FRANZ DANIEL PASTORIUS

AND

TRANSATLANTIC CULTURE

German Beginnings,

Pennsylvania Conclusions

By John Weaver

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Disconcerted by inequality in absolutist Europe, Franz Daniel Pastorius emigrated to William Penn's Quaker colony, and forged one of the most versatile careers in colonial America. This study traces his growth to maturity in Germany and delineates his bicultural perceptions and convictions as a jurist, classicist and radical social critic. His unique perspective provides a fresh critique of contemporaneous society, religion and politics.

Cover illustrations:

Franciszek Smuglewicz (1745-1807), Battle of Khotyn (1673), before 1797 (image digitally enhanced). National Museum in Krakow, Poland. Used with permission. http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Battle_of_Khotyn_%281673%29.PNG and http://katalog.muzeum.krakow.pl/en/work/MNK-II-40-Bitwa-pod-Chocimiem

German broadside view of Augsburg, Germany, with comets of 1680, 1682 (Halley), and 1683, and three horsemen of the Apocalypse. Adler Planetarium, Chicago. Used with permission. In "Science - Comets in Ancient Cultures" at http://solarsystem.nasa.gov/deepimpact /science/comets-cultures.cfm

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Preface

to the 2016 edition

This study provides a detailed introduction to Franz Daniel Pastorius in the context of his early life in Germany, delineating his bicultural perceptions and convictions as a jurist, classicist and radical social critic. It has been long in the making. I revised my Ph.D. dissertation on Pastorius (University of California, Davis, 1985) in the late 1980s, but did not manage to find a publisher for it. I eventually put the typescript aside, and continued my career as an English and American Studies lecturer at Bonn University. (I'd begun Pastorius research in 1976, but postponed the Ph.D. while adapting to an expatriate life and delving into German history.)

In 2010, after retiring from teaching, a query from a senior lecturer at Cambridge University reminded me of renewed interest in Pastorius. I retrieved the old typescript from my desk, examined it closely, and ultimately decided to digitize and publish it. I have added two paragraphs on recent Pastorius research, and critically and extensively re-edited the text. (Substantive changes and additions are indicated as updates in the notes.) I have not attempted to update the study as a whole. Brief commentary on Pastorius' millennialism, for example, still reflects the insecurities of the Cold War era rather than the increasing disintegration of world politics since 11 September 2001. This remains essentially a 1990 publication, delayed for two and a half decades.

I published this study in PDF format at http://www.pastorius.info in October, 2013, and registered it at the United States copyright office a month later. Production and editorial issues, and a few intervening projects, delayed book publication (with additional revisions and an index) until 2016. (Health issues and a move from Potsdam to Bamberg, Germany, also intervened.) The book, with English translations of original German (and occasionally Latin) texts, includes the original-language texts in the notes and an appendix.

On a personal note, my own life has essentially inverted the transatlantic passage of Franz Daniel Pastorius. From a Pennsylvania-German family once called Weber, I moved to Germany in 1977 with my German-born wife and our two California children for a one-year exchange as a university lecturer. That led to further employment in Germany, but no equivalent offers back home. Needless to say, Germany in the modern world is far removed (politically, socially and, of course, economically) from the country Pastorius left in 1683, and it can provide as satisfactory a life as any other.

Bamberg, Germany
September, 2016

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Numerous other colleagues offered criticism, new insights and suggestions for improvement, especially during several German-American history and literature conferences in the United States and Germany in 1983, as I was completing the first draft of my 1985 Ph.D. dissertation (a preliminary version of this study), and at a 1988 conference of the Society for German-American Studies in Millersville, Pennsylvania. Professors Brom Weber, James Woodress, and Clifford Bernd at Davis guided my dissertation research, and, among others, Professors Hartmut Lehmannn, Rudolf Vierhaus, Johannes Wallmann, Hermann Wellenreuther and Alfred Wendehorst provided additional advice and encouragement in Germany. Above all, my wife Reinhild and our children Andrea and Stephan have sustained me, and this study of life and scholarship, with their continuing warmth and generosity.

Bonn - Bad Godesberg, Germany
June, 1990

Introduction

> One day Diogenes went backwards; whereat, the people laughing: Are you not ashamed, saith he, to do that all your lifetime, which you deride? Nic. Culpeper, p. 450.
>
> The World is a great and stately volume of natural things. [Wm. Penn,] Max[im] 3. And the characters thereof very legible to the children of wisdom. Idem, 11.
>
> Living fish swim against the stream.
>
> -- Entries under the headings of "Absurdity," "Book" and "Custom" in Pastorius' "Beehive" manuscript

Life is motion. Not an aimless ebb and flow but a purposeful moving forward, we presume, even when our navigation is most in doubt. As Franz Daniel Pastorius (1651-1719/20) moved through intricate currents, he measured his progress (and allayed the insecurities of passage) with a personal compass or sextant compounded of folk verities, traditional learning, and what can be called, quite simply, inner light. [1] He spent his youth in the German province of Franconia, attending a Gymnasium and German universities where he studied philosophy and classical and modern philology, and earned a doctorate in law. He then worked as a lawyer and law docent in Franconia and in Frankfurt am Main and the neighboring Palatinate cities, and took a grand tour of Switzerland, Holland, England and France before emigrating to America, where he began a multifaceted career almost immediately after landing in Quaker Philadelphia on 20 August 1683.

Pastorius energetically accepted the innovations and challenges of Pennsylvania, adding a generous portion of frontier pragmatism to his refinements as a classicist and jurist. He kept a farm, taught school and raised a family, and participated in the political and religious events that shaped the beginnings of Pennsylvania history. Thirteen families from Krefeld, Germany, most of them Quaker or Mennonite weavers, joined him in Philadelphia on 6 October 1683. Negotiating on-site with William Penn, Pastorius founded the village of Germantown with the Krefeld immigrants in a forest clearing near Philadelphia later that month, and helped it become a source of Delaware Valley trade and a way station for German families heading farther west as well as a new home for immigrants of various ethnic

origins. He worked part-time as a scrivener and attorney or law clerk in Germantown, and held numerous public offices including town clerk, collector of rents, court recorder, town councilman, and bailiff, an office combining the duties of mayor and judge. Beyond Germantown, he was elected to the provincial legislature and appointed a judge in Philadelphia County. He was also an avid gardener and, his self-reliance offsetting scholarly aversions to manual labor, at least occasionally practiced crafts like masonry and weaving. And when the Philadelphia Quaker Meeting considered importing a printing press from England, Pastorius was the man who volunteered to operate it.

Through his many activities, Pastorius made himself at home in the diverse cultures of early Pennsylvania. Despite ethnic insecurities and tensions, he got on well with William Penn and other prominent English and Welsh Quakers in Philadelphia, and his personal statesmanship helped to keep Anglo-German relations on an even keel during the early years of Quaker government. At the same time, he kept in touch with friends in Germany, satisfying their curiosity about his frontier existence while challenging a number of their traditional attitudes. He published enthusiastic reports about Pennsylvania and served as business agent for a Frankfurt company that acquired around 25,000 acres of land in the colony, thus helping to get German immigration off to a solid start (although his plans to found a semi-autonomous German colony within Pennsylvania failed). Without denying cherished customs and values, he assimilated into Anglo-American society, a complex process imperfectly achieved, though facilitated by his cultural breadth and esteem.

His ethnicity tempered his approach to assimilation, and to the sensitive issues of minority rights in a multi-ethnic society. He criticized exploitation of the Native Americans, and contested ethnocentric views of tribal culture, especially in a few texts ignored or misinterpreted to the present day. When the property and inheritance rights of German and Dutch immigrants seemed jeopardized, he supported a naturalization law that gave them the full privileges of citizenship. When black slaves were brought to Pennsylvania from the Caribbean, he and three of his Germantown neighbors drafted the first recorded anti-slavery petition in America and fought, unsuccessfully, to establish equality under the law for blacks as well as whites. In a similar vein, he challenged religious conformity, and enjoyed deflating shibboleths and conventional ideas, arguing, for example, that females are, in "almost innumerable" ways, superior to males, an argument to some extent related to his flirtatiousness.

A feisty moralist and sensitive intellectual, he was a herald of the Enlightenment in America, encouraging open-mindedness and cultural diversity. He was pacifist, ecumenical and universalist, and, in various respects, anti-establishment. Despite his liberality, though, he retained traces of the pervasive parochialism or chauvinism of his age, once implicitly complaining, for example, that the women of his household did not have a properly sharpened scissors available when he needed one (see page 248 of this study). The darkest blemishes in the biographical record: As a schoolmaster, he once beat a recalcitrant pupil (pages 100-101). As a scrivener, he composed a runaway slave notice commissioned by a slave-owning client (page 246).

Pastorius rarely described his physical appearance, and he was part of a generation of Pennsylvania leaders who, wary of overt self-aggrandizement, did not generally have their portraits painted. He noted in a medical manuscript that he had

> a Melancholy-Cholerick Complexion, and therefore [based on the "four humors" of contemporary psychology, could be described as] gentle, given to Sobriety, Solitary, Studious, doubtful, shame-faced, timorous, pensive, constant & true in action, of slow wit with obliviousness, &c [etc].
> If any do him wrong,
> He can't remember 't long. [2]

A "prating" schoolboy (the recalcitrant pupil just mentioned) once cited his nose, presumably because of its prominence, as indicating Pastorius "would prove an angry [school]master." [3] In his Poem 167 (composed around 1711), Pastorius admits he had become "almost too stout" from smoking tobacco – a fashion whose many followers in Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania he here compares, rather fancifully, with the daughters of Venus, "grow[n] gentler, tho' more plump" from the pipe-smoking habit. In terms of physical detail, there is little else to go on. This study thus traces his inner appearance, psychological or spiritual, with the help of his prolific Pennsylvania writings.

* * *

Pastorius' intellectual zeal matched his energy as a colonizer, in part reflecting the moral tensions of his learnedness and pragmatism. He read voraciously in Pennsylvania, assembling a personal library of more than 250 books in various languages, "undoubtedly the largest in the colony" during his lifetime, and also joining a provincial readers' circle: "I did read, pick and cull several hundred" predominantly English books "lent me by" Philadelphia and Germantown neighbors, he reported in 1718. [4] Amid this steady flow of knowledge, he absorbed English culture and kept abreast of new developments on the Continent. Copying compulsively, he filled numerous commonplace volumes from the borrowed books as well as those in his library, and wrote compositions of his own, in German, English and Latin, on a variety of practical, scientific and philosophical topics.

A number of his manuscripts illumine the politics, business practices and religious life of early Pennsylvania. His medical writings, compiled from over two dozen English, Latin, German and Dutch sources, seem to be the earliest and most eclectic in the British colonies. His law clerks' guide "is the oldest extant treatise on law written in British North America." When he needed textbooks for his pupils – in arithmetic, geometry, Latin and English – Pastorius compiled or wrote his own, and he had his English primer published (by the printer closest at hand, then 85 miles away in New York City). He recorded years of personal observation and scholarly research in a thick agricultural manuscript, describing both the challenges of domesticating nature and the pastoral satisfactions of Germantown fields, orchards and streams. [5]

Venturing beyond prose, Pastorius turned the exercise of versifying into a productive daily habit (Poem 483 notes) as poetic form and measure gratifyingly ordered the flow of his meditative and humorous thought. In an introduction to his collected poetry ("Beehive," p. 113), while noting that "some [Pennsylvanians] . . . can't brook" poetry for moral or religious reasons, he denies any pretensions to the title of poet and ingeniously explains that his poems are little more than an arts-and-crafts experiment: "I made them . . . only to try whether Versifying and Turning of the Spooling-wheel [at his son's loom] were things Compatible at the same time." His earliest English verse merely provided an enjoyable method of improving his English, a language he first learned in Pennsylvania (and used in his poetry along

with Latin and German, and, infrequently, Dutch, French and Italian), but he was soon fascinated by his craft, and brash enough to challenge any critical reader of the manuscript volume of "my Contemplations" to prove he can do better (Poem 156):

> . . . before he doth slight
> This, Pray! Let him grant m' a Sight
> Of his Rare Garden Meditations; . . .

Pastorius knew he would not soon find anyone to take up the challenge, even if the manuscript collection includes flawed specimens of his craft, verses hurriedly penned and left for future polishing. In poems describing or commenting on political campaigns and neighborhood events, biblical themes, flirtation and domestic quarreling, the flowers, herbs and vegetables of his garden, philosophical disputes, the joys and limitations of poetry, and much, much more, he was steadily creating an impressive lyric effusiveness, a poetry of grace that celebrates the variety and complexity of nature and the mind as reflections of divine perfection. Expanding the Continental poetics of his youth, he consciously absorbed the English techniques of Francis Quarles, John Denham, Daniel Defoe and others ("Beehive," p. 139), and grew increasingly innovative. He wrote

> lyrics, epigrams, rhymed proverbs, hymns, dedicatory and prefatory verses, [elegies, anagrams, and verse paraphrases of Scripture] – poetry in an astonishing variety of forms, styles, and meters composed on an equally astonishing range of subjects. [6]

Especially from 1708 to 1719, in his poetic maturity, he frequently achieved a felicity of phrase and rhythm, the surprise and delight of thematic juxtapositions, fresh images and idioms, striking rhymes, experimental devices. Since the poet and his persona are largely identical, the poetry, too, offers new insights into the life he and others were leading in early Pennsylvania. These epigrams display a characteristic mix of learnedness and pragmatism, the creative tensions informing Pastorius' transatlantic life and culture:

> A Verse may stick, when tedious Sermons fly
> Beside the Mark, and unremembered die.
>
> Whoever Dutch and French and Latin speaks,
> May learn the English Tongue within Six Weeks.
>
> Zeal for the Good is good, with Love conjoin'd,
> Or else a Fire, void of Light, or blind.
>
> Know how to keep as well as gain your Chink.
> 'Tis strange but true: For want of Weight Men sink.
>
> Rather depend upon your Fingers' Ends
> Than fix your Expectations on your Friends.
>
> The Lust of Flesh and Eyes, the Pride of Life,
> Are three most noisome weeds, which rankly thrive
> In Rich men's well dung'd grounds; mine being poor,
> Thanks be to God, they are kept out of door.
>
> Transporting Joys, tormenting Fears,
> Reviving Smiles, succeeding Tears
> Are Cupid's various Train.
>
> Too late an Old Decrepit Fellow woos,
> Who cannot piss beyond his Boots or Shoes.

One small Dram of good Life excels a Pound
Of humane Learning, tho' the most profound.

So live, as if Thou wert today to die:
So learn, as if Thou could'st Death's Pow'r defy. [7]

Although little of his poetry was published, much of it was written for an audience, recited in small groups or on public occasions, or circulated in manuscript collections, creating delight, and sometimes consternation. Poem 329, for example, describes an altercation with an offended clergyman, its iambic pentameter effectively varied, and exploiting classical form and allusion to enhance the poet's (and poetry's) stature:

Thou callst me Satyrist and yet thyself doest rage
When on the Pulpit where None dare with Thee engage,
The loudest Talker which was heard on any Stage.
Thy Talent in the Tongue, mine in the Pen does lie:
The Diff'rence is thy Words, as soon as born, die,
I with Apelles paint ev'n to Eternity; Now, Stentor, cry. [8]

Embellishing his homespun fabric with exotic textures, Pastorius put a bit of finesse and élan into his arts-and-crafts experiment.

* * *

Despite the optimism of Pastorius' reformist impulses (a religious and secular mix of early Enlightenment ideas), his life and writings reveal the deep personal and intellectual insecurities of his formative years in a society experiencing rapid social and technological change as well as massive wartime destruction. Framed by the Thirty Years' War (1618-48) and the Palatine Devastation of 1688, these were years of apocalyptic angst and millennialist hope, an ambiguous intellectual climate Pastorius reflected in his early reports and letters on Pennsylvania geography, government and culture, begun en route to America and published in Germany as *Umständige Geographische Beschreibung der zu allerletzt erfundenen Provintz Pen[n]sylvaniae*, 1700 (A Detailed Geographical Description of the Most Recently Discovered Province of Pennsylvania, subsequently cited as *Beschreibung Pennsylvaniae*). [9]

Political and spiritual decline on the Continent, he reported aboard ship for Pennsylvania and in later correspondence, had brought Europe to the verge of self-destruction. Like Lot escaping Sodom's annihilation or Aeneas fleeing the flames of Troy, Pastorius was driven from his homeland by fears he could no longer ignore – and he was drawn by hopes for a radically new beginning in Pennsylvania. He was part of a bold experiment tapping human potential ignored in previous Western societies. The experiment did not completely succeed, he later admitted, yet it succeeded more than it failed, and in ways not fully anticipated – nudging history closer to the era of modern democratic societies.

In his Pennsylvania scholarship, Pastorius countered the temptation to ignore the past while reshaping the future, a basic limitation of radically new beginnings. His zealous commitment to transmitting traditional learning – along with new ideas – reflects European cultural anxieties exacerbated in an American colony so far removed from its cultural and political sources, so tenuously bound to the past. His mammoth "Beehive" manuscript, begun in 1696 as a commonplace book of language and philosophy for the edification of his sons, grew to encyclopedic proportions as Pastorius emulated apian diligence for two and a half decades. [10] He jok-

ingly describes it as an "*Alvearium Anglicanum Apiculae Germanopolitanae*," thus identifying himself as the 'little Germantown bee' who gathered the 'nectar' of ancient, medieval and modern learning, filling the 'hive' with biblical piety, classical speculation and morality, scholastic syllogism, rationalist skepticism and neoclassical wit.

His simple explanation on the book's first page: "For as much as our Memory is not Capable to retain all remarkable Words, Phrases, Sciences, or Matters of Moment, which we do hear and read, It becomes every good Scholar to have a Common-Place-Book, & therein to Treasure up whatever Deserves his Notice, &c [etc]." He compiled from the writings of numerous English Quakers and lesser-known contemporaries such as the English millennialist Jane Meade and the Pennsylvania almanac maker Daniel Leeds as well as authors like Virgil and Ovid, Saint Augustine and Thomas Aquinas, Cornelius Agrippa, Theophrastus Paracelcus and Jakob Boehme, Francis Bacon, John Locke, and the essayists Joseph Addison and Richard Steele – but he did not limit himself to the printed word.

His original purpose was, Pastorius writes, "to collect common proverbs, witty sentences, wise and godly sayings, [and] the like substantial marrow of other men's writing" in approximately one thousand alphabetically arranged "honeycombs" – sections or boxes created by drawing horizontal lines across each folio page, and filling them with the entries gleaned on subjects from absence and authority to zeal and zenith, thus yielding a typical page with commentary on cowards, "could" (i.e., the faint-hearted), crabs, the cradle, craftiness, "creature," credit, crime, criticism, crosses, the cross of Christ, and crowns. In the process of collecting, however, he became so impressed with "the copiousness of words, phrases & expressions in the English" that he eventually attempted to create both a selective commonplace encyclopedia – predominantly English but with citations in Latin, German and other languages as well – and a comprehensive English thesaurus in one alphabetical sequence: "I took as much pains & patience as to import into this alphabetical *alvearium* all & singular terms, idioms, manners of stile and speech used" in English.

As his alphabetical honeycombs filled up, he added a numerical sequence, both new headings and continuations of the old, that eventually contained more than 3000 supplementary sections averaging, conservatively estimated, two dozen entries each. Religious, political and scientific themes are treated along with mundane reality, be it courtship or cookery, falsehood or friendship, in a compendium of knowledge comparable in scope and breadth of opinion with many of the Renaissance and early Enlightenment encyclopedias which it emulates. [11] Pastorius distinguishes between his philosophical "honey," sentences and paragraphs quoted for their content, and the "wax" or "hive dross" of the individual words and phrases demonstrating the copiousness of English, yet he gathered "honey" and "dross" with equal determination, thus creating an unparalleled sourcebook on the English language as it was read and spoken in early Pennsylvania. [12] More than any of his other writings, furthermore, the thousands of entries in the "Alphabetical Hive" reveal his ongoing commitment to the delight and instruction of transmitted culture – the wisdom and wit of both the ancients and the moderns, the traditionalists and the innovators of Western civilization.

Yet this zealous scholarship became, in the context of his Pennsylvania life, little more than an exercise in futility, an attempt to sustain a level of cultural attainment made at least partially superfluous by the nature of the new society he was helping

to create. Reflecting a basic shift in his values, the scholar's own sons never acquired the scholarly impulse that kept him at his encyclopedic compilations, or the social prominence deriving from his cultural attainments. Despite his personal influence on the culture of early Philadelphia, the Pastorius family name – along with knowledge of his weighty "Beehive" manuscript – lapsed nearly into obscurity.

* * *

The extent of Pastorius' contribution to colonial American culture has only gradually been gaining recognition. Even today, at least two of the minor hallmarks of Americana traceable to Pastorius are often attributed instead to Benjamin Franklin (1706-90): "A penny saved is a penny got" is listed under "Parsimony" in the "Alphabetical Hive," and Poem 116 offers both German and English versions of "Early to bed, early to rise, / Makes a man healthy, wealthy and wise." [13] Pastorius is best known in ethnic circles, where he has been acclaimed as "the father of German-American immigration" ever since Oswald Seidensticker discovered a cache of Pastorius documents in 1870. [14] Largely due to a paucity of reliable information about his life and works, there have been relatively few attempts to assess his achievement for a general audience.

His wide reading and scholarly attainment have led to comparisons with Cotton Mather (1663-1728), "the universal genius of New England," who owned around 3000 books and wrote 450 printed works. James Truslow Adams, for example, concluded that Pastorius "was, perhaps, the most learned man of his day in America – not forgetting Cotton Mather – and he was far in advance of the New England divine in the breadth of his education." Carl Bridenbaugh noted the human context of this learning: "For sheer force of intellect coupled with sympathetic insight into human nature Pastorius, perhaps the most learned man who ever came to live in America, highly deserves attention." And Anthony Grafton recently provided a transatlantic context: "In the English-speaking world around 1700, Pastorius stands out as a [commonplace] compiler for his riotous polyglot learning and his manically associative habit of mind." Lawrence A. Cremin has identified Pastorius' shift from classical values to "a much more utilitarian view" of education in Pennsylvania, and Hans Fantel relates this insight to later political developments: "It was largely thanks to Pastorius and his group [of scholarly Pennsylvanians] that Philadelphia became America's first center of open intellectual inquiry." As Sydney E. Ahlstrom has concluded, "Pastorius was one of the most fascinating and profound figures in [early] Pennsylvania." [15]

Pastorius' literary reputation has attracted limited attention since 1872, when Oswald Seidensticker noted that "most of the poetry … would bear being printed." In 1897 and 1898 Marion Dexter Learned published more than a hundred of Pastorius' poems in *Americana Germanica*, an ethnic journal that escaped the attention of most American literature scholars. "The range of Pastorius' literary activity," Learned insisted in his 1908 Pastorius biography, "has scarcely found a parallel in America from [his] time to the present day," but Learned turned to other matters without elucidating this claim, and without commenting on Pastorius' verse. In 1938 Carl Bridenbaugh concluded that Pastorius' "remarkable versatility made of him the leading poet of seventeenth century America" and one of the best in the colonial period as a whole (although in a general study of colonial society with no room for details on Pastorius). [16] Two Ph.D. dissertations began the task of eval-

uating the poetry, and in 1948 the *Literary History of the United States* encouraged further work, noting that Pastorius' "contribution to colonial literature deserves to be better known." [17]

Two decades later Harrison T. Meserole's anthology of colonial American poetry brought Pastorius to the attention of general readers for the first time. Meserole offered a sampling of Pastorius' English verse and evaluated his poetic achievement:

> [Pastorius'] wealth of garden and herbal imagery, his rollicking humor, his regularly gentle but occasionally sharp satire, and his experiments in rhythms, structures, and rebus effects establish him not only as the first poet of consequence in Pennsylvania but also as one of the most important poets of early America. [18]

In 1982, Christoph E. Schweitzer completed the first critical edition of any of Pastorius' manuscript works: *Deliciae Hortenses or Garden-Recreations and Voluptates Apianae*, a well-annotated text of two small multilingual volumes of verse (and occasionally prose) reflections on gardening and apiculture. [19] Appended to the text, a photographic reproduction of the manuscripts displays the poet's thoughtful and playful use of calligraphy, sketches and textual arrangement, and also reveals the difficulty of deciphering many of Pastorius' cramped lines, written when paper was scarce, a difficulty that has hampered the editing of other Pastorius texts. [20] Schweitzer has briefly analyzed the wit and dexterity of Pastorius' German verse, demonstrating that Pastorius "must be taken seriously as an author of German poetry, especially of epigrams." [21]

Since this study was first written, greater strides have been made, most notably the inclusion of Pastorius in *The New Oxford Book of Seventeenth Century Verse*, 1992, and in *American Poetry: The Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, 2007; a generous sampling of "The Beehive" in *The Multilingual Anthology of American Literature*, 2000; a high-resolution online version of "The Beehive" at the University of Pennsylvania, produced by 2009; and an impressive collection of Pastorius' manuscripts available online at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania as of 2012. [22]

* * *

Even aside from his scholarly zeal and poetic dexterity, Pastorius is of interest today for the sheer breadth of his experience, reflecting the historical context of his unusual personal growth. He absorbed the ideas of the early Enlightenment, helped to implement many of them in Pennsylvania, and contributed to what became an ongoing transatlantic debate of underlying cultural values. He knew the well delineated social order prescribed by aristocratic lords as well as a form of the 'mob rule' they feared, and it was the latter that became the accepted reality of Pennsylvania government in his lifetime. As a young lawyer in Franconia, he felt implicated in the injustices of a feudal system that oppressed the peasants on the land they worked for their overlords; as a land agent, bailiff and law clerk in Pennsylvania, he enabled former peasants to create farms of their own, altering their habits and attitudes in new terrain. In Germany and Pennsylvania, respectively, he experienced dogmatic state religion and relative freedom of conscience; the controls of political absolutism and the looseness of frontier settlement; a densely-populated and war-torn environment, and a sparsely-populated land that seemed large enough for all, and thus with the requisites of peace and prosperity. [23]

Reflecting these divergent influences, Pastorius combined common spiritual values with high culture, yet revealed typical predilections by praising the unspoiled integrity of the Delaware or Lenape Indians in Pennsylvania and deriding the arrogance of the learned. Although he had been part of a learned elite amid German cultural disparities that reinforced widespread belief in inherent inferiority and superiority, he challenged such convictions by teaching at Philadelphia and Germantown primary schools and offering Germantown evening classes for adults as well – all part of William Penn's plans (albeit not fully implemented) for a society in which free public education would bridge the gap between upper and lower classes and reduce the tensions and frustrations prevalent in highly stratified societies. [24] Even at the most personal level, Pastorius, entitled to learned esteem and privilege in Germany, broke well-established family tradition by enrolling his two Pennsylvania sons as apprentices in the trades of weaving and shoemaking, and encouraging them to live as ordinary citizens in Germantown.

As if to explain these sharp contrasts, he once quoted, among the 'honey' of his "Beehive" commonplaces, a seriocomic adage that had already gained currency among the independent souls who settled early Pennsylvania: "Many a learned head in Europe is ignorant of what our clowns know in America." [25] Steeped in European tradition yet promoting social innovation in Pennsylvania, Pastorius continually grappled with the "radical cultural question" that – both motive and result of a moral and material quest – was emerging in immigrant American society generally, challenging authority and tradition and not infrequently displaying contempt for elitist cultural attainment. [26]

He saw this quest as precarious, demanding dexterity and judgement, but he believed in its potential, and so did many who followed. A few decades after he moved to Pennsylvania, European liberals looked to the province as "a successful experiment in the life of reason, . . . an illustration of the belief that man could lead the good life without monarchy, feudalism, or religious uniformity." [27] And with Enlightenment ideals largely relegated to speculative philosophy in Europe, the Pennsylvania experiment attracted increasing numbers of Pastorius' compatriots. During the eighteenth century so many Germans poured into Pennsylvania, then being described despite immigrant hardships as "the best poor man's country in the world," that even level-headed Benjamin Franklin feared German would replace his native tongue in the province. Subsequent German immigration grew to such an extent that, by the 1980s, Americans claiming German descent constituted the largest ethnic group in the United States. [28]

The pragmatic idealism of ethnic Americans like Franz Daniel Pastorius adds significance to this historical phenomenon. Synthesizing biblical Christianity, traditional and Enlightenment learnedness, and the societal innovation of Pennsylvania, he evolved a liberal personal credo responsive to the desires for self-realization and social order that together sustain any vibrant culture. In an era of moral, political and economic uncertainty not unlike our own, as the opportunities and dangers of technological development were creating a modern mentality, he recognized that personal fulfillment involves both the intellect and the spirit, both individual assertions of will and an acceptance of universal interdependencies – a complex awareness that has not lost any of the relevance and urgency he gave it three centuries ago.

* * *

Despite his historical relevance and the intrinsic interest of his life and writings, Pastorius has not been examined comprehensively or coherently. Preliminary biographies by Oswald Seidensticker and Samuel Pennypacker near the end of the nineteenth century were supplemented, in 1908, by Marion Dexter Learned's *Life of Francis Daniel Pastorius*, more of a documentary catalogue than an interpretive biography. [29] None of the early biographers dealt with the evasions and misleading rhetoric of Pastorius' transatlantic writings, explored the humor and wisdom of his mature scholarship and poetry revealing the most intriguing aspects of his thought and personality, or resolved what were viewed as troubling inconsistencies in his conduct and character. Other articles about Pastorius up to the 1980s, many of them filiopietistic and derivative, added little significant detail. [30]

More recently, though, Pastorius has been generating renewed interest. Patrick M. Erben, Anthony Grafton and Brooke Palmieri have delved into "The Beehive," analyzing Pastorius' bookishness and his methods of collecting and compiling knowledge. Grafton traces the broad context of European learnedness that informs Pastorius, and Erben places him in the context of ethnic Pennsylvanians who sought to build community out of linguistic and religious diversity. Alfred L. Brophy examines Pastorius' legal activity in Pennsylvania, showing how he absorbed English legal procedures and supported Quaker efforts to simplify the law and make it accessible, and to enhance fairness and justice. Lyman W. Riley and Brophy, furthermore, have used Pastorius' "Beehive" citations to elucidate Quaker book culture in Pennsylvania, and Margo M. Lambert (among other things) traces his Pietist and Quaker influences through "Beehive" citations and some of the cited books. The growing interest in Pastorius can also be seen in numerous new reprints and online versions of his *Beschreibung Pennsylvaniae* and the early studies by Pennypacker, Learned and others. [31]

This study reconstructs the historical and cultural context of Pastorius' early life in Germany, and traces the contours of his biography. It is based on his Pennsylvania correspondence, autobiographical writing, poetry and scholarship as well as documentary evidence and historical evaluation from a great variety of German sources: government files, studies of folk culture and local history, religious and political monographs, baptismal and academic records, funeral sermons, biographies. (All translations not otherwise attributed are my own.) Throughout the book, epigraphs from Pastorius' writing and scholarship provide reflective commentary, and they also highlight many of his intriguing epigrams and poems. A prologue describes Pastorius' father Melchior Adam and his search for salvation in Hapsburg Europe. Chapter One examines contradictory approaches to Pastorius as a scholar-poet, social critic and pragmatic immigrant, and it introduces the Franconian and German culture of his youth, indicating historical reasons for his conversion to Lutheran Pietism in 1679 and his emigration in 1683.

Chapter Two describes Pastorius' childhood and youth, noting the vitality of his community and family life, and his disciplined growth from childhood spontaneity to an identity anticipating adult responsibilities as a Lutheran burgomaster's son in the free imperial city of Windsheim. The chapter identifies tensions involving authoritarianism and latent resistance to authority especially in Pastorius' Gymnasium schooling and in the complex relationship of father and son, and gives complementary views on upbringing from his Pennsylvania writings. Chapter Three traces his student career at Nürnberg and other German universities (1668-76), studying

philosophy, language and law, observing a wartime Reichstag (or Imperial Diet) in Regensburg, and attaining a doctorate in civil and canon law. This academic milieu reveals learned compulsions related to the tensions of his upbringing. The chapter notes his courtly delights and cultural attainments as well as their social costs, and examines Pastorius' commentary, including commonplace entries and poetry on esthetic pleasures, and satire and criticism epitomized in Gospel references to rich Dives and the beggar Lazarus. A detailed description of his mature poetry of flirtation and sensuality augments his fervent social criticism.

Chapter Four presents Pastorius' adult experience of Europe and America, describing the start of his law career during two years of strife in Windsheim (1677-79), when his family and friends helped to suppress a popular insurrection against abuses of oligarchic rule. It examines the complicity and guilt that led him to reject the home and community he dearly loved, and to join the learned Pietists of Frankfurt am Main, and it describes the baroque tensions he continued to encounter as he practiced law in Frankfurt and the Palatinate and toured Europe (1679-83). His predictions of a European Armageddon (1683-84), reflecting these tensions, are explained on several levels, including the destructive potential of the era of the Thirty Years' War and the 1688 Palatine devastation. The chapter analyzes Pastorius' reports and letters from Pennsylvania, in which he piously urges humane reforms and pragmatically describes the economy, politics and society of the province, often focusing on the Lenni Lenape or Delaware tribe. It examines his opposition to black slavery and to the exploitation of Native Americans (and related criticism of European cultural imperialism in India) as well as his praise of material and ethical satisfactions in the New World. This context illumines his personal maturation in Pennsylvania, a diverse and evolving culture with secular influences of neoclassicism and the Enlightenment.

The study as a whole reflects Franconian and European culture through the prism of Pastorius' Pennsylvania writings. Overall, his unique perspective provides a fresh critique of contemporaneous society, religion and politics.

* * *

A 2013 postscript on my approach to Pastorius:

My own background seems relevant here. I grew up in a rural Protestant family. In 1953 (at the age of ten), I was among a dozen or more teens and pre-teens who had revival-meeting conversions and then joined the New Holland (Pennsylvania) Evangelical United Brethren Church. [32] In 1960, pursuing a love of language, I chose to study English literature. I left the church a few years later, and never returned. Yet even as a modern agnostic in graduate school, I was still intrigued by religious themes in authors as varied as Philip Roth, Carson McCullers, James Joyce, Rainer Maria Rilke, William Blake and John Donne.

I encountered Pastorius in a University of California course on Colonial American literature, and later began a Ph.D. dissertation focusing on his poetry. The focus changed during German research as I uncovered his past in Sommerhausen and Windsheim. The critical skills acquired in graduate school helped me to delve into seventeenth-century German history, but I got deeper into the project than intellectual curiosity alone would have justified. My rural Protestant upbringing may have drawn me into Pastorius' Franconian past. It certainly played a role in my research.

Because of it, I was better able to explore his Lutheran roots and Pietist leanings, and to deal with his emotive, and often obscure, moral or religious discourse.

I gradually realized that, on the whole, Pastorius' Pietist message was genuine and legitimate. His rhetoric ultimately meshed with the social reality of his day. With this awareness, I was able to trace his growth to maturity in Franconia, and to refract his message through the historical record. I readily exploited modern German scholarship to fill in the details of his cultural biography.

CHAPTER ONE
New Beginnings in the Old World

1.1 "To escape disaster in time and eternity": Leaving Germany in 1683

> Ever in pilgrimage, and yet never from home.
>
> -- "Pilgrimage"
>
> To quest as a spaniel.
>
> -- "Dog"
>
> [The Greek philosopher] Anaxagorus being asked, why he had no more love for his country than to leave it? Wrong me not, saith he, my greatest care is my country, pointing his finger towards heaven. Culpeper, p. 428 . . . Joseph [in Egypt, Gen. 39-50] found more kindness and friendship in a strange land than he had in his own country and among his own brethren. Genes., p. 72.
>
> -- "Native Country"
>
> Cold winter's gone, the pleasant spring begun;
> Why fear we frost, and are so near the sun?
>
> -- Epigram 56

During the spring of 1683 Franz Daniel Pastorius, then a 31-year-old bachelor practicing law in Frankfurt am Main, reached a decision that altered the course of his life and added his name to the growing list of European emigrants seeking a new world. [1] It was not an easy decision. To make it, he had to give up the prospect of a comfortable law career, contemplate leaving family, friends and homeland, and accept the insecurities of an ocean voyage and a frontier existence. His plans had begun taking shape the preceding winter when, having returned from his European grand tour, he learned of a venture in international commerce and real estate that several Frankfurt merchants were embarking upon in the English colony of Pennsylvania, established by William Penn (1644-1718) in 1682. As Lutheran Pietists, the merchants embraced a religious movement with progressive social and political

ideals that had taken root in Frankfurt a few years earlier and was increasingly attracting converts. Penn's "holy experiment" thus offered them both religious freedom and economic opportunity, and, as a bold departure from the status quo, appealed to visionary non-merchants as well. Some of the Pietists were already packing for the journey when Pastorius learned of their plans, while others, considering their financial and emotional ties to the homeland, said they would need about a year to prepare for emigration.

Pastorius, a friend of both merchants and visionaries, volunteered to spearhead the operation in Pennsylvania, but first attempted a partial reconciliation with his father, from whom he had been estranged since leaving home in 1679. He repeatedly wrote to Melchior Adam Pastorius in the province of Franconia, presenting his case for emigration, and requesting his father's "consent and approbation," including financial backing (Appendix I). Melchior Adam could not see any advantage to a reconciliation involving even greater separation, yet he was caught in a moral bind, and aware that opposing his son could be self-defeating. Eventually he reluctantly approved the emigration plans he must have considered foolhardy and spiteful, and, in an apparent display of love and contrition, forwarded a "Bill of Exchange of 250 rixdollars," the money Franz Daniel needed to arrange a 1000-acre purchase of Pennsylvania land as part of the Frankfurt venture.

Young Pastorius accepted the money, but decided against a final leave-taking from his family in southern Germany, instead shipping them a token of his disturbed affection, "a large Chest full of Books & other Rarities by me heretofore gathered" (Appendix I), thus ameliorating the logistical as well as the emotional strains of his removal to the New World. Packing books, clothing, and household and personal effects too numerous for the journey (and deciding which 'rarities' to leave behind), he could sympathize with the Pietists who needed more time to prepare for departure, and with those who admitted this new beginning was too radical for them. Yet he readied himself for departure, and bid farewell to Frankfurt friends, who gave him cash and practical gifts including a butter dish, a pocket watch, and a flintlock rifle betokening these friendships interrupted or terminated as well as the civilized comforts then being relinquished and frontier exigencies anticipated.

On 2 April 1683 Pastorius signed a contract as sole American agent for the Pietist merchants, collected starting capital, and set off down the Rhine toward Rotterdam and a tentative port call across the Channel in London. Along the way he recruited a party of nine German, Dutch and English employees for the Frankfurt enterprise, the workmen and maids who would build makeshift dwellings, clear the land and plant Indian corn to ensure the survival of the first immigrant families. He also met two groups of future emigrants, including some of the Mennonite or Quaker craftsmen at Krefeld, Germany, who, independent of the Frankfurt Pietists, would be departing for America with their families three months later. Despite the Krefelders' distrust of his upper-class Lutheranism, Pastorius managed to lay the groundwork for future cooperation in America. By working closely with Germans of various callings and confessions, he hoped to establish "a little Germany" – self-contained and essentially independent – within the larger colony of Pennsylvania.

After a two-week stop-over in Rotterdam, home of Penn's Dutch affiliates, and a month of sailing preparations in London, where Pennsylvania agents sold him approximately 20,000 acres of land for private or communal estates and future

resale to emigrating Germans, Pastorius and his party sailed from Gravesend to Deal aboard the "America" on June 6, the preliminary leg of their journey, and their ship was soon heading across the Atlantic. About a decade later, well established in Pennsylvania, he summarized this undertaking with a third-person report in an even-tempered style typifying much of his American writing:

> The entire German Company or society had commissioned the eager traveler *Franciscum Danielum Pastorium*, *J.U. licentiam* [licentiate of civil and canon law], as its authorized attorney. He set out from Frankfurt am Main and arrived in London, concluded a purchase, received a land deed with instructions for the surveyor, and, under God's escort, happily [or: successfully] sailed across the ocean. [2]

During a port-side layover at Deal on June 6, 1683, with a foretaste of the ocean voyage upon him, Pastorius had chosen a different style, also typical of his writing, as he tried to explain his departure in a letter to his father and friends in his former home town of Windsheim, Germany:

> After I had seen my fill of the regions and provinces of Europe and taken to heart the impending *motus belli* [passions of war] and the disturbing disruptions and transformations that war will bring to my fatherland, I allowed myself to be moved by the special urging of the Almighty to cross the ocean to Pennsylvania, living in the hope that this undertaking of mine will work out to the best for me and my dear brothers and sisters and, most of all, enhance the glory of God (which is my aim above all else), especially since the worldly impudence and sin of Europe are ever increasing from one day to the next, which is why the righteous judgement of God cannot be delayed for very much longer.
>
> In all of my doings I have truly taken these vanities and impertinences to heart and, in deep meditation, pondered where they will ultimately lead us, realizing that life and limb itself, worldly possessions, honor and sensual pleasures must all yield to death and corruption. But once an immortal soul is lost, it is lost forever. *Semel periisse aeternum est.* [Once to be lost is forever.]
>
> Thus, to escape disaster in time and eternity, I have all the more willingly set out upon this journey across the great ocean under God's holy guidance, and, along with nine individuals in my care, sailed from Deal in the company of various families of good standing on June 7, 1683, trusting that the Lord, who to this very hour has so richly blessed me and commanded his angels to watch over me, will govern my going out and coming in so that I will also be able to praise His holy name on the far side of the sea in unknown places.
>
> I thus commit my respected father and all my dear relatives to the protective hand of God, and as soon as He helps me across to Pennsylvania I will report about everything in a more detailed account. Should it be His holy will to claim me along the way, however, I am ready with all my heart, and I therefore bid my father the farewell befitting a child, again thanking him obediently for all the love and devotion he has so abundantly given me; may God repay him for this in time and eternity.
>
> One of the things I recall having seen on my grand tour was a tombstone with an epitaph which reads as follows:
>
> Der ich bey frembder Grufft so manche Schrifft gelesen,
> Und deren gute Zahl in dieses Buch gebracht,
> Weiß nicht wo? wann? und wie? ich selbst werd verwesen,
> Drum gib ich Welt-lust dir nun tausend gute Nacht.
> [Since I, who have read many an inscription at foreign crypts,
> And collected a goodly number of them in this book,

> Do not know where? when? or how? I myself will decay,
> I therefore bid thee, worldly desire, a thousand times good night.]
>
> If for this reason we do not see each other again beneath the heavens, then it will be *in* heaven, where we may accomplish God's will differently than here on earth, which I desire with all my soul; and I remain until death
>
> My respected father's
>
> most truly obedient son,
>
> F. D. P [3]

Pastorius thus reveals, in his earliest correspondence, the pragmatic determination and troubled idealism of his Pennsylvania enterprise.

1.2 Scholarly Simplifications of Pastorius' Piety and Worldliness

> The love of life, a sweet and sour desire,
> Is in man's breast an universal fire.
>
> -- Epigram 2330.9

> Twelve pennyworth of flesh with five shillings of cookery may happen to make a fashionable dish. [Wm.] Penn. They sin to their hability [ability; i.e., by overeating]. Cook . . . builds strange fabrics in pasta, towers and castles, which are offered to the assault of valiant teeth. The receipts [recipes] of cookery are swelled to a volume, but a good stomach excels them all. Max[im] 56 . . . General sauces, and sauces for every particular roasted or boiled creature. See Closet, p. 136.
>
> -- "Cookery"

> True God and true man . . . Christ was before [King] David was, for he was David's Lord, and David was before Christ, for Christ was the son of David, though David did not beget him. Christ had a father and mother, and yet he was without father and mother; he was the Son of Man, and yet no man's son. The son of God's desires and good pleasure, in whom he has heaped up the fullness of grace, and treasures of all perfection.
>
> -- "Christ" [4]

Although Pastorius' "Alphabetical Hive" entries on Christ and cookery indicate a healthy involvement in the life and thought of his day, they can also be equated with the contrast between his emotional letter of 1683 and the level-headed summary of his emigration written years later, and with similar contrasts throughout his life and writings. Pastorius enjoyed living fully in the physical world around him – whether that entailed traveling in Europe, launching an American business venture, growing turnips, muskmelons or forget-me-nots in his Germantown garden, drinking wine, smoking a clay pipe, savoring fresh Pennsylvania strawberries in West Indian rum, or encouraging female flirtation and male camaraderie. [5] Yet he also joined a religious movement that rejected a number of the worldly indulgences of his European contemporaries, and he freely used a rhetoric of piety to attack what he regarded as the moral inadequacies of European society. This rhetoric emerges repeatedly in his transatlantic correspondence with his father and friends in Germany, and it can easily mislead readers into forgetting that he lived a robust worldly existence even as he wrote his jeremiads and diatribes, especially since the grace and humor of his mature writing (most of it unpublished) has been largely ignored.

Because this pious rhetoric coincides with personal evasions, the transatlantic writings have remained virtually inaccessible even to historians, and they have inevitably been misinterpreted. In the letters to his father constituting the bulk of the published correspondence, Pastorius was too respectful to challenge paternal authority and the dominant values of German society in literal and readily-comprehended language, yet too headstrong to keep his controversial opinions to himself. Adopting a pious literary style, one of the most popular and respected in his day, he was able to combine the subtleties of indirect statement and veiled allusion with the persuasive force of colorful metaphor, emotive language, and biblical authority. And the deep convictions underlying this stylistic choice made it all the more convincing.

Pastorius communicated effectively with his father and the tradition-bound culture he had left behind, stimulating German-American immigration in the process, yet his use of a pious rhetoric has led to doubts and confusions about his character and the merits of his contribution to transatlantic culture. Gertrude S. Kimball, for example, revealed her inability to take Pastorius seriously by refusing to translate accurately his criticism of the scholastic Aristotelians cited on page 255 (note 9), and his biographer Marion D. Learned was clearly troubled by contradictions between Pastorius' apparent religiosity and his broad cultural accomplishments. Commenting on Pastorius' reiterated claim that God would soon destroy Europe, for instance, Learned refused to admit that Pastorius was swayed by Pietist millennialism during the 1680s:

> The impression of impending European disaster, so deeply engraved on Pastorius' mind, is not to be regarded as evidence that he entertained Chiliastic views of the approaching end of the world, but rather as a prophetic presentiment of the catastrophe which culminated in the French Revolution. [6]

Learned avoided basic aspects of Pastorius' robust personality and culture as well as his millennialist radicalism, and this scholarly evasiveness yielded a distorted image of Pastorius that has prevailed despite an occasional corrective touch such as that by Julius Goebel, who in 1904 sensed a "completely new aspect" ("ganz neue Seite") of Pastorius in the classical learning and rich humor of two uncollected letters, and hoped it would offset the prevalent image of a "somewhat humdrum and prosaic [German-American] hero despite all of his respectability and honesty." [7]

A few evaluations since then (cited on pages 7-8 and 10) reveal greater complexity, but until the 1980s Pastorius, for the most part, was caught in the time warp of turn-of-the-century research, which by ignoring or simplifying his beliefs produced a flat character whose piety has been overemphasized in most of the accounts of him up to the present. In his 1983 history of the Krefeld emigrants, for example, Ernst Köppen gives this grossly misleading picture of Pastorius on the book's very first page:

> His clothing was made of coarse fabric and tailored in the plainest fashion. He had a friendly greeting for everyone passing his way, but of course he never once raised his hat. [8]

Misreading the transatlantic writings, Köppen erroneously concluded that Pastorius must have looked and acted like a simple Quaker laborer or Mennonite peasant as he approached Krefeld on 11 April 1683, yet nothing is farther from the truth. [9] Tipping his hat, especially before his superiors, was one of the most basic and deep-seated forms of propriety Pastorius had learned as a Gymnasium pupil, and there is nothing in his personality or culture to suggest that he would have

abandoned the habit before arriving in Quaker Pennsylvania, where his upper-class manner and dress, along with his learnedness and the land holdings of a genteel farmer, won him the confidence and respect of William Penn and other members of the Quaker elite, and among the average citizens marked him as a natural leader in their society. As this study points out, it was in fact his keen awareness of the requirements of social conformity that created problems for Pastorius in Germany; if he had been able to reject prevailing customs and live freely as a nonconformist within his own society – if he could have resisted the urge to tip his hat – he would not have had his particular reasons for leaving Europe in the first place.

Pastorius has thus been one of the least understood of colonial American writers even though he left voluminous and expressive testimony to his personality and values. Rather than bogging down in apparent contradictions of personality, this study accepts them as hallmarks of his complex humanity and moves on, assuming that analysis of his personal development will adequately explain them – especially if the analysis is comprehensive, refracting the documented historical and autobiographical evidence through the commentary of his multifaceted Pennsylvania writings.

1.3 Mixed Attitudes toward Germany

1.3.1 "The bond of a good conscience with God": An 'Unholy' Baptism Repudiated

> Felicity is near. But once begin
> A virtuous life, you'll find it all within.
>
> -- Epigram 103

> Hypocrites make clean the outside of the cup. Matt. 23:25 . . . The true Christian's sorrow [i.e., concern] is not water but purification of the heart by faith. I Pet. 3:21, Acts 15:9 . . . They lay hold of the shadow and figure instead of the substance, of the shell instead of the kernel. Shewen, p. 78.
>
> -- "Baptism"

> Original sin, a term not found in Scripture; nor grounded therein. The seed of sin is transmitted from Adam unto all men, but it is imputed to none, no, not to infants, until they actually join with it by sinning. Barclay, p. 41, 93. For Adam's eating [of the 'apple'], all the children's teeth must be set on edge, contrary to what God saith. Jer. 34:29, Ezek. 18:2 . . . We are not to look so much how sin came in, as how we may get it out. Geo. Keith, Reexam. . . . Original sin is a stirring evil, and never lies dormant. Boehm, Orig., p. 11 . . . The knowledge of our fall in Adam and of our recovery in Christ are the two great hinges whereon the whole structure of Christian religion moves . . . Ibid., p. 20. There is a real communication of Adam's corruption, and so there must be a real communication of Christ's righteousness. Ibid., p. 27.
>
> -- "Original Sin"

Approaching Pastorius through his writings, this study has thus far noted two puzzling contrasts. Radically different descriptions of his emigration reflect general stylistic contrasts in his prose and poetry, just as the robust living demonstrated in his poetry and scholarly jottings contrasts with the didactic morality of his transatlantic correspondence. A third basic contrast – differentiating his correspondence from his poetry and scholarship – will also be dealt with in this study, further indi-

cating that cross-cultural analysis may resolve the apparent inconsistencies in Pastorius' character and conduct.

Privately collecting the wit and wisdom of others in his "Alphabetical Hive," Pastorius calmly and generously accepted opposing views, postponing final judgement on the nature of truth until all the evidence could be heard. Thus his entries on original sin include the somber undertones of Lutheran theology in the Pietist writings of Anton Wilhelm Boehme (1673-1722), a German chaplain at the English court of Queen Anne and King George I (where the final 'e' was dropped from his name), along with the enlightened spirituality of the English Quaker Robert Barclay (1648-90), a satirical or skeptical view from an unidentified source, and the pragmatic stance of Scotsman George Keith (1638-1716), a Quaker in Pennsylvania from 1685 to 1692 (and later an Anglican). An even broader range of opinion can be observed in many of his manuscript 'honeycombs' (such as the entries on atheism cited on pages 159-60), and his poetry also explores a wide range of issues in a predominantly calm and patient manner, humorous, skeptical and compassionate. Commenting on German existence in his letters, however, he was typically uncalm and impatient toward the views of others, indicating that a verdict had already been reached.

Pastorius displays this impatience while greeting one of his Franconian godchildren in a letter of 30 March 1694, to his father Melchior Adam, then lord mayor of Windsheim. Since the passage refers to the very beginnings of life in the Franconian society of his day, it reflects on the traditions that both enriched and burdened young Pastorius' life in Germany, and begins to explain the ambiguous emotions accompanying his 1683 emigration. Pastorius, 42 years old and living with his 35-year-old wife Ennecke and their sons Johann Samuel, 4, and Heinrich, 2, wrote the passage in response to a letter he had received from a 23-year-old lawyer who would later become burgomaster of the free imperial city – an office Pastorius himself would have attained if he had followed the well-established traditions of the city that had been his home from 1659 to 1679:

> On Feb. 8 of this year 1694 I received a few lines from my godson Franz Jacob Mercklein, whom I had raised out of the font of holy baptism in my eighteenth year, before I myself had been baptized by the Holy Spirit or become a Christian. Please give him my friendly greetings, and earnestly exhort him to observe faithfully and zealously the covenant I then made with God on his behalf, and to resist the desire to break it, noting as well that I then renounced the devil, the world and the lusts of the flesh in his name; for this first promise is far, far more important than all other commitments, and true baptism is not the [ceremonial] cleansing of impurity from the flesh, but rather the bond of a good conscience with God, &c [etc]. [10]

For Franz Daniel Pastorius in 1694, a brief note from his namesake Franz Jakob Mercklein (1670-1742), who was only an eight-year-old child when they last saw each other in Windsheim, triggered emotions complicated by memories of his Franconian past and a present awareness, in his Pennsylvania life, of humane values he had not been able to apply while living with his upper-class family and friends in Germany. Emboldened by this juxtaposition, Pastorius employed a pietistic tone to offer blunt moral advice, and in the process he seemingly contradicted the facts of his own biography.

Despite his claim that he had not been spiritually baptized by the age of eighteen, both family and church records confirm that a Lutheran clergyman baptized

Franz Daniel at the Church of Saint Bartholomew in Sommerhausen on 27 September 1651, the day following his birth in this rural Franconian village. [11] The real water and the immanent Word of this rite, orthodox Lutherans maintained, cleansed the infant of the original sin and eternal guilt he had inherited from Adam, and conferred divine grace upon him, thus joining him with the dead and resurrected body of Christ and the visible community of His church in this world. [12] The baby was passively involved in the ritual, which also involved his father and the two godfathers who through their professed faith sponsored Franz Daniel before God, and through their social stature lent significance to the occasion. Doctor Melchior Adam Pastorius chose as godfathers for his first-born son a colleague who shared his vocation as a jurist and the young Graf who was his Sommerhausen lord, then noted their names and titles in his record of family history, and commemorated Franz Daniel's redemption through the blood of Christ in a Latin anagram verse of his own composition. [13]

Beginning with this baptism, Melchior Adam taught, and for a number of years his son diligently learned, the particular mix of worldly and spiritual values reiterated in so many aspects of Franz Daniel's upbringing in Sommerhausen and Windsheim. But Franz Daniel's letter of 30 March 1694 shows that he eventually asserted independent values precluding a role as an obedient son in his Franconian homeland. By denying the spirituality of his infant baptism, Pastorius challenged one of the most fundamental dogmas of his old community.

The German readers of *Beschreibung Pennsylvaniae*, after all (the published source of this letter), knew perfectly well that an ordained clergyman had admitted him into the Lutheran church by baptizing him in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit: How else could he have later served as a baptismal sponsor? So they could not help inferring that Pastorius was denying the efficacy of church baptism and disparaging the Christianity of the established church. These readers knew that each inhabitant of the Lutheran state was baptized as a sign of acceptance into the community and, in practice, of subservience to it, and they generally accepted the orthodox Lutheran doctrine that any baptism performed by a minister of the state church was genuine and irrevocable, a holy sacrament ordained by God.

Writing from America, Pastorius was free to challenge this doctrine with a simple and far-reaching heresy: His church baptism had not been effused with the Holy Spirit, and he had not been a Christian in his Franconian youth. As corollaries to this, he elsewhere reports that he was brought to Christ by Lutheran Pietists in Frankfurt, and states that Franconian society, and Europe generally, ignored the real values of Christianity.

1.3.2 The Self-imposed 'Exile' of a German 'Alien'

> Only those noble souls are truly free,
> That can deny themselves their liberty.
>
> -- Epigram 2325.4

> If it be my duty to love my country, I must be kind also to my countrymen: If a veneration be due the whole, so is a piety also to the parts; we are all members of one body, &c. Seneca, p. 415. The place where I first drew the vital air. [The people] among whom I have received my natural breath. *Vincit amor patriae*. [He prevails over (or demonstrates) love of country.]

> Virgil. Nature has ingrafted in every creature an affection to the place whence it had its birth and beginning. Genes., p. 71.
>
> -- "Native Country"
>
> A stranger, though never so long conversant amongst the English, carrieth evermore a watchword upon his tongue to descry him by.
>
> -- "Language"

In his reports and letters, Pastorius asserts his right as an individual to reject the standards of the community, yet this was a right not commonly recognized in his day. Fully aware of European constraints on the individual, he felt impelled to give up his membership in the community before freely asserting his individual rights. His rejection of communal standards thus involved a history of painful separation – deep emotions that can hardly be fathomed today. Although the Franconian community of his day demanded conformity of its members, it also offered them a sense of belonging rooted in the ritual and symbolism of communal life – deep and lasting bonds forged in vital daily contact, celebrated in boisterous festivities, and consecrated through sacramental observances of baptism and holy communion and the burial of the dead. Those who chose to remain in this closely-knit community could certainly understand why Pastorius inevitably employed a highly-charged emotional tone to express the morality that had forced him to break, at least physically, his bonds with the past.

Because of this sense of belonging, Pastorius for some time considered returning to Germany from Pennsylvania, "this then uncouth land," where he was "an Alien" in self-imposed "Exile" among Anglo-Americans, conversing with Quaker leaders in Latin or French until he became "a Stammerer of the English Tongue" (Poem 359, written 1714). Such thoughts inevitably led to biblical and classical consolations. All Christians are sojourners, pilgrims and travelers on earth, he writes (quoting the Psalms and Saint Paul's letter to the Hebrews) in his commonplace entries on banishment in the "Alphabetical Hive," which also describe a number of involuntary exiles. He read about a young idealist who "abjure[d] the realm as a man exterminated from his native country" in the satirical dialogues of Johann Valentin Andreae's *Menippus*, 1618. Citing the popular English writings of Nicholas Culpeper (1616-54), he notes that Aristides the Just, banished from Athens in 482 B.C., "prayed to God that the affairs of his country would go so well as never to need his return." "The very founder of the Roman Empire was an exile," he writes, quoting or paraphrasing a reference to Aeneas from an unidentified source.

"All the transportations of people," and thus all colonists, involve (or are involved in) a sort of "public banishment," Pastorius read in and interpolated from Lucius Seneca's *Morals* (English translation by Roger L'Estrange, 1679), and he quotes at length from the Roman Seneca, banished to Corsica from 41 to 49 A.D. "Thousands" have faced the "sad condition" of being "barred the freedom of [their] own country," Seneca wrote, and Pastorius notes the higher freedom Seneca attributed to exile:

> We have, however, this comfort, that we carry our virtues along with us . . . What signifies the being banished from one spot of ground to another, to a man that has his mind free and his thoughts above? . . . Wherever we go, we have the heavens over our heads, and no further from us than they were before – and so long as we can entertain our eyes and thoughts with those glories, what matter is it what ground we tread upon? (Pp. 330-33.)

Despite such consolations, Pastorius occasionally regretted the lack of cultural continuity in his immigrant existence, especially as his sons Johann Samuel and Heinrich – increasingly addressed, even within the Pastorius household, as John Samuel and Henry – were growing up in Anglo-American society, with little awareness of their German past. In the letter he wrote to Melchior Adam with or on behalf of his sons in 1699 (mentioned on page 14), the two boys expressed their love and concern for the 74-year-old grandfather they had never met, and gave their reasons for wanting to know more about Melchior Adam's life and their family history:

> so that, in case any of us should ever come on over to Germany, if God wills, we would be able to inquire about our relations, and we would also appreciate it if you would greet our dear cousins for us, and persuade them to write us letters frequently, which would please us very much both now and after the death of our father, since we will not lack the assistance of other pious people [who can read and write German] to continue the correspondence. [14]

John Samuel and Henry never went to Germany. This 1699 letter, with Melchior Adam's response, is the last of the extant family correspondence, and there is no evidence that it continued beyond 1702, when Pastorius was informed that his father had died. It may have been the finality of this separation – and his great distance from the friends with whom he infrequently corresponded in his later years – that deepened his longing for native roots, most clearly expressed in Poem 427, written in 1716 after he had read a book (recommended by his learned Anglo-American neighbor Christopher Witt) that seemed to predict Sweden and Turkey would soon subjugate continental Europe. Reflecting an inversion of his fears as a young emigrant, 64-year-old Pastorius was newly intrigued by "The Prophecies of Some, which Europe now alarms [sic], / Predicting Fire and Sword, and whatsoever harms." Even though he had stopped worrying about God's punishment of Europe approximately three decades earlier, and had also stated his belief that hopes for peace in Europe were largely utopian (Poem 414), here he was willing to see the Swedes and the Turks as agents of a renewal that would allow European emigrants or expatriates to return to the place that still seemed home:

> And after they have done, what they had in Command,
> True Worship and true Peace will flourish in that land,
> Whith'r many then shall be Returning out of hand.

Here and elsewhere in his writings, Pastorius reflects at least a few of the difficulties and disappointments of immigrant acculturation, a sense of nostalgia or uprootedness not wholly allayed by Pennsylvania satisfactions. He especially missed the learned camaraderie of upper-class Europe; a few learned Pennsylvanians, he notes in Poem 359, provided "the chiefest Charms, which forc'd me to abide" in the Pennsylvania "wilderness land." And while he praises the colony's political and religious freedom, he criticizes usury and religious strife as well as black slavery and the exploitation of Native Americans. "Alphabetical Hive" entries (in the epigraph below) also reveal his appreciation for the "blunt honesty" of the Germans which, at least in its idealized form, contrasted with the daily compromises of a multi-ethnic and relatively democratic society like Pennsylvania. Reflecting bicultural maturity and an awareness of societal imperfections in Poem 396 (composed in 1715), he writes America as "Amo(a)rica," or "a Countrey bitter-sweet," thus evoking immigrant disappointment or bitterness ("amar") as well as love ("amor"). In this country "the Lord . . . gave us our desires," he concludes here (commemorat-

ing the 32nd anniversary of his arrival in Pennsylvania), but with this qualification (which evokes spiritual as well as physical "safety"):

> I know some thought that Pennsylvania's scheme
> Predicted better, and would of Utopia dream,
> That Extramundane place (by Thomas Morus found,
> Now with old Groenland lost,) where all are safe and sound;
> Yet is it parcel of the old and Cursed Ground. Genesis 3:17.

Such reflections indicate the cultural breadth of a man who was both colonist and expatriate, a man who never fully broke his ties to the homeland he had once rejected.

1.4 An Idyllic and Ravaged Homeland: Franconia in the Age of Absolutism

1.4.1 The Cultural Environment

> [Time] suddenly posts by,
> E'en in an Instant, and the Twinkling of an Eye.
> 'Tis nothing but a Now, a Now that can not last;
> Pronounce it with all Haste, and with all Haste it's past.
> A Weaver's Shuttle is not half so Swift or Fleet,
> This momentary Jot has rather Wings than Feet:
> It vanishes like Smoke, like Dust before the Wind,
> And leaves, as sounding Brass, an Echoing Voice behind.
>
> -- Poem 396 (reflecting, in 1715, on the passage of time, since his German youth, "in two parts of this Globe.")

> Firmamentum Declarat Gloriam Omni Potentis. Psalms 19:1.
> The Firmament Declares God's glorious Power,
> From under which Distills his Blessing's Plenteous Shower.
>
> -- "Symbola Onomastica" (described on page 93), no. 525

> The Frenchmen say that the German's heart and mouth is one thing. . . . They [Germans] love sincerity more than any other nation. . . . It is a maxim among the French, that 'tis impossible for a Dutchman [i.e., a German] to be a wit. Ath. Oracle, p. 478 . . . The German ambassadors [from Germanic tribes, according to Medieval legend,] being asked by Alexander the Great what it was they feared most in the world, they replied, their only fear was that the sky might fall; at which haughty answer, he, without shewing the least resentment, only told them they were a proud generation, and so dismissed them without honour. Creech, p. 11. With true men of German tongues and hearts, always agree; for their proper virtue is, that their promise does not miss. [The preceding sentence bracketed by Pastorius, presumably for emphasis.] . . . The blunt, honest humour of the Germans. Spectator.
>
> -- "Germany"

The environment of his youth had encouraged Pastorius to value tradition and homeland deeply. His own father described, in local, provincial and imperial histories, the ubiquitous cultural traditions that had been evolving since the seventh-century Christianization of Germanic tribes like those whose valor or arrogance is noted under Germany in the "Alphabetical Hive." The regional landscape was rich and varied, with a natural integrity that, given human institutions of sufficient caliber, would have satisfied the soul. [15]

Sommerhausen, Pastorius' home for his first seven years, was a small agricultural town on the Main River – its official designation as a "Marktflecken" placed it somewhere between 'village' and 'town' in size and importance – with several dozen merchants' and peasants' houses, two churches, a Renaissance town hall almost too grand for a town of modest size, an even more stately castle, and, beyond the town walls, undulating hillsides profuse with vineyards established by the Romans centuries earlier. The free imperial city of Windsheim, nestled in the valley of the Aisch River between the forested mountains of Frankenhöhe and Steigerwald, was Pastorius' second boyhood home. It had a heterogeneous mix of peasants, guild craftsmen and merchants, and was governed by twenty-five enterprising 'senators' or city councilmen rather than by a single nobleman and his family, as was the case in Sommerhausen. Windsheim was a small imperial city, with 3000 to 3600 residents, but its medieval walls, towers and church steeples, symbolizing civic and commercial importance, dominated the landscape for miles around.

Throughout the region encompassing Windsheim and Sommerhausen, man's impress upon the environment was, in many respects, cause for repose and joy and self-congratulation. Gothic spires and castle towers dotted the countryside and gave it an uplifting perspective. Fields and orchards tamed nature and focused it upon the villages whose dwellings clustered along rivers and streams and on the crests of gentle hills. Taverns and churches provided conviviality and communal purpose, and half-timbered houses fused wood and earth into harmony, a balance of raw nature and domestic perfection. Yet such accomplishments of civilization were a mixed blessing for Pastorius' contemporaries in the seventeenth century.

Sommerhausen and Windsheim are both located in Franconia, now a part of Bavaria, where the Danube flows eastward to the Black Sea in Rumania and the Main flows westward into the Rhine at Mainz and on to the North Sea in Holland. In Pastorius' day the region was a crossroads of Europe, predominantly rural in character, yet with metropolitan centers that brought the conflicting currents of European life to the province. Würzburg, thirteen kilometers north of Sommerhausen, was a bishopric and center of ecclesiastical power, while Nürnberg, sixty kilometers west of Windsheim, was a free city and center of commercial influence. With its marked bourgeois character, Nürnberg went Protestant early in the Reformation, whereas the ecclesiastical influence of its bishop-prince kept most of the Würzburg territory firmly committed to Catholicism. The polarities of Nürnberg and Würzburg could be noted throughout Franconia, a loose federation of small territories within the Hapsburg Empire, in districts like Protestant Bayreuth and Ansbach, residential seats of the margraves of Brandenburg, and the Catholic bishopric of Bamberg. This polarity shaped Pastorius' awareness of religion and politics, and he eventually rejected the religious and political extremes it had generated in Germany, yet the cultural environment of Franconia gave him the vital heritage that later distinguished him from his Anglo-American neighbors in Pennsylvania.

The distinctive features of Würzburg and Nürnberg were clearly visible to travelers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. [16] "The city of Nürnberg is without any doubt one of the most magnificent and distinguished cities of Germany," Frenchman Jacques Esprinchard reported in 1597. "It is known in the entire world for the important commerce that is carried on here, and for the fine craftsmanship of the work that is produced here in the most varied mechanical trades." The Englishman William Smith noted in 1594 that the city's industry and thrift were

matched by its civility and cleanliness. "Through the politik & wyse government [of the 'senators'] the [common] people are kept in quyetnes, dew aw, & obaysance," he wrote. And for a man who knew London, the "faire & brode" streets of Nürnberg were a marvel to behold:

> For they have no doung hilles in all their streets, but in certayne odd by corners. Neither is it the custome there to make water in the streets . . . Yea so precyse are they, in the sweet keeping of their cittie: that . . . swyne [must be kept] without the cittie.

Travelers were equally awed by Würzburg, but for different reasons. The Dutch Jesuit scholar Daniel Papebroch enjoyed the beautiful contrasts of hill and dale approaching Würzburg along the Main River in the autumn of 1660. He described the ripe scents of heavy-laden orchards and vineyards, and he also noted a political aspect of the area's geographical highs and lows: "Here on this side down in the valley is Würzburg, and over on the other side [of the river], up on a high hill, is the very attractive [Marienberg] Castle . . . with the magnificent gardens of the prince-bishop." Like other esteemed visitors, Papebroch was invited to ride up to Marienberg Castle in a stately carriage, approaching the prince-bishop's estate over a bridge that, the scholar noted, could be cut off from the city in case of attack from below. The city itself, Sebastian Münster had reported in 1567, contained

> many magnificent temples, cloisters, sumptuous residences and villas that are owned not only by officials of the Church but also by the [free] citizens . . . The citizens are largely in the courtly employment of the prince-bishop, but the common people work in the vineyards [owned by the Church], the grapes of which grow to excess in this area, and are thus made into wine and transported by ship and wagon to the surrounding lands.

The cultural differences between Nürnberg and Würzburg were especially clear to the well-traveled Frenchman Balthasar de Monconys when he toured Franconia in 1663. In Nürnberg he found city life centered upon the broad market square, flanked by a grand Lutheran church and the city hall he considered more beautiful than Amsterdam's. Everywhere in the city, he was astonished by the many merchants and their wares – intricate mechanical toys and clocks, artistic productions, guns of advanced design, technical inventions of all kinds. Most of the city's churches, he noted in passing, were not worth seeing. Describing Würzburg, though, de Monconys did not even mention the merchants or the life of the streets, but lavished praise on the churches and cloisters, including a mass at the Augustinian monastery with "the most beautiful music, both in vocal quality and composition, that I have ever heard in my life." He nevertheless devoted most of his reporting to the marvels of Marienberg Castle on the hill overlooking Würzburg – elaborate bastions fortified with rows of cannon, a magnificent outer court, impressive fountains supplied with water pumped up from the Main, sumptuous reception halls, and an immense wine cellar with intricately-carved vats containing a vast assortment of wines, including a 123-year-old variety of superb clarity that de Monconys was graciously allowed to sample. Franconia was a province of grand accomplishments, one jewel in the intricate mosaic of the Hapsburg Empire.

1.4.2 The Reformation and the Thirty Years War

> Democritus still laughs, Heraclitus sheds tears
> At the great Folly which in these our Days aPpears.
>
> -- "Symbola Onomastica," no. 600

> That great body of so many princes and circles [district governments] is slow in motion. A body so differently composed as the German Empire. Temple. Since the reign of Rudolf I [1273-91], above 200 principalities and states are fallen off from the Empire. Mamut, v. 7, p. 130 . . . That mighty Empire was at last catonized, rent in pieces, and dwindled into that narrow dominion which it now possesses under the tutelage of the House of Austria. Idem, p. 299.
>
> -- "Germany"

> [Where the state punishes religious nonconformity] men must offer up their understandings to their fears, and dissemble conviction to be safe . . . Penn . . . Christ once whipped out the profaners of his Father's temple, but he never whipped any in. Idem.
>
> -- "Persecution"

Technological development and social awareness were generating new ideals and insecurities throughout Europe, and especially in Hapsburg Germany, where a proliferation of interest groups and principalities had frequently threatened the stability of a well-organized imperial government. [17] The civilized landscape of rural Franconia and the cultural achievement of its cities and courts owed their existence to institutions inaugurated during the medieval Carolingian empire – a feudal system that gave the lords and bishops virtual autonomy over their subjects. (It continued with little fundamental change until the nineteenth century.) Even as Renaissance humanism and Martin Luther's German translation of the Bible were encouraging independent convictions, both Catholic and Protestant princes were demanding political and religious conformity, and using increasingly sophisticated military force to combat their opponents, win new territory, and secure their rights and privileges.

Although Luther's dramatic defiance of the Pope and the Emperor early in the sixteenth century had threatened the power of the consolidated church and state in Germany, and inspired the Peasants' Revolt of 1525, Luther condemned the excesses of this rebellion and supported established authority with his theory of the "two kingdoms." True Christians experience the Kingdom of God, a realm of love and peace; but, Luther argued, they live in the Kingdom of the World, where the might of the sword holds sway, and while on earth they must obey worldly power, the guarantor of social order and a tool of God's unfathomed purpose. Protestant sectists, Lutheran humanists and mystics helped to create a nonconformist tradition in Germany – and were decried as religious heretics or political anarchists – but the orthodox Lutheran church generally heeded the will of its worldly lords while demanding conformity to its religious dogma and practice. Unrighteous Christians, Luther maintained, "will be compelled by the civil authorities to be pious and righteous before the world." [18]

Political unrest was checked, but tensions did not abate. Germany's contending princes formed Protestant and Catholic alliances at home and abroad as the seventeenth century began. As in the Calvinist Palatinate, whose repeated destruction helps to explain Pastorius' millennialism, even liberal political and economic meas-

ures could have dire consequences. Economic gains in one principality, also increasing matériel, heightened the insecurities of rival princes, and complicated the regional and continental balance of power all the more. To avoid the dissension and instability of continued rivalry, Catholics and Protestants each attempted to gain political control throughout the German provinces, and – aided by foreign allies – became involved in the Thirty Years' War (1618-48), a war of attrition that caused unprecedented death and destruction.

In regions like Franconia, population fell to about one-half its pre-war level. The economy collapsed. Foreign trade ceased, productivity in manufacturing and handcrafts decreased drastically (although opportunists grew rich on war profiteering), agriculture nearly came to a standstill: farming villages were decimated, the cattle were slaughtered, fields lay fallow and overrun with weeds. In the imperial city of Windsheim, Melchior Adam Pastorius later reported, occupying soldiers insulted, harassed, extorted and robbed the citizenry. At times school, church and other civic functions ceased. Malnutrition and lack of sanitation created plague epidemics: "The dead lay everywhere in the streets, and every day they were carted off across the fields to an open pit where they were all buried together." Unbearable tax levies and "contributions" demanded by the emperor and numerous military commanders, furthermore, compounded the economic woes accumulating during these thirty years. [19]

The Peace of Westphalia ended the war in 1648, just three years before the birth of Franz Daniel Pastorius, but Germany managed only a partial recovery during the second half of the seventeenth century. [20] The weakened economy aggravated the gap between rich and poor as Franz Daniel grew to adulthood in Windsheim, generating social and political tensions that complicated the youth's existence as the eldest son of Burgomaster Pastorius. Local tensions reflected the general political climate. French influence on the Westphalian treaty had limited the power of the Hapsburg Emperor and increased the autonomy of the German territorial princes, thus debilitating Germany as a nation. As the German states vied for ascendency and vacillated between the Hapsburgs and the French, political instability as well as economic weakness threatened social order, and reinforced a rigidity and conformity that was especially pronounced in Germany:

> Social distinctions were jealously heeded, privileges and "distance" (aloofness of the socially superior) were emphasized, a tight system of social controls in cities and villages [demanded conformity]. . . Servility and real or feigned humility toward one's "superiors" … were deeply ingrained in the thought and behavior of the populace … The conduct of lawyers, clergymen and other men of learning was governed by a sense of exclusivity and station. [21]

These personal and cultural constraints gave the age a peculiar and pervasive tension, reflecting the intricate interworkings of culture and politics, and the sense of involvement or complicity each individual felt in a society that was becoming increasingly complex and impersonal. Particularly in Germany, where territorial lords were soon aping the manners of Versailles, this age of European absolutism was characterized by the rise of France under Louis XIV (r. 1643-1715), an obsessive ruler who systematically exploited his own populace and destroyed enemy territory to enhance the splendor and might of his empire, cynically manipulating national allegiances with payoffs to statesmen and princes, and generating the domestic unrest that would culminate in the French Revolution of 1789.

In his transatlantic correspondence, Pastorius criticized the multifaceted decadence he perceived in these developments, and in Poem 411 he also ridiculed "Louis le Grand, Venereal King of France," for fornicating with innumerable "Paramours": "As Boars do grunt, so lustful Sows will brim." [22] His poem comments on the French King's sexual exploits as reported in *The Secret Amours of Marquise de Maintenon* [23] and, implicitly, on the moral tensions of the age. Royal paramours, Pastorius knew, were not the only individuals to enjoy ambiguous courtly favors while indulging a lord's desire for conquest.

Pastorius' animalistic image of all restraints abandoned coexists with rigidity and conformity in this age, and this tension suggests a variety of compulsions he had observed especially among the learned leaders of his society. Like royal paramours, the learned might be enticed into roles of dubious satisfaction, and denied control over their lives, just as their world, subjected to the machinations of European politics and warfare, was moving ever closer to some vaguely perceived brink, beyond which it would lose all semblance of rationality and order. Compelled to affirm an orderly existence, statesmen and scholars redoubled their efforts to define and control – efforts that, in Pastorius' early experience, at times verged on the hysterical.

1.5 "To lead a godly life in a howling Wilderness": Embracing Lutheran Pietism, Relinquishing European Comforts

> These times, the foulest undoubtedly and the most execrable of all others since the very apostasy of the angels. [Translator's] Preface, Seneca . . . The corruption of the present times is the general complaint of all times, &c. One while whoring is in fashion, another while gluttony: today excells in apparel, tomorrow comes up the humor of scoffing; and after that perchance a vein of drinking, &c. Seneca, p. 543 . . .
> But if one truth may slip my harmless pen,
> Times would be better, had we but better men.
>
> -- "Complaint of Times"

> Wahn und Gewohnheit, zwei Tyrannen,
> Fast alle Menschen übermannen.
> [Delusion and custom, two tyrants, / Overwhelm almost everyone.]
>
> -- Poem 50

> As by degrees ill customs have been taken
> So by degrees the worst may be forsaken.
>
> -- Epigram 2311.5

> Custom, a mighty tyrant . . . Christ called himself truth, not custom . . . That which is bred in the bone will not out of the flesh . . . Custom and opinion oft times take so deep a root that judgement has no free power to act. Phillips, Preface . . . Custom must give place to verity. Augustine. There is no hope of remedy where that which sometime were vices be turned into manners. Seneca.
>
> -- "Custom"

Even though Pastorius' upbringing interpreted the Lutheran Reformation as a return to the redemptive faith of early Christianity, he came to believe that the history of Germany following the Reformation denied the regenerative impulse symbolized in Christ's resurrection and heralded anew by Martin Luther. Pastorius became one of many who longed for a change of heart in his fellow man – for a

rebirth of the spirit radical enough to get society back to the basics of freedom and dignity expressed in Christ's message of universal love. He and others turned to Lutheran Pietism, a movement that developed in the context of German culture after the Thirty Years' War, when religious sensibility also encouraged George Fox, William Penn and Robert Barclay to spread their Quaker message on preaching tours of Germany. European artists and poets reflected the tensions of the age in the style of the baroque – bold expression, rich imagery, striking metaphor, bombast, contradiction, paradox. Existentially, a growing number of Germans found in Pietism a special type of baroque expressiveness – a bold message of millennial hope – that helped them resolve the disparities between human aspiration and everyday reality.

Philipp Jakob Spener (1635-1705), superintendent of Frankfurt's Lutheran churches, published his *Pia Desideria* in 1675, arguing that a religion of the heart should replace the dogmatic scholastic orthodoxy of contemporary Lutheran theology. Moderate and radical forms of Pietism soon emerged:

> The Pietists [sought] to replace outward observances with an inner spirit of union with God . . . They thought of the Second Advent not as a vague doctrine of theology, but as a warm and active inspiration of their daily lives. At any moment now Christ would reappear on earth; he would still the strife of faiths and end the reign of force and war; he would establish a purely "spiritual church," without organization, without ritual, without priests, but practicing with joy a generous Christianity of the heart. [24]

Measuring the conduct of both rich and poor by Christ's Golden Rule (Luke 6, 31), many of the Pietists challenged the lopsided social structure of the age; civic and clerical authorities, fearing the movement's populist appeal, often suppressed it as dangerously unorthodox or anarchic. [25] Yet Philipp Jakob Spener was personally serene and doctrinally irenic. In his teens he had avidly read the writings of the English Puritans Lewis Bayly (d. 1631) and Richard Baxter (1615-91), the German mystic and reformer Johann Arndt (1555-1621), and the Dutch political scholars Justice Lipsius (1547-1606) and Hugo Grotius (1583-1645). At Lutheran and Calvinist universities in Strasbourg and Basel he studied the breadth of the humanities – language, philosophy, history and theology – and later earned the friendship and respect of intellectuals throughout Germany and Europe, men and women like the political theorist Veit Ludwig von Seckendorf (1626-92), the French Quietist theologian Jean de Labadie (1610-74), the Danish Princess Anne Sophia (1647-1717, wife of the Elector of Saxony), and the philosopher-statesman Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz (1646-1716).

With the breadth and fervor of men like Spener, Pietism gave liberal impetus to the Enlightenment and eventually influenced the German Idealism of Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803) and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832) as well as the Methodist tenets of John Wesley (1703-91). Some of the Pietists, as dogmatic as their orthodox Lutheran antagonists, endlessly debated old theological arguments, and a later generation of deists and rationalists dismissed them as irrelevant, but in Pastorius' day theological debate was lively, sophisticated, and potent. Spener and other Pietists attacked what they saw as reactionary illiberality in the church and state of Protestant Germany. Although the fervor and liberality of Pietism reformed Lutheranism in the long run, especially in colonial America, the Pietists remained a small minority group for most of the seventeenth century.

Spener's efforts to inspire Christian understanding did not significantly moderate social or political excesses in his lifetime.

At the age of 27 in 1679 Franz Daniel Pastorius, a scholar of classical and modern literature and doctor of canon and civil law, joined the Pietist dissenters by moving from Windsheim to Frankfurt and meeting Spener, "that brave patriarch of the Pietists," as Pastorius called him (Appendix I of this study), whose living faith won Pastorius' conversion. Pastorius admired the irenic attitudes of Spener, who sought to reach all nominal Christians in Protestant Germany – each member of Lutheran society – by generating religious renewal especially among the political and clerical leaders in the hierarchy of church and state. In Frankfurt, too, Pastorius was increasingly attracted to the radical views of the "Saalhof" Pietists, Spener's separatist friends who condemned the hierarchy of the church, rejected the possibility of a genuine Christian faith encompassing all members of the community, and formed a tight circle of true believers among themselves. It was a small group of well-to-do merchants and mystics among the Saalhof Pietists who began to make plans for a community of Pennsylvania Pietists in 1682 and sent Pastorius off to the New World the following year.

By taking the radical views of the Saalhof Pietists seriously, a man of Pastorius' great learning and social standing inevitably shocked and disappointed the majority of his peers in a metropolis like Frankfurt. An unlikely candidate for Pietist zeal, Pastorius nevertheless proved to be the one member of the Saalhof group to demonstrate the courage of his convictions by actually leaving Germany. As the originators of the emigration plan backed out one by one – but continued to invest in Pennsylvania trade and real estate – Pastorius was left to found Germantown with a group of simple craftsmen from Krefeld whose fear of religious persecution, like that of the English Pilgrims before them, was one of the factors that led them to leave their homeland. [26]

Pastorius' religious convictions were similar to those of the Krefelders, but he did not have to face persecution as long as he lived as an upper-class Lutheran in Protestant Germany. Knowing that most of his Pietist friends in Frankfurt were motivated by personal choice rather than driven by necessity, he urged them to come to America for conscience' sake but cautioned those who could not give up, at least temporarily, "the accustomed comforts of Germany such as stone dwellings and rarity of food and drink" to stay at home in their affluent Frankfurt surroundings. [27] Although his friend Philipp Jakob Spener wished Pastorius well in Pennsylvania, the clergyman shared the sedentary attitudes that separated the original Frankfurt Pietists from their American harbinger. As long as his territorial lord tolerated his preaching, Spener refused to consider leaving his homeland:

> I must leave those who seek a refuge there [in Pennsylvania] to their own cogitations; I could not advise anyone to flee before the Lord drives us out [of Germany]. . . . My purpose has always been to stay where the Lord has placed us as long as He allows . . . [28]

None of the leaders of the Frankfurt Pietists ever came to Pennsylvania, Pastorius reported in 1698, "because they fear the barren wastes, the isolation and boredom [of the colony], all of which I have in the meantime become thoroughly accustomed to, thank God, and so I'll remain accustomed to it until my dying day." [29]

In time Pietists, Mennonites, Schwenckfelders and other sectists (as well as Calvinists, orthodox Lutherans, and Roman Catholics) would head off for Pennsylvania in droves, but German immigration did not gain any real momentum until well into

the eighteenth century, and even then it was predominantly the poor and the oppressed who left Germany to try their luck in America. With his learning and station in Germany, Pastorius would have been an extraordinary emigrant at any point in history, but in 1683 he was the only one of his kind. None of his upper-class peers were ready to sacrifice a life of European comforts and privileges "to lead a quiet, godly and honest life in a howling wilderness," as Pastorius wryly described his undertaking around 1715 (Appendix I), and few of them were prepared to admit any moral grounds for sacrifices of this kind in Europe or America. By contrast Pastorius was aware that the needs of the underprivileged should place limits on the rights of the privileged, and he was ahead of his time in this recognition. Such an awareness was evolving but slowly in Western civilization – and it would everywhere coexist with desires for inordinate wealth or power ignoring the needs of the many – but it would nevertheless gain impetus as more and more Europeans followed Pastorius to America or, within Europe, allowed their view of mankind to be shaped by the higher ideals of this emerging transatlantic culture.

What led Pastorius to take his radical stand in 1683? The historical events of the Thirty Years' War and postwar reconstruction affected the entire populace but did not produce any large-scale exodus from Germany in the seventeenth century, so these events alone do not explain Pastorius' isolated decision to leave the country. Numerous Germans, furthermore, shared some or all of his dissatisfactions with their society yet did not remove themselves from it as he did. Some of his contemporaries criticized the church hierarchy, noted the inordinate power of the rich, decried the insidious decline of morality, desired pervasive spiritual rebirth or social reform, or feared the destruction of war and longed for enduring peace – yet in 1683 they were not prepared to risk their very existence in an ocean crossing or face the uncertainties of life in the New World, then considered a distant and awesome realm known predominantly to the buccaneer and the savage. Beyond the culture shared by all of his contemporaries and the critical attitudes expressed by some of his fellows, Pastorius had compelling personal reasons for emigrating that can be ascertained in his particular experience of society – in the attitudes and emotions that were developing within him as he grew to maturity in Germany.

2.4.2 A Curriculum for the Mind and the Soul

2.4.2.1 The Classical Tradition of Contemporary Lutheranism (With Pennsylvania Adaptations)

> He has some snatch of a scholar, and yet uses Latin very hardly, and lest it should accuse him, cuts it off in the midst [rather than openly display embarrassing deficiencies of case and tense] . . . Shreds of Latin and superannuated pedantry. Ser. Apology, p. 142. Papists' trusty Latin hides so many of their cheats from the eyes of the common people. Julian, p. 154. Of the natural love to Latin, vide Spectator, no. 221.
>
> -- "Latin"
>
> The breaking a rule of grammar is more noticed than any error in life and conversation.
>
> -- "Grammar"
>
> Many [memories] are like sieves taken out of the water: all runs out . . . He reads it so long till he gets it without book . . . The lesson a scholar hath learned by heart and that in the book are still one and the same lesson.
>
> -- "Memory"
>
> Labour does strengthen and refine our brains;
> But those who take no pains, shall have no gains.
>
> -- Epigram 2321.2

Vainly seeking to crop the lavish blossom of youth down to a tight pistil of Lutheran virtue, the Windsheim senate also demonstrated that its Gymnasium pupils were true sons of Franconia, little human beings whose vitality and exuberance flowed unchecked regardless of time or place. It's prohibitions responded to actual conduct. The boys of Windsheim, they imply, knew riotous hours of play in field, forest and stream, and resisted the uninspired lines and boxes of school experience. Ranged in rows of benches or desks, meticulously penning columns of letters and numbers within the neat margins of their copybooks, they naturally conspired with their classmates to break the routine and enliven the atmosphere. At the same time, however, convinced that education was more or less synonymous with compulsion, they quickly responded to the gruff proddings of their harassed teachers – and absorbed a demanding curriculum.

In Windsheim, a city with limited resources and a competitive spirit, the future of most upper-class families depended upon the academic achievement of their

sons. Although rank and privilege may have encouraged special treatment in a few instances, the boys generally accepted, freely or grudgingly, the duties as well as the prerogatives of their social position, and at the Gymnasium – where classes grew smaller as the boys advanced – learning energetically was a boy's primary duty. Ambiguously encouraging and checking learned arrogance, the Lutheran Gymnasium instilled academic values of elitist perfectionism – values that constantly reminded the boys of their own imperfection – as well as religious values with an egalitarian strain. The boys learned the cleverness and wit that separated them from the "idiots or guild apprentices" of Windsheim, and they also learned to value – or at least to intone – biblical phrases about brotherly love and the grace of God for all mankind. This curricular blend left indelible traces upon the character of Franz Daniel Pastorius, and affected his conduct in Germany and America.

Young Pastorius learned to read and write German and to do arithmetic in the first-floor classroom, and was then promoted to the intermediate grades where he began his Latin schooling. [66] Since Windsheim and other cities had long since abandoned the trilingual education advanced by Luther and Melanchthon, Pastorius received little if any Greek instruction in Windsheim. He began learning Latin by reading, repeating, memorizing and analyzing short phrases. Even the early stages demanded intellectual discipline. Pastorius and his classmates were judged on their ability to recall vocabulary items, sort out syntax, assign case and number, identify tense and mood. Like many of his contemporaries, Pastorius probably beamed with pride when encouraged for a correct response and cringed with shame and self-doubt when he erred. Negative incentives may have overwhelmed the slow learners, but the clever boys gradually found strategies to win the "carrot" and avoid the "stick."

The discipline of Latin remained the mainstay of Pastorius' Windsheim education. Grammatical analysis expanded as the phrases increased in length and complexity. Pastorius memorized the precepts of grammar, and learned to interpret the Latin phrases as examples of the precepts. He copied verse and prose models from Classical and Renaissance Latin authors into his exercise books, and imitated them in his writing practice which, completing the cycle, demonstrated the precepts of grammar anew. He was also trained to speak and debate from models of Latin eloquence, for his education emphasized both literacy and rhetorical skill. The process was tiresomely pedantic, but productive after its fashion. All advanced pupils learned to speak with an awareness of grace and decorum and to write prose and poetry more or less like the models they read from the classics, and they all absorbed a classical European heritage in the process. The content of Latin – in proverbs, aphorisms, epigrams, verse stanzas, Bible readings and, in advanced lessons, treatises on history and philosophy – was as important as its form.

Although the learnedness of Pastorius' university and Pennsylvania years reveals a broader classicism, the Latin texts selected for Gymnasium lessons emphasized biblical values and avoided or reinterpreted the pagan elements of Greek and Roman culture. The myths of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Lutheran humanists maintained, were rich symbols of God's Grace and Wrath, vivid testimony that He rewards the just and punishes the wicked. The Lutheran humanism Pastorius learned in Windsheim taught him to appreciate the classics for the eloquence they contained and the Christian morality they displayed. Latin texts were taught along with music and the Lutheran catechism, and for much the same reason. Bible

verses, instrumental music and song, and the classics all mirrored the fullness of God's creation. They were examples of His grand precepts. Imitating their grace and truth, Godly pupils demonstrated the order and certainty of the Grammar of Life.

For pupils like Pastorius, delight in language and a search for universal truth merged with and then supplanted the external compulsions of the Gymnasium, yielding a personal sense of grace and order, and the deep satisfaction of classical attainments shared with other learned men, attainments that also served as a badge of social distinction. Pastorius frequently demonstrated this satisfaction in Pennsylvania; he circulated collections of poetry and of emblems and their predominantly Latin mottoes, gave William Penn a learned compendium entitled "A Few Onomastical Considerations" (described on page 255, n. 10), and wrote a fellow graduate of the Windsheim Gymnasium at least one Latin letter rich in classical allusions and resonances of word and phrase that can only be fully appreciated by other classical scholars. [67]

Adapting old-fashioned learned exhibitionism to his Pennsylvania surroundings, he composed numerous Latin emblematical mottoes for his flowers, herbs and vegetables, and displayed them in his Germantown garden (Poem 241 indicates), but he complains that many of his visitors were unprepared for Latin mottoes or learned repartee: "But with our young Gentry the Latin being scarce / Ask 'em a Question: they may term it a Farce." Thus in numerous instances his garden adornments (or "Emblematical Merriments," as he calls them) were more likely to cause frustration or embarrassment than the amusement or delight that would otherwise have fostered learned camaraderie among the gardener-poet and his callers.

Yet his classical learnedness repeatedly drew respect and admiration particularly among the Quaker elite of Philadelphia. When William Penn visited the temporary home Pastorius had built shortly after arriving in Philadelphia, for example, Penn read the inscription above the door and burst out laughing (*Beschreibung Pa.*, p. 23). It read: "Parva domus sed amica bonis, procul este prophani" or "It's a little house but welcoming to good people: profane men, keep your distance." Penn, who rarely laughed, got the allusion to Virgil's *Aeneid* and could appreciate the incongruity of this line of graceful Latin verse on a crudely-built, squat cottage (its entrance half above ground and half below) with windows made of oil-soaked paper for lack of glass. (It was a line Pastorius had copied from a house in Paris on his grand tour a year or so earlier.) In the *Aeneid* (Book 6), the Cumaean Sibyl tells Aeneas how to descend to the Underworld and then cries "procul, o procul este prophani" ("profane men, keep your distance") as priests make sacrifices to the chthonic gods. [68]

Aeneas' descent to the Underworld was a witty allusion well suited to Pastorius' cave-like cottage, and it might also have seemed analogous to the arduous tasks of settling the wilderness Pastorius and Penn confronted together in 1683. Penn and numerous fellow Pennsylvanians (among them Thomas Lloyd, Griffith Owen, Samuel Preston, Richard Hill, Christopher Witt and James Logan) clearly appreciated Pastorius' humanist learning and wit.

All the same, Pastorius admitted that Latin was difficult to learn, and that the learned often flaunted their knowledge of it, but he encouraged his son Johann Samuel to learn "at least a little Latin" along with other academic skills in order to enjoy modest success as an independent tradesman (Poem 55). (He encouraged his younger son Heinrich to learn French, giving him a grammar of French written in English.) [69] In Poem 364, penned into the Latin-English dictionary he bought in

London to learn English, he describes "learn[ing] to comprehend our Canting Scholars' Rattle" (i.e., Latin speech) as sailing through an "Ocean of Words . . . / Through twice four Parts of Speech, and many Cases" to arrive at "old Latium" or "the Land of Labour." He frequently versified in Latin (ironically deprecated, in "A Few Onomastical Considerations," as his "Latin poetical jingling and tingling"), and recalled Latin phrases and proverbs to suit virtually any context, but he reflected an Anglo-American trend toward monolingualism – and increased literacy – in his preference for English books (which became the source and subject of his "Alphabetical Hive") even when he had ready access to Latin originals.

Although he owned and consulted the collected writings of Seneca in the Latin *Opera*, for example, he read, with relish and deep appreciation, the English translation of Seneca's *Morals* by Roger L'Estrange. He compiled extensively from this translation, and, in Poem 80, praises the rhetorical accomplishments of the essayist Sir William Temple, the unnamed author of *The Turkish Spy* (actually Giovanni Paolo Marana) and L'Estrange, three skilled writers who "Our English tongue thus amplify, / That great and small may learn thereby." Literacy is an unadulterated "Delight in Books" as well as "the Art of true Levelling," he notes in Poem 35: "Delight in books, for books do bring / Poor men to learn most every thing," and such knowledge provides the only real weapon

> to fling
> On waspish men (who taking wing
> Surround us) that they cannot Sting.

Similar considerations led him to translate passages from Dutch and Latin texts for English compilation in the "Beehive" (among them the item on banishment from Johann Valentin Andreae's Latin *Menippus* quoted, in Pastorius' translation, on page 35). His poetry and scholarship thus reveal an essentially democratic impetus.

2.4.2.2 Divining Lighthouse of Practical Philosophy: Rector Schumberg's Lessons in Ethics and Politics

> Beauty, like peach trees, her bloss'ms soon casts,
> But virtue's golden fruit for evermore lasts.
>
> -- Epigram 40

> This world is his [a philosopher's] book, his study, his university. He cloisters not his meditations in the narrow darkness of a room . . . Aristotle, the oracle of philosophy to these very times. Culpeper, p. 451. To steer by the compass of right reason, not by the winds of deluding *sophisius* [sophistry]. Every true Christian is a philosopher (a lover of wisdom), and yet abhorring that philosophy and vain deceit after the tradition of men and rudiments of this world . . . Keith, Reexam., p. 41.
>
> -- "Philosophy"

> Houses of clay, the houses of our minds, the most curious structure of the world; a living, walking tabernacle. Max[ims].
>
> -- "Body"

> Beyond the golden mean strive not to go;
> His wants are boundless, whose desires are so.
>
> -- Epigram 36

2.6 Leaving Home with Friends in 1668

> Libertas Amicitiae Zenith. True FrienDshiP is altogether Free, and Drags no Piece of slavish Flattery, Dissimulation & Partiality after her.
>
> -- "Beehive," p. 221 (an unnumbered triple onomastic)

> Friendship built on opinion first looks fair;
> But soon is but a castle in the air.
>
> -- Epigram 2316.2

> Friendship multiplieth joys, and divideth grief. Bacon. No greater wilderness, than to be without true friends. Idem. A true friend will never dissemble. One God, no more: but friends good store. Virtuous persons are always friends, sayeth [the Greek philosopher] Antisthenes. Friendship is an union of spirits, a marriage of hearts, and the bond thereof virtue. Max[im] 101 . . . Friends are true twins in soul . . . A friend in need, a friend indeed. Adversity tries friends . . . Choose a friend as thou dost a wife, til death separate you. Max[im] 109. Yet be not a friend beyond the altar [of God]; but let virtue bound thy friendship; else it is not friendship but an evil confederacy. Idem 110. Make not friends in haste, nor hastily part with them. Solon. Culpeper, p. 419.
>
> -- "Friendship"

On 31 July 1668, 16-year-old Franz Daniel Pastorius left Windsheim for Nürnberg University in the company of three fellow graduates of the local Gymnasium, Georg Leonhart Model (1650-1713), Johannes Mathias Stellwag (b. 1650) and Johannes Joachim Mercklein (1650-1714) – boys who had been his upper-class friends for nearly a decade of neighborly proximity within the walled city. [88] For Franz Daniel and his young friends, a university career was about to culminate the Franconian upbringing that would lead two of these youths to follow in the footsteps of their fathers, attaining the rank of clergyman or senator and thus assuming a place of authority in Windsheim's well-ordered civic existence.

After studying philosophy with Franz Daniel at Nürnberg, Georg Leonhart Model, the son of Windsheim's highest-ranking and best-paid clergyman, went on to Wittenberg University, developing orthodox Lutheran erudition and rhetorical skills in seminars and disputations on homiletics, metaphysics, pneumatology and various theological doctrines. [89] A diligent student, Model even devised a special alarm clock with a rope attached to his feet that yanked him back to scholarly consciousness well before less energetic students began to stir. He ranked fifth among Wittenberg's twenty philosophy students graduating as "Magister" (master) in 1672. Following an extended tour of Magdeburg, Hamburg, Helmstadt and Leipzig, Model returned to Windsheim in 1674, and was appointed assistant rector of the Gymnasium in recognition of his "exemplary learnedness." Serving as rector from 1682 to 1689, Model "hardly managed to endure the arduous and incessant tasks" of inculcating piety and knowledge into another generation of Windsheim's youth, but his dedication won him the clergyman's post he held from then on in Windsheim. A stalwart upper-class Lutheran, Model displayed authoritarian attitudes by insisting on religious conformity in belief and conduct:

> In the midst of vanity his character was but slightly vain . . . If he saw any who erred in religion, he could not rest until he had brought them back to the true path . . . If he saw godless Children of the World, who were drowning in untold sin and vice, he pursued them until he had snatched them from the jaws of the Devil once more. [90]

Franz Daniel's friends Johannes Mathias Stellwag and Johannes Joachim Mercklein, like young Pastorius the sons of Windsheim senators and burgomasters, studied philosophy and law to prepare themselves for government careers in Windsheim. [91] Stellwag's father was Burgomaster Johann Georg Stellwag, appointed Lord Mayor in 1671, whose high-handed approach to government helped to generate popular dissension during the 1670s. Young Mercklein's civic attainment, like that of many of the sons of Windsheim's first families, reflected similar attainments in his family over generations. When he returned to Windsheim after finishing his law studies in 1674, he married into another upper-class Windsheim family, began a private law practice and was chosen for a seat on the Windsheim senate. He was appointed to the powerful inner chamber of the senate in 1691, and in 1698 named burgomaster and supervisor of education, offices he held until his death sixteen years later. The Mercklein family was so well established in Windsheim that from 1650 to 1750 ten of its members were able to hold – usually for a decade or more – the office of burgomaster, one of whom wrote, as a young attorney in 1694, the letter to his godfather Franz Daniel Pastorius eliciting Franz Daniel's fervent exhortation to honor the "first promise" of Christian baptism above "all other commitments" to family and class in Windsheim.

As family and friends bid them farewell on their day of departure in 1668, Franz Daniel and his fellow graduates could anticipate a productive future and appreciate the camaraderie and good will generated, on such occasions, within the Franconian bonds of family and community. The youths might have been overwhelmed by their previous duties as Gymnasium pupils, but now, with these tasks behind them, they could feel a sense of accomplishment and enjoy the admiration and respect many Windsheimers felt for their young scholars. The boys might yet have trepidations about the duties and freedoms awaiting them at universities known for strict academic discipline and lax student conduct, but they also knew that the sons of

Windsheim's best families had bravely and willingly met such challenges in the past, and would continue to do so now and in the future.

In the hour of departure, surely enjoying the warm acceptance of those they loved, these Windsheim youths had every reason for confidence and good cheer. Surrounded by friends and relatives who would have naturally chatted and joked and offered words of advice and encouragement, fervently hugging and kissing them and unceasingly waving good-bye, the boys might well perceive that the discipline of their young lives was part of a benign orderliness extending from birth to death, joining their lives with the lives of past and future generations and (as long as this orderliness could be affirmed) encompassing all members of society and creation, from high to low, in what could well be imaged as a great chain of being. It was this sense of order – though commingled with the compulsions of their upbringing, and the commitments to family and class generating much of this compulsiveness – that carried the boys through their lives of privilege and responsibility in the imperial city of Windsheim. Like most of their peers in Windsheim and all of Franconia, and indeed throughout Europe, they were merely living the lives society expected of them.

CHAPTER THREE
The University Years

3.1 *"In none of the objects of this worldly* theatrum *could I find any enduring delight": From the Foreword to* Beschreibung Pennsylvaniae

> The World's a dang'rous Sea,
> Man may wrack ev'ry way;
> Woe! Woe! therefore to him,
> That has not learned to Swim.
>
> -- Poem 350

> The world's fawning is worse than its frowning . . . A full delight in earthly things argues a neglect of heavenly. Many lose an eternal kingdom for the gain of toys and vanities.
>
> -- "Love of the World"

Franz Daniel Pastorius, through no fault of his own, was not able to affirm the benign orderliness of society as he pursued the life of a German law student and then accepted adult responsibilities in Windsheim eight years after first leaving the city with his youthful friends. This inability ultimately cheated him of a number of European fulfillments, separating him from the friends of his youth, from his family and his community, and denying him the sense of identity with this family and community that, through all of his experience, had come to mean more to him than life itself – more, at any rate, than a life bereft of community could ever mean to a man of his temperament. His student and professional experience in Germany, Pastorius came to believe, revealed deep truths demanding a personal rejection of his community – yet rejecting the community left a void that could only be filled with the slowly accumulating balm of time.

Although he often made veiled allusions to his rejection of the Franconian community, he only once attempted a sustained description of the course of events that led him to emigrate to Pennsylvania in 1683. Largely a critique of his university years and European grand tour, this description readily serves as prelude to a detailed evaluation of the personal and cultural experience that brought young

Pastorius ever closer to open confrontation with the dominant values of his society. He composed the text, a personal credo or confession, as the foreword to his *Beschreibung Pennsylvaniae* [1]:

> As everyone in my family well knows, I have been directing my course along the path of this world toward a joyous Eternity ever since my little legs could carry me, or at least since outgrowing the shoes of childhood, and in all my doings I have tried to learn how I might recognize the benign will of God, fear his great omnipotence, and love, praise and honor his unfathomable goodness and mercy. It was my good fortune to study law, along with other general disciplines of the liberal arts, and I successfully completed my law degree. I also became sufficiently familiar with the Italian and French languages, and thereafter made a so-called grand tour through various countries among good society. No matter where I traveled, however, I took great pains to learn one thing above all else: Where and among which people and nations might one possibly find and apprehend a true devotion, love, knowledge and fear of God? At universities and academies I found men of learning in numbers practically without end – but such sorts of intellect, such religions and sects, such contrived thought and pointed *Quaestiones* [examination]; in short, this vain worldly wisdom produced such a surfeit of pomposity and garrulity as that which led the Apostle [Paul in 1 Corinthians 8,1] to write: "*Scientia inflat*" [knowledge puffeth up].
>
> Nor can I write with a clear conscience that I ever saw, in any parts of the Netherlands or France, a professor who, with all of his heart and soul, with the heart of a lad and the soul of a disciple, earnestly taught the pure love of Jesus and a knowledge of the holy trinity.
>
> Nominal Christians are certainly not in short supply. They go around mouthing their religion, puffed up with conceited worldly wit and coveting the lusts of the flesh, the lusts of the eye and a haughty nature (the trifolium of the devil). But those who sought to attain bliss in fear and trembling, lived without deceit and, with all of their powers of spirit, penetrated to the center of their being, to God the supreme good – such Christians were *rara avis in terris* [rare birds on the earth].
>
> Finally, at the University of Cambridge [in England] and in the city of Ghent [in Flanders, or present-day Belgium], I did manage to find some devoted men who, secretly retired from the world, had resigned themselves wholly to God, and having discovered my earnest searching, they taught me many good lessons and greatly fortified me in my resolution; they also gave me a helping hand in various ways, and thus at the royal court of Ghent I was shown the birth chamber of the illustrious Emperor Charles V (which is only four ells long and four ells wide) with the recollection that one of his godfathers gave this new-born prince a richly-bound Bible with the inscription "Scrutamini scripturas" in gold lettering, and the prince then read this Bible diligently, and therein learned that he would have to die in the merits of Jesus Christ alone.
>
> While on my grand tour, furthermore, at Orleans, Paris, Avignon, Marseille, Lyon and Geneva, I saw thousands of young people from Germany, most of them aristocrats, whose occupation away from home consists solely of pursuing the vanities of dress, speech, foreign customs and ceremonies, and whose learning involves spending incredible sums on horseback-riding and -jumping, on dancing, fencing, dashing lances and waving banners. In such fashion they use up great portions of their German patrimony on worldly frivolities that profit no one, but they do not give even a single moment's reflection to the love of God or to the wisdom, so pleasing to Him, of following Christ's example. In fact, anyone who wants to discuss the writings and *soliloquis cum Deo* [meditations] of Saint Augustine, [Johann] Tauler, [Johann] Arndt and other men of Godly learning has to face being ridiculed as a Pietist, sectarian and heretic;

> and none of the men who have drowned in Aristotelian worldly wisdom can be convinced of anything anymore, and they will not let the spirit of God taughten them [i.e., their presumably water-logged flaccidity], either.
>
> For their sakes I sat down for a little *retirade* [retreat] in my *cabinet* [room] after my tour was over, and recalled to memory everything that this worldly *theatrum* had presented to my eyes, and in none of its objects could I find any enduring delight; I despaired, furthermore, that any place could be found in my Fatherland [i.e., Franconia] or in all of Germany where, now or in future, a person could lay down the old habits of mere *Operis operati* [going through the motions] and take up the pure love of God with all of his heart and all of his soul and all of his strength, and likewise love his neighbor as himself.
>
> I thus considered whether it might not be better for me to expound, for the benefit of the newly-discovered American tribes in Pennsylvania, the knowledge given me by the grace of the highest Giver and Father of Light, and thus enable them to participate in the true knowledge of the holy trinity and genuine Christianity.
>
> Since the province and region of Pennsylvania is situated on the farthest frontiers of America, however, it will be necessary to precede [my description of this province] with a brief consideration of the divisions of the globe and *in specie* of America as a whole, the fourth continent of the world . . .

In this foreword to his German readers, Pastorius vividly describes what he perceived as the moral essence of his student years from 1668 to 1676 and his grand tour of 1680-82 (pointedly omitting any reference to his Windsheim life of 1676-79). His indictment of arrogance, disputatiousness, vanity, hypocrisy and godlessness among students, professors and young aristocrats is convincingly sincere, and his stylized portrait of personal ennui provides a plausible motivation for his emigration in 1683. The worldly "*theatrum*" of European capitals, courts and universities could not offer enduring pleasure, and as Pastorius turns his back on these decadent players and settings the reader may well experience a cathartic mix of pleasure and pain. The somber tones of the drama are tragic, but its denouement suggests a resolution not unlike that of high comedy.

With his reference to Native American tribes, Pastorius implicitly shifts his focus from damnation to redemption, from ineluctable loss to anticipated fulfillment among a different sort of humanity, and his intended readers could readily supply the elements of romance that linked their mundane reality with the novel milieu of Pennsylvania. As Pastorius turns to his discourse on the continents of the world culminating with "the farthest frontiers of America," these readers vicariously experience the rolling waves and outstretched sails that took him on his quest, just as the wisdom attained through the trial and endurance of the quest is revealed to them in the New World experience recorded in the book's succeeding 122 pages.

This foreword contains autobiographical simplifications and evasions that will be clarified in this study. For his prospective readers, however, it presented a familiar reality in terms they readily understood. Many of them were convinced that most learned men were arrogant and disputatious. Average taxpayers shared Pastorius' scorn for squandered German patrimonies, well aware that squires, lords and princes financed their sons' lives of luxury from the public or semi-public coffers, and many of them sensed the social injustice of this waste. Protestants readily appreciated the story of Hapsburg Emperor Charles V (1500-58), affirming Luther's emphasis on grace over works. Although Pastorius' Ghent hosts could recall Charles as the potentate who had quelled rebellions in Ghent and other Catholic cities of the Spanish Netherlands, revoking imperial privileges and contrib-

uting to economic decline [2], historically conscious Protestants recognized him as the emperor who had tried and failed to nip the Reformation in the bud, and such readers could enjoy the wry ironic humor of this Catholic sovereign reading in his ornate Latin Bible the simple truths they read in Luther's German translation.

Some of Pastorius' readers undoubtedly got the message encoded in his reference to a professor in the Netherlands or France. A possible allusion to the radical French theologian Jean de Labadie and his Dutch Labadist followers, it served to clarify Pastorius' theological allegiances or to deny reports that placed him in radical company – sensitive issues demanding subtle exposition. Pastorius cryptically alluded to Quakerism and radical mysticism with references to meditative trembling, the "Father of Light" and the divine center of one's being, indirectly mentioned German Pietism, and focused most clearly on English and Flemish groups safely removed from the turbulence of German religion and politics.

The closing reference to the Native Americans, while evasive and misleading, suggests a spellbinding reality beyond the experience of Pastorius' readers. Although he went to Pennsylvania as the personal friend and business agent of Frankfurt Pietists and never lived as a missionary or preacher, Pastorius had good reasons for referring to the Indian tribes at this crucial point. He had become convinced of their integrity, and this was a basic insight of his book, so he needed them thematically. And since their presence shifted the focus from Europe to America, they abruptly resolved the personal narrative as it verged on intimate revelation.

Pastorius was not willing to describe the euphoric emigration plans he had made with his Pietist friends in 1683, since these friends reneged on their plans and thus disappointed and embarrassed him. Nor was he willing to describe his most personal reasons for emigration, involving the moral and psychological tensions of his beginning law career in Franconia and the Windsheim insurrection of 1677-79. Nevertheless unable to ignore these compelling motivations, he bared his soul in his own fashion, proclaiming the despair he felt in realizing he could not find a satisfying moral life anywhere in Franconia or Germany – a confession made especially poignant for his father (his most important reader) since its description of meditative seclusion echoes Melchior Adam's oft-repeated description of similar private meditations inspiring the father's Protestant conversion in 1649. Carrying personal revelation any farther would have violated the canons of good taste and brought into focus the most painful details of his early adult life – details that, despite Pastorius' reticence, can be approached through the context of his years as student, lawyer and traveler in Europe.

This chapter describes the student experience of a man who combined outspoken academic criticism with extraordinary cultural achievement, paying particular attention to the city and university of Nürnberg, where Pastorius was most at home. Nürnberg typifies the cultural and academic shortcomings and advantages of Europe as Pastorius knew them, just as Pastorius himself typifies the well-motivated student of his day, delighting in high cultural attainment yet aware of moral deficiencies in the cultural establishment that would soon be demanding his full participation. Since Pastorius was free to express this awareness in his Pennsylvania commentary, his experience delineates, with unusual clarity, the complex web of academic, cultural, political and religious influences that went into the making of the man of learning in the age of the baroque, when the learned generally behaved with steadfast determination yet not infrequently experienced grave spiritual

uncertainties. The chapter exploits Pastorius' prose, poetry and commonplace jottings to define these cultural themes.

3.2 Cultural Life in Academia

3.2.1 Student Career at Nürnberg, Strasbourg and Jena

> Plodding students would fain change the dull lead of their brain into finer metal . . . [I was so] mightily addicted to reading and study (such employments of the brain) that I abridged myself of my sleep and rest. Tryon, Mem., p. 18 . . . A spendthrift scholar, to get money of his father, wrote to him that he was dead, and entreated him to send ten pounds to defray his funeral charges. Ac. Compl., p.16.
>
> – "Student"

> Wander far, and gather nothing but empty notions, husks indeed. Penn. Young gentlemen are sent thither, because there are the best fencing and dancing schools. Schools of wrangling . . . Superficial scholars return as wise, as they came thither . . . Signal places for idleness, looseness, prodigality, &c. Truth.
>
> – "University"

In July, 1668, Pastorius began his student career by enrolling in the faculty of philosophy at Lutheran Nürnberg University, studying the liberal arts there for two years. [3] He visited Windsheim in July, 1670, serving as godfather at the baptism of Franz Jakob Mercklein, and in August he moved on to Strasbourg University in Alsace for two years of politics, law and French. Strasbourg ("Straßburg" in German) on the Rhine was a German free city when Pastorius lived there; it first fell to the French in 1681. Despite its Lutheran affiliation, the city boasted a diverse cosmopolitan culture reflecting its commercial ties with Catholic France just west of the Rhine and the Calvinist influence of the Swiss cantons to the south. During a summer trip to Calvinist Basel University in 1672, Pastorius explored French and Swiss territory beyond Germany and Lutheranism.

He returned to Strasbourg in August, but political tensions between the Hapsburgs and France under Louis XIV were making life difficult there. [4] The city tried and executed Georg Obrecht, a doctor of the laws and one of its own senators, for circulating reports that its government had made a deal with France. Law Professor Johann Heinrich Boeckler (1611-72), who taught liberal politics yet peddled his influence for favors both in Vienna and at the French court, died as tensions mounted in September. French troops violated Strasbourg's sovereignty in November, burning the Rhine bridge and cutting the main Hapsburg route to Holland, where France had begun its Dutch War (1672-79).

Pastorius left the turmoil of Strasbourg in November, and spent the winter at home in Windsheim. His father was then beginning his third year as burgomaster; this was the last time he would see his stepmother Barbara. He returned to Nürnberg University for the spring of 1673, but, "not liking the place for some reasons" (among them, apparently, the arrogance of its law professors), he journeyed on to Jena University in the province of Thuringia, a liberal Lutheran university, where he continued his legal studies under Dr. Heinrich Linck (1642-96) and studied Italian during 1673 and 1674. He toured Erfurt on his way to Jena, and "Naumburg, Gotha and other Towns of that Countrey" while in Thuringia.

Well advanced in law by August, 1674, Pastorius traveled to the "Reichstag" (imperial diet) at Regensburg in northern Bavaria, where he observed politics in the making for eight months as war broke out with France and Sweden in Alsace, in Prussia and in the Rhineland. Reluctant to finish his law degree, he returned to Windsheim for half a year in April, 1675. In his absence his stepmother had died in March, 1674, and his father had married for the fourth time in September of that year – a ceremony Franz Daniel had pointedly refused to attend. Meanwhile Dr. Linck, Pastorius' favorite law instructor at Jena, had won a professorship at Nürnberg University, and Pastorius dutifully joined him there for a final year of law study beginning in September, 1675. Culminating his student career, Pastorius received a doctorate in civil and canon law following his inaugural disputation at Nürnberg in November, 1676.

3.2.2 Nürnberg's Student Milieu

3.2.2.1 University Offerings

> The exemplary works of others mind,
> Till thy brave genius can no equals find.
>
> -- Epigram 2330.2

> The study of wisdom or knowledge in things rational, natural and moral . . . Philosophy is a quiet study, and even the worst have an esteem for it; the world can never be so wicked, but the very name of a philosopher shall still continue venerable and sacred. Seneca, p. 293 . . . Philosophy teaches us . . . to hit the white [bull's-eye] at any distance. P. 156 . . . To dispute with Socrates, to doubt with Carneades, to set up my rest with Epicurus, to master my appetites with the Stoics, and to renounce the world with the Cynic, is better than all impertinent niceties and cavils. P. 505 . . . It becomes the gravity of philosophers, first to be sure of matter of fact, and then to search after the reason of the thing. Ath. Oracle, p. 478.
>
> -- "Philosophy"

Pastorius' student milieu is exemplified by Nürnberg University, also known as Altdorf University because it was located, 18 kilometers from central Nürnberg, in the village of Altdorf – part of the large territory governed in the seventeenth century by the city then known as the Republic of Nürnberg. [5] The city's original Lutheran Gymnasium, founded by Philipp Melanchthon in 1526, was expanded and reorganized as a "school for nobles and patricians" ("schola nobilis et patricia") and built anew in the idyllic environs of Altdorf in the 1570s. The school's "collegium," still standing today despite the university's demise in 1809, consists of three four-story stone buildings in the Renaissance style – the central college with its high bell tower, long arcade and arched portals and windows, and two large wings built at right angles to the main edifice. Joined on the fourth side by a long stone wall with a high arched gate, they surrounded a spacious open courtyard embellished with a decorative and functional copper fountain from the guild shops of Nürnberg. Pallas Athena, the helmeted goddess of wisdom, presided over it, and three cast-iron dolphins spewed forth fresh water piped through the town from a nearby mountain spring. Nürnberg's city fathers had endowed a physical plant "worthy of the largest and most famous university" ("der berühmtesten und größten Universität würdig").

3.4.5 Broadening Religious and Intellectual Views

> Christianity consisteth chiefly in the renewing of the heart, by virtue of the operation of God's light and grace. True Christians are the children of God, of the day, and light . . . Christianity is not only an outward profession, but the very power of God (Rom. 1:16), whereby He renews . . . His own image and likeness in man, . . . setting it again in [its] former brightness and perfection.
>
> -- "Christianity"

> It is a base coin that needs imposition to make it current; true metal passeth for its own intrinsic value. Penn, Address . . . The will is no longer will if not free, nor conscience to be reputed conscience where it is compelled. Idem.
>
> -- "Liberty of Conscience"

> In Kirchen, Mosqueen, Pagoden, Synagogen,
> Wird vieles gepredigt, so erdicht und gelogen,
> Nechst Christen und Turcken, Heyden und Juden betrogen.
> [Much is preached, so falsified and fabricated,
> In churches, mosques, pagodas, synagogues,
> Deceiving (or: cheating, defrauding) Christians and Turks
> (i.e., Muslims) along with heathens and Jews.]
>
> -- Poem 460 (entire)

> Easy it is to write; but to write well
> Is very hard, much harder to excell.
>
> -- Epigram 2315.1

Pastorius' American interest in Lietzheimer's writings reflects the years they spent together at Strasbourg (1671-72) and Jena (1673-74) as well as their shared experience of political tribulation in Windsheim (1676-79). At Strasbourg their moral and religious growth included a trip they took to Roman Catholic monasteries in Alsace and to Calvinist Basel University in Switzerland. The syncretism of Nürnberg's Professor Reinhart encouraged their broadening travel. At one stopover on this trip, Pastorius made such a conciliatory impression that, he reported in "Genealogia Pastoriana," "I . . . was . . . strangely attack'd by the prior of [a] monastery, to stay & read over the Books of St. Augustine & these *Patres* that might convince me" to become a Catholic. The feisty prior had obviously mistaken Pastorius' openness to differing religious views as a sign of his willingness to convert, unaware that Pastorius and a growing number of young Protestants were pursuing religious truth without restricting themselves to orthodox Lutheran dogma. Young Pastorius had listened carefully to the prior's clever arguments in favor of Catholicism, and he was impressed enough to be able to give a sprightly paraphrase of them two decades later. [71]

The company of men like Lietzheimer and Reinhart and their liberal thought form part of the general pattern of moral and intellectual growth that can be traced

from Pastorius' Windsheim schooling to his life with Frankfurt Pietists and then with Pennsylvania Quakers. As he matured, he found more and more friends of moral sensitivity and religious conviction who rejected narrow-minded creeds and self-righteous attitudes. Many individuals of this character hoped that increasing liberality and secularity would allow each individual to live honestly, conforming to personal values that gave life meaning and dignity. Thus the relevance of his entries by William Penn under "Liberty of Conscience" in the "Alphabetical Hive" (quoted above).

He may well have believed there was one true way to salvation, but Pastorius was too universalist or ecumenical to insist that any particular church, denomination or religion monopolized this truth. At times he seems radical or extreme, apparently probing even his own Christian convictions. He went so far as to challenge orthodoxy of whatever stripe – as in the German Poem 460 (quoted above) with its enlightened cynicism or irony – and he also recorded for posterity the most varied points of view available to him.

His entries in the "Alphabetical Hive" on atheism, for example, include criticism of Benedictus Spinoza and Thomas Hobbes, and of various attitudes generally considered atheistic, along with surprisingly detailed accounts of a number of these attitudes. Religion is "a mere state trick," one of them states, and entries like the following expand upon this thesis with Aristotelian, Epicurean and other theories rejecting physical creationism or spiritual immortality:

> [Atheists] say that the formidable notions of conscience, heaven, hell, futurity and the immortality of the soul are but politic inventions of priests and cunning magistrates to enrich themselves and keep the vulgar in awe, who are naturally superstitious and fearful; that the soul is material and mortal, and that it will dissolve with the body.

One of Pastorius' sources argues that "a fortuitous concourse of atoms stretched forth the heavens, and laid the foundations of the earth," and another description, based on Epicurean atomism, reveals a playfully speculative mind probing fundamental aspects of existence and morality:

> Some atheists say . . . the world made itself by mere chance, by a casual conjunction of atoms or small particles, as they were eternally dancing about in an infinite ultramundan[e] space, and so by their perpetual motion (caused by their internal vigour or gravity) danced themselves into all visible beings. They say that . . . nothing is above man, and so he is his own law . . . [with] no distinction of good and evil. . . . They believe that both their joy and sorrow terminates with this life.

Recording these nonconformist views (a relaxation of the compulsions of his youth), Pastorius displayed the open-minded curiosity motivating his Pennsylvania intellectual pursuits, which also included quoting extensively from the writings of Francis Bacon, compiling an eight-page extract from Robert Boyle's *Medicinal Experiments* (1692) for his "Medicus Dilectus" manuscript, and reading John Locke's *An Essay Concerning Humane Understanding* (edition of 1710) and commenting on it in Poem 421, a brief and sprightly explication of the Platonic doctrine of ideas, or "Plato's Cabinet . . . by Locke unlock'd at last." These were continuations of the curiosity and moral concern Pastorius developed as a university student, perhaps most characteristically by reading a wide assortment of books by predominantly Lutheran reformers and mystics. Reflecting broad religious views first encountered in Germany, the works of men like Thomas a Kempis, Jakob Boehme, Heinrich Cor-

nelius Agrippa, Peter Ramus, Erasmus of Rotterdam, Johann Tauler, Johann Arndt and Johann Valentin Andreae later lined his bookshelves in Germantown.

Pastorius typically appreciated religious scholars of linguistic subtlety and psychological depth, and impatiently rejected religionists "unable to indite" or unwilling "to lop" their verbosity, faults compounded by a narrow-minded refusal to listen to opposing views, "the Top of foolish Wickedness" (Poems 394, 395). He ridiculed the uncritical personal insights of a German commentary on the Book of Revelations (Poem 458), and criticized the credulity with which Joseph Glanvill reported incidents of witchcraft in *Sadducismus Triumphatus*, 1681 edition (Poem 437): "He that would not into Temptation fall, / Believes in part; but never Credits all." This healthy skepticism may reflect an awareness of the Salem witch trials of 1692, influenced to some extent by Cotton Mather's acceptance of Glanvill's reports on witchcraft. [71a]

Pastorius was so committed to good writing that he even risked offending acquaintances like Lydia Norton, a Quaker then visiting in Pennsylvania (probably a Caribbean missionary or colonist's wife), whom he instructed by letter after copying 44 pages of her Barbados journal, a frustrating mix of the essential and the superfluous that he graced (tempering his criticism) with Poem 485 praising her religious sincerity. "Thou seest . . . that I deal plainly, being by Birth a [frank] Franconian, and measurably by Regeneration a Free-man of the Lord," he explains in the letter, his attempt at humor barely disguising his irritation over "the frequent Repetitions" of irrelevant detail that "almost wearied" him:

> Journals that contain only remarkable Passages (in mine Eyes) are the best, seeing we can the sooner peruse 'em, and the things therein related will stick the more firmly in our Memory. I do not hint this to thee, as if I was any way displeased with Thine, but Simply because now a days most Readers loathe Superfluities in all Sorts of Writings, and much more those to whose Task it falls to Copy or transcribe them. [72]

Although Pastorius appreciated the subjective aspect of religious experience, and used an emotional piety particularly in contexts where his upbringing did not permit explicit statement, he nevertheless endorsed clear communication in both science and religion, which he saw as complimentary approaches to universal truth.

Pastorius' liberal theology, developing but not fully developed in his student years, also explains why he left Europe as a Lutheran Pietist and later played an active role in the Quaker Meetings of Germantown and Philadelphia. Appalled by doctrinal disputes and confessional prejudice, however, he repeatedly avoided questions from Germany about the denomination of his Germantown church – and obscured the issue of his confessional allegiance in the process.

He was especially guarded in letters to his father. Even when Melchior Adam, contemplating emigration in 1698, asked for specific details on the types of church services held in Pennsylvania, Franz Daniel avoided the issue, pleading instead for the religious freedom that would encourage true spiritual growth rather than hypocritical conformity to a state church, arguing that all true Christians are of one spirit with the Lord but that the established churches are deficient in their awareness of unity with Christ, noting the beneficial reform efforts of Roman Catholic Quietists like Miguel de Molinos (1640-96) and the Lutheran Pietists, and reporting that all sects were allowed freedom of Sunday worship in Pennsylvania – but avoiding any mention of the Quakers or Society of Friends. [73]

Aware that learned Germans generally considered Quakerism disturbingly radical, he endorsed, in most of his transatlantic correspondence, a familiar Christian piety rather than the exotic doctrine of the Inner Light. He revealed Quaker influence by describing God as "the Father of Light" and the Holy Spirit as "His divine light" ("Foreword" and p. 29 of *Beschreibung Pennsylvaniae*), and further indicated his religious liberality in the "Foreword" by identifying as sources of inspiration the learned Christians of Catholic Ghent and Protestant Cambridge, the latter well known for the Cambridge Platonist movement, which combined religious fervor and enlightened moral and scientific attitudes precursing eighteenth-century deism in a manner complementing Pastorius' own blending of fervor and pragmatism. [74]

Nevertheless, Pastorius reacted decisively to a published German report that claimed the "vain and foolish" ("Eitelkeit und Thorheit") Quaker church leaders in Pennsylvania denied basic Christian beliefs, above all Christ's "righteousness, blood and death" ("Gerechtigkeit / Blut und Todt"). These were "malicious lies" ("boßhafftig[e] Lügen"), he wrote in a 15-page letter to Pietist friends, spread against "loyal witnesses and servants of Jesus Christ, most of whose books I have read, and for more than 13 years I have frequently listened to their spoken explanations and sermons." He recalled that many of the Lutheran clergy of his youth – "those strutting cocks that are allowed to crow the loudest from their own dung-heap (the pulpit)" – had repeatedly castigated "Quakers and enthusiasts" even though they either had no idea of what they were talking about, or far worse, they knew better, but ignored their conscience and preached hypocritically because they were "unwilling to walk the narrow way of the cross of Christ" in their own lives.

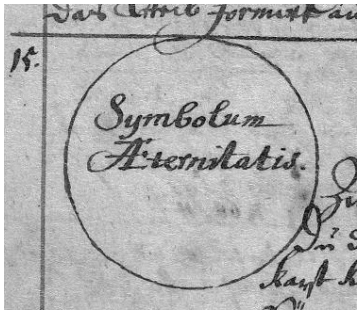
Pastorius regretted that so few Germans had firsthand knowledge of the Quakers even though "they are so well known in England and here in America through their countless publications, their lives of Christlike virtue and their patient suffering." And he defined the Christian principles of the Quakers in terms familiar to his German readers in a lengthy passage displaying the fervor and precision of a learned Pietist sermon (yet with a Quaker emphasis on God's 'Light'):

> They profess steadfastly and unanimously that Christ Jesus is the eternal only-begotten son of God created by his Heavenly Father for our salvation and righteousness . . . and that we follow in his footsteps, in his Light, Power and Strength (I Peter 2:21), that is, we walk even as he walked (I John 2:6) . . . and their teachers . . . preach with one accord that the blood of the immaculate Lamb of God sacrificed from the beginning of time purifies from all sin, sanctifies and justifies eternally before God all those who believe in the Light and walk in it in childlike obedience . . . [75]

This spirited defense of the Quakers is one aspect of Pastorius' universalism or ecumenicalism, which also includes praising the natural piety of the Delaware Indians and defending Malabar 'heathens' against Protestant proselytizing (see page 241). Pastorius actively participated in Quaker religious services and avidly read and copied commonplaces from dozens or even hundreds of Quaker publications, thus revealing a clear religious preference. [76] Nevertheless, his mature beliefs, liberal and open yet firmly Christian, seem not to have been restricted by Quaker doctrine or any other orthodoxy. He lived, essentially, by his own 'inner light' – a light that also left room for wide-ranging secular thought as well as the strains of Lutheran Pietist theology that never faded away.

Pastorius thus reveals an unusually broad theological or intellectual range – evolving strikingly from his earliest collected poetry, written predominantly in

German and Latin during his early adult years, when European moral tensions weighed upon him. Here he combines reflections on time and eternity with pietist moralizing and fundamentalist preaching on sin, death and hell. "Look at this circle, the image of eternity" ("Schau diesem Circkel an, das Bild der Ewigkeit"), he advises in Poem 15, and urges readers to fight valiantly against "devil, world and flesh" ("Teuffel, Welt und Fleisch") to win the rewards the Lord will provide "in eternal heavenly bliss" ("in Ew'ger Himmelsfreud"). He composes a poetic warning to be placed next to his clock (Poem 13):



From the "Beehive," Poem 15: "Symbolum AEternitatis"

Windgewschwind vergeht die Zeit,
Mensch! Mach dich zum Tod bereit,
Und Denck an die Ewigkeit.
[Time passes with the speed of the wind,
Mortal! Get ready for your death,
And think about Eternity.]

Poems 18 and 19 describe loving the cross of Christ "with all your heart" ("von hertzen liebt"): "Dying . . . is easy for those who have arduously striven to live by the ✝ ." ("Leicht [fällt das Sterben] . . . dem der schwerlich in der ✝ Schul hat gestrebt.") In Poems 20 and 21 he praises unity in Christ, ("UNIO CHRISTI"), "the salvation of every Christian" ("aller Christen heil"): " I fear you [Christ] as a faithful peasant [does his lord], / Since your divine nature deserves as much" ("Dich fürcht ich als ein treuer Knecht, / Dann das ist deiner Gottheit recht"). "Oh, Fear of God, . . . you are truly the beginning of wisdom," he writes in Poem 26 ("O Gottes-Furcht, du . . . magst mit recht der Weissheit Anfang heissen"). You protect us from evil, and help us to avoid sin and disgrace. (Love supplants fear, he eventually argued, for example in an epigraph on page 213.) Sometime later, now in English, sprightly verse enlivens the dry theology of Poem 62 (entire), and the lighter tone here indicates that he is beginning to overcome his obsession with sin, death and the hereafter:

Many go to hell,
For not doing well, Matt. 24: 42, Luke 12: 47
More go to the Devil,
That are doing evil. 1. Cor. 6: 9, Matt. 7: 23
But few go to Heaven, Matt. 7: 14
The rest resist the Leaven,
Which would work in these noddies
Their Spirits, Souls & Bodies.

These verses display the pious Lutheran beginnings of Pastorius' social and theological world, which expanded dramatically in the course of a redeeming Pennsylvania life.

Notes

Introduction

1. Biographical details from Franz Daniel Pastorius, *Umstandige Geographische Beschreibung Der zu allerletzt erfundenen Provintz Pen[n]sylvaniae, In denen End-Gräntzen Americae In der West-Welt gelegen*, [ed. Melchior Adam Pastorius], (Frankfurt am Main and Leipzig: Andreas Otto, 1700), passim (cited as *Beschreibung Pa.*); and Marion Dexter Learned, *The Life of Francis Daniel Pastorius* (Philadelphia: W. J. Campbell, 1908), passim, esp. pp. 126-34 (founding Germantown), 156-70 (offices held), 221 (the Quaker press plans, proposed in 1697), 170-72 (on immigrant naturalization). Further documentation is provided in subsequent portions of this study.
2. "Artzney und Kunst," p. 2, quoted in Learned, p. 189.
3. Letter of Israel Pemberton to Richard Johns, quoted in Learned, p. 178-79: "The first time I saw him [Pastorius] I told my father that I thought he would prove an angry master he asked me why so I told him I thought so by his nose for which he called me a prating boy." See also pp. 100-101 of this study.
4. Letter of 20 Oct. 1718 to Lloyd Zachary in "Letter Book." The evaluation of Pastorius' library is from Frederick B. Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House; The Quaker Merchants of Colonial Philadelphia* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Pr., 1948), p. 158, n. 40.
5. The bibliography lists Pastorius' manuscripts and published writings, many of which are described by Learned. The agricultural manuscript, which borrows from and augments many English farming books and German compendia known as "Hausvatter-literatur," is entitled "The Monthly Monitor, briefly shewing When our works ought to be done in Gardens, Orchards, Vineyards, Fields, Meadows & Woods; also in our Houses, Kitchins [sic], Cellars, Garners, Barns, Stables all the year round," 1701-c. 1716 (Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Pastorius Collection, Item 1). The extant medical writings are in "Artzney und Kunst," or "Talia Qualia / Medicinalia, Artificialia & Naturalia" (Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Pastorius Collection, Item 2), compiled between 1695 and about 1710, which includes "Medicus Dilectus," an encyclopedic compendium of 194 pages with 82 chapters arranged by bodily regions and kinds of disease and injury. Another extensive medical ms has been lost. These writings obviously predate Cotton Mather's less comprehensive medical ms of 1724, erroneously designated the first American medical compilation by Otto T. Beall, Jr., and Richard H. Shryock in *Cotton Mather: First Significant Figure in American Medicine* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Pr., 1954), p. 53. Pastorius' primer is *A New Primmer, or Methodical Directions to attain the True Spelling, Reading & Writing of English* (New York: Wm. Bradford, [1693]). Bradford had established Pennsylvania's first press in 1685 but, after becoming embroiled in religious and political controversies that briefly landed him in prison, he took a post as royal printer to New York in 1693. Pennsylvania lacked a printer in 1693-98 and 1705-09, a fact which vexed Pastorius and partly explains why so many of his writings were never published. See John Tebbel, *A History of Book Publishing in the United States*, 1 (New York: Bowker, 1972), 38-40, and Carl Bridenbaugh, *Cities in the Wilderness: The First Century of Urban Life in America*, 1625-1742 (1938; rpt. New York: Oxford Univ. Pr., 1971), pp. 132, 293. *Update 2013:* The law treatise quote: Alfred L. Brophy, "'*Ingenium est Fateri per quos profeceris*': Francis Daniel Pastorius' *Young Country Clerk's Collection* and Anglo-American Legal Literature, 1682-1716," 3 *University of Chicago Law School Roundtable* (1996), p. 637.
6. Harrison T. Meserole, ed., *Seventeenth-Century American Poetry* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1968), p. 294.
7. From compilations in the "Beehive" (Univ. of Pennsylvania MS Am 3), pp. 211-14, 633-34, 845-47. Pastorius clearly differentiates the 367 original epigrams collected here – and his other poetry – from the many borrowed rhymes copied elsewhere in his

"Alphabetical Hive." Internal evidence including his sequential but incomplete numbering suggests he wrote many more epigrams not entered in these pages. Since he used section numbers 2311-2340 of his "Alphabetical Hive" supplement for some of his epigrams, these verses are identified by section and epigram; thus Epigram 2320.1 is the first epigram in section 2320 of the "Hive." The couplets cited here are numbered 648, 652, 2320.1, 2325.3, 2328.1, 2329.1, 2330.5 and 2330.7. The triplet is no. 2324.1. The quatrain, from Poem 419, is also in Meserole, p. 303.

8. The Greek Apelles (fl. 4th cent. B.C.) was the most renowned artist of classical antiquity. Homer describes the original Stentor as a Trojan War herald with the voice of fifty men. Tension between metrical and rhetorical stress in line 2 suggests the clergyman's erratic preaching, catalexis in line 5 emphasizes the swift finality of "death," and the two extra feet of line 6 deliver the ironic coup decisively concluding the poem's thrust and parry. The Germanism "on the pulpit" ("on" for "in" or "behind") derives from "auf der Kanzel."
9. In English, translated as "Circumstantial Geographical Description of Pennsylvania" by Gertrude S. Kimball in *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey and Delaware*, ed. Albert C. Myers (1912; rpt. New York: Barnes & Noble, 1967), pp. 353- 448. This translation lacks the stylistic verve of the original, and is at times inaccurate, even blatantly so. On p. vi of the foreword, for example, deriding the arrogance of the university educated of his day, Pastorius refers to "der in der Aristotelischen Welt-Weisheit ertrunckener Mann" or, unambiguously, "the man who has drowned in Aristotelian worldly wisdom." Kimball, apparently worried that Pastorius would prove unpalatable or offensive to her readers, translates this as "the man who has drunk deep of the worldly wisdom of the school of Aristotle" (Meyers, ed., p. 363), thus turning sharp criticism into dull praise distorting the original message. See p. 297, n. 60 for simplifications involving the Delaware or Lenape Indians.
10. This folio volume has various title pages, added as Pastorius repeatedly enlarged and rebound it, one of which reads as follows: "Francis Daniel Pastorius / his / Hive or Bee-stock / Containing above two thousand little Honey-Combs; Begun in the year 1696 / And continued for the use of his children." Pastorius' remarks about the "Alphabetical Hive," taken from the "Beehive" itself, are cited in Learned, pp. 242, 248-51. The ms includes Pastorius' epigrams and his collected poetry, "Silvula Rhythmorum Germanopolitanorum," or "Poetical Raptures," a numbered sequence of 494 poems on pp. 137- 201; the "Alphabetical Hive" on pp. 415-97 and its supplements on pp. 498-890; indexes of its poetic themes and prose compilations; and a number of other scholarly works and compilations, including those described on page 92 of this study and one other (not elsewhere described) that deserves mention here.
    Upon the birth of John Penn in Pennsylvania in 1699, Pastorius commemorated the event, on behalf of his son Johann Samuel and seven other pupils (all named John) he was then teaching in Philadelphia, by compiling "A Few Onomastical Considerations occasioned by Our Dearly Esteemed Name-Sake John Penn," 66 items of his own composition (from brief sentences to half-page paragraphs) describing "namesakes" of William Penn's son, i.e. men named John throughout history, and reflecting on universal and personal naming and signifying, philosophically and humorously expanding upon Consideration No. 1: "A Name (in the Latin Tongue *Nomen quasi Novimen, a Noscendo*) is the Outside Character, whereby to discern one thing from another." The inspiration for this small commemorative present obviously pleased Pastorius. He first expanded the compilation with versions containing 100 and then 199 items, retitling it "Some Onomastical Considerations . . .," and gradually enlarged his "Beehive" copy to 1829 items. In a letter of 6 Oct. 1710 to eleven-year-old John Penn (from the copy in Pastorius' "Letter Book"), he notes that these "Onomastical Remarks have beyond expectation accrued already to above 1160 Paragraphs. Here thou wilt meet with abundance of Johns, Emperors, Popes, Kings, Pips, Dukes, Generals, Princes, Priests, Doctors, Champions, Lawyers, Lyers, Historiographers, Botanicks, Linguists, Poets, Magicians, Conjurers, &c. &c. [etc.] Johns of all kinds & ranks, good & bad, rich & poor."
11. Gert A. Zischka, *Index Lexicorum* (Wien: Hollinek, 1959), pp. xxx-xxxix.

12. The ms also contains early evidence of German-English linguistic interaction in Pennsylvania, such as Pastorius' 1716 borrowing of the English "fence" (substituted for "Zaun") to explain that he had thrown his Poem 432 over the backyard fence ("über die Fence geworffen") to his learned neighbor Christopher Witt, and that Witt responded in kind, with a poem "die er über die Fence zurück geworffen [hat]." (The poems humorously comment on one of Witt's botanical experiments, growing a fig tree outdoors in temperate Pennsylvania.)
13. Saving applies to time as well as money, Pastorius indicates in Epigram 2329.3: "Spend not your precious Time, but always make / A quick Dispatch of things you undertake;" in two variations on sleep and productivity, he opts for a short night's rest (Epigrams 659, 676):

    To be with Health and Wealth, and Wisdom fed,
    Rise very Early, and go late to Bed.

    Late to Bed, and early up,
    Fills your Platter and your Cup,
    Well to breakfast, dine and sup.

    Here he experiments poetically and philosophically, revealing a modern temperament not unlike Franklin's, a lively and flexible pragmatism humorously expressed in Epigram 621:

    In all what thou look'st on,
    There is a Pro and Con.
    But little can be said,
    Of Eggs as yet unlaid.

    As with many of his "Alphabetical Hive" notations, Pastorius entered "A penny saved . . ." without listing its source. He could have read it in the *Spectator* of 14 Oct. 1712 or possibly in a manuscript of William Penn's *Fruits of a Father's Love: being the Advice of William Penn to his children* (1726) if he did not record it from conversation. An earlier version of "Early to bed . . ."is contained in John Clarke, *Paraemiologia Anglo-Latina* (1639). See *Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs*, 3rd ed., pp. 211, 619, and Tolles, p. 45.
14. Seidensticker, "Franz Daniel Pastorius (1651-1719) und die Gründung von Germantown," *Deutsche Pionier*, 2 (1870), 136-43, 168-78, 206-11, 241-48, 275-79, 300-07, 334-40, 379-83; 3 (1871), 8-12, 56-58, 78-83. For "the father of German-American immigration" see, for example, a *Pastorius-Amerika-Fahrt* leaflet (1933) reproduced in Friedrich Gutmann und Georg Furkel, *Sommerhausen in Wort und Bild* (Würzburg: Selbstverlag der Gemeinde Sommerhausen, 1970), p. 311.
15. For Cotton Mather, see Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Intellectual Life of Colonial New England*, 2nd ed. (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell Univ. Pr., 1956), pp. 143, 194-95; Adams, *Provincial Society, 1690-1763* (New York: Macmillan, 1936), p. 7; other instances of the comparison with Mather are in Learned, p. 226, and S. Foster Damon, "Francis Daniel Pastorius," *Poetry*, 14 (1934), 38. Bridenbaugh, *Cities in the Wilderness*, p. 131. Cremin, *American Education: The Colonial Experience 1607-1783* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), pp. 308-09. Fantel, *William Penn: Apostle of Dissent* (New York: Morrow, 1974), p. 242. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Pr., 1972), p. 232. *Update 2013:* Anthony Grafton, "The Republic of Letters in the American Colonies: Francis Daniel Pastorius Makes a Notebook," *American Historical Review*, 117 (2012), 2, 18.
16. Seidensticker, "Francis Daniel Pastorius," *The Penn Monthly*, 3 (1872), 66. Learned, ed., "From Pastorius' Bee-Hive or Bee-Stock," *Americana Germanica*, 1 (1897), 67-110; 2 (1898), 33-58 and 65-79. (This project began with Pastorius' early verse, and terminated before it got to his mature poetry.) Learned, *Life*, p. 226. Bridenbaugh, *Cities in the Wilderness*, p. 131.
17. Arthur F. Engelbert, "Francis Daniel Pastorius in his Literary Activities" (Diss. Univ. of Pittsburgh, 1935) examines, in 72 pages, Pastorius' various scientific and philosophical manuscripts and his published religious and educational works in addition to his verse. Along with descriptive summaries and excerpts from the poetry, Engelbert (a theolo-

gian) offers some useful evaluation, in particular noting the joy, vitality and humor of many poems, but dismissing the baroque complexity of others as "exaggerated artificiality." Deella Victoria Toms, "Intellectual and Literary Background of Francis Daniel Pastorius" (Diss. Northwestern Univ., 1953) traces many of Pastorius' literary sources and, in a 30-page chapter, discusses the poetry in the context of European and English poetic traditions. [Henry A Pochmann], "The Mingling of Tongues," *Literary History of the United States*, ed. Robert E. Spiller, et. al., 4th ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1974), 1, 678.

18. *Seventeenth-Century American Poetry*, p. 294. A few earlier selections from the poetry are included in G. U. Zimmermann, ed., *Deutsch in Amerika* (Chicago: Eyller, 1894), 1, 3-4; Heinrich A. Rattermann, ed., *Deutsch- Amerikanische Dichter und Dichtungen des 17ten and 18ten Jahrhunderts* (Chicago: German- American Hist. Soc., 1915), pp. 12-20; and John Joseph Stoudt, ed., Pennsylvania German Poetry, 1685-1830 (n.p.: Pennsylvania German Folklore Soc., 1955), pp. 3-7.
19. Columbia, South Carolina: Camden House. As of 1989, most of the poetry in the "Beehive" ms remained unpublished.
20. Just as a gift of paper enabled him to begin the "Beehive" (Learned, *Life*, p. 196), paper scarcity obliged him to write small, Pastorius notes in this excerpt from a discourse on types of quills, one of 36 uncollected "Rimes . . . from mine Anvil" listed or referenced in the "Beehive," p. 214:

    The Hen pens, which we Officinas call,
    Are best for me because they Scribble small;
    For should I write so Coarse as some men do,
    Who'ld find me Paper then, pray! tell me who?

21. "Francis Daniel Pastorius, the German-American Poet," *Yearbook of German-American Studies*, 18 (1983), pp.21-28.
22. *The New Oxford Book of Seventeenth Century Verse*, ed. Alastair Fowler (Oxford: Oxford U. Pr., 1992), p. 764; *American Poetry: The Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. David S. Shields (New York: The Library of America, 2007), pp. 200-15; Marc Shell and Werner Sollors, eds., *The Multilingual Anthology of American Literature: A Reader of Original Texts with English Translations* (New York: New York U. Pr., 2000), pp. 12–41; UPenn Ms. Codex 726, URL= http://dla.library.upenn.edu/dla/medren/pageturn.html ?id =MEDREN_2487547& rotation=0&currentpage=1; Hist. Soc. Pa. (hsp.org), Francis Daniel Pastorius papers [0475], URL= http://digitallibrary.hsp.org/index.php/Detail/Collection/Show/collection_id/546. Numerous unpublished colonial poets have been gaining recognition particularly since the 1990s, Shields notes. See "The Library of America Interviews David S. Shields about American Poetry of the 17th and 18th Centuries," 2007, at www.loa.org.
23. German population density in the late 17th century was low compared to the 20th century but high relative to 17th century Pennsylvania.
24. Learned, *Life*, p. 183; Bridenbaugh, pp. 283-84, 446-48; and Louis B. Wright, *The Cultural Life of the American Colonies* (New York: Harper, 1957), pp. 107-08.
25. "Alphabetical Hive," Number 964 ("Doctor"), in "Beehive," p. 619.
26. Larzer Ziff, *The Literature of America: Colonial Period* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970), pp. 8-14.
27. Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Oxford History of the American People* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1965), p. 131.
28. The quotation (varying slightly in formulation) is found in English, Scotch and German immigrant letters and travel journals cited by James T. Lemon in *The Best Poor Man's Country: A Geographical Study of Early Southeastern Pennsylvania* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1972), p. xiii. German immigration is described in James S. Olson, *The Ethnic Dimension in American History* (New York: St. Martin's, 1979), pp. 24-27, 93-110; in Wright, pp. 58-63, and in Christine M. Totten, *Roots in the Rhineland* (New York: German Information Center, 1983), pp. 1-76. Franklin is quoted in Albert B. Faust, *The German Element in the United States* (1909; rpt. New York: Steuben Soc., 1927), 2, 154-55: "Unless the stream of importation [of Germans] could be turned from

this to other colonies, . . . they will soon so outnumber us that all the advantages we have will, in my opinion, be not able to preserve our language, and even our government will become precarious." Of the 82.7 percent of United States residents identifying their ancestry in the 1980 census, 28.8 percent claimed German descent, followed by 24 percent Irish and 22.3 percent English. See *Newsweek*, 17 January 1983, p. 20, and Andrew Hacker, *U/S: A Statistical Portrait of the American People* (New York: Viking, 1983), p. 46.

29. Seidensticker published Pastorius information in the *Deutsche Pionier* articles cited above; in "Francis Daniel Pastorius," *The Penn Monthly*, 3 (1872), 1-9 and 51-68; and in *Die erste deutsche Einwanderung in Amerika und die Griindung von Germantown* (Philadelphia: n.p., 1883). Pennypacker included supplementary detail in *The Settlement of Germantown Pennsylvania* (1899; rpt. New York: Benj. Blom, 1970). The only earlier publication faintly resembling a scholarly account of Pastorius is *Geographisch-statistische Beschreibung der Provinz Pensylvanien* (Memmingen, Germany: A. Seyler, 1792), anonymously edited, a 44-page summary of Pastorius' *Beschreibung Pennsylvaniae* published under Pastorius' name and updated with commentary for prospective emigrants. Friedrich Kapp summarized Pastorius' life in his introduction (based on Pastorius' reports and Seidensticker's 1883 book) to a reprint of *Beschreibung Pennsylvaniae* entitled *Beschreibung von Pennsylvanien* (Krefeld: Kramer & Baum, 1884), pp. XI-XIX. A few Pastorius studies published in Germany early in this century drew their information from *Beschreibung Pennsylvaniae* and from Seidensticker, Pennypacker and/or Learned.

30. The only detailed account of a Pastorius topic (until the1980s) is Beatrice Pastorius Turner, "William Penn and Pastorius," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 57 (1933), 66-90. A few articles provide fairly reliable summaries of Pastorius, although some of the reported details have since been corrected: E. Gordon Alderfer, "Pastorius and the Origins of Pennsylvania German Culture," *American-German Review*, 17 (1951), 3, 8-11; George H. Genzmer, "Pastorius, Francis Daniel," *Dictionary of American Biography*, 14 (1934), 290-91; C. F. Jenkins, "Francis Daniel Pastorius," *American-German Review*, 1 (1934), 22-25; Erich Mende, "Franz Daniel Pastorius gründete Germantown," *Damals: Zeitschrift fur geschichtliches Wissen*, 10 (1978), 123-36; and "Francis Daniel Pastorius" [headnote] in Meserole, *Poetry*, pp. 293-94. (Mende misleadingly illustrates his article with two representations of Pastorius, by modern artists or sculptors, that have no claim to authenticity.) A bibliography in Toms' diss. includes many other articles that are derivative or non-scholarly in nature. Articles and books commemorating the 1983 tricentennial of the founding of Germantown, then interpreted as the "beginning" of German-American immigration, include numerous additional summaries of the previously available Pastorius studies, among them Dietmar Kügler, *Die Deutschen in Amerika* (Stuttgart: Motorbuch Verlag, 1983), pp.18-23; and Ingrid Schöberl, "Franz Daniel Pastorius and the Foundation of Germantown," in *Germans to America* (Stuttgart: Institut fur Auslandsbeziehungen, 1982), pp. 16-24.

31. Pastorius studies since 1988 include Brophy, op.cit., 3 *University of Chicago Law School Roundtable* 637-742 (1996); Brophy, "The Quaker Bibliographic World of Francis Daniel Pastorius' Bee Hive," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 122 (1998), 241- 291, http://www.law.ua.edu/directory/bio/abrophy/PASTbks.html; Brophy, "The Intellectual World of a Seventeenth-Century Jurist: Francis Daniel Pastorius and the Reconstruction of Pietist Thought," in: *German? American? Literature? New Directions in German-American Studies*, ed. Winfried Fluck und Werner Sollors, New York 2002, pp. 43-63; Patrick M. Erben, "'Honey-combs' and 'paper-hives': positioning Francis Daniel Pastorius's manuscript writings in early Pennsylvania," *Early American Literature* 37 (2002), 2, 157-94; Erben, "Promoting Pennsylvania: Penn, Pastorius, and the Creation of a Transnational Community," *Resources for American Literary Study* 29 (2003–2004), 25–65; Erben, *A Harmony of the Spirits: Translation and the Language of Community in Early Pennsylvania* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 2012), esp. pp. 159-94 (available too late for use in the updates here); Anthony Grafton, "Jumping Through the Computer Screen," *New York Review of Books*, Dec. 2010;

Grafton, "The Republic of Letters," op. cit., 1-39; Margo M. Lambert, "Francis Daniel Pastorius: An American in Early Pennsylvania, 1683-1719/20", Ph.D. diss., Georgetown University, 2007 (Ch. 2 of this broader study is referenced here); Rüdiger Mack, "Franz Daniel Pastorius – sein Einsatz für die Quäker," *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 15 (1989), 132-71; Brooke Palmieri, "'What the Bees Have Taken Pains For': Francis Daniel Pastorius, *The Beehive*, and Commonplacing in Colonial Pennsylvania" (B.A. thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 2009), URL = http://repository.upenn.edu/uhf_2009/7/; Lyman W. Riley, "Books from the 'Bee Hive' Manuscript of Francis Daniel Pastorius," *Quaker History* 81 (1994), 116-129. Entering "Daniel Pastorius" at amazon.com (or similar sources) yields the new reprints available (some for Francis and others for Franz Daniel Pastorius); online versions include Learned's *Life* at URL = http://archive.org/stream/cu3192402 8830649#page /n5/mode/2up. Entries in encyclopedias, biographical dictionaries, etc. have not been cited.

32. Data from church membership archives provided by Lois Fulmer, secretary of the New Holland Evangelical United Methodist Church (email of 17 June 2014).

Chapter One

1. Biographical details are from Pastorius, "Genealogia Pastoriana" (Appendix I) and *Beschreibung Pa.*, passim, and Learned, *Life*, esp. pp. 101-11, and from Pastorius' mss as indicated in subsequent portions of this study.
2. Like all subsequent translations not otherwise attributed, this text was translated anew for this study by the author. The original text, from *Beschreibung Pa.*, p. 15, is in Appendix II. Accounts of initial and subsequent purchases differ in detail. Pastorius apparently confirmed and paid for a purchase of either 15,000 or 25,000 acres earlier arranged by the Frankfurt Pietists.
3. *Beschreibung Pa.*, pp 45-47. Appendix II includes the original text of the letter. Pastorius took his Latin text on being lost forever from St. Augustine, and commented on it lyrically, once in German not long after emigrating and again in English around 1715 (Poems 15 and 415). The reference signifies his concern with the hereafter, which was most pronounced in the early 1680s and regained some of its early prominence in the last few years of his life. The departure from Deal was delayed from 7 June to 10 June 1683.
4. This biography presents a representative selection of themes and opinions from the "Alphabetical Hive," primarily as epigraphs, although scientific and religious topics are under-represented in this general study. The excerpts from the "Hive" are identified by the headings Pastorius gave them. Compiling from his sources, he entered each sentence immediately after the previous entry without indicating the transition from one source to the next except when (relatively infrequently) he identified the name of the quoted author or book, often with an abbreviation. He also included short phrases without context, essentially as thesaurus entries. The typical quotation is a single sentence, offering the reader a moment's pleasure or demanding a moment's contemplation before moving on to the next, which generally has no logical connection aside from its common theme. Thus, in "Cookery," a remark on economical feasting (from an unidentified work of William Penn's) precedes a wry comment on the sin of gluttony and the lusty image of pasta towers and castles (both from unidentified sources), and they in turn are followed by references including Maxim 56 from Penn's *Some Fruits of Solitude* and the note on cooking instructions in John Shirley's *The Accomplished Ladies' Rich Closet of Rarities*, 1687, two works listed in the bibliography of this study along with other identified "Hive" sources, and keyed to the names and/or titles Pastorius used in the "Hive". Unidentified sources have not been traced. Poems and "Hive" entries not identified as entire are excerpted from a longer poem or listing. Where the sense of the passage is not affected, spelling and punctuation have been

modernized (although, in the poetry, Pastorius' capitalization is generally observed), and abbreviated words generally spelled out. *Update 2013*: My "Beehive" research (both in Philadelphia and, using a microfilm copy, in Germany) was extensive but selective. I skipped many topics entirely, skimmed those of interest, and carefully studied those I decided to use (textually or as epigraphs).

5. Personal attitudes and habits are frequently revealed in his poetry, most of it in "Sylvula Rhythmorum Germanopolitanorura" in the "Beehive," some of which is also in *Deliciae Hortenses*, occasionally in altered form. Poem 277 describes strawberries in rum, Poems 167 and 491 deal with pipe smoking and tobacco, and Poems 136, 168, 194, 208, 236 and 247 mention turnips, various melons, and forget-me-nots, representative of the dozens of garden herbs, flowers and vegetables scientifically or metaphorically treated in the poetry. Flirtation and sexual allusion are described on pp. 128-36 of this study. A couplet in Poem 167 satirizes non-smoking teetotalers who also avoid snuff tobacco:

   Poor Mad-Caps that refuse to drink, when dry, but rather wheese,
   Will make no Chimneys of their Mouths; Their Noses never sneeze.

6. *Life*, p. 116, n. 1.
7. "Zwei unbekannte Briefe von Pastorius," *German-American Annals*, n.s. 2 (1904), 493: "[Das Bild von Pastorius mutet] uns jetzt leicht als etwas hausbacken und prosaisch an, trotz aller Biederkeit und Ehrlichkeit des Helden."
8. *Vom Rhein zum Delaware: Krefelder gründeten 1683 Germantown* (Krefeld: Formdruck, 1983), p. 5: "Seine Kleidung war aus grobem Tuch und aufs einfachste zugeschnitten. Für jeden des Wegs Kommenden hatte er einen freundlichen Gruß, ohne jedoch ein einziges Mal den Hut zu lüften."
9. Pastorius' inventory of the personal clothing he took with him to Pennsylvania – listed in Learned, p. 115 – includes, along with the usual socks, shoes, trousers and similar items, a generous assortment of linen dress shirts and cravats, white and colored linen handkerchiefs, knitted, leather and white linen dress stockings, crepe caps, and felt hats, as well as a blue overcoat, a full-length brown dress coat, two jackets or suits with a veneer like that of patent leather ("lackene rock mit Hosen"), a leather camisole, two cloth camisoles, one of which was white and thus for formal wear, and the three wigs that seem to have embarrassed him as he copied this inventory into his "Res Propriae" manuscript around 1715, for he obscured their nature by listing them as one of two types of "small caps" ("acht Schlaff- und drei Paruquen mützgen," or "eight small sleeping- and three peruques caps"), thus suggesting that he did not ordinarily wear a wig, at least not after he had adjusted to the village life of Germantown.
10. *Beschreibung Pa.*, pp. 66-67:

    Den 8. Febr. dieses 1694. Jahrs kriegte ich auch einige wenige Zeilen von meinem Baten Frantz Jacob Mercklein, welchen ich im achtzehenden Jahr meines Alters aus dem Wasserbad der heiligen Tauff gehoben habe, selbst noch mit dem heiligen Geist ungetaufft seyende, und Christum noch nicht angezogen habende. Diesen bitte meinetwegen freundlich zu grüßen, und ernstlich zu ermahnen, daß er den Bund, welchen ich zu selbiger Zeit vor ihm mit Gott gemacht, dem Teuffel aber, der Welt, und denen Fleisches-Lüsten in seinem Namen abgesagt habe, treueyfferig halten, und nicht brechen wolle, denn solche erste Zusage gehet allen andern Verpflichtungen weit, weit vor, und ist die wahre Tauffe nicht das Abthun des Unflats vom Fleisch; sondern sie ist der Bund eines guten Gewissens mit Gott, &c.

    The tone of this exhortation reflects Pastorius' Windsheim experience as a young lawyer in 1676-79 as well as Franz Jakob Mercklein's decision to become a lawyer and thus follow the traditions of his upper-class family. Johan Caspar Mercklein (1616-97, named burgomaster in 1692) had chosen Franz Daniel as godfather of his infant son Franz Jakob, baptized on 25 July, 1670. 18-year-old Pastorius was then visiting Windsheim after completing his first two years as a student at Nürnberg University. See pp. 103-04 and 111 of this study and Alfred Estermann, *Bad Windsheim: Geschichte einer Stadt in Bildern*, 2nd ed. (Bad Windsheim: Delp, 1975), p. 83.
11. Cited in Learned, pp. 52-53.

12. Donald M. Lake, "Baptism," *The New International Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. J. D. Douglas (Exeter: Paternoster, 1974), pp. 99-101; and Robert H. Fischer, "Baptism," *The Encyclopedia of the Lutheran Church*, ed. Julius Bodensieck (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publ., 1965), 1, 179-88.
13. "Itinerarium et Vitae Curriculus" (sic), in *Des Melchior Adam Pastorius . . . Leben und Reisebeschreibungen*, ed. Albert R. Schmitt (München: Delp'sche, 1968), p. 65. Learned, pp. 52-53, gives an English translation of the Journal notation:

    > In the year of Christ 1651, the 26th of Sept., early in the morning between l and 2 o'clock in the sign of the crab, Franciscus Daniel Pastorius was born, and the following day baptized under the sponsorship of the High Well-born Franciscus of Limpurg, Hereditary Cupbearer of the Holy Roman Empire and Semper Free, and of the most worthy and erudite Daniel Gering, Doctor of the Laws.

    Reflecting upper-class norms, the Latin form "Franciscus" appears in this notation and in the church registry of baptism although Pastorius was called Franz or Franz Daniel (in the 17th century frequently spelled Frantz) as a child and later in Pennsylvania, where he was also known, among his English friends, as Francis Daniel Pastorius. Writing a French dedicatory epistle to William Penn ("A Few Onomastical Considerations"), Pastorius signed his name "François Daniel Pastorius," and he also used Latin and Italian forms of his name in appropriate literary contexts. In his daily life (as reflected in Pennsylvania documents and Poem 220) he was addressed – and referred to himself – as "Daniel Pastorius," an informal compromise that avoided alternating between the English and German forms of his first name. ("Daniel" is both English and German.) As a German male named Franz, Pastorius might not have liked the sound of the English name Francis, a seemingly emasculated form of his robust and hearty German first name. The Pennsylvania record, including legal documents signed "Frantz Daniel Pastorius" (Learned, pp. 161- 69, 173-74), does not support Christoph E. Schweitzer's claim that Pastorius "changed his first name" from Franz to Francis in Pennsylvania (*Yearbook of German-American Studies*, 18 (1983), p. 21).

    In the poem, Melchior Adam conveys his religious faith through the persona of his son, foreshadowing the paternal influence he would have throughout Franz Daniel's early years. The text in paraphrase: As death is inherent in divine justice, I ask you Jesus, the source of sustaining welfare, to protect me for a long time from approaching death, which all poor mortals must endure. You have suffered for me, you have conquered sin, daemons and death, and in your blood I am redeemed. The original text:

    Franciscus Daniel Pastorius
    anagramma:
    Fons salutis, parcas diu neci
    Si peccatori mortemque necemque minari,
    Numinis est proprium Iustitiaeque Dei,
    PARCAS quaeso, DIU IESU FONS alme SALUTIS,
    Venturae, misero quae subeunda NECI.
    Passus enim pro me, Peccatum Daemona, Mortem
    Stravisti, inq. tuo Sanguine tutus ovo.

14. *Beschreibung Pa.*, p. 102:

    > . . . damit wann je einer unter uns nach Gottes Willen einsten hinaus in Teutschland kommen sollte, wir nach der Freundschafft fragen könnten, wollest auch von unsert wegen unsere liebe Vettern und Basen uff das freundlichste grüßen, und dieselbige dahin anweisen, daß sie öffters Brieffe an uns schreiben, welches uns auch nach unsers Vatters tödlichen hingange sehr angenehm seyn solle, und wir nicht ermangeln werden durch anderer frommen Leute Hülffe die Correspondentz zu continuiren.

15. This description is based on *Polyglott-Redaktion, Reiseführer Franken*, 4th ed. (Munich: Polyglott, 1980), pp. 3-7, 14-15, 18-30; and Max Spindler, ed., *Teil Franken* of *Franken, Schwaben, Qberpfalz bis zum Ausgang des 18. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 3 of *Handbuch der Bayerischen Geschichte* (Munchen: Beck, 1971), pp. 196-200, 216-23. Sommerhausen is described in Friedrich Gutmann and Georg Furkel, *Sommerhausen in Wort und Bild*,

2nd ed. (Wiirzburg: Gemeinde Sommerhausen, 1970), pp. 42, 119-30, 158, 187-89. Windsheim is documented in the descriptions of Chapter Two.

16. William Smith, "A Description of the Cittie of Noremberg," ed. Karlheinz Goldmann, *Mitteilungen des Vereins fur Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg*, 48 (1958), 212-16; Daniel Papebroch, *Eine Gelehrtenreise durch Mainfranken 1660* (Wiirzburg: Freunde Mainfr. Kunst und Geschichte, 1952), pp. 18-25; Balthasar de Monconys, "Eine Reise durch Frankenland im Jahre 1663," ed. A. Bechtold, *Der Fränkische Bund*¸ II, i, 2-5; Jacques Esprinchard and Sebastian Munster are quoted in Hanns H. Hofmann and Günther Schuhmann, eds., *Franken in alten Ansichten und Schilderungen* (Konstanz: Thorbecke, 1967), pp. 42 and 215.
17. The historical data is from Gerd Zimmermann, "Franken," *Geschichte der deutschen Länder: Territorium Ploetz*¸ ed. Georg W. Sante (Würzburg: Ploetz, 1964), pp. 211-44; Karl Brandi, *Deutsche Geschichte itn Zeitalter der Reformation und Gegenreformation* (Munich: Bruckmann, 1960), pp. 428-545 passim; Hajo Holborn, *A History of Modern Germany*¸ 1 (New York: Knopf, 1959), 284-374 passim; Wilhelm Treue, *Deutsche Geschichte von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*¸ 3rd ed. (Stuttgart: Kröner, 1965), pp. 276-87; and Walter P. Fuchs, "Das Zeitalter der Reformation," and Ernst W. Zeeden, "Das Zeitalter der Glaubenskämpfe (1555-1648), *Von der Reformation bis zum Ende des Absolutismus*¸ ed. Max Braubach et al, vol. 2 of *Handbuch der deutschen Geschichte*¸ 9th ed., ed. Bruno Gebhardt and Herbert Grundmann (Stuttgart: Union, 1970), pp. 27-188 passim.
18. Luther, *Vom unfreien Willen*¸ quoted in Fuchs, "Zeitalter," 8th ed., p. 69. Luther's text: ". . . auf daß diejenigen, so durchs Wort nicht wollen fromm und gerecht werden, dennoch durch solch weltlich Regiment gedrungen werden, fromm und gerecht zu sein vor der Welt."
19. *Kurze Beschreibung der Reichsstadt Windsheim 1692*¸ ed. Alfred Estermann (Munich: Delp, 1980), pp. 110-39. The quotation from Pastorius' text: "In der Stadt . . . war eitel ach und Wehe, weilen das Sterben also überhand nahm, daß die Todten allenthalben auf der Gassen lagen, und täglich mit einem Karren durch die Flurer in eine Gemein-Gruben geführet wurden."
20. The postwar era is described in Holborn, 2, 3-41; Treue, pp. 285-313; Max Braubach, "Vom Westfälischen Frieden bis zur Französischen Revolution," *Handbuch der deutschen Geschichte*¸ 2, 240-74 passim; and Rudolf Endres, "Staat und Gesellschaft. Zweiter Teil: 1500-1800," *Handbuch der Bayerischen Geschichte*, 3, 349-52.
21. Rudolf Vierhaus, *Deutschland im Zeitalter des Absolutismus (1648-1763)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978), pp. 50-51:

    > Die eifersüchtige Beachtung von sozialen Unterschieden, die Betonung von Vorrechten und Distanzen, das dichte System sozialer Kontrolle, das in Stadt und Dorf bestand,. . . erzeugten einen hohen Anpassungsdruck. . . . Servilität, tatsächliche oder scheinbare Demut des Tieferstehenden gegenüber dem "Höheren" . . . haben sich dem allgemeinen Denken und Verhalten der Menschen tief eingeprägt. . . Standes- und Zunftmentalität herrschte auch bei Juristen, Gelehrten und Pfarrern.

22. "Brim" is defined in OED, 1 (1933), 1105: "Of swine: To be 'in heat,' rut, copulate."
23. This short title, from a list of books Pastorius read (in Learned, p. 257), is used in the poem, and refers to *The Cabinet Open'd, or the secret history of the Amours of Madam de Maintenon, with the French King* (London, 1690). *Update 2013:* The mistress was Françoise d'Aubigné, Marquise de Maintenon (1635-1719), whom Louis XIV secretly married in 1685; see Veronica Buckley, *Madame De Maintenon: The Secret Wife of Louis XIV* (London: Bloomsbury, 2008), reviewed, for example, in *The Economist*, 24 July 2008: URL = http://www.economist.com/node/11785001
24. Will and Ariel Durant, *The Age of Louis XIV*, Part 8 of *The Story of Civilization* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1963), pp. 415-16.
25. On Pietism generally: "Pietism" in *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed., ed. F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Pr., 1974), pp. 1089-90; August Langen, "Pietismus," *Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturgeschichte*, 2nd ed., 3 (1977), 103-14; Johannes Wallmann, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands* II (Frankfurt:

Ullstein, 1973), pp. 133-56; Martin Schmidt, "Einleitung," *Das Zeitalter des Pietismus*, ed. Martin Schmidt and Wilhelm Jannasch (Bremen: Schönemann, 1965), pp. iv-xlviii. On Spener and the Saalhof Pietists: "Pia desideria" and "Spener, Philipp Jakob," in *Oxford Dictionary*, pp. 1088-89, 1298-99; Paul Grünberg, "Spener, Philipp Jakob," *Realenzyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, 3rd ed., 18 (1896, rpt. 1971), 609-22; Friedrich W. Kantzenbach, *Orthodoxie und Pietismus* (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1966), pp. 134-48; Johannes Wallmann, *Philipp Jakob Spener und die Anfänge des Pietismus* (Tubingen: Mohr, 1970), pp. 35-178 passim.

26. Helmut E. Huelsbergen, "The First Thirteen Families: Another Look at the Religious and Ethnic Background of the Emigrants from Crefeld (1683)," *Yearbook of German-American Studies*, 18 (1983), 29-40; and Guido Rotthoff, "Die Auswanderung von Krefeld nach Pennsylvanien im Jahre 1683," *Die Heimat: Krefelder Jahrbuch* (Sonderdruck), 53 (1983), 2-11. Although the simplicity of the Krefelders is still being debated, Pastorius reported, in *Sichere Nachricht auß America* [March, 1684] (N.p., n.d.), p. 3, that "these simple, honest people" ("diese redliche Leutlein") used up their life savings on the journey to Pennsylvania, arriving in a state of destitution that would have required them to enter indentured servitude had it not been for William Penn's generosity in getting them established. The diminutive "Leutlein," meaning simple or common people, indicates the sense of class distinction Pastorius communicated to his Frankfurt associates in 1684.
27. *Sichere Nachricht*, p. 7:
    > Dafern ihr nicht . . . zu Ermanglung der meisten in Teutschland gewohnten Gemächlichkeiten als steinern Häuser, niedlichen Kost und Tranck &c. ein oder zwey Jahr resolviren könnt, so folget meinem Rath und bleibet noch eine Zeitlang wo ihr seyd, fallen euch aber jetztgedachte Puncten nicht zu hart, so gehet je ehender je lieber auß dem Europaeischen Sodom auß . . .
28. *Theologisches Bedencken Und andere Brieffliche Antworten* (Halle: Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1712), 3, 766:
    > Denen die ihre zuflucht dahin nehmen, überlasse ich ihre gedancken: ich könnte niemand rathen, zu fliehen, ehe der Herr austreibt . . . Meine gedancken sind allezeit, zu bleiben, wo uns der Herr hinsetzt, und wie lang er uns daselbs lässet . . .

    This letter, dated 1 Aug. 1689, is identified – in Gustav Kramer, *Beiträge zur Geschichte August Hermann Franckes* (Halle: Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1861), p. 329 – as addressed to fellow Pietist August Hermann Francke. Spener here complains that he has not heard from Pastorius for three years (since moving from Frankfurt to Dresden in 1686), and states he would be happy to see a copy of a Pennsylvania tract by Pastorius mentioned in Francke's previous correspondence, since Pastorius "is after all the one who founded Germantown and has sent the most reports from the colony to Germany." ("Hrn. Lie. Pastorii . . . ist sonsten derjenige, der Germanstown gebauet, und die meiste nachricht von dem land in Teutschland gebracht hat.")
29. *Beschreibung Pa.*, p. 90:
    > Von diesen [die Principal-Participanten] haben noch einige Theils genossen zu mir herüber kommen, und das Vornehmen zum gewünschten Effect Bringen helffen sollen, so aber biß dato nicht geschehen, weilen sie die Einöde und Langweil scheuen, dessen allen ich Gott Lob nunmehro wohl gewohnet bin, und also gewohnet werde bleiben biß an mein seeliges Ende.

Chapter Two

66. For background on Pastorius' Latin schooling see Roth, "Pastorius," pp. 88-102; Paulsen, 1, 341-87, 465-92; and Fritz Blättner, "Die Wandlung von der altprotestantischen Gelehrtenschule zum humanistischen Gymnasium," in *Das Gymnasium in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Hermann Rohrs (Frankfurt: Akademische Verlagsges., 1969), pp. 1-13.
67. The circulated poetry includes "sorry Rimes, scribbled on any vacant page" of books borrowed and then returned to their various owners (Pastorius to Samuel Carpenter,

quoted in Toms, p. 152), several commemorative poems to the daughters of Thomas Lloyd (one of which is quoted on pp. 50, 88-89 and 249 of this study), and *Deliciae Hortenses or Garden-Recreations and Voluptates Apianae*. The emblem collection is cited on pp. 92-98, 117-18 and 139 (and in a few epigraphs), and the Latin letter on pp. 147-48, 229 and 234-36. The allusions and resonances of the letter were noted by Dr. Rolf Lenzen of Cardinal Frings Gymnasium, Bonn, the Latin specialist who helped translate portions of the letter for this study.

68. Learned, *Life*, pp. 99, 127-28; Mack, pp. 139-40; Learned, *Life*, pp.195-212, describes some of Passtorius' Pennsylvania friendships. *Update 2013:* Grafton, "Republic of Letters," p. 4, describes the allusion to the *Aeneid* identified in Learned and provides the English translation of this line. Mack identifies it as pentameter verse.
69. Notation in his book inventory, in Learned, p. 281.

88. Nürnberg University matriculation records, cited by Learned, p. 63; "Genealogia Pastoriana" and "Res Propriae."
89. "Reichsstadt Windsheim," ed. Wilhelm Dannheimer, in *Pfarrerbuch der Reichsstädte Dinkelsbühl, Schweinfurt, Weißenburg i. Bay, und Windsheim*, ed. Matthias Simon (Nürnberg: Selbstverlag des Vereins fur Bayerische Kirchengeschichte, 1962), p. 97; Estermann, *Bad Windsheim*, pp. 87, 114; Johann Jacob Geiß (Geysen), *Ansehnlicher und volckreicher Leich-Begangnis Des Hoch-Wohl-Ehrwürdigen Hoch-Achtbar- und Hoch- Wohlgelehrten Herrn M. Georg Leonhart Models* (Windsheim: Eitel H. Schmiden, 1714), pp. 19-29 (biography published with the funeral sermon).
90. Geiß, p. 24:
    > Er hatte mitten in der Eitelkeit wenig eitles an sich . . . Sahe Er irrige in der Religion / so kunte Er nicht ruhen / biß Er sie auff den rechten Weeg gebracht . . . Sahe Er gottlose Welt-Kinder / die in allerhand Sünden und Lastern ersoffen waren / so gieng Er ihnen nach / biß Er sie auß des Teuffels Rachen wiederum herauß gerissen.
91. Biographical detail on Stellwag: Estermann, p. 90; Pastorius, *Windsheim*, pp. 21-26 passim; "Taufbuch 1648-77" (Archiv des Evang.-Luth. Pfarramts Bad Windsheim, MS. K9), p. 67. Stellwag cannot be traced beyond his university years; like Pastorius, he probably pursued a career elsewhere as a result of the Windsheim dissension of 1676-79. On Mercklein: Estermann, pp. 83, 90, 92; Pastorius, *Windsheim*, pp. 24-27 passim; "Bestattungen 1653-1717" (Archiv des Evang.-Luth. Pfarramts Bad Windsheim, MS.), p. 428.

Chapter Three

1. Pp. iii-vii; see Appendix II for the German text.
2. *New Cambridge Modern History*, 2, 316-17.
3. Biographical detail not otherwise attributed is taken from "Genealogia Pastoriana" (Appendix I) and "Res Propriae," Pastorius' German autobiographical sketch (also cited by Learned, pp. 63-78 passim).
4. Franklin L. Ford, *Strasbourg in Transition* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1958), pp. 35-37; Ernst Jirgal, "Johann Heinrich Bökler (1611-72)," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 45 (1931), 322-84 passim.
5. On Altdorf: Georg Andreas Will, *Geschichte und Beschreibung der nürnbergischen Universität Altdorf*, 2nd ed. (1801; rpt. Aalen: Scientia, 1975), p. 154. This description of the university is based on: Will, pp. 125-27, 140-41, 154-57, 212-19, 267-70; Horst C. Recktenwald, *Die fränkische Universität Altdorf* (Nürnberg: Spindler, 1966), pp. 12-18, 30, 42-45; Konrad Lengenfelder, *Johann Georg Puschners Ansichten von der Nürnbergischen Universitat Altdorf* (Nürnberg: Spindler, 1958), pp. 34, 52; Artur Kreiner, "Die jährlichen Neueinschreibungen an Gymnasium, Academie und Universität Altdorf von 1579-1809," *Mitteillungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg*, 37 (1940), 341-42; and *Catalogus Lectionem . . . Altdorffina*, 1665-75 (annual academic catalogs).

6. "Tantum Quantum," no. 22, in "Beehive," p. 58, cited in Toms, "Background of Pastorius," pp. 220-21.

71. Update 2013*: Ein Send-Brieff Offenhertziger Liebsbezeugung*, 1697, pp. 11-13. Pastorius reports the prior argued that the Bible alone could not be the basis of Christianity because that would lead to an endless proliferation of interpretations with every clever preacher establishing yet another sect; the Catholic church, on the other hand, was sustained by enshrined traditions passed down through generations and providing authenticity and stability. These arguments, Pastorius reports, were too weak to convince him, but they added to his growing doubts about the Lutheran establishment.

71a. *Update 2013:* See "Biography: Cotton Mather (1662/3-1727/8)" at The Mather Project, URL = http://matherproject.org/node/22 and Cotton Mather, *Memorable Providences, Relating to Witchcrafts and Possessions* (1689), passim, at URL = http://law2.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/salem/ASA_MATH.HTM

72. Letter of 24 Aug. 1718, in "Letter Book," also cited in part in Toms, pp. 204-05.

73. *Beschreibung Pa*., pp. 86-89.

74. John Passmore, "Cambridge Platonists," *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edwards, 2 (1967), 9-11.

75. Update 2013: *Ein Send-Brieff*, pp. 5-6, 9 and 11-12. The German report was "Eine Missiv ex Antipodibus, oder America Pennsylvaniae . . . von einem Studioso Theologiae [Johann Georg Seelig] : . " (Appendix 5) in *Grundforschendes Gespräch zweyer Personen / gehalten über die Formulam Concordiae, Pietismus, Chiliasmus . . ."* (Frankfurt: Heinrich Wilhelmi, 1695), cited in Mack, p. 160. Pastorius' quotes:

> so ungütlich diffamirter getreuen Zeugen und Dienstknecht Jesu Christi / deren Bücher ich großen theils gelesen / auch vieler mündliche Erklärungen und Predigten mehr dann 13. Jahr lang zum öfftern angehört habe. (P. 6) . . . dieselbe festiglich und einhelliglich bekennen / dass Christus Jesus der Ewige Eingebohrne Sohn Gottes uns von seinem Himlischen Vatter gemacht sey beedes zur Erlösung und Gerechtigkeit . . . dass wir . . . in seinem Liecht / Krafft und Stärcke seinen Fußstapffen nachfolgen / I Petr. 2:21. das ist / wandeln / gleichwie Er gewandelt hat / I Joh. 2:6. . . . und dero . . . Lehrer bezeugen und predigen einmüthiglich / dass das Blut des unbefleckten Lambs Gottes / welches erwürgt ist von Anfang der Welt / von allen Sünden reinige / heilige und vor Gott ewiglich gerecht mache / alle die ans Liecht glauben / und in Kindschuldigem Gehorsam darin wandeln. (P. 9) . . . Die so genannte Quaker sind diese fast halb hundert jährige Zeit über / da sie der Herr auffgeweckt hat / so wol in Engelland / als hier in Amerika durch ihre schier unzehlbare Schrifften / Christtugendsames Leben / und gedultiges Leiden dermassen bekannt . . . (p. 11) Ich entsinne mich sehr wol / dass in meiner Jugend tausend und tausend mahl den Nahmen Quäker und Enthusiasten (von denen hachtrabenden und aufgebrüsteten Hahnen / welche auff ihrem eigenen Mist (der Kantzel) am lautesten krähen dürffen) habe ausruffen hören; demnach aber versichert bin / dass viele derselben weder des einen noch andern Worts eigentliche bedeutung nicht verstehen . . . Anderseits bejammere ich noch vielmehr diejene / welche . . . nicht nur den euffern Worten nach verstehen / was sie widerrsprechen / sondern auch inwendig in ihrem Gewissen eines bessern überzeugt sind / und alles dessen ungeachtet / den schmahlen Kreutzweg Christi nicht bewandeln wollen. (P. 12)

76. *Update 2013:* Lambert, "Francis Daniel Pastorius," pp. 87-147 passim, uses "Alphabetical Hive" entries and some of the books therein cited to trace Pastorius' relationship to Quaker ideas. She relates this to his Pietist background, but does not examine the secular and (pre-)Enlightenment influences. (The following description of Pastorius' early poems is also a *2013 update*.)

Index: “Alphabetical Hive” topics cited

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