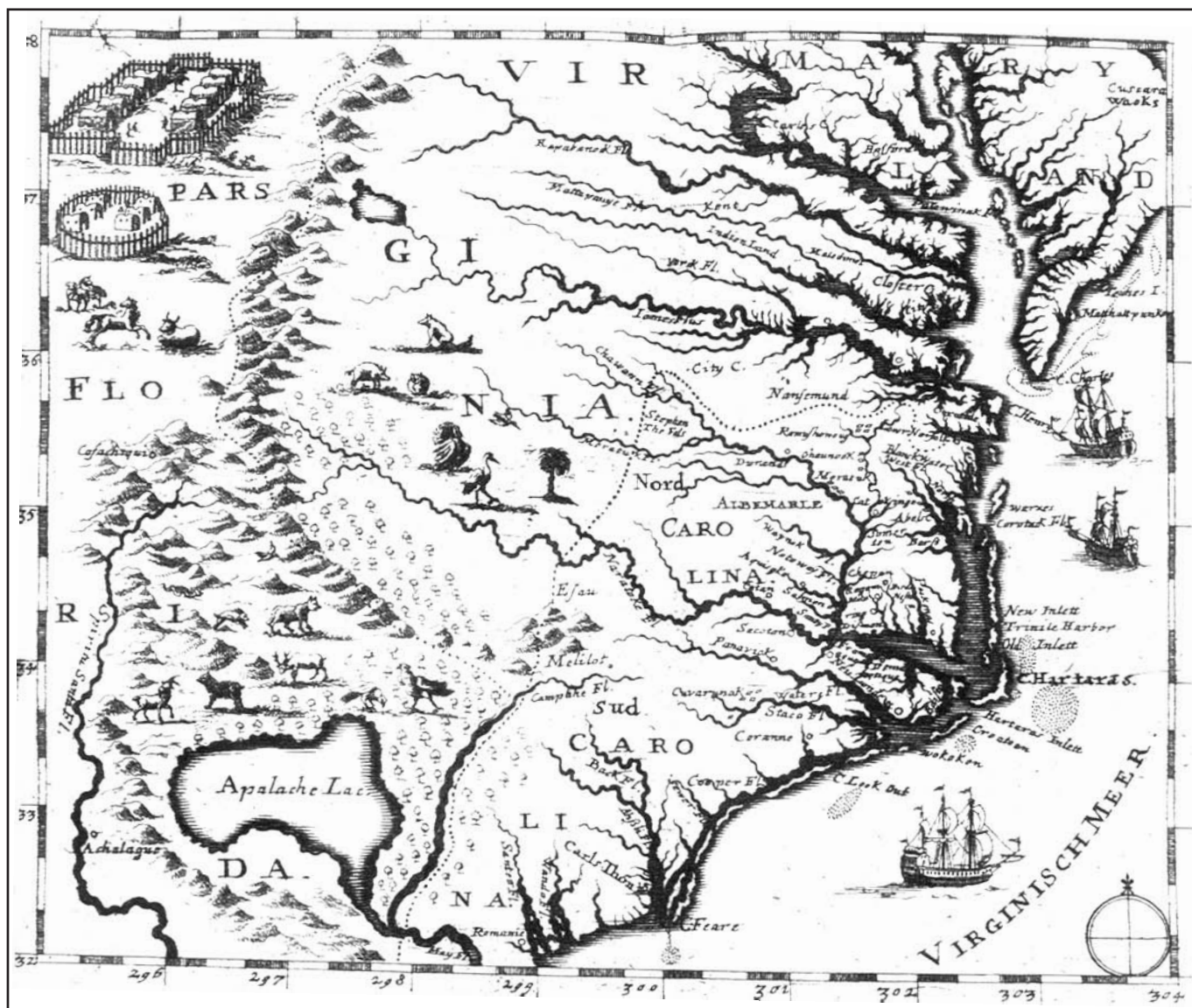
notably to the Protestant cantons in nearby Switzerland and to Holland, Prussia, and England. On Lawson's 1709 Carolina map, four huts on the Santee indicate French settlements.

¹⁵The ease with which Indians are not considered here is astounding, in particular, since they are mentioned repeatedly elsewhere—for example in ch.1, sec. 7; ch. 2, 12; ch. 4, 6. The information that Carolina was "entirely uninhabited" may have contributed to the utter unpreparedness of the Swiss-born Carolina colonizer Christopher von Graffenried (1661-1743), who, in contrast to his less fortunate cotraveler, surveyor John Lawson (d. 1711), barely escaped the wrath of the insulted inhabitants. Ironically, Lawson's 1709 description of Indians in his *A New Voyage to Carolina* is unsurpassed.

¹⁶See, for example, Philip Lea's (flourished 1683-1700) "A particular map for the going into Ashley and Cooper Rivers," 1685, to name but one of many pertinent Lea maps.

¹⁷John Thornton (ca. 1652-1701) and Robert Morden (d. 1703) collaborated with Lea. *The New Map of the Chief Rivers, Bayes, Creeks, Harbours, and Settlements, in South Carolina Actually Surveyed*. Sold by John Thornton in the Minories and Robert Morden in Cornhill (1694 or 1695); see William P. Cumming, *The Southeast in Early Maps*. 3d ed. by Louis De Vorsey Jr. (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 186.

¹⁸It is not quite clear who is behind this (first) reference to "we"—publisher Johann G. H. Oehrling or Kocherthal, while passing through, or both.



Kocherthal's Carolina map of the third edition. On the influence of Richard Blome's 1672 map on the maps of Kocherthal, Nicolaus Visscher, and Johann B. Homann, see William P. Cumming, *The Southeast in Early Maps*. 3rd ed. by Louis De Vorsey Jr. (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1998); Kocherthal's Apalache Lake in South Carolina supposedly originated with Jodocus Hondius (1563-1612). An engraver and cartographer known for his early maps of the New World, Hondius helped to establish Amsterdam as the center of cartography.

ing to reproduce the above-mentioned two maps and have them added to this report [3] but were unable to do so because of certain coincidences and hindrances. Yet one can find some information in a general map by Nicolaus Visscher, the title of which is: *Nova Tabula Geographica complectens Borealiorem Americae Partem &c.*¹⁶ The same can be had here in Frankfurt at the time of the fair from Mr. Danckert in the Creutzgang; outside the fair season, from Georg Heinrich Paulsen at the Weisse Schlange in the Sandgasse.¹⁷ The special map, however, will be produced by Mr. Danckert himself, God willing, and thus be available at the coming fair in Frankfurt.

7. The entire Carolina borders—viewed from below, the sea; from above, the Indian places and villages; to the right are the English lands in sequence, as firstly Virginia, thereafter Pensilvania and Maryland, furthermore Jersey, then new Jorck, and finally new England; on the left hand, however, Carolina is bordered by the entire

Florida, in which the Spaniards have occupied several places;¹⁸ while the rest is inhabited either by Indians or still completely unoccupied.

¹⁶Nicolas (Jansz) Visscher (1618-1679), *Nova Tabula Geographica complectens Borealiorem Americae Partem in qua exacte delineatae sunt Canada sive Nova Francia, Nova Scotia, Nova Anglia, Novum Belgium, Pensylvania, Virginia, Carolina*. <http://digitalgallery.nypl.org/nypldigital/id?484232>.

¹⁷"Mr. Danckert in the Creutzgang" must be one of the large Dutch Danckert map-maker dynasty. According to an e-mail from Frankfurt's Dr. Roman Fischer, it is reasonable to assume that he comes from outside the city. (Da er sich nur zu Meßzeiten in Frankfurt aufhielt, liegt es nahe, daß er von auswärts stammt. R. F.) Georg Heinrich Paulsen, originally from Jena, applied for Frankfurt citizenship in 1690 and for a wine-selling concession in 1691. In 1740 Anna Catharine is mentioned as widow of the merchant Georg Heinrich Paulsen. His address, *Haus zur Weissen Schlange in der Sandgasse*, is the former house number Lit. K Nr. 66-67.

¹⁸Obviously, Florida appears here to be lying in the west.

8. Of *Pensilvania* it is to be noted that from the border where *Pensilvania* ends to the border where South-Carolina begins is about 100 German miles; but when one calculates from Philadelphia as the main city in *Pensilvania* to Carls-Thon [Charleston] as the main city¹⁹ in South-Carolina, the result is considerably more than 100 miles.

9. From Germany, Carolina lies towards the area between noon and sunset;²⁰ one has to travel first towards [4] midnight to Holland, from there towards evening to England, and from England 800 to 900 to 1000 miles, across the sea towards the middle between noon and sunset.²¹

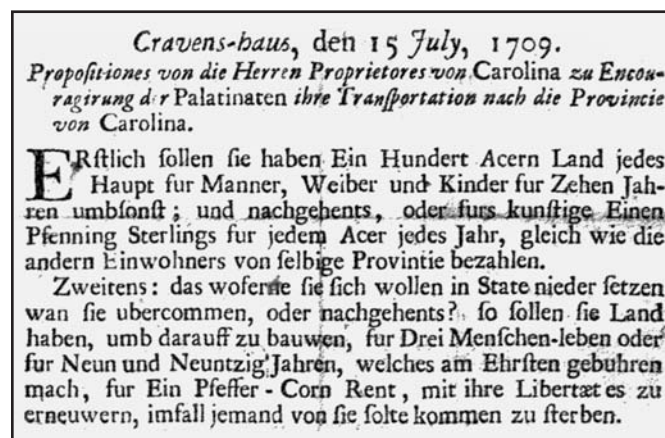
10. To those who understand the *degrees* on the maps and on the *globo*, this may serve as information: South-Carolina lies 72½ *longitudinis* and about from 32 to 34 degrees, or (as the borders deep inland are not precisely *determined*) to 35 degrees *latitudinis*.²²

11. Concerning the land in general, it is mostly flat in the areas that do not lie too distant from the sea; but when one goes deep into the country, one also finds elevated fields; and at several places there are high mountains as well.

The 2nd Chapter. Of the Government of the Country and of the Privileges or Liberties.

1. South-Carolina was awarded in the year 1663 by the then king in England²³ to several high-ranking persons of said England as their property for their faithful services. From such persons it has come, after the decease of some of them, to the present lordships.

2. The present government consists of 8 persons,



Craven's House, the 15th July, 1709.

Propositions of the Lord Proprietors of Carolina for the
Encouragement of the Palatines, Their Transportation to the
Province of Carolina.

Firstly, they shall have one hundred acres land per head of men, women, and children for ten years gratis; and afterwards or in the future for one penny sterling for each acre each year, just as the other inhabitants of the same province pay. Secondly, that in case they want to settle in the province when they come over—or later—they shall have land to cultivate for three lifetimes or ninety-nine years, whichever may come first, for one peppercorn rent, with the liberty to renew it in case one of them should happen to die [Translator A.M. finds the ad's German quite substandard].

amongst whom the most noble is *Mylord Granvil*.²⁴

3. These high-ranking persons, as lord proprietors of the country, consult each other and conclude on everything that concerns the country. They also have in Carolina a common *governor*, who administers the land in the name of them all.²⁵

4. Concerning *privileges* and liberties, the Protestant religions, such as the Reformed²⁶ and Lutheran²⁷ and also the Mennonists,²⁸ have all freedom of religion and conscience, and the government is ready to offer the guarantee thereof as one may request.²⁹

5. Concerning the land, the government gives and grants each family head 50 acres of land as his own real property or, if he thinks he needs more, he also may receive 100 acres upon request. NB. The *author* was promised that if a significant number of people were to

¹⁹For the development of the city, see R. C. Nash, "Urbanization in the Colonial South: Charleston, South Carolina, as a Case Study," *Journal of Urban History* 19 (1992): 3-29.

²⁰The impression is that the countryman's terms "noon" for south and "sunset" for west are chosen deliberately so that folks less educated than the author can understand the directions.

²¹For a mere geography lesson the distance from Holland would have sufficed; to give the distance from England directly invites people to go to the British island first.

²²The comprehension here is made difficult by Kocherthal's use of Latin rather than by the division of the "globe"—apparently still a foreign word in the German language of that time.

²³See William Stevens Powell, *The Carolina Charter of 1663...* (Raleigh, N.C.: State Department of Archives and History, 1954), 37.

²⁴According to *The Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina* (1669), "The eldest of the lords proprietors shall be palatine; and, upon the decease of the palatine, the eldest of the seven surviving proprietors shall always succeed him." "On June 1, 1705, however, during Granville's service as Palatine, the Proprietors adopted a new agreement making the post of Palatine an elective position. The first Palatine to achieve his post under this new arrangement was William, Lord Craven on January 16, 1707-8, unanimously chosen to succeed Granville who had died on December 3, 1707." Herbert Richard Paschal Jr., "Proprietary North Carolina: A Study in Colonial Government" (Ph.D. diss., Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina, 1961), 134.

²⁵During the controversial governorship of Nathaniel Johnson (1644-1713), the proprietors appointed "Our Trusty and Wellbeloved" Edward Tynite (d. 1710) as governor of North Carolina and South Carolina on December 9, 1708.

²⁶In this context "Reformed" usually refers to Calvinists after the French-born Swiss reformer Jean Chauvin or John Calvin (1509-1564) at Geneva. Kocherthal's future Anglican colleague in New York, Johann Friedrich Haeger (1684-1721) from Nassau-Siegen, had studied at the Reformed academies in Herborn and Lingen. In the first decade of the eighteenth century, Swiss and Prussian efforts to combine the Anglican church with Continental churches failed.

²⁷"Lutheran" usually refers in this context to the Thuringian reformer Martin Luther (1483-1546) and to the orthodox Lutheranism of the Wittenberg University in general; in Kocherthal's time, however, Pietist Lutherans were more noteworthy: Philipp Jakob Spener (1635-1705) in Frankfurt; August Hermann Francke (1663-1727) in Halle; and Prince George's (Queen Anne's husband) court preacher, Anthony William Boehm (1673-1722), in London. Unfortunate for Kocherthal and the Palatine refugees of 1709, the benevolent Prince George (of Lutheran Denmark) died in 1708.

²⁸"Mennonists" or Mennonites, founded in Zürich, Switzerland, are named after the Dutch Frisian Menno Simons (1496-1561), who organized the scattered groups in the Netherlands; in Kocherthal's time they were well established and quite influential in Holland but severely persecuted in the aristocratic republic of Bern in Switzerland.

²⁹Exactly during this decade, the religious liberties in Carolina caused considerable political tension in London and with American businessmen. The Exclusion Act of 1704 was seen as detrimental to attracting colonists to Carolina; see Daniel Defoe, *Party Tyranny* (1705) and *The Case of Protestant Dissenters in Carolina* (1706).

come in together, each head of household shall be given upon request 150 or possibly even up to 200 acres gratis.

6. Those arriving also have the liberty [6] to choose for themselves the area that is not inhabited or taken into possession. It may be claimed by anyone as property wherever they want and wherever they think that it is most fertile and most convenient for them. Then the *governor* of the country must survey the *accorded* number of acres agreed upon and register the land in the local plat book so that in the *future* no error or dispute may occur about it.

7. The arrivals enjoy the number of acres taken into their possession free for the first 3 years. When those years have passed, they have to pay 1 English *Stüber* per acre annually as fee for a hereditary lease; a *Stüber* is not even one and a half *Kreutzer* local money.³⁰ NB. The *author* was promised that if a great number of people would move there, they would be granted several free years upon request; and it could happen that they would be *accorded* 4, 5, or even 6 to 7 free years.

8. Concerning the tithes, the same will be granted to the subjects to pay the living expenses of their officials and clerks.

9. Thus, the entire *contribution* that is given to the government annually is solely and alone the said lease fee. Otherwise, one is totally free from all duties, services, serfdoms, and all burdens, whatever name they may have, and the lordships offer to give all assurance that it will be done so constantly, at all times in the future. [7]

10. Also, a person who has lived some time in Carolina and subsequently wants to go elsewhere can do so freely and without any tax, but he has to notify the government so that, if anyone has to claim debts, he may do so first.

11. Craftsmen who simultaneously grow field crops are, because of their craft, completely freed from their *contribution* and only pay the lease fee on their farmland. If they do not cultivate any field crops, however, and they support themselves solely by their craft, then they give annually as their entire *contribution* according to [the circumstance of] their ability, not more than a few English *Stüber*.³¹

12. Trapping animals, fishing, and bird-snaring is free to everyone, but one must not trespass on the neighbors' or on the Indians' borders.

The 3rd Chapter. Of the Land's Fertility.

1. South-Carolina is one of the most fertile lands that may be found and is in many parts much preferred to those in Germany and also those [8] in England; but it has, like all other countries, uneven stretches, and there is always one area better than another.

2. Concerning the crops, the Indian corn, in particular, prospers so well that, if one wants, one can harvest it *twice* in one year. Our local crops—such as wheat, rye, barley, and oats—also grow well. Foremost, however, *rice* grows as well there as at any place on earth and in such abundance that annually many ships are loaded with it and export it to other places.³² And because the inhabitants make more use and profit from rice than from all other crops, one has mainly focused on it, and only a little has been grown of the remaining crops until now.

3. Concerning viticulture, diverse varieties of grapes grow by themselves, wild and uncultivated, and the Reformed French have already begun to establish regular vineyards on mountains and have found that viticulture does outstandingly well; but because not all sorts of vines are found there yet, those inclined to viticulture would do well if they brought vines with them.³³

4. Concerning tobacco, it grows as well in all of Carolina as in *Virginia* as both lands lie close together. Now it is well known that the tobacco in Virginia not only [9] grows in very great quantity, but in quality hardly another species can be compared with it.

5. Nuts, chestnuts, peaches and many good and *choice* fruit [trees] also grow here and there wild, and these trees can be found in the forests in many places.

6. Various kinds of our fruit trees can be planted there. Up to now saplings and seeds of each and every kind have not been imported. Future arrivals will do well, however, if they bring branches of all varieties, or at least just seeds, because there the trees can, for the most part, be grown from seeds. But, nonetheless, there are already diverse varieties of local apples and pears as well as plums, quinces, morello cherries, crab apples, and other such tree fruits found there, but in many places even quite a lot.

7. Because mulberry trees can be found in various places in great number, one has tried to produce silk and found that it would do very well if only there were people who knew how to do it.³⁴

8. Likewise, olive trees can be found, and thus oil production could be successful if anyone wanted to put effort into it. [10]

9. Cotton [plants] can also be found in some places, and now and then one has already begun to make cloth from it.³⁵

10. Lemons, bitter oranges, pomegranates, figs, and nearly all plants that come to us from Italy are also to be found in Carolina.

11. Concerning cabbage, turnips, beans, peas, and other garden plants: Not only do varieties from here grow very well [there] but they also have many other kinds with very good taste [flavor] there that are utterly unknown where we live.³⁶

12. Wool is often available because of the many sheep

³⁰For the chaotic variety of currencies within Germany, see Georg Heinrich Paritius, *Cambio Mercatorio* (Regensburg, 1709); English values also differed between the individual colonies and England. All calculations have to be relative.

³¹Kocherthal's booklet on Carolina cost three German *Stüber*. See Julius Goebel, "Neue Dokumente zur Geschichte der Massenwanderung im Jahre 1709," in *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter: Jahrbuch der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois* 13 (1913): 181-201.

³²See Christopher C. Boyle, "Rise of the Georgetown Rice Culture," <http://www.ego.net/us/sc/myr/history/rise.htm>.

³³Kocherthal's expertise in viticulture is demonstrated in his hitherto unpublished, pioneering essay of 1709: "Some Short Considerations & Observations Made by Me Joshua Kocherthal, Concerning the Vine-planting in the English America." Public Record Office, CO5/1049 155, The National Archives, Kew, England, U.K. Cf. p. 31, n. 92.

³⁴"Silk is come into great Improvement, some Families making 40 or 50 l. a Year and their Plantation Work not neglected; little Negro Children being serviceable in Feeding the Silk-worms, etc. And I must give Sir Nathaniel Johnson the Reputation of being the principal Promoter hereof, and of a considerable Vineyard also." Archdale,

that the people keep in many places. Hemp, flax, and all plants needed to produce cloth also thrive.³⁷

13. Wood for construction is nearly everywhere in overabundance—in particular, the most beautiful oak wood; also very much wood comes from the most beautiful chestnut or nut trees. This is used for construction by some people and is deemed better than oak. In addition to these, one also finds beech trees, firs, cypresses, cedars, laurels, myrtles, and many more species.

14. There are also signs found at diverse places of iron ore, lead, and other metals; but a great capital is required to exploit such things, and so far no one has wanted to direct so much money there. Therefore, it remains lying there [untapped], and thus the arrivals will not do badly if they will equip themselves with various iron tools and bring them along (although such wares are also imported by merchants and can be purchased in Carls-Thon).

15. Above all, the breeding of horses, cows, sheep, pigs, and a variety of domestic animals does exceptionally well because there is sufficient meadow everywhere, and the cattle go to the meadows all year long since the midst of winter is not colder in Carolina than here in April or October.³⁸

16. Pigs, in particular, can be raised easily in greatest numbers and at quite a low price because everywhere there are extensive big forests where—as one wanted to assure me for certain—in many areas the acorns lie as thick as a hand.

17. A certain ship captain who is constantly sailing to Carolina wanted to assure me in the presence of many prominent people that because of the large number of animals raised, no father of a family (when he has only lived a few years in Carolina) could rightly be called poor: Nearly each owns up to 100 — indeed, some several 100, up to 1,000—head of animals.

18. Of wild game, fish, and birds as well as of waterfowl—such as swans, geese, and ducks—there are great numbers in all places so that, according to reports, arrivals can—once equipped with a proper rifle or shotgun—maintain themselves, if needed, on wild game until [12] they have cleared a piece of land, sown, and then harvested the same. Among other things, various people said that a wild kind of the so-called Welsh or rather Indian chicken³⁹ can be found frequently, one of which

weighed up to 40 pounds, if not more. This may appear unbelievable in the villages here, to be sure, but it has not only been confirmed with greatest certainty but will not seem completely unbelievable to those who are familiar with the biggest kinds of bustards⁴⁰ found in Germany.

19. Concerning field cultivation otherwise, the work is done mostly with horses. The plow is usually hitched to two horses.

20. Arrivals can also buy horses, cattle, and other animals which they deem necessary in the beginning at quite low a price, almost the same as over here, and sometimes even cheaper: For example, a cow was recently sold for one English pound, or at most £1½, and an English pound is nearly 9 fl. [Gulden] of our money here.⁴¹

21. Concerning the uncultivated lands, those are partly forests of great trees; some come grown over with low bushes and hedges, some come as clear spots in which grass grows. Although the latter are easiest to plow, one has discovered that here as well as in other places the areas covered with trees and hedges [13] usually are, when cleared and cultivated, more fertile than the others.

22. Finally there are still diverse other things in Carolina that can be turned into money with great profit, such as Indigo, which, as is known, is an expensive dye; further, Ambra *de gris*;⁴² at several cliffs, pearls are also said to be found.⁴³

23. To this can be added tea,⁴⁴ which one has also begun to plant in Carolina.

The 4th Chapter. Of Air, Climate, and Health.

1. It was mentioned in the previous chapter that the winter in Carolina is not colder than our April or October: It therefore happens that in the wintertime occasionally a little snow or ice is found in early morning, which, however, usually does not last past about 8 or 9, when it melts again and disappears.

2. The summer is noticeably warmer than over here, but the heat is nonetheless still bearable, especially since most of the time in the summer after sunrise a cool wind blows and usually [14] weakens the heat considerably.

3. Indeed, it is said that during summer it is cooler in Carolina than in Virginia although Virginia lies further

Carolina, 30. Rice and silk are the two most frequently mentioned products the early promises of which were not kept in the next three centuries; see James Glen (1701-1777), *A Description of South Carolina; containing . . . particulars relating to the civil, natural, and commercial history of that colony* (London: Dodsley, 1761); Robert C. Haywood, "The Mind of the North Carolina Advocates of Mercantilism," *The North Carolina Historical Review* 33 (1956): 139-65.

³⁵The German word for "cotton" is *Baumwolle* (tree wool); it is not grown in Germany.

³⁶The lesser known fruits of the field would include gourds, melons, pumpkins, squashes, and—if we may call the tuber a fruit—the extremely important potato.

³⁷The original sentence appears to be somewhat corrupt and untranslatable. For sheep see L. G. Connor, "A Brief History of the Sheep Industry in the United States," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1918, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office); for other livestock see James W. Thompson, *History of Livestock Raising in the United States, 1607-1860* (Washington, D.C.: Department of Agriculture, 1942).

³⁸"And so advantageously is the country situated, that there is little or no need of providing Fodder for Cattle in the Winter; so that a

Cow is grazed near as cheap as a Sheep here in England." Archdale, *Carolina*, 30-31.

³⁹The Welsh or "Indian chicken" is known today as "turkey" (*Meleagris gallopavo*).

⁴⁰The rare *Trappe* is a kind of small crane (*Otittidae*); better known game fowl include grouse (*Tetraonidae*), partridge (*Perdix*), and quail (*Coturnix*).

⁴¹See Virginia Anderson, *Creatures of Empire: How Domestic Animals Transformed Early America* (New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁴²Ambra *de gris* or ambergris is a floating marine substance believed to originate in sperm whales; it is used in perfumes.

⁴³"All wrecks, mines, minerals, quarries of gems, and precious stones, with pearl-fishing, whale-fishing, and one-half of all ambergris, by whomsoever found, shall wholly belong to the lords proprietors," *North Carolina Colonial Records*, vol. 1, 187-205 [from *Locke's Works*, vol. 10, 175]; see also The North Carolina Division of Marine Fisheries, *North Carolina Oyster Fishery Management Plan* (Morehead City, N.C., 2001).

⁴⁴It is not clear what kind of tea may be meant here; black tea (*Camellia sinensis*) as a crop was supposedly first grown in the Charleston area of South Carolina around 1744.

north. One cannot give the real reason for this yet (except that concerning the countries near the *Tropic of Cancer*, there is usually cool and windy air), but the fact that this is the case I want to confirm with certainty.⁴⁵

4. The weather is, as it is everywhere, uneven, and sometimes in one year there is more rain or more dry weather than in another; and thus one cannot report anything in this respect with certainty.

5. Also, note this concerning Carolina: in winter the day is about 2 hours longer and, in contrast, in summer, 2 hours shorter than is the case here in Germany.

6. In itself Carolina is also a very healthy country. Among the natives or Indians a person was formerly not considered particularly old even though he had reached 100 years; but according to reports, they no longer live to be that old. Following the arrival of our people they got rather used to excess in eating and drinking.

7. It cannot be denied, however, that initially the change of the air and the water and other things does [15] unusual things to our folks when they come into the country; but it is a matter of only a few months. At least, one has not learned that anyone has become truly sick, much less died, from this.

8. Of various medicinal herbs, flowers, and such plants that are good as remedies, there are so many in Carolina that one doubts that another country can be found that would equal this.

The 5th Chapter. Of the Peace and Security.

1. Carolina presently not only has all quiet, peace, and security but is situated such that—according to human expectations—one will not have to be concerned about a war there, not in the near future.⁴⁶

2. The Indians, who live above [the border of] Carolina and in part also within the country itself, live with our people in perfect peace and in very good friendship. They are decreasing much in number whereas the number of our people (namely, of the Europeans) is increasing. Furthermore, they have no experience in the manner of war [16] that is customary with us except what they have learned from our people.

3. To the right [north], English lands border Carolina, one after the other, and that is continuous so that one does not have to fear anything from that side but, rather, could in all cases expect good assistance from there.

4. To the left [south] lie several places, to be sure, that belong to the Spaniards, but there are so few inhabitants that they rather fear the English than that these fear them.

5. If, therefore, there were a danger to be feared, it would have to come from the seaside [east]. One cannot easily penetrate into the land anywhere because of the sandbanks and other barriers except at the outflow of the rivers Assly and Cooper. There, however, lies the capital of the entire country, which is well supplied by the English with all necessities. Thus, one hopes that, with the help of God, the peaceful security in Carolina will be maintained constantly.

6. Otherwise, concerning the war which the English are presently carrying on with the French and Spanish in America, that is taking place in the *Caribbean* or, as the islands are commonly called, the Sugar Islands. Here Jamaica, Hispaniola, and other islands lie in considerable number. These islands are up to 100, and in part up to 150, German miles distant from Carolina. [17]

7. Concerning the wild animals in Carolina, there are, of course, some beasts of prey among the multitude of wild game—in particular, wolves. They are, however, not too great a bother to people because they can catch their prey easily from among other animals and game.

8. Because the country is much warmer than with us, in the summer there are more snakes, but one sees no more of them than in Italy, Spain, or other warm countries that lie over here in Europe. As these animals by nature are frightened by people, they are diminishing gradually in the areas where people are settling and making their homes.

The 6th Chapter. Of Selling and Trading.

1. Because nearly everywhere Carolina has rivers and streams on which one can travel by small boats and in part also in medium-sized ones and on several in big ships, it is conveniently situated for trading.

2. The names of the most prominent rivers in South-Carolina are: 1. The Assly River: 2. The Cooper: 3. Wando: 4. Back: 5. Staco: [18] 6. Edisto: 7. Sewer: 8. Santee: 9. Watere: 10. Campahe.⁴⁷

3. By means of these rivers all goods, crops, and whatever one grows on the land can be easily transported to the main [trading] places and seaports, where they are then loaded into big merchant ships and either brought over here to Europe, or in America to the Sugar Islands, or they are exported to other countries of this new continent.

4. Until now all goods and crops produced in Carolina have always been easily turned into money, and thus, one does not have to worry that one or the other [product] might remain unsold in the near future. Yet, one has to adjust here, as everywhere, to the price as that sometimes increases and sometimes falls again.

⁴⁵"The Summer is not near so hot as in Virginia or the other Northern American English Collonys, which may hardly gain belief with those that have not considered the reason; which is its nearness to the Tropicks." Samuel Wilson, "An Account of Carolina" [London, 1682], in Alexander Salley Jr., *Narratives of Early Carolina, 1650-1708* (New York, N.Y.: Charles Scribner's, 1911), 168-69.

⁴⁶Here the author was mistaken. The Tuscarora War of 1711 changed the Carolina colony forever—in the end to the terrible disadvantage and loss of the Indian peoples.

⁴⁷Johann Heinrich Huber's German Carolina map in J. Rudolf Ochs's *Amerikanischer Wegweiser* (1711) lists the relevant rivers in

Carolina from north to south: Watere, Santee, Ashley, Edistow, Colleton, Cambahe, Sapola, Wallea, May.

⁴⁸Despite the current [Queen Anne's] war with France, the French here are not enemies because the Huguenot refugees are Protestants; the war mentioned is, like so many others, a war over religion and simultaneously over territorial issues.

⁴⁹J. H. Huber's Carolina map has a rare German translation of Lawson's map inscriptions, including "Carls Statt."

⁵⁰The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel on December 21, 1705, agreed to pay £20 to Thomas Hassell as catechist and schoolmaster in Charleston. See Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Minutes, vol. 1, 76-77.

5. Coins and also measures of length and weight are the same in Carolina as in England; only in a few things a small difference can be found.

6. Regarding the coins, it is to be noted that a so-called species half dollar [*species, Halberthaler*], which here presently is valued as 1 fl. [*Gulden, Gilder*], is valued in England as 27 *Stüber*; and 12 *Stüber* make a shilling; thus, such a *Halberthaler* would be 2¼ shilling.

7. Twenty English shillings make 1 pound sterling; and hence, one pound sterling equals 9 fl. [*Gulden*] of our money, minus 3 *Stüber* or 6½ *Kreutzer*. [19]

8. When disagreements occur in Carolina regarding buying, loaning, borrowing, as well as in matters of wills and matters of divisions, or else arguments occur in other matters and the parties go before the authorities, the English laws and customs are observed in deciding such contentions.

The 7th Chapter.

Of the European Nations That Already Live in Carolina as Well as of the Towns and Villages That Have Been Established by Them.

1. The English government first began to settle South-Carolina with English people Anno 1670—that is, by now 30-some years ago. At this time three European nations live there already: English, Dutch, and French people.⁴⁸ High Germans are presently not yet there, but most of the Dutch are said not only to understand the High German language but many of them speak the said language quite well. [20]

2. The towns that have been built already are 1. Carls-Thon, the capital city, which was begun to be built Anno 1680. It lies at a place where the Assly and the Cooper flow together and forge a common stream with one another. 2. Neu Londen, which lies on the river Edisto. The other places with names are seen rather as settlements than as towns.

3. Here and there villages and farms are established, but most are near the capital, Carls-Thon, where there are over 30 places [settlements], of which none is farther than 1 or 2 German miles distant from Carls-Thon.⁴⁹

4. In Carls-Thon one can also get various goods as well as skilled laborers; but there are not as many skilled laborers as here at home, and they must thus be paid better for their work than here. That is why the arrivals do well when they apply to bring along various skilled laborers—in particular, those in the construction field.

5. There are also schools here and there. In Carls-Thon there is a Latin school;⁵⁰ in Virginia a high school [university] has been established;⁵¹ and the English, in

particular, make it their concern to spread by all means both Christianity and *literature* [literacy]⁵² among the Indians. [21]

The 8th Chapter.

Of Things Wrong and Lacking in the Country.

1. No country is so perfect that it should not have its imperfections and deficiencies although one [country] always has more and perhaps greater deficiencies than another; accordingly, it is easy to understand that Carolina will not be entirely without imperfections either.

2. Its biggest deficiency is simply the lack of people, due to which the largest part of the wonderful country still lies deserted and uncultivated.

3. In addition to this comes the distance in space, the far remoteness, which makes it costly, difficult, and problematic to move there.

4. For the High Germans it is also a disadvantage that none of their countrymen have settled there as yet. It is therefore advisable that a good number⁵³ move there together and at the same time to be able to offer a hand to each other and help one another, especially in matters of crafts.

5. Other imperfections that could be learned with great effort are few and [22] consist mainly in that 1. to the arrivals one or the other thing will initially be strange and unusual; 2. in the summer it is noticeably warmer there than here; 3. one can encounter some beasts of prey, such as wolves, and occasionally snakes in the summer—all of which have already been mentioned.

The 9th Chapter.

Of the Crossing from England to Carolina.

1. It is to be known that in peacetimes ships leave for Carolina or Virginia almost every month, but in wartimes they cannot go there so frequently, usually only in the spring or fall.

2. The most comfortable time for the crossing is in spring; the ships usually depart in April, but earlier or later in one year than in the other.

3. If the wind is constant and the journey goes well, it can be completed in 6 weeks or perhaps 5; several times people have even completed the journey in 4 weeks. If, [23] however, contrary winds occur, it may well last half a year.

4. Fare in peacetimes has been up to 5 to 6 pounds sterling for each adult, which was about 40 to 50 gilders. Now, however, the ships' captains are charging—because of the convoy and other expenses—7 to 8 pounds for each adult, which makes about 60 to 70 gilders of our money. Concerning adolescents and children, one negotiates with the skipper about this, according to size and age of the children.

5. The skipper is obliged to transport not only the person for this money but, in case he has something to take along, must also transport a crate or chest of about 1 to 2 *centner*⁵⁴ and provide the needed food, regardless of how long the journey may last.

6. If someone wants to provide his own food, he can be taken along for half of the said money. It is, however, quite risky, since one does not know how long the jour-

⁵¹The Virginia "high school" is better known today as the College of William & Mary, founded in 1693. [Kocherthal may have visited it in 1709 on his return trip from New York to London.]

⁵²Surely Kocherthal means "literacy," rather than "literature."

⁵³This call for a "good number" establishes Kocherthal as the first published promoter of mass emigration from Germany to English America. Thousands of so-called Palatines followed in 1709; millions from all German lands came in the next centuries.

⁵⁴A German *centner* (modern *Zentner*), a popular unit of weight, equals 100 German or 110.23 English pounds.

ney may last and on the way one can then hardly purchase anything from the skipper for money.

7. If there are poor people who cannot pay the fare, occasionally some lords from the government can be found who pay the transport for such people. In turn, these must serve them, however, for some time in Carolina as servants or maids. In peacetime such people would serve two to three years; [24] but because the fare is more expensive now, such service must necessarily last longer.⁵⁵ If, however, many such people come together simultaneously, it could happen then that the lordship *would deal* with them more tolerably. NB. If one is willing to cross in such a way, one would do well to write to England first because such persons who pay the fares and allow the cost to be worked off are not available at all times.⁵⁶

8. Since it is very expensive to pay the transport fare oneself and it is very hard to work it off, the *author* concerned himself in all ways to discover if another method might be found, upon which, finally, the proposal was made that the queen should be petitioned with a *supplication* to provide ships for the crossing. It would then be easily possible that one could be picked up from Holland by royal ships and thus save the cost of the crossing as well. In such case a good number of people would have to get together, however, because otherwise it would not be worthwhile to make this request to the queen, much less to spend as much money as is required in these times by ships and convoy.⁵⁷

9. Since in these times the expenses at the royal court are indescribably high, both because of the difficult war and because of the many eternally lasting *collection monies*⁵⁸ [25], several proposals concerning the management of the matter were made so that the queen, regardless of the other heavy expenses, may give the ships for transport. These proposals, however, are too expansive to describe here, but one hopes that by means of these the effort will not have been in vain. Yet, one cannot promise anything certain to anyone but must wait for whatever the divine Providence will arrange here.

10. Remaining to be said is that the crossing is not without danger, both in case of a storm at sea or in case the convoy should get into a battle with pirates. Yet, one has quite rarely, and often not for several years at a time, learned that one of the ships going there, and NB. sufficiently supplied with convoy ships, has had an accident.

The 10th Chapter. Of the Assurance and Certainty of All That Has Been Told So Far.

Since certainty [in these matters] is of the utmost importance and all is indeed as it has been reported hitherto, the *author* has applied extreme efforts to become certain in this. The persons and *documents* from where such reports have been received are the following: [26]

1. A French merchant named *du Prè*, who moved to Carolina a few years ago, writes an extensive report concerning the same from Amsterdam to a good friend, *sub dato Maplica* Feb. the 17th, 1703.⁵⁹

2. Two credible merchants in Holland named *Bûjotte*, who lived in Carolina for a long time, tell in the presence of some other people of the specific quality of the land.⁶⁰

God Save the Queen!
THE MOST
HEARTY ACCLAMATIONS
OF THE
LUTHERANS in London,
Expressed at the
Royal Proclamation and Coronation
OF
Her most Sacred MAJESTY
QUEEN ANNE;
By the GRACE of GOD,
Queen of England, Scotland, France, and
Ireland, Defender of the Faith.
IN THE
High German Lutheran Congregation in Trinity-lane.
By J. E. EDZARD, Minister of the said Church.
Translated from the Original.
L O N D O N :
Printed by F. Collins, for Thomas Bennet, at the Half
Moon in St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1702.

God Save the Queen! The Most Hearty Acclamations of the Lutherans in London (1702). Pastor Johann Esdras Edzardi (1662-1713) of the High German Lutheran congregation in Trinity-lane, London, dedicated this acclamation on Queen Anne's coronation to her Lutheran husband, His Royal Highness, the Prince of Denmark. In 1708 Edzardi's congregation collected some money for the Kocherthal refugees.

⁵⁵Note that indentured-service commitments for emigrants were not yet fully established.

⁵⁶It would be good to know whom Kocherthal had in mind as correspondents.

⁵⁷The proposal was considered and officially rejected, according to Henry Davenant, the Queen's "Secretary to the Council of the Circles of the Holy Roman Empire," resident in Frankfurt since February 1703. Some would-be emigrants from Hessen, however, reported that they received books from the man in Frankfurt—probably copies of the present book. See Goebel, "Neue Dokumente," 181-201.

⁵⁸Possibly referring to a type of endowment fund, of which only the slowly accumulating interest, not the principal, was spent (Carolyn Wenger).

⁵⁹The difficult identification of Maptica, not Maplica, in Berkeley County, S.C., led to Kocherthal's James du Pré, the important commissary for the New York Palatines of 1710. See A. S. Salley, "Some Early Simons Records," *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 37 (1936): 142. The best known identification of James is the father's French letter to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel: *Extrait d'une Lettre ecrire le 27. août 1708 en caroline par M^r. Josias Dupré, a son fils M^r. Jacq. Dupré a Londres* (SPG Papers, vol. 16, 219, Lambeth Palace Library, London, England, U.K.).

⁶⁰The Bûjotte brothers may well refer to the DuPré neighbors Abel and Nicholas Buchot; see Henry A. M. Smith, "The Orange Quarter and the First French Settlers in South Carolina," *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 18 (1917): 113-14.

3. Subsequently another London merchant [from London, or named "London"?], who lived in Carolina for 2 years, did the same.

4. More reports were given by a certain captain named *Cock*, who customarily travels to Carolina every year; he also most emphatically confirmed this narration in the presence of many persons.⁶¹

5. A merchant named *Johnson*,^{61a} who lived in Carolina for 12 years, gave additional news of all qualities of the country.

6. A certain clergyman narrated what he had heard from a person who had all of the information about the land.⁶²

7. The *Secretarius* of the Carolina government likewise reported in the presence of the aforementioned clergyman on the quality of the country.⁶³

RICHARDI BLOME
Englisches
AMERICA,
 oder
 Kurze doch deutliche
 Beschreibung aller derer
 jenigen Länder und Inseln
 so der Cron Engeland in West-Indien
 letziger Zeit zuständig und
 unterthänig sind.
 durch eine hochberühmte Feder
 aus dem Englischen übersezt
 und mit Kupffern gezieret.
 (O)
 Leipzig /
 Bey Johann Großens Wittbe und Erben.
 Anno. 1 6 9 7.

Richardi Blome Englisches America (1697). Richard Blome (1635-1705) is one of the better-known sources for Germans' knowledge of America. In the fourth edition of Kocherthal's *Carolina*, a relatively long appendix (pp. 40-65) was added (probably by a new editor, whose initials G. C. J. follow the modified introduction). It was taken from the Leipzig edition, done by Johann Groß's widow and heirs in 1697.

RELATIONIS HISTORICÆ
SEMESTRALIS VERNALIS CONTINUATIO.
Jacobi Franci
Historische Beschreibung
 dung der denckwürdigsten Geschichten / so sich in Hoch-
 und Nieder- Teutschland / auch Italien / Hispanien / Frankreich / Ungarn /
 Hohen / Pohlen / England / Portugal / Schweden / Dänemark / Dalmatien / Candia / &c.
 Sodann in Bräben / Schlesien / Pommern / Preussen / Neuss / Siebenbürgen / Wallachen / Moldan / Wolos / &c.
 Lürden / Barbaren / Tartaren / und im Egeischen Meer / sonst über der Archipelagus genannt : Wie nicht
 weniger in Ost- und West-Indien / &c. vor- und zwischen jüngstverflossener Frankfurter Herbst-Mess /
 1699. biß an die Ostermess dieses laufenden 1700. Jahres / hin und wieder in der
 Welt / zu Land und Wasser / zugetragen.
 Alles außservertheiltten Lateinischen / Italianischen / Spanischen / Französischen /
 Hoch- und Nieder- Teutschen Documentis , brieflichen Urkunden / und Geschichtreichen
 Schrifften : Theils auch selbst-eigener Erfahrung . Mit nützlichen Marginalien / so an fast eines
 kurzen Registers dienen können ; Und mit etlichen Kupfer-Figuren angeordnet.
 Durch SIGISMUNDI LATOMI, kaiserl. Mäurers genannt / seel. Erben /
 Und Johann Steindeckers fortgesetzt und verlegt.
 Unter Jhr. Röm. Käyserl.
 gedachten Lateinischen Er-
 deckern ertheiltet sonderbar
 dem Anhang / daß niemand
 ges Geldes und Verleumdung
 weder in gleicher / noch größ-
 ter wolerley Form und ge-
 mien geschehen möchte / an
 zu geben / noch nachzudru-
 chen / auch Königlich Majestät /
 ben / und Johann Seel-
 rer Gnad und Freyheit / mit
 bey Straff sechs Mark / sechs
 deniglichen Denckergeldchen
 ser oder kleinerer Form / un-
 suchen Schein es auch im-
 seinem Ort / nicht in Druck
 chen Macht haben soll.
 Frankfurt am Mayn / bey dem Latom. Erben und Steindeckern zu finden. 1700.

Relationis Historicae Semestralis Vernalis Continuatio: Jacobi Franci Historische Beschreibung der denckwürdigsten Geschichten so sich . . . vor und zwischen jüngstverflossener Frankfurter Herbst Meß 1699. biß an die Ostermess dieses laufenden 1700. Jahrs . . . zugetragen. Frankfurt am Mayn: Latom., Steindecker, 1700. It was not easy to identify and then locate the "Frankfurter Mess=Relationes." Kocherthal's *Carolina* refers to four issues of this rare periodical with "Descriptions of the Most Remarkable Stories," covering historic events between the biannual Frankfurt book fairs.

⁶¹There were several English captains by that name; a good candidate is John Cock of London, master of the *Swan* (*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Anne*, vol. 1, 1702-1703. Ed. Robert Pentland Mahaffy (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1916), 201-203.

^{61a}A good candidate would be the merchant adventurer Robert Johnson, who became Carolina governor in 1717; see Richard P. Sherman, *Robert Johnson, Proprietary & Royal Governor of South Carolina* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1966), 7.

⁶²The named sources are characterized by their lack of specificity—that is, their uselessness; this may well be deliberate. Contemporary Lutheran German clergymen in London include Preacher Anton Wilhelm Böhm (1673-1722) and Johannes Tribbeckow (Tribbeko, 1677-1712) of the Royal Chapel of the Palace of Saint James, Johann Esdras Edzardi (1662-1713) of the Hamburg Trinity Church, and Georg Andreas Ruperti (1670-1731) of Saint Mary in the Savoy, a direct neighbor of the Reformed Prussian pastor Johann Jacob Caesar (d. 1719).

⁶³The staff of the proprietorship included James Griffith, secretary from January 10, 1702, to January 1709; see Charles H. Lesser, *South Carolina Begins: The Records of a Proprietary Colony, 1663-1721* (Columbia: South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1995), 56. Incidentally, Matthew Elliston, Proprietor John Archdale's disgruntled secretary, revealed secret emigration plans of Thuringians to the Saxon envoy in London, Carl Christian Kirchner. Nonetheless, Langensalza's Heinrich Kersten or Kirsten (b. 1655) and de Turck became direct neighbors. See William Henry Egle, ed., *Minutes of the Board of Property of the Province of Pennsylvania*, vol. 1, Minute Book "G," *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2nd ser., vol. 19 (Harrisburg: E. K. Meyers, 1893), 468.

8. Several High German merchants, who are now residing in London, tell what they happen to have heard at diverse places about Carolina. [27]

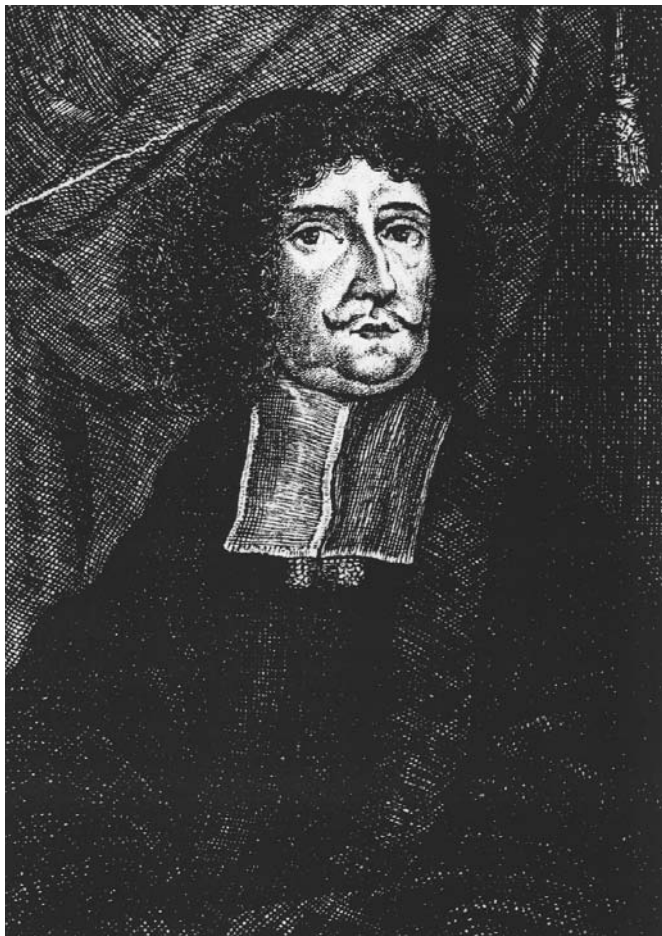
All reports hitherto mentioned were not obtained from a single place or at but one time, but almost each independently, and that mostly in such manner that none had any knowledge of the report of the other or could have had, but were found to agree with each other all the same.

9. Finally, after all these one took first *information* from the lords or proprietors of the country, which likewise was in accordance with the previous.

10. In addition, a clear report about the land is also given in a booklet called *Blome's English America*, which was translated from English into High German and printed Anno 1697 in 12. [duodecimo (book size)] by the publisher Gross's heirs in Leipzig, to be had both in Leipzig and Frankfurt.⁶⁴

11. Also known is what the *Frankfurter Relationen* reported on Carolina, which is in the fall [book] fair, Anno 1699, page [literally: leaf] 66; in the Easter fair, 1700, page 88; in the fall fair, Anno 1700, page 58; and in the Easter fair, Anno 1701, page 73, etc.⁶⁵

12. To all hitherto mentioned, one could add what has been reported on Carolina from England in the news



Portrait of Johann Joachim Becher (1635-1682) of Speyer, Imperial Councillor of Chambers and Commerce



Johann Joachim Becher's *Psychosophia; oder, Seelen-Weisheit* . . . (1683). Kocherthal explicitly refers to two editions of Becher's *Psychosophia* as a source of colonial inspiration. Becher's *Politischer Diskurs* of 1673 was even more promotional.

⁶⁴Richard Blome's *English America* appeared in German with an introduction by an unknown author: *Englisches America, oder kurtze doch deutliche Beschreibung aller derer jenigen Länder und Inseln so der Cron Engeland in West-Indien ietziger Zeit zuständig und unterthänig sind durch eine hochberühmte Feder aus dem Englischen übersetzt und mit Kupffern gezieret* (Leipzig: Bey Johann Großens Wittbe und Erben, 1697). This title can be seen online at <http://www.vd17.de>.

⁶⁵The *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Vernalis Continuatio: Jacobi Franci Historische Beschreibung der denckwürdigsten Geschichten/ so sich . . . vor- und zwischen jüngst-verflossener Franckfurter Herbst-Meß/ 1699. biß an die Ostermeß dieses lauffenden 1700. Jahrs . . . zugetragen* mentions "Nova Florida in West-Indien," 66, and the *Relationes Historicae* for the Oster-Mess. 1700, 88, mentions Nova Florida and Central America (Panama). The news for the fall book fair 1700 mentions missionary plans, "Engeland sucht in Westindien die Einwohner zu bekehren," and a university in Virginia, *Relationes Historicae* . . . Herbst-Mess Anno 1700, 58. Kocherthal uses Blatt (leaf) for Seite (page). Some titles can be seen online at <http://www.vd17.de>.

reports [*Novellen*] or newspapers [*Post-Zeitungen*] at various times.⁶⁶

13. No less could diverse other *scribes* be mentioned, some of whom described this with other West Indian countries, some of whom *recommend* the crossing there. [28] Only one should be remembered here, the world famous, late Mr. Becher, erstwhile doctor of both laws and *doctor* of medicine and imperial chamber and *commerce* councillor. He with great diligence repeatedly advised our German people in his past writings to *colonize* the West Indian places, as can be seen in particular in his *Psychosophia* or *Soul-Wisdom*, page 177 (or in the old edition, p. 171), and more often at other places.⁶⁷

14. Finally, concerning the *privileges* or liberties that were mentioned above in chap. 2, the government offers to grant a written and perfect assurance.

Gründlicher Bericht
Von
Beschaffenheit und Eigenschafft/Cultivierung und Bewohnung/
Privilegien und Beneficien

Deß in America zwischen
dem Rio Orinoque und Rio delas Amazonas an der
vesten Küst in der Landschaft Guiana gelegenen / sich dreißig
Meil wegs breit an der See und hundert Meil
wegs in die Tiefe erstreckenden
strich Landes/
Welchen

Die Edle privilegierte West-Indische Compagnie
der vereinigten Niederlanden/mit Authentischer Schrifft-
licher ratification und permission
Der Hochmögenden Herren Staten General
An den
Hochgebohrnen / gegenwertig regirenden Herrn/
Herrn Friederich Casimir/
Grafen zu Hanaw / Rieneck / Zwenbrücken / Herrn zu
Münzenberg/Riechenberg und Döhlenstein/Erbmar-
schalln und Obervogn zu Straßburg.

Wie auch an das gesämpfliche Hochgräfl. Hauß von Hanaw/
mit allen regalien und jurisdictionen, ewig und erblich/
unter gewissen in dieser Deduction publicirten
Articul den 13. Julij 1669. cedirt und
überlassen hat.

Jedermännlichen/absonderlich aber denen welchen daran
gelegn/zum Nachricht und gefallen
in Druck gegeben.

Gedruckt zu Frankfurt/bey Johan Kuchenbecker.

Anno 1669.

[Becher, Johann Joachim.] *Gründlicher Bericht Von Beschaffenheit und Eigenschafft Cultivierung und Bewohnung Privilegien und Beneficien Deß in America zwischen dem Rio Orinoque und Rio de las Amazonas an der vesten Küst in der Landschaft Guiana gelegenen . . . strich Landes Welchen Die Edle privilegierte West-Indische Compagnie der vereinigten Niederlanden mit Authentischer Schrifftlicher ratification und permission Der Hochmögenden Herren Staten General An den . . . Herrn Friederich Casimir Grafen zu Hanaw . . . cedirt . . .* (Frankfurt: Johan Kuchenbecker, 1669). Before William Penn, the economist and alchemist Johann Joachim Becher was perhaps the most active and successful advocate of German involvement in overseas colonization. In 1669, the year of Josua Harrsch's birth, he successfully inspired Friedrich Kasimir, Graf von Hanau, to establish a colony in South America. Huge Guiana became the largest German colony of one of the empire's smallest duchies.



The new edition of Dr. Becher's tract on commerce, his *Politischer Diskurs*, appeared posthumously (Frankfurt: J. David Zunner, 1689). The frontispiece shows the twin images of the Amsterdam commercial-exchange district under celestial rays streaming from the Hebrew letters "YHWH" (Yahweh or Jehovah) and sailing trade ships similarly illuminated.

15. Lastly, as for the *author*: the same gives herewith an assurance of the entire matter as good as it was given to him in person—namely, as a report from such persons

⁶⁶Contrasting with the precision of the references above and below, the general reference to *Post Zeitungen* is all but ridiculously vague. This is followed by surprisingly precise page information on two different editions of Johann Jacob Becher's (1635-1682) *Psychosophia*. The 1683 title can be seen online at <http://www.vd17.de>.

⁶⁷See also Becher, *Gründlicher Bericht von Beschaffenheit und Eigenschafft, Cultivierung und Bewohnung, Privilegien und Beneficien dess in America zwischen dem Rio Orinoque und Rio de las Amazonas an der vesten Küst in der Landschaft Guiana gelegenen . . . Strich Landes . . .* (Frankfurt: Kuchenbecker, 1669). Both Becker and Kocherthal had a precursor in Otto Keye, whose gilt-edged booklet advertised the South American Guyana also by diminishing the value of the North American Dutch colony of New Netherland that became Pennsylvania: *Otto Keyens kurtzer Entwurff von Neu-Niederland und Guajana einander entgegen gesetzt, umb den Unterscheid zwischen warmen und kalten Landen heraus zu bringen. . . . Auss dem Holländischen ins Hochteutsche versetzt durch T. R. C. S. C. S.* (Leipzig: im Ritzschischen Buchladen, 1672). The title can be seen online at <http://www.vd17.de>.



Otto Keyens kurtzer Entwurff von Neu=Niederland Und Guajana. . . (1672). Before the Germans familiarized themselves with the English world view in the eighteenth century, they saw the distant worlds more with the eyes of the Dutch colonial powers of the seventeenth century. Although not mentioned by Kocherthal, Otto Keye's originally Dutch comparison between two colonial areas in America is a direct precursor for Kocherthal's Pennsylvania-Carolina comparison.

who themselves had been in the country, seen everything with their own eyes, in part also lived many years in the country, who also were considered by many as believable people, and who furthermore (as far as the majority is concerned) cannot expect *interest* from this, and whose statements, although given at different times and places, have been found quite in accordance with one another. For the rest, the reader has to assure himself that everything was faithfully *recorded* by the *author* and [that] nothing was altered in the report, much less added or omitted, thereof. [29]

Appendix Of Pennsylvania.

Conditions in Pennsylvania are already well known in Germany, and one can have news thereof in a booklet called *Pastorii Pennsylvania*⁶⁸ and also in another entitled Falckenier's *Continuation of the Beschreibung Pennsylvaniae*,⁶⁹ which were both published by Mr. Otto in Nürnberg and can be had in Frankfurt.

Since the *author* has repeatedly met people on his journey who had lived for many years in Pennsylvania

and reported one or another detail in addition to what is contained in the above tracts, we have decided to report here only what concerns the differences between Carolina and Pennsylvania.

1. Carolina has, so to speak, an eternal summer; but Pennsylvania has a very hard winter that is nearly as hard as in most places in Germany.

2. Cattle breeding in Pennsylvania is noticeably harder than in Carolina for the previously mentioned reason. Here [in Carolina] the cattle go to pasture the entire winter; there [in Pennsylvania], however, they must be maintained in barns.

3. Viticulture has not yet succeeded in Pennsylvania as far as one had hoped [30] although one has tried it with various methods.⁷⁰

4. Because of the cold winter one has to try from the beginning to build well-protected houses, and barns for the cattle, where they can stay in the winter; whereas in Carolina the poor people can survive in small huts if necessary.

5. For precisely the same reason, poor people in Carolina can dress themselves throughout the year for much less than in Pennsylvania.

6. In Pennsylvania all well-situated places and spots are already distributed in such a way that each has its master. This can be seen, among other things, in the newest English maps of Pennsylvania, in which the entire partition of the land is actually depicted with lines⁷¹ and the owner's name is signed onto his place, so that even in isolated spots one has to buy and pay for the land or instead of purchase pay a hereditary lease fee, which is even higher; whereas in Carolina one can have gratis as much land as one needs in quite-well-situated and comfortable places.

7. Those wanting to go to Pennsylvania must be able to pay the passage with cash because none can be found who will advance the payment for subsequent services, much less who would offer a hand by proposing to transport in royal ships and concern themselves seriously with the matter.

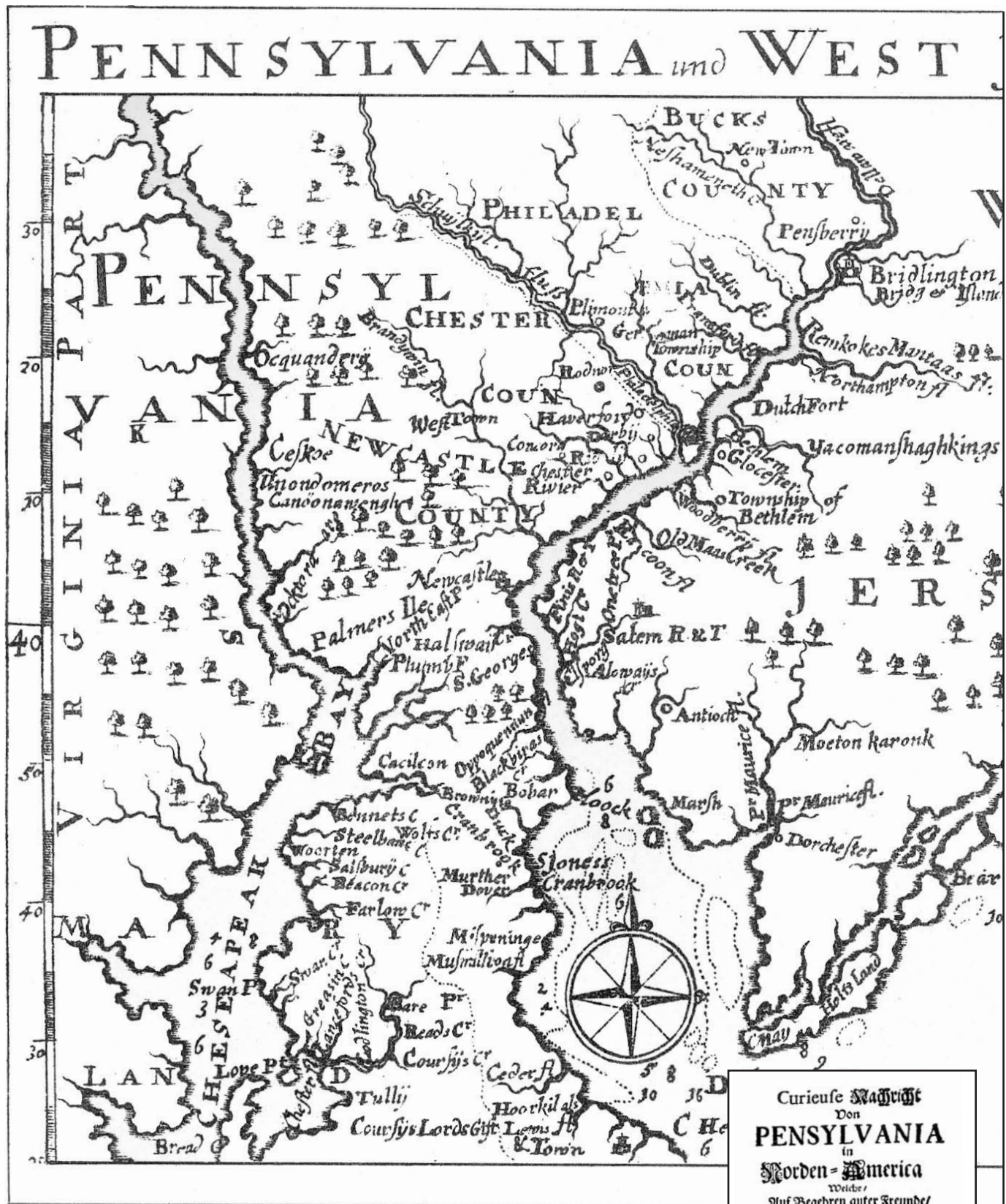
8. But on the other hand, Pennsylvania does have an advantage over Carolina, firstly, in that High Germans (namely, from all kinds of Protestant denominations) already live there, and thus our people probably may expect from these countrymen some help or good advice. Secondly, it is commonly thought that our local kinds of

⁶⁸Umständige Geographische Beschreibung Der zu allerletztf erfundenen Provintz Pennsylvaniae, In denen End=Gräntzen Americae In der West=Welt gelegen, Durch Franciscum Danielem Pastorium, J. V. Lic. Und Friedens=Richtern daselbst . . . (Frankfurt and Leipzig: Andreas Otto, 1700). This book is actually a compilation of a great variety of texts compiled by the father, the historian Melchior Adam Pastorius (1624-1702); it should be listed and catalogued under his name. This title can be seen online at <http://www.vd17.de>.

⁶⁹Continuatio der Beschreibung der Landschaft Pennsylvaniae an denen End=Gräntzen Americae. Über vorige des Herrn Pastorii Relationes . . . Beschrieben von Gabriel Thomas 15. Jährigen Inwohner dieses Landes. Welchem Tractätlein noch beygefüget sind: Des Hn. Daniel Falckners Burgers und Pilgrims in Pennsylvania 193. Beantwortungen uff vorgelegte Fragen von guten Freunden (Frankfurt and Leipzig: Andreas Otto, 1702).

⁷⁰See n. 33.

⁷¹That map has yet to be found.



Portion of map of southeastern Pennsylvania and southern New Jersey from the 1704 edition of Daniel Falkner's *Curieuse Nachricht Von Pensylvania in Norden= America . . .*, first published in Frankfurt and Leipzig in 1702

Curieuse Nachricht
Von
PENSYLVANIA
in
Norden = America

Welche
Auf Begehren guter Freunde/
Hier vorgelegte 103. Zei-
gen; bey seiner Abreise aus Teutsch-
land nach obigen Laade Anno 1700.
ertheilet und nun Anno 1702 in den Druck
gegeben worden.

Von
Daniel Falkner/Professore,
Burgern und Pilgrim allda.

Frankfurt und Leipzig/
Zu finden bey Andreas Otto/Buchhändlern.
Im Jahr 1702.

fruit and grains can be grown more successfully in Pennsylvania than in Carolina, but rice and most of the other fruits and plants that are frequent in Carolina turn out badly or not at all in Pennsylvania.⁷²



Conclusion by the Author

From all the previous the inclined reader will hopefully have learned sufficiently what the oft-mentioned country Carolina is about. Whether it now be advisable for some persons that they move there or not, on that doubtless as many different conclusions may be drawn as there are different human personalities. Some discover such a love for the fatherland that they would rather suffer the most severe slavery than have freedom elsewhere. Indeed, to some, misfortune itself is sweeter in the fatherland than the prospect that they should enjoy desired bliss elsewhere.

Just as some do this thing too little, others do it too much—namely, those who without need and out of pure curiosity, frivolity, and thoughtlessness or in hope of greater wealth leave what they already have in their hands [33] to seek the uncertain elsewhere. He who decides to move to the said country may, above all, want to consider well the following three items.

Firstly, what his intent is in this and for what reasons he wants to move there: If it is, by chance, only the lust for wealth, he had better see to it that he is not affected by what 1 Timoth. 6:9 says: “Those who want to become rich fall into temptation and snares.” Also, in the promised land itself it was said in the most unfortunate time: “The rich and the poor must be with each other,” as it can be seen in Solomon’s Proverbs 22:2,⁷³ and c. 29:13.⁷⁴ If his intent is to have days of ease and a good easy life, may he know that he will not find peace before having learned first what turmoil and discomfort are. If finally his cause is a mere desire for the unusual, curiosity, or thoughtlessness, he will wish for his return as soon as he now wishes for his departure.

Whoever is driven, in contrast, by unfortunate [34] coincidences to seek his food and shelter elsewhere or who lives in obvious daily danger, which he cannot better escape in a reasonable way, or he who is finally led thus by other events out of God’s special plans so that he can sufficiently recognize the will of his God in this, he need not worry about his decision but rather may receive even more good hope for the result of the same.

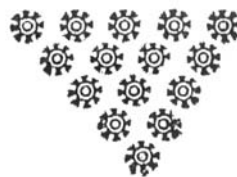
Secondly, everyone pondering a move to the oft-mentioned country should consider well the hardships of the journey. It is dangerous not only when a storm at sea occurs but also when the convoy might get into fights with the many capers and pirates. Besides this it is very expensive, excessively so when one has to lay still for long in Holland or England and must wait for a good wind. In addition, it is most difficult in that a crowd of people who, with wife and children lodged together in a

ship, are not much better sheltered than prisoners in a prison and may not think of anything but of the comfort they had had at home with regular food and drink, with a bed, and with warm rooms or other such things.

Thirdly, consider how difficult the beginning will be after the completed crossing: In the beginning one has no house, no barn, no stable, no cart or plow, or other readiness [tools] that are required for the use of each: nor horses or oxen or other livestock.⁷⁵ Many a household tool and many other things are not available, the assigned and occupied lands are still wild, no fields are there that can be plowed, no meadows that are quite clear, no gardens with trees and other plants. To set all this into its proper state is possible with the help of God, to be sure, but cannot be done other than through much and—as can be figured easily—often through very hard work and, also, not easily without considerable costs. [36]

While these are all such things that one can foresee and consider in advance, it is yet still possible that some additional difficulties may occur which one could not know or recognize in advance. Therefore, the reader himself should ponder well the entire matter in all respects, and as much as possible ahead of time, and primarily ask God submissively for light, insight, and merciful guidance through diligent prayer. Hereafter observe most precisely the faults and shortcomings as well as the use and advantage of the position one finds himself in versus the hardships and troubles as well as again the usefulness and advantages that may come to one by transferring into this country, and weigh them. Otherwise, if he should subsequently regret his thoughtless and hasty decision, he will be able to assign guilt to none but himself and in no way to the *author* (as he sets this here at the end with good deliberation and with it asks the reader likewise that he read it also with good consideration and attention).⁷⁶

May the Lord God direct and order everything according to his all-wise counsel as he knows, that it may contribute to the honor of his name and the spiritual and corporeal welfare of all of us, primarily to a blessed and blissful ending. [38]



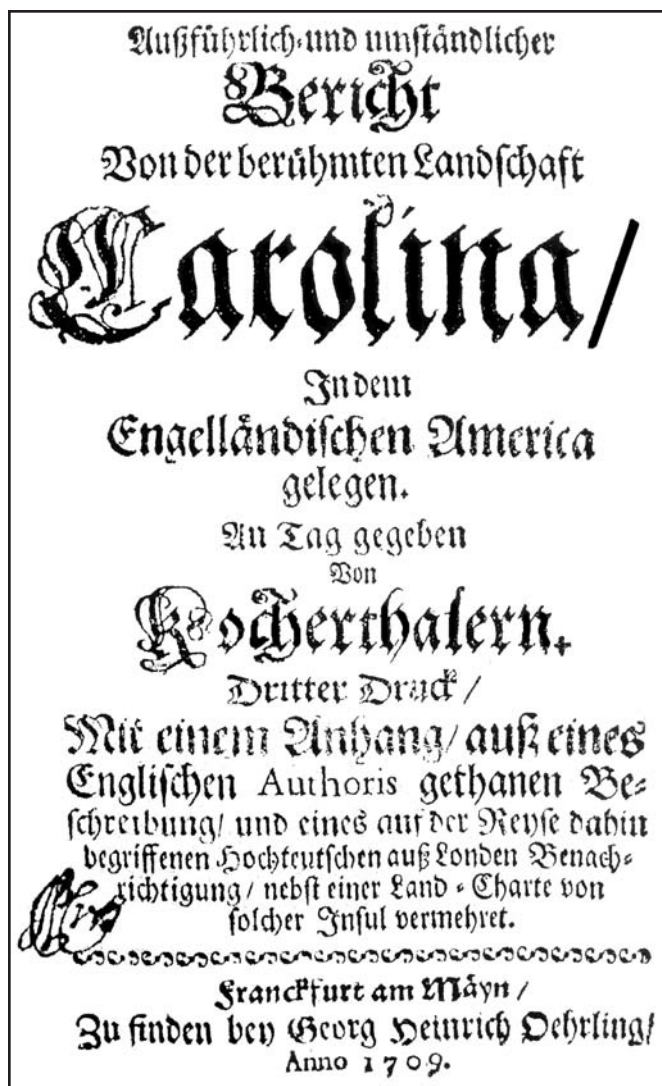
⁷²The emphasis on rice growing is hardly a priority of the German-emigration-promoter Kocherthal but, rather, that of an Englishman; Germans knew little about rice growing and could hardly be lured by the prospect to do so.

⁷³Prov. 22:2: “The rich and the poor must meet together; the Lord is the maker of them all.”

⁷⁴Prov. 29:13: “The poor man and the oppressor meet together; the Lord gives light to the eyes of both.”

⁷⁵The list of manual tools given to the 1708 emigrants shows how basic, how primitive, the beginnings for the dependent settlers were.

⁷⁶The entire section reads like an afterthought of a cheap insurance salesman. After much praise for all advantages, in bold strokes follow serious warnings—as if to avoid responsibility.



Title page of Kocherthal's *Carolina*, third edition.

Post-Report.

The inclined reader will sufficiently know into what dangerous condition many places in Germany had fallen when, on the one hand, after the unfortunate ending of the Campaign of Anno 1703, France occupied Landau;⁷⁷ and thus, all lands beyond the Rhine again fell under French control; and when, on the other hand, the very great Bavarian⁷⁸ advances turned into a terror for all neighboring lands: These are precisely the primary reasons that made the *author* undertake his journey to England in Anno 1704.

When upon his return the previous written report [39] had been sent to certain places and made known there, [it happened,] however, that in the meantime with God's help in the same said year 1704, the danger was turned away from our Germany for the most part. So, although the voyage to this land [Carolina] was delayed until now, albeit also for different weighty reasons, several persons have nonetheless firmly decided with God to move to the oft-mentioned Carolina, if possible, still in this year 1708, or at the latest, in the spring of 1709.⁷⁹

Therefore, we want to announce further upon their request that should there be some people elsewhere [40] who might also be of a mind to travel with those mentioned,

such shall be accepted (as far as they are honest, peaceful, and tolerant people), but under the following *Conditions*:

(1) That each have the needed travel money for himself and his family and thus should not be burdensome to anyone else on the way.

(2) That each contribute a share, because of the inevitable costs and effort, but according to his means.

(3) That each *promises* that, in case of possible difficulties on the journey, no other person be *molested* with annoying complaints or even an assignment of guilt.

Those who intend to join on the journey, upon these first-mentioned [41] *conditions* and after prior sufficient deliberation and counsel, can announce themselves [apply] in Amsterdam at the royal English gentlemen *commissaries* appointed for that purpose⁸⁰ (as the gentleman *author* or writer, Kocherthaler, with his *family* and many other persons has already left for Holland in order to go to Carolina).⁸¹

Should any persons of standing, or other noble and wealthy persons, like to procure large and spacious pieces of land in oft-mentioned Carolina, and send some people or folks to the cultivation thereof (or, if several combine to do such in a company), [42] they will do very well if they do not neglect to confer first with above said royal English gentlemen *commissioners*. □

END.



⁷⁷Apparently the mere mention of the famous *fortress* Landau led readers ignorant of German and Germany to the assumption that Kocherthal came from the *town* of Landau or the neighborhood thereof.

⁷⁸Catholic Bavaria was allied with Catholic France, whereas Reformed Prussia was allied with Anglican England; see J. Jacob Caesar, *God's Inevitable Judgments on Perjured Princes: A Sermon Preached to the Prussian Congregation in the Savoy, the 7th Day of September, 1704, being the Solemn Thanksgiving for the seasonable and fatal Overthrow of Perfidious Bavaria, with a French Army near Hochstet in Germany* (London, 1704).

⁷⁹"This year" is 1708, whereas the book's title page shows 1709. The discrepancy suggests that Kocherthal handed the manuscript to publisher Oehrling in Frankfurt while on his way—that is, in March 1708. Kocherthal arrived in New York at the end of 1708—when Carolina was out of the picture for him. But that did not stop Oehrling from publishing two more expanded editions in 1709, when Carolina was no longer in the picture for him.

⁸⁰The English resident in the Hague between 1706 and 1712 and between 1717 and 1739 was James Dayrolle or d'Ayrolle (d. 1739), a Huguenot originally named Jacques Teissonière. The anonymous but historically very significant appointed "gentlemen commissioners" (and any direct sign of official English support or lure) disappeared in the subsequent editions: the specific *sich in Holland bey denen hierzu verordneten Königlichen Englischen Herren Commissarien geziemend anzumelden* became a vague *in Holland an gehörigen Orten geziemend anzumelden* (to register properly at the relevant places in Holland).

⁸¹Pastor Harrsch's last entry in the Eschelbronn church book is dated March 13, 1708; his first known [undated] document in England was submitted to the Council of Trade and Plantations on April 20, 1708.

Note: There are quite a few additional Kocherthal documents in various archives. The present references reflect our immediate research interests; they ought not be misunderstood as in any way comprehensive.

A Harrsch/Kocherthal Bibliography

Compiled by Andreas Mielke and Sandra Yelton

Note: Specific page numbers are meant as a finding aid, not as a survey of the absolutely precise page numbers on which and only on which the names Harrsch or Kocherthal appear; clearly implied references to the person may be considered as well.

Works

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Q.D.B.V.J./ Officium/ Ministri Verbi/ Divini./ Specimine/ Thetico-Polemico/ Juxta propositas nonnullas Quæstiones &/ Objectiones delineatum./ Nunc verò/ Præviâ Censurâ Summè Venerandæ & Amplis-/ simæ Facultatis Theologiæ Celeberrimæ Academiae/ Tubingensis, loci editum./ ab/ Auctore/ Josua Harrschio./ Ecclesiæ Eschelbronnensis/ Vicario./ Heilbronnæ:/ Typis Johannis Conradi Majeri, Anno 1696.

[A 1706 quarto edition of a Kocherthal Carolina report has only been claimed in the editor's 1709 foreword; no one has yet been able to verify a copy or a title.]

Außführlich/ und/ Umständlicher Bericht/ Von der berühmten Landschaft/ Carolina./ In dem/ Engelländischen America/ gelegen./ An Tag gegeben/ Von/ Kocherthalern./ Zweyter Druck./ [Dekor.]/ Franckfurt am Mäyn// Zu finden bey Georg Heinrich Oehrling// Anno 1709. [42 pages.]

Außführlich= und umständlicher/ Bericht/ Von der berühmten Landschaft/ Carolina// In dem/ Engelländischen America/ gelegen./ An Tag gegeben/ Von/ Kocherthalern./ Dritter Druck./ Mit einem Anhang/ auß eines/ Englischen Authoris gethanen Be-/ schreibung/ und eines auf der Reyse dahin/ begriffenen Hochteutschen auß Londen Benach-/ richtigung/ nebst einer Land=Charte von/ solcher Insul vermehret./ [Dekor.]/ Franckfurt am Mäyn// Zu finden bey Georg Heinrich Oehrling// Anno 1709. [72 pages.]

Außführlich= und umständlicher/ Bericht/ Von der berühmten Landschaft/ Carolina// In dem/ Engelländischen America/ gelegen./ An Tag gegeben/ Von/ Kocherthalern./ Vierter Druck./ Mit Anhängen/ zweyer Engelischen/ Authoren gethanen Beschreibung/ und eines/ auff der Reyse dahin begriffenen Hochteutschen/ auß Londen Benachrichtigung;/ Nebst/ Einer Land=Carte von Carolina ver-/ mehrt./ [Dekor.]/ Franckfurt am Mäyn// Zu finden bey Georg Heinrich Oehrling// Anno MDCCIX. [80 pages; appended are three excerpts: "Erster Anhang aus Richard Blome/ Englischem America. Oder Fernere

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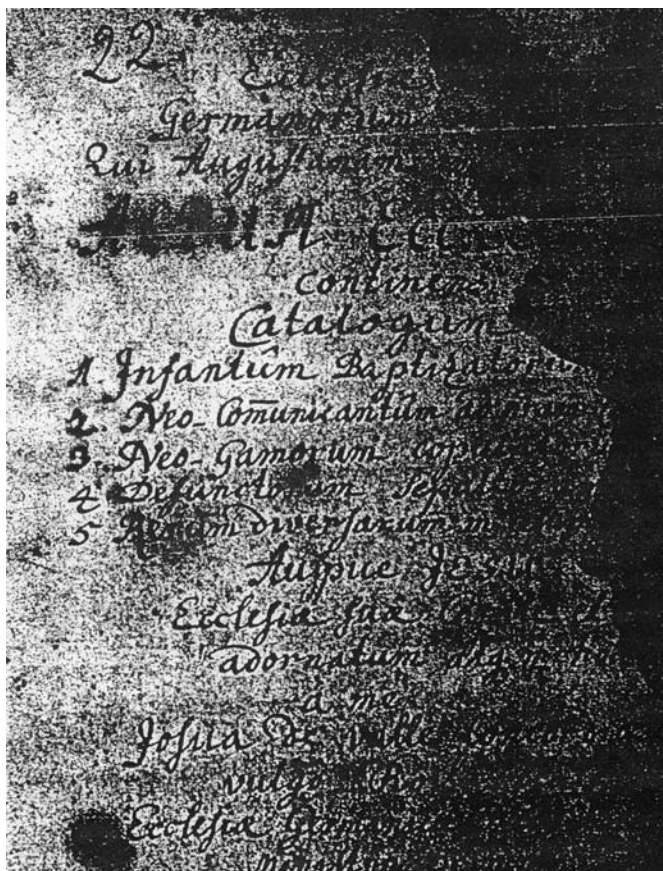
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