

Gary C. Grassl

## Johannes Fleischer, Jr., M.D.: The First Scientist at Jamestown, Virginia

European scientists took an early interest in the natural resources of English America. Two scientists had taken part in the first, unsuccessful English settlement in 1585-86 of what is today the United States. Thomas Hariot, an English mathematician and astronomer, had described the flora and fauna along the coast of North Carolina and the Chesapeake Bay in his *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia*. Joachim Gans, a German Jew from Prague, had been the scientist at what *National Geographic Magazine* called "Colonial America's First Science Center" at their settlement on Roanoke Island, North Carolina.<sup>1</sup> But until now, few have known that a scientist was also present at Jamestown, Virginia—what the United States government calls "the birthplace of the United States of America."<sup>2</sup> That a German botanist with a medical degree from a university had arrived within the first twelve months of the dawning of this settlement had been unknown to the historians of England's first permanent colony. It was Manfred P. Fleischer, professor emeritus of history at the University of California at Davis, who revealed this startling news.

In the spring of 1997, the German-American Heritage Society of Greater Washington, DC, had commemorated the arrival in October 1608 of the first Germans at Jamestown. In August 1997, I received a letter from Manfred Fleischer. He told me that a German had been at Jamestown even before the glassmakers, house builders, mineral specialists and sawmill-wrights we had memorialized with a highway marker near Jamestown and a commemorative program at Christopher Newport University.

The pioneer scientist at Jamestown was Johannes Fleischer, Jr., born 11 October 1582, in Breslau, Silesia, where his like-named father was a teacher at a Lutheran Latin school [*Gymnasium*]; his father later went on to receive a doctorate from the University of Wittenberg and to become inspector of the Protestant, i.e., Lutheran, churches and schools of Breslau.<sup>3</sup> This city on the Oder was the capital of the Duchy of Silesia, which was then under the Austrian Habsburgs and part of the German Empire. After World War II, it was placed under the administration of Poland by the Allied Powers.

His mother was Anna, daughter of the deceased Breslau councilor Joachim Jörg or Georg. Twenty-four scholars composed poems in Latin and Greek wishing the pair happiness at their wedding in 1577. Johannes, Jr., became an early orphan, however,

his mother dying in 1587 when he was about five and his father in 1593 when he was about eleven. But he had the good fortune of growing up in a scholarly environment in Silesia, which enjoyed an intellectual flowering during the period of Late Humanism. His interest in botany was no doubt stimulated by the famous botanical garden designed by the physician Laurentius Scholz in Breslau in 1588. Scholz, the herbal doctor, raised native and exotic seeds, herbs, flowers and various medicinal plants in his garden, which served as a sort of town apothecary as well as a pleasure garden. Since Scholz lived until 1599, when Johannes Fleischer, Jr., was about sixteen, the youth would have been able to visit this botanical garden while it was still under the doctor's care. He would have had the opportunity to personally learn from Scholz and be encouraged by his example. This garden, with its healing and ornamental plants, was cultivated into the nineteenth century.<sup>4</sup>

Fleischer, Jr., began his studies at the Protestant University of Frankfurt on the Oder, which was founded in 1506. Then he studied "philosophy and medicine" at the University of Basel, Switzerland. "Philosophy" in this case referred to what would later be called natural science. Fleischer, Jr., was a student of Caspar Bauhin, who taught botany and anatomy at the Swiss university founded in 1459. Fleischer shared his research on plants growing in Germany with Bauhin, who acknowledged his student's contributions in his book *INA THEATRIBOTANICI* published in Basel in 1623.<sup>5</sup>

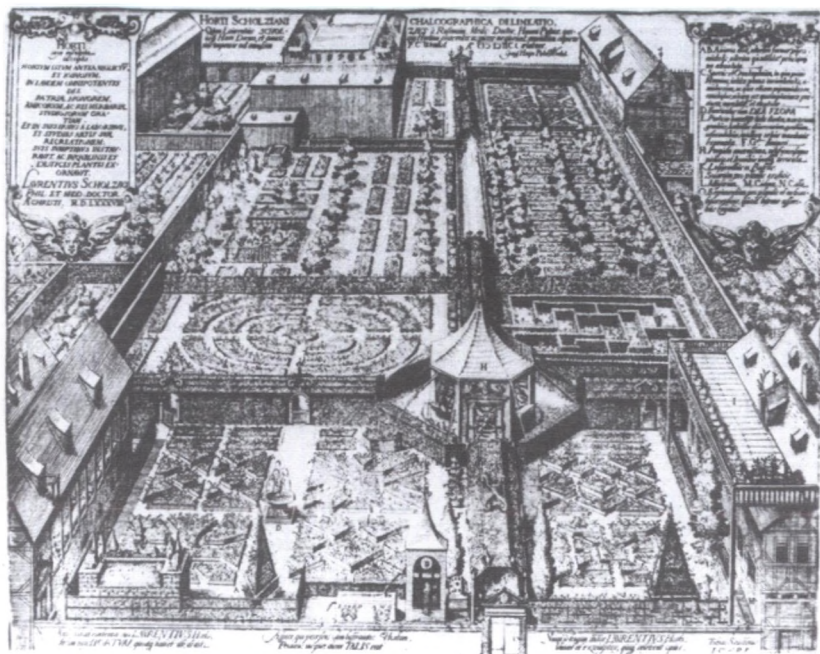
Bauhin, born 1560 in Basel, laid the foundation for modern anatomic nomenclature with his book *Theatrum Anatomicum* (1605). He led the way to the practice of naming each plant according to its species and genus; in 1596 he published his *Phytopinax*, a listing of 2,460 plants.<sup>6</sup> But "Bauhin did not merely anticipate the genus-and-species-scheme of 18th century Linnaeus," explains Manfred Fleischer. "Bauhin primarily discovered the big difference of the flora north of the Alps from the Mediterranean plants which the Roman military physician Discorides had described in the first century A.D. Up to Bauhin's time, herbalists had not made this distinction."<sup>7</sup>

Johannes Fleischer, Jr., received his doctorate in philosophy and medicine from the University of Basel in 1606. After receiving his medical degree and after studying plants in Germany, Fleischer decided to study the plants of the New World. Since he was a physician we can assume that he was especially interested in medicinal plants. Fleischer was probably inspired by the description of the flora of North America rendered by the Englishman Thomas Hariot in his *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia, etc.*<sup>8</sup> Published in 1590 in Frankfurt am Main in English, French, Latin and German, this book identifies plants Hariot had discovered in 1585 and 1586 along the coast and rivers of today's North Carolina and along the Chesapeake Bay. Although a mathematician and astronomer by training, Hariot catalogued many local plants; he did so principally according to their potential commercial use. Hariot reported that he had found, among other things,

Sassafras, called by the inhabitants *Winauk*, a kind of wood of most pleasant and sweet smell, and of most rare virtue in physic for the cure of many diseases. . . . Sweet gums of divers kinds and many other apothecary drugs of which we will make special mention when we shall receive it from such men



Portrait of Johannes Fleischer, Sr., father of Johannes Fleischer, Jr.



A copper plate of the herbal and ornamental garden created by the physician Laurentius Scholz in 1588 in Breslau.

of skill in that kind that in taking reasonable pains shall discover them more particularly than we have done.<sup>9</sup>

Fleischer apparently took up Hariot's call to study the healing plants of the New World. The doctor decided to travel to London no doubt to ask Sir Walter Raleigh's advice on how he might reach the English colony. Hariot's publisher, Theodor de Bry, had addressed laudatory words to Raleigh to whom he had dedicated *A briefe and true report, etc.*:

To the Right Worthy and Honorable Sir Walter Raleigh. . . . Sir, seeing that the part of the world which is between the Florida and the Cape Breton now named Virginia to the honor of your most sovereign Lady and Queen Elizabeth has been discovered by your means and great charges, and that your colony has been there established to your great honor and praise. . . . Therefore, for my part, I have been always desirous for to make you know the good will that I have to remain still your most humble servant. . . . And so I commit you unto the Almighty, from Frankfurt the first of April 1590.<sup>10</sup>

But there was probably another factor that inspired Fleischer to undertake a botanical exploration of America. These were the drawings of the flora of Florida made by Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues (1533–88). He had sketched these during an unsuccessful attempt by French Huguenots to establish a colony there between 1564 and 1566. These were also engraved by Theodor de Bry and published by him in Frankfurt. They appeared one year after Hariot's book in part two of *Brevis Naratio Eorum Quae in Florida Americae Provincia Gallis Acciderunt*.<sup>11</sup>

The journey from Basel to London would have taken Fleischer down the Rhine. When he reached London in 1607, he was probably surprised to learn that Raleigh's colony in what is today North Carolina was lost and that the knight was a prisoner in the Tower of London. Placed there by James I on flimsy charges, he was kept under liberal conditions and could receive visitors. Moreover, he still exercised considerable influence over the English colonizing ventures from his prison cell. Fleischer may have also visited Thomas Hariot, who lived at that time at Syon House, Isleworth on the Thames (today in the western part of London).

### Fleischer Sails for Virginia in Search of Healing Plants

If Fleischer wanted to discover the medicinal plants of North America, he would have to go to the new English settlement of Jamestown, Virginia. And Fleischer did indeed take the first available ship. He sailed to Virginia in a two-ship convoy under the overall command of Captain Christopher Newport; he was bringing the first supply to the English settlers after their initial landing in May 1607. Newport personally captained the *John and Francis*, which, in addition to provisions, carried 73 new settlers; an accompanying pinnace, the *Phoenix*, under Master Francis Nelson, brought 30 or 40 more persons plus supplies. Both vessels left Gravesend at the mouth of the Thames

on 8 October 1607, and kept closely together. But they became separated on Christmas Eve when the little *Phoenix* disappeared in a fog 30 or 40 miles from the entrance to Chesapeake Bay.

The first settlers had built a wooden fort on an island in the James River about thirty miles from its convergence with Chesapeake Bay. They called it Jamestown after the reigning monarch of Great Britain.<sup>12</sup> The location of the island proved very unhealthy, however. "The colonists encountered many hardships in their new environment. To the disadvantages of an unhealthy location were added the rigors of a new climate and deficient food supply."<sup>13</sup>

"Arable land on the Island was limited by inlets and 'guts.' The marshes bred in abundance, even the deadly mosquitoes whose forebears had been brought from the West Indies, in the colonists' own vessels; and, with contamination so easy, drinking water was a problem."<sup>14</sup> The James River flowing through Tidewater Virginia into the Chesapeake Bay is brackish. The colonists lacked even a well but took their drinking water from the James. This river "was at a flood [high tide] very salt, at a low tide full of slime and filth, which was the destruction of many of our men," reported George Percy, one of their leaders.<sup>15</sup>

The settlers had initially numbered 104 or 105; by the time Christopher Newport arrived on 2 January 1608, with the *John and Francis*, their numbers had shrunk to less than forty. Their settlement consisted of a palisade of tree trunks sunk into the ground enclosing unsubstantial cottages and buildings. This was Jamestown.

Newport "brought food, equipment, instructions, and news from home. His cargo was not sufficient, but for the moment this was overlooked."<sup>16</sup> Five days after Newport's arrival, disaster struck Jamestown: "This new supply [of settlers] being lodged with the rest, accidentally fired the quarters, and so the town, which being but thatched with reeds, the fire was so fierce as it burnt their pallisades, though ten or twelve yards distant, with their arms, bedding, apparel, and much private provision."<sup>17</sup> "This was a serious blow in the face of winter weather. With the help of Newport and his sailors, the church, storehouse, palisades, and cabins were partially rebuilt before he sailed again for England early in April."<sup>18</sup>

### Fleischer is Driven off Course

Meanwhile Fleischer, who was on board the *Phoenix*, the smaller of the two vessels under Newport's general command,<sup>19</sup> found himself being driven off course. When his little vessel and the larger *John and Francis* had run into that heavy fog while approaching the entrance to Chesapeake Bay on 24 December, they had become separated. While Captain Newport had been able to find his way into the bay and up the James the master of the *Phoenix* had gotten lost. Then "contrary winds forced the *Phoenix* out to sea again, and she had to go as far out of her way as the West Indies."<sup>20</sup> Having almost reached the threshold of Jamestown, Fleischer was being driven back the way he had come.

The *Phoenix* on which Fleischer sailed was a type of craft known as a pinnace; this was the smallest sort of vessel to risk an Atlantic voyage and one that had a difficult

time surviving a major storm. (Sir Humphrey Gilbert's pinnacle had been swallowed up by the waves when he had tried to return from Newfoundland in 1583.) We do not know the exact size of Fleischer's vessel, but a pinnacle was normally a two-master that had room for about twenty tons in its hold.<sup>21</sup> "Tons" referred to large casks or barrels. An average ship of the period could carry about 100 tons; the *Mayflower* of Pilgrim fame held 180. It is certain that Fleischer's vessel was no larger than many a modern yacht and less seaworthy.

After undergoing many perils because of storms, the *Phoenix* stopped in the islands to barter with the inhabitants for supplies. This gave Fleischer the opportunity to collect samples of plants so different from those he had discovered in Germany.

"The twentieth of April, being at work in hewing down trees, and setting corn, an alarm caused us with all speed to take [to] our arms, each expecting a new assault of the savages," wrote Captain John Smith. "But, understanding it a boat under sail, our doubts were presently satisfied with the happy sight of Master Nelson, his many perils of extreme storms and tempests. His ship well, as his company could testify."<sup>22</sup> The *Phoenix* had risen, if not from its ashes, at least from its presumed watery grave. "Master Nelson arrived with his lost *Phoenix*, (lost I say for that all men deemed him lost) landing safely his men," wrote Rev. Samuel Purchas. "So well he had managed his ill hap [fortune], causing the [West] Indian Isles to feed his company, that his victual, [added] to that was left us before, was sufficient for half a year. He had nothing but he freely imparted it; which honest dealing, in a mariner, caused us to admire him."<sup>23</sup>

"This happy arrival of Master Nelson in the *Phoenix*, having been then about three months missing, after Captain Newport's arrival, being to all our expectations lost; albeit that now at the last, having been long crossed with tempestuous weather and contrary winds, his so unexpected coming did so ravish us with exceeding joy that now we thought ourselves as well fitted as our hearts could wish, both with a competent number of men, as also for all other needful provisions, till a further supply should come unto us."<sup>24</sup>

### Fleischer Reaches Virginia

After having been at sea for six and a half months aboard the *Phoenix*, Fleischer finally reached his much sought for field of activity. Fleischer, the first Continental European to land at Jamestown—the first successful English settlement—arrived there more than thirteen years before the Pilgrims landed in Plymouth, Massachusetts. But what he saw must have been discouraging indeed. The small settlement existed on the margin of survival, and the struggle for existence would leave him little leisure to collect and study plants. He could not wander far outside the palisades of Jamestown without having to fear the thud of an Indian arrow.

Fleischer also faced language difficulties. He could communicate in Latin with the Anglican Rev. Robert Hunt, who held a master's degree from Oxford. The pastor of Jamestown, who had lost his library in the recent fire, was no doubt pleased to be able to converse with an educated man who like himself was the son of a Protestant minister. Fleischer, the first Lutheran in English America, would have found lots in

common with the low-church Hunt. Perhaps Captain John Smith still remembered some German—besides swear words—from his days of fighting with the Austrians against the Moslems in Hungary. As for English, Fleischer was limited to what he had been able to pick up in his six-and-a-half-month immersion course aboard the *Phoenix*. Fellow Germans would not reach Jamestown until about 1 October 1608.

When the *Phoenix* left for England on 2 June, Fleischer found himself far from his hometown of Breslau and the lone foreigner in a colony of Englishmen. His love of botany had drawn him to a strange continent more than 3,500 miles from home. He had traveled farther than anyone else to reach Virginia. But unlike most of his companions, he was not motivated to find riches but plants to heal the illnesses of mankind. His dedication to healing would soon be put to the test.

With the summer of 1608, the heat returned and with it sickness:

They say that during the months of June, July, and August, it is very unhealthy; that their people who have lately arrived from England, die during these months, like cats and dogs, whence they call it the sickly season. When they have this sickness they want to sleep all the time, but they must be prevented sleeping by force, as they die if they get asleep.

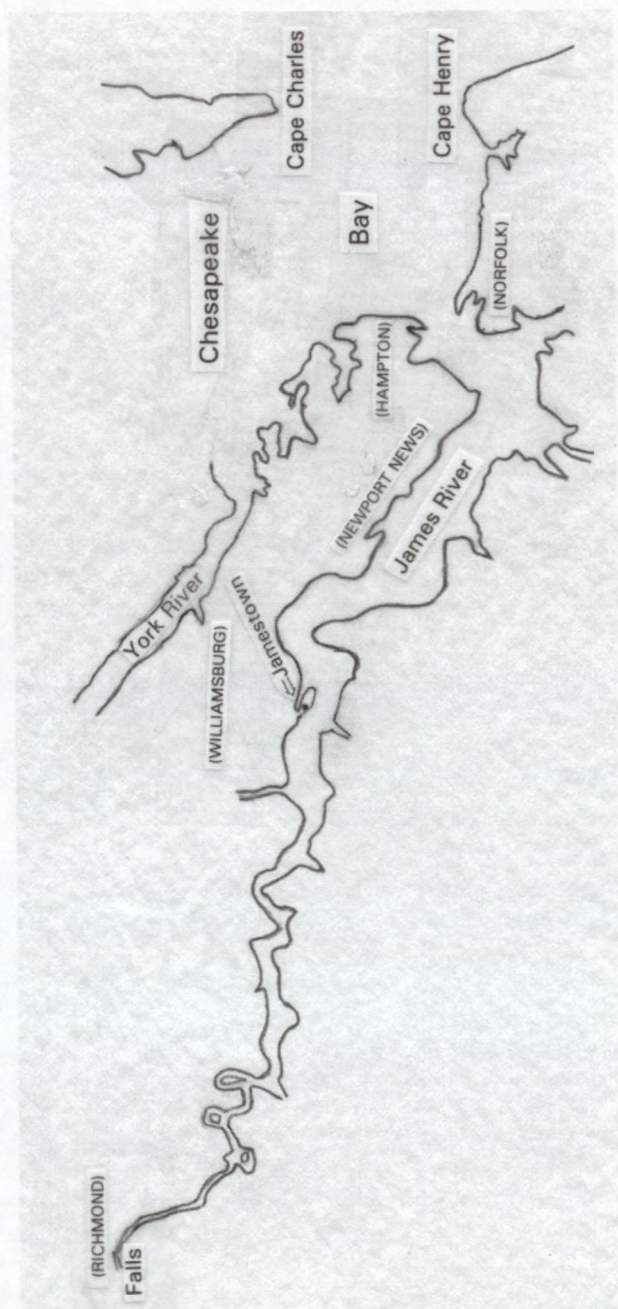
David Pietersen de Vries would write these words in 1633, but they were equally true in 1608. In the first seventeen years of the colony "six died for every one that lived. A cemetery with unmarked graves would be their only memorial."<sup>25</sup>

"Dysentery, along with typhoid and salt poisoning, are believed to have been the primary causes of death in the first few years of the colony."<sup>26</sup> The settlers had not yet dug a well and were still relying on the salty water from the James River. In July, "all the hitherto healthy new arrivals from the *Phoenix* were now sick, and so were many who had been there longer."<sup>27</sup> The gentlemen like Fleischer "must have felt the sting of failure as the reality of Virginia sank in and yet could never know that eventually all American political, judicial, and largely cultural identity springs from their own first efforts in Virginia."<sup>28</sup>

### The Fate of Dr. Fleischer

With the many sicknesses at the settlement, the medical services of Fleischer were no doubt in great demand. He was the only physician at Jamestown now, Captain Smith having taken the English doctor, Walter R. Russell, away with him on his explorations from 2 June to 20 July. When Smith returned, he made himself president; then he left again on 24 July for a second journey until 7 September. When he returned, "Many of the settlers were reported dead, and others sick, and supplies housed in the store had been spoiled by rain."<sup>29</sup> Alas, Fleischer himself had become ill.

John Smith, who held the position of counselor of the Jamestown colony before he made himself president in July, would have done better looking after affairs at home during this critical time than going exploring. For one thing, the fourteen men he took with him could have dug a well to provide uncontaminated water.



Entrance to Chesapeake Bay, James River and Jamestown, Virginia.



Aerial photo of Jamestown Island, Virginia.

A German manuscript of obituaries kept in Breslau from 1599 to 1676 states:

Nota Bene. In the year 1608, approximately in the middle of summer time, in North America, in a town of the country Virginia, English territory, in the presence of Christian persons, after suffering bodily sickness, died and was buried Johannes Fleischer, Doctor of Medicine, eldest son of Johannes Fleischer, Doctor of Theology and Pastor of Elisabeth [church] in Vrat. [Breslau], at the age of 26.<sup>30</sup>

We also read in *Silesia Togata*, a collection of epitaphs of 1,567 Silesian worthies published in 1706 in Liegnitz, Silesia:

JOHANNES, Johannis Fil. FLEISSERUS, Phil. & Med. D. Teutone quæ tellus profert generamina vidit; India quæ profert vidit &, & periit. (N. Wratisl. 11. Octob. An. 1582. &. in oppido Jaines-Tovvne in Virginia, media æstate An. 1608, æt. an. 26. Polius.)

[Johannes, son of Johannes Fleischer, doctor of philosophy and medicine; he surveyed what plants the German soil brings forth; what India brings forth he viewed too, and he died. (Born in Breslau, 11 October 1582 and died in Jamestown, Virginia, in midsummer of 1608 at the age of 26. Polius).]

Similar information appears in Johann Heinrich Zedler's *Großteses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon aller Wissenschaften und Künste* (Halle, 1735), 9: col. 1211:

Fleischer (Johann) ein Lutherischer Theologus . . . war zu Breslau 1539. den 29. Mertz gebohren, studirte zu Wittenberg, wurde daselbst Magister. . . Sein Sohn Joannes, der 1582. zu Breslau gebohren, und 1606. zu Basel Doctor Medicinæ worden, gieng aus Liebe zur Botanic nach Virginien, und starb daselbst an. 1608 (see Appendix B for complete text.)

Christian Gottlieb Jöcher's *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon* (1750, repr. G. Olms in Hildesheim, 1960), cites similar information about Fleischer in part 2, column 636.<sup>31</sup>

Manfred Fleischer describes Johannes Fleischer, Jr., M.D., as follows:

Bezeichnend für ein Nebenmerkmal der lutherisch-späthumanistischen Gelehrtenrepublik ist die Laufbahn von Fleischers ältestem Sohn. Im Reformationsjahrhundert zeigten lutherische Pfarrerssöhne eine aussergewöhnliche Vorliebe für Medizin und Botanik. Diese begann schon bei Luthers Sohn Paul (1533–1593), dessen pflanzenheilkundliches Hauptwerk, *Oratio de arte medica et cura tuenda valetudinis*, 1598 in Breslau veröffentlicht wurde. . . . Da bildete Johannes Fleischer der Jüngere (1582–1608) keine Ausnahme. Er studierte in Frankfurt an der Oder, erwarb sich

(18. Anno 1608. Angestellte miten in 3 Tausend, in Anse-  
rica Septentriionali, in einer Stadt und Tausend Vignallen, Angestellte  
gebildet, in einigen Epistelen Profors, auf außersich. Lichte. hanc. hanc.  
gestanden v. Angestellte, Joh. Fleischer, Act. d. d. Johannes Fleischer, H. d.  
et Elisabeth. Papst. Kard. nachfol. auf. Elektor. T. d. anno d. d. 26.)

Manuscript record of Dr. Johannes Fleischer's death  
*Vratislaviense*  
Diarium mortuorum of Breslau (1613)

1606 seinen medizinischen Doktorgrad in Basel und starb auf einer pflanzenkundlichen Forschungsreise in Jamestown, Virginien, ehe er ein wissenschaftliches Werk vollenden konnte. Mit den schlesischen Ärzten Friedrich Monau und Laurentius Scholz sowie dem Scholzschen Gartendichter und Botaniker James Cargill aus Schottland erschien aber 'Joan. Fleisserus Uratisl. Medicus' unter den *Nomina erorum qui plantas vel semina communicarunt* in Caspar Bauhins ΔΕΙΪΑΘ Theatri Botanici (Basel, 1623).<sup>32</sup>

## When Did Dr. Fleischer Die and How Did the News Travel to Silesia?

With the summer in North America lasting from around 21 June to 22 September, Fleischer must have died somewhere around 7 August 1608, after having spent about three and a half months at Jamestown. The "Christian persons" attending him at his death may have included Master Hunt, the pastor of Jamestown, who no doubt officiated at Fleischer's burial if he was physically able. Hunt is believed to have died in the winter of 1608.<sup>33</sup>

We know that the news of Fleischer's death reached Breslau in April 1613, because the scribe interrupted his chronological obituary record on 18 April 1613. He then inserted the news of Fleischer's death. Although this piece of news was five years old, he considering it important enough to disrupt his chronology. He continued with his regular calendar on 4 May 1613.

How did this information reach distant Silesia from fever-wracked and strife-torn Jamestown? Who was the scribe? Polius or Pol, who is given as the source of the information on Dr. Johannes Fleischer, Jr., in *Silesia Togata*, was a Lutheran clergyman in Breslau; he was a colleague of Rev. Joachim Fleischer (1587-1645), the younger brother of Dr. Fleischer.<sup>34</sup> Joachim must have told Polius the news of his brother's early death in far-away America.

The first ship to leave the English colony after Fleischer's death in midsummer 1608 was that of Captain Newport after he had brought the second supply and new settlers around 1 October, including two German glassmakers and three housewrights. Newport left between 27 November and 3 December and reached London on 23 January 1609. How was the news conveyed from London to Breslau in the days before mail service? Perhaps Raleigh and Hariot had a hand. We know that Hariot communicated with the astronomer Johannes Kepler in Prague about optical problems in 1606. In 1609 Kepler was still in Prague at the Royal Observatory. Breslau is about 135 miles northeast of Prague.

Where is the grave of Dr. Fleischer, the first botanist to reach Jamestown? Strange as it may seem to us, in the early years of the colony the dead, particularly the gentlemen, are believed to have been commonly buried within the confines of the James Fort palisades. In 1996 archeologists at Jamestown discovered the skeleton "of a young man in the remnants of the newly discovered 1607 James Fort"<sup>35</sup> and in the following year the skull and coffin remains of a woman.<sup>36</sup> Both are from the earliest years of settlement. It would have been safer to bury the dead within James Fort where

the burial party could not be ambushed by the natives. The settlers may have also wanted to hide their many dead from them. Although some effort was made to bury gentlemen, like Fleischer, in wooden coffins, by midsummer of 1608 so many were ill that probably no one had the energy for such formalities. Stones that might have been shaped into grave markers were hard to find in clayey Tidewater Virginia; grave markers were later imported from England as ship ballast. The first German to mingle his ashes with the soil of English America lies in an unknown grave. He lives on in our memory, however, as the first scientist at "the Birthplace of America" and as the man who risked his life to find healing herbs so that others might live.

*The German-American Heritage Society of Greater Washington, DC*  
Washington, DC

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I wish to thank Manfred P. Fleischer, professor emeritus of Renaissance history at the University of California at Davis. This article would not have been possible without his help; it is really a joint creation. It was he who alerted me to the Jamestown pioneer Johannes Fleischer, Jr., M.D. He also supplied much information about this explorer, about his father and about their Silesian background. He also provided the portrait of Rev. Johannes Fleischer, Sr., the illustration of Scholz's garden, the epitaph in *Silesia Togata* and the wording of the manuscript recording Dr. Fleischer's death. He also informed me of the whereabouts of a copy of this obituary manuscript in Germany.

I wish to thank Gerhard E. Sollbach, executive director of the Department of History, University of Dortmund, for providing the computer-enhanced photocopies and slide copies of the manuscript containing the obituary of Johannes Fleischer, Jr., M.D. In addition, he helped to decipher this manuscript. He also provided a photo copy of Zedler's 1735 lexicon article on Fleischer, M.D.

I am also grateful to David W. Luz, administrator of the Schwenkfelder Library, for lending me microfilms of the *Zeitbücher der Schlesier, herausgegeben von J. G. Büsching*. Thanks also to James Michael Weiss, professor of history at Boston College, to Peter Erb, professor of religion and culture at Wilfred Laurier University in Waterloo, Canada, and to Jennie Rathbun of the Houghton Library, Harvard University, for helping with the research.

### Appendix A

The Ecclesiastical Career of Rev. Johannes Fleischer, Sr.

XXV. Decembris. 1572. Hat. M. Johannes Fleischer / so dem alten Herren M. Johanni Scholtzio succediret / zu S. Elizabeth in der Christnacht / die erste Predigt gethan.

IV. Septembris. 1583. Ist Herr M. Johanes Fleischer / Prediger zu S. Elizabeth / vnd

Professor bey derselbe Schulen / zum Pfarrherrn zu S. Maria Magdalena introduciret vnd angenommen worden.

VIII. Septembris. 1583. Den funffzehenden Sontag nach Trinitatis / thet Herr M. Johannes Fleischer / Pfarrherr / seine erste Predigt zu Sanct Maria Magdalena zur Hohemesse.

IV. Augusti. 1589. Ist Herr D. Iohannes Fleisserus, nach erlangetem Doctorat zu Wittemberg zum Pfarrherr zu S. Elisabeth...introduciret worden / den folgenden zehenden Sontag nach Trinitatis hat [er] angefangen zu predigen.

IV. Maij. 1593. Ist Herr Doctor Johannes Fleiserus / trewer Pfarrherr vnd Seelsorger zu S. Elizabeth / nach einem vbel gerahtenen Aderlassen / seliglich von dieser Welt abgeschieden. Seines Alters im 54. Schul vnd Kirchen Ampts ein vnd zwantzigsten Jahr.

*Hemerologion Silesia cum Vratislaviense* [Chronicles of Silesia and Breslau]. *Tagebuch Allerleyfürnemer / namhafftiger / gedenckwürdiger Historien / so fürnemlich in Breßlaw der Hauptstadt / auch sonst etlichen andern Orten im Fürstenthumb Schlesien / sich begeben: Auff gewisse Tage / Monat vnd Jahr / Aus vielen alten vnd newen geschriebenen vnd gedruckten Chronicken / Monumenten / Brieffen / Vrkunden / gutem Bericht vnd gemeiner Erfahrung / ordentlich gestellet... mit fleis zusammen gebracht / vnd in Druck verfertigt / Durch Nicolaum Polium Vratislaviensem, Dienern des Göttlichen Worts daselbst / bey Sanct Maria Magdalena. Cum Gratia et Privilegio Serenissimi Elect. Saxoniae. Gedruckt zu Leiptzig / durch Abraham Lamberg / In Verlegung Johan Eyerings vnd Johan Perferts / beyder Buchhändler in Breßlaw / Anno M. D. C. XII. [1612; reference courtesy of Manfred P. Fleischer; copy in the Houghton Library, Harvard University.]*

## Appendix B

The following is the complete text of the biography of Johannes Fleischer Sr., in Zedler's *Grosses Vollständiges Universal Lexicon* (1735). The reference to his son, Johannes Fleischer, Jr., M.D., has been emphasized by the author.

Fleischer (Johann) ein Lutherischer Theologus und Vater des vorherstehenden [Joachim Fleischer], war zu Breslau 1539. den 29. Mertz gebohren, studirte zu Wittenberg, wurde daselbst Magister, hielt viel Collegia, that eine Reise durch Ober-Teutschland, wurde 1567. Professor an dem Goldbergischen Gymnasio, gieng aber, als die Pest allda entstanden, wieder nach Wittenberg. An. 1572. wurde er zu Breslau Mittags-Prediger zu St. Elisabeth und Professor des dabeyliegenden Gymnasii, 1583. Pfarrer der Kirche zu St. Maria Magdalena, und 1589. Inspector der Kirchen und Schulen zu Breslau, nachdem er in eben diesem Jahre den Gradum eines Doctoris Theologiae zu Wittenberg angenommen. Drey Jahr vor seinem Tode that er einen schweren Fall, und gerieth darüber in eine tödliche Kranckheit, davon er nicht wieder

zu Kräfte kommen konte. Als er an. 1593. ein Recidiv vermuthete, gedachte er durch einen Aderlaß dem Uebel vorzubauen, war aber dabey so unglücklich, daß wegen übler Wartung der unrecht geschlagenen Ader der kalte Brand den Arm einnahm, worauf er den 4. Mertz gedachten Jahres gestorben, nachdem er einen Tractat vom Regenbogen geschrieben. Sein Sohn Joannes, der 1582. zu Breslau gebohren, und 1606. zu Basel Doctor Medicinæ worden, gieng aus Liebe zur Botanic nach Virginien, und starb daselbst an. 1608. [Pantke. *Henelii Annal. Siles. Ad. An. 1593. Apud de Sommersberg Script. Rer. Siles. Tom. II*, 458 (9: col. 1211)].

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> *National Geographic* (January 1994); Thomas Harriot, *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (The Complete 1590 Theodor de Bry Edition) (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1972); Ivor Noël Hume, *The Virginia Adventure: Roanoke to James Towne, An Archaeological and Historical Odyssey* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994); Gary C. Grassl, "Joachim Gans of Prague: The First Jew in English America," *American Jewish History* 86, 2 (June 1998): 195–217.

<sup>2</sup> These giant letters are chiseled into an 103-foot shaft of New Hampshire granite on the grounds of the Colonial National Historical Park (Jamestown) administered by the National Park Service of the U.S. Department of the Interior. This shaft is part of the Tercentenary Monument dedicated by President Theodore Roosevelt in 1907 to commemorate the 300th anniversary of the Jamestown settlement. According to the National Park Service, "Jamestown is the site of the first permanent English settlement in America (1607), the point at which the first representative legislative assembly convened (1619) to set a pattern for self-government in America . . . and the capital of the Colony of Virginia for 92 years (1607–99)." Charles E. Hatch, Jr., *Jamestown, Virginia: The Townsite and Its Story*, National Park Service Historical Handbook Series, 2 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1949, rev. 1957), 1.

<sup>3</sup> Johannes Fleischer, Sr., Latinized to Fleischerus or Fleisserus, was born in 1539 or 40 in Breslau, Silesia, German Empire. Wratislawia or Wratislavia was the original name of the city on the Oder that became the capital of Silesia. It was named after Wratislaw, Duke of Bohemia, who died in 921 (Personal correspondence from Prof. Wolf Prow of Yorktown, VA, September 26, 1997). Breslau is the Germanized form of the name. In 1945 it was taken from Germany and given to Poland and called Wrocław. According to Manfred P. Fleischer, Johannes Fleischer, Sr., studied at the University of Wittenberg, where he attended lectures by Philip Melancthon, the associate of Martin Luther. In 1559 he received his master's degree, and in 1562 he began to teach arithmetic, astronomy and Roman history at secondary schools. In 1569 he returned to Wittenberg in Saxony to study theology, Hebrew and astronomy; at the same time he taught Greek and Latin, German grammar, dialectic, rhetoric, physics, ethic, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and other disciplines. He made himself very popular at the university through his preaching, lectures and debates. He published his main work, a treatise on the rainbow, in 1571 in Wittenberg. In 1572 he became second-pastor of St. Elisabeth's Lutheran Church in Breslau. In 1587 his second son, Joachim, was born in Breslau, but his wife died the same year, perhaps in child birth. In 1589 he received the doctor of theology from Wittenberg and became pastor of St. Elisabeth's and simultaneously inspector of the Protestant churches and schools of Breslau. Rev. Fleischer, Sr., died on 4 May 1593, after a botched blood-letting following a bad fall. His younger son Joachim received his master's degree from the University of Leipzig at the age of 19. He followed in his father's footsteps and became inspector of the Protestant churches and schools of Breslau in 1637 until his death in 1645 (Manfred P. Fleischer, "Die Regenbogenlehre Johannes Fleischers und Ihr Gelehrten geschichtlicher Hintergrund" *Späthumanismus in Schlesien: Ausgewählte Aufsätze* (Munich: Delp'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1984), 176–89. The account of the ecclesiastical career of Rev. Johannes Fleischer, Sr., contained in *Hemerologion Silesia*, 1612, has been reproduced in Appendix A.

<sup>4</sup> "Den 21. April [1599] starb Herr Laurentius Scholz, der Arznei Doctor, 47 Jahr alt. Hat sich sonderlich beflissen, fremde Samen, Kräuter, Blumen und Gewächse in seinem Garten auf der Weidengasse zu pflanzen und aufzubringen; welches ihn auch glücklich gerathen, aber nach seinem Tode sehr eingegangen ist" (*Die Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau von Nikolaus Pol. Zum erstenmale aus dessen eigener Handschrift*

herausgegeben. *Zeitbücher der Schlesien*. Published by Dr. Johann Gustav Büsching, Breslau, vol. iv, p. 195, copy in Schwenckfelder Library, Pennsburg, PA). "Die Tätigkeiten in Scholzens Garten sowie die Werke seines Berufsgenossen Caspar Schwenckfeld aus Greiffenberg (1563–1609) geben uns Aufschluss, welche gesellschaftlichen und wirtschaftlichen Verbesserungen diese Bürgerhumanisten im Sinne führten. Laurentius Scholz hatte sich seinen ersten beruflichen Ruhm und wohl auch den Grundstock seines Vermögens durch die öffentlichen Vorbeugungsmassnahmen erworben, die er zur Bekämpfung der Pest, des damaligen Volksfeindes Nummer eins, empfahl. Um 1588 hatte Scholz in Breslau einen Botanischen Garten eröffnet, dessen Heilkräuter als 'Stadtapotheke' dienten. Die Anlage erfüllte aber auch die Aufgabe einer Platonischen Akademie oder des Garten Epikurs, weil darin nicht nur Naturwissenschaft, sondern auch ein späthumanistischer Schönheits- und Freundschaftskult betrieben wurde. Durch den Garten des Scholz schleuste man sogar überseeische Pflanzen in Schlesien ein, die bald überall auf dem Lande erblühten. Es war letzten Ende das Hochziel dieser Pflanzstätte, auf Erden ein kleines Paradies wiederzugewinnen, in dem Heilmittel für die mannigfachen Krankheiten der Menschheit entdeckt, das Leben verschönt und der Tod überwunden werden konnte (Manfred P. Fleischer, *Späthumanismus in Schlesien: Ausgewählte Aufsätze* [Munich: Delp'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1984], 216). "Laurentius Scholz (1552–1599), der Sohn eines Breslauer Arztes und Apothekers, studierte 1572–76 Medizin in Wittenberg, dann bis 1579 in Padua und Bologna. Seinen Doktorgrad erwarb er sich 1579 in Montpellier und heiratete 1580 die Tochter Sara des Breslauer Kirchen- und Schulinspektors Johannes Aurifaber, eine Enkelin von Johann Heß. Von 1580–85, praktizierte Scholz in Schwiebus und Freystadt. Aber nach der Pest von 1585, bei deren Bekämpfung er sich einen Namen machte, kehrte er nach Breslau zurück. Anno 1588 eröffnete er dort seinen Botanischen Garten und hielt darin den Musen und Grazien geweihte Blumenfeste ab. Außerdem wurde er als Herausgeber medizinischer Handbücher bekannt und 1596 mit dem Beinamen 'von Rosenau' geadelt. Vorzeitig starb er an der Schwindsucht. Kein anderer Musensitz wurde von so vielen Dichtern gefeiert wie der Garten des Scholz. 'So schön hat die Literatur mit Gaben ihn geschmückt, daß jeder staunend nur auf solche Fülle blickt.' Siebzig *literati* priesen ihn, deren Lieder in den 1590er Jahren in drei Ausgaben erschienen. . . . Salomon Frenzel . . . stellt den Scholzchen Garten mit Recht als Wallfahrtsort des europäischen Späthumanismus hin. In den 1590er Jahren zählte nämlich der Scholzche Garten zu den Attraktionen einer Musenstadt, die insgesamt als Magnetberg innerhalb der späthumanistischen Kulturlandschaft wirkte. . . . Wenn aber Frenzel von Friedenthal nach der Übersetzung von Ferdinand Cohn (1890) die akademischen Pilger aufforderte, Wer von der Ferne besucht die Mauern des herrlichen Breslau, Gehe zum Garten des Scholz, schaue die blühende Pracht; Hat er dann Herz und Augen an Allem geweidet, so spricht er: 'Scholz, in die Vaterstadt hast Du Italien verpflanzt!' dann muß man die Verpflanzung Italiens nach Schlesien nicht nur botanisch, sondern vor allem kultur- und geistesgeschichtlich verstehen. Schlesien und Breslau waren damals ein geistiger Mittelpunkt Europas geworden" (Manfred P. Fleischer, "Der Scholzche Garten: Zwei Bilder aus dem Nachlaß Edmund Glaesers," *Schlesien: Kunst, Wissenschaft, Volkskunde* [April 1991]: 193–95).

<sup>5</sup>"Nomina Eorum Qui Plantas Vel Semina Communicarunt: Joan. Fleisserus, Uratisl. Medicus." (The names of those who shared information about plants: Joan. [Johannes] Fleisserus [Fleischer], Uratisl. [Vratislavia/Breslau], Medicus [Physician]). In Caspar Bauhin's, *Viri Clariß. INA THEATRIBOTANICI sive INDEX IN THEOPHRASTI DI OSCORIDIS PLINII ET BOTANICORVM qui à seculo scripserunt OPERA PLANTARVM CIRCITER SEX MILLIVM AB IPSIS EXHIBITARVM NOMINA cum earundem Synonymijs & differentijs methodice secundum genera & species proponens. OPVSXL. ANNORUM summopere expetitum ad Auctoris autographum recensitum. Basileæ Impensis Joannis Regis. c/?lpc LXXI, p. EXPLI.*

<sup>6</sup>Glaesers," *Schlesien: Kunst, Wissenschaft, Volkskunde* (April 1991): 193–95.

<sup>7</sup>*Brockhaus Encyclopädie*. Wiesbaden: F. A. Brockhaus, 1967, vol. 2, p. 384. Personal correspondence from Prof. Dr. Fleischer, November 4, 1998: "Bauhin brach mit der Gewohnheit, nordeuropäischen Pflanzen dieselben Namen und medizinischen Eigenschaften zuzuschreiben, wie sie im ersten Jahrhundert nach Christus der römische Militärarzt Discorides unter ihren scheinbaren Spiegelbildern im Mittelmeerraum entdeckt hatte. Indem Bauhin ein neues Namensverzeichnis für die Flora nördlich der Alpen einführt, förderte er in Mitteleuropa eine Neubesinnung auf die Heilkräfte einheimischer und zeitgenössischer Pflanzen" (Manfred P. Fleischer, *Späthumanismus in Schlesien: Ausgewählte Aufsätze*. Munich: Delp'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1984, p. 217).

<sup>8</sup>*A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia. of the commodities and of the nature and manners of the*

*naturall inhabitants. Discovered by the English Colony there seated by Sir Richard Greinuile Knight In the yeere 1585. Which Remained Vnder the gouernement of twelue monethes, At the speciall charge and direction of the Honorable SIR WALTER RALEIGH Knight lord Warden of the stanneries Who therein hath beene fauoured and authorised by her MAIESTIE :and her letters patents: This fore booke Is made in English BY Thomas Hariot seruauitt to the abouenamed Sir WALTER, a member of the Colony, and there employed in discovering...* was published by Theodor (Dieterich) de Bry April 1, 1590, in "FRANCOFORTI AD MOENVM," printed by Johann Wechel and sold in the Frankfurt bookstore of Sigismund Feierabend (Reprinted in New York by Dover Publications, 1972). The German title: *Wunderbarliche / doch Warhafftige Erklärung / Von der Gelegenheit vnd Sitten der Wilden in Virginia / welche newlich von den Engelländern so im Jar 1585. vom Herrn Reichard Greinuile / einem von der Ritterschafft / in gemeldete Landschafft die zu bewohnen geführt waren / ist erfunden worden / In verlegung H. Walter Raleigh / Ritter vnd Obersten deß Zinbergwercksaß vergünstigung der Durchleuchtigsten vnd Vrruberwindlichsten / Elisabeth / Königin in Engelland / etc. Erstlich in Engelländischer Sprach beschrieben durch Thomam Hariot / vnd newlich durch Christ. P. in Teutsch gebracht. Mit Römischer Keys. Maiest. Freyheit auff vier Jar nicht nachzudrucken. Gedruckt zu Franckfort am Mayn / bey Johann Wechel / in verlegung Dietrich Bry. Anno 1590. Werden verkaufft in H. Sigismund Feyerabends Laden.*

<sup>9</sup> Quotes from Hariot's Report have been rendered in modern spelling, capitalization and punctuation.

<sup>10</sup> Born in 1528 in Liège/Lüttich, Belgium, and trained as a goldsmith and copper engraver, Theodor de Bry was active in Straßburg. In 1590 he acquired Frankfurt citizenship. The engravings in *A briefe and true report* were cut in copper by de Bry and his sons after drawings by the Englishman John White.

<sup>11</sup> Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr., *From Botany to Bouquets: Flowers in Northern Art* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1999), n. 37.

<sup>12</sup> At the convergence of the James with Chesapeake Bay are today the cities of Hampton on the north and Norfolk on the south. Jamestown, the first capital of Virginia, was about sixty miles downstream from the falls of the James; this became the future site of Richmond, the present capital. Jamestown was 155 miles south of the future site of Washington, DC.

<sup>13</sup> Edward M. Riley and Charles E. Hatch, Jr. *Jamestown in the Words of Contemporaries* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1944), 3.

<sup>14</sup> Charles E. Hatch, Jr., *The First Seventeen Years: Virginia, 1607-1624* (Charlottesville, VA: The University Press of Virginia, 1957), 3.

<sup>15</sup> George Percy, *A Discourse of the Plantation of the Southern Colony in Virginia by the English, 1606*, quoted by David B. Quinn in *New American World, a Documentary History of North America to 1612* (New York: Arno Press and Hector Bye, Inc., 1979), 5:273.

<sup>16</sup> Charles E. Hatch, Jr., *Jamestown, Virginia: The Townsite and Its Story*, National Park Service Historical Handbook Series, 2 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1949, rev. 1957), 9.

<sup>17</sup> Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes, containing a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Land-Travells by Englishmen and others... etc.* (London: W. Stansby for Henry Fetherstone, 1625), 4:1710.

<sup>18</sup> Hatch, *Jamestown, Virginia*, 9.

<sup>19</sup> The presence of Dr. Fleischer, Jr., on the *Phoenix* has been deduced by the author as follows: We know from German documents that the doctor was in Jamestown in the summer of 1608. Since he graduated from the University of Basel in 1606, there was probably not enough time for him to have arranged to join the first Jamestown settlers, who left England in December 1606. As a gentleman and physician, Dr. Fleischer would almost certainly have been included in the published list of these settlers, but we look in vain. The next group to leave for Jamestown was the so-called "first supply" under Captain Christopher Newport. He is not listed among the 73 passengers aboard Newport's *John and Francis*, who arrived 2 January 1608; therefore, we have to look for him on the sister ship, the *Phoenix*, which arrived 20 April. Although this passenger list has been lost (or, more accurately, probably discarded by Rev. Purchas), Dr. Fleischer arrived in Jamestown no doubt on Master Nelson's pinnacle. We can lay the blame for the lack of information about Dr. Fleischer in English documents on the doorstep of Rev. Samuel Purchas, "whose major contributions to Virginia history were marred by sloppy resource management. . . . Among the losses attributable to his carelessness is the whole of Percy's *Discourse*, which, in the published text, ends on or about 19 September 1607, with Purchas's note that 'The rest is omitted, being more fully set downe in Cap. Smiths Relations.' The rest—which was never seen again—may well have contained a detailed chronology of the middling months of 1608. This was a crucial period for which we have no firsthand accounts, Smith's *A True Relation* having ended sometime before June 2, when he set out on an expedition up the Chesapeake

in search of the South Sea, an adventure from which he did not return until July 20" (Ivor Noël Hume, *The Virginia Adventure* [New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994], 200). Smith undertook another journey a few days later and did not return from that until 7 September 7. Therefore we have no documents on what happened at Jamestown from June to 7 September, the bulk of the three and a half months or so (20 April 20 to ca. 7 August) that Dr. Fleischer spent in the colony.

<sup>20</sup> Conway W. Sams, *The Conquest of Virginia, the Second Attempt* (Norfolk, VA: Keyser-Doherty Printing Corp., 1929).

<sup>21</sup> John L. Humber, *Background and Preparations for the Roanoke Voyages, 1584–1590* (Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1986), 105.

<sup>22</sup> John Smith, "A True Relation of such occurrences and accidents of noate as hath hapned in Virginia since the first planting of that Collony, which is now in the South part thereof, till the last returne from thence," letter of June 1608 to the Virginia Company of London.

<sup>23</sup> Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes, contayning a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Land-Travells by Englishmen and others...etc.* (London: W. Stansby for Henry Fetherstone, 1625), vol. 4.

<sup>24</sup> John Smith, "A True Relation."

<sup>25</sup> Carl Bridenbaugh, *Jamestown, 1544–1699* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 45.

<sup>26</sup> William M. Kelso, Nicholas M. Lucchetti and Beverly A. Straube, *Jamestown Rediscovery III* (Richmond: The Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, 1997), 47.

<sup>27</sup> Ivor Noël Hume, *The Virginia Adventure* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994), 207.

<sup>28</sup> Kelso, *Jamestown Rediscovery III*, 4.

<sup>29</sup> Noël Hume, *The Virginia Adventure*, 209.

<sup>30</sup> The manuscript is entitled *Vratislaviense Diarium mortuorum Silesiorum et intra Silesiam exterorum Ab A. 1599. ad A. 1676*. A photocopy is located in the Martin-Opitz Library, Herne, Germany (reference courtesy of Manfred Fleischer; copy of the manuscript courtesy of Gerhard E. Sollbach, executive director, Department of History, University of Dortmund). The pertinent paragraph from this obituary of Silesian personalities reads in the original: "NB. Anno 1608. Ohngefahr mitten in d Somerszeit, in America Septentrionali, in einer Stadt des Landes Virgineæ, Engellandt. gebittes, in Beysein christlicher Personen, nach außgest. Leibes Kranckheit, gestorben u. begraben, Joh. Fleischer, Med. D., Johannis Fleischer, Th. D. et Elisab. Pastor Vrat. nachgel. Eltester Sohn, annô aet. 26."

<sup>31</sup> "Fleischer (Joh.), ein lutherischer Theologus, geboren zu Breslau 1539 den 29

Martii, studierte zu Wittenberg. . . Sein älterer Sohn Johannes, der 1582 zu Breslau gebohren, und 1606 zu Basel Doctor Medicina worden, gieng aus Liebe zur Botanic nach Virginien, und starb daselbst 1608. Pa." "Pa." refers to Adam Pantke, *Pastores der Kirche zu St. Elisabeth zu Breßlau: Pastores zu St. Maria Magdalena, ingleichen Praepositi und Ecclesiastæ*.

<sup>32</sup> Manfred Fleischer, *Späthumanismus in Schlesien, Ausgewählte Aufsätze* (Munich: Delp'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1984), 181–82.

<sup>33</sup> Conway W. Sams, *The Conquest of Virginia, the Second Attempt* (Norfolk, VA: Keyser-Doherty Printing Corp., 1929), 854.

<sup>34</sup> Nicolaus Polius or Pol was born 1 December 1564 in Breslau and received his master's degree from the University of Wittenberg. He served as archdeacon of St. Maria Magdalena's Church in Breslau when he died in that city 16 February 1632. Joachim Fleischer and Nikolaus Polius stood side by side near the triumphal arch erected for King Frederick I of Bohemia (Friedrich von der Pfalz) when he was received in Breslau on 23 February 1620 (*Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau von Nikolaus Pol: Zum erstenmals aus dessen eigener Handschrift herausgegeben* [Breslau, 1813–24], 5:195). The wife of King Frederick was Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of King James I of England after whom Jamestown was named.

<sup>35</sup> William M. Kelso, Nicholas M. Lucchetti and Beverly A. Straube, *Jamestown Rediscovery III* (Richmond: Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, 1997), 1.

<sup>36</sup> William M. Kelso, Nicholas M. Lucchetti and Beverly A. Straube, *Jamestown Rediscovery IV* (Richmond: Association for the Preservation of the Virginia Antiquities, 1998), 24–26.

