

**PART ONE**

**SWISS VIEWS OF AMERICA**



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**In Praise of Carolina:**  
**Johann Rudolf Ochs's *Americanischer Wegweiser* of 1711**

Emigration guides are a significant, if somewhat overlooked element in the study of transatlantic migrations. Their relative neglect is understandable. These tracts, ranging from *Flugblatt zu Büchlein*, from broadside to booklet, were ephemeral in their impact, are ambiguous in their informational value, and remain often intractable as to questions of authorship, historical context, and reception. They are, nevertheless, worthy of study. They influenced decisions of people whether to move or to stay and awakened peculiar expectations, thus shaping the response of immigrants to conditions upon arrival; they also contributed to British North America's image as a land of promise, curse, or mixed blessing. Yet these pamphlets were more: they were part of what has been called "public discourse"; they invented, defined, and circumscribed "the relationship between European, native, and land— . . . the classic colonial triangle."<sup>1</sup>

By way of illustration one such publication shall be scrutinized. It was published by Johann Rudolf Ochs at Bern, Switzerland, in 1711 and is possibly the first emigration guide addressed primarily to Swiss. First Ochs's guide shall be placed into the context of other, similar tracts of the eighteenth century, then biographical data about its author and his involvement in Swiss emigration schemes will be presented; third, the guide's content will be outlined and, finally, assessed as a form of colonial discourse, that is as an attempt to shape a "collective thought style" that was to be normative for elites and commoners alike.<sup>2</sup>

I

During the first six decades of the eighteenth century, several emigration booklets circulated also in German-speaking Switzerland that were either imported from German regions or published primarily for Swiss readers. Their appearance clustered around four dates and was loosely tied to the emergence of Swiss settlements in British North America.

Pamphlets appearing around 1710 and 1711 were connected with events that led to the founding of New Bern, North Carolina; those of 1734 and 1735 resulted from efforts of Jean Pierre Purry (1675-1736) to establish a settlement on the South Carolina side of the Savannah River; those of 1737 and 1738 were connected with abortive attempts of Bernese entrepreneurs to create a politically independent rival colony in Virginia's Blue Ridge Mountains; those of the 1750s already looked backwards and assessed the success or failure of earlier German-speaking immigration to Pennsylvania or South Carolina. Whereas broadsides and pamphlets that reached German-speaking readers between 1678 and 1704 had concentrated on Pennsylvania<sup>3</sup> and had found but a weak echo in Switzerland, those published between 1700 and the 1750s focused mainly on Carolina and Virginia and related to a quite sizable Swiss German migratory movement.<sup>4</sup>

A first pamphlet that caught the attention also of Swiss was written by Josua Kocherthal, actually Josua Harrsch (1669-1719), of Fachsenfeld near Aalen in the valley of the Kocher in northern Württemberg. First published in 1706, it appeared three more times in rapid succession and "quickly exhausted editions of unknown size."<sup>5</sup> Its title reads in English translation: *Extensive and Detailed Account of the Famous Region of Carolina, Situated in English America.*<sup>6</sup> In 1711 there appeared in Bern, Switzerland, the pamphlet *American Guide, or Short and Proper Description of the English Provinces in North America, but Especially of the Region of Carolina. Compiled with Great Diligence and Published by Joh. Rudolff Ochs. Together with a New and Correct Map of North and South Carolina.*<sup>7</sup> In the same year Anton Wilhelm Böhme (1673-1722), a Lutheran minister and educator in the service of Queen Anne's consort and a proponent of Halle's pietism and educational ideals,<sup>8</sup> published a 127-page pamphlet with the lengthy title: *The Desired, Not Reached Canaan at the Graves of Joy; or Detailed Description of the Unhappy Journey of those Pilgrims Having Journeyed Recently from Germany to Carolina and Pennsylvania Situated in English America, Especially Set Thoughtfully Against the One-Sided, Ill-Founded Kocherthal Report.* The work contains in its seven parts such diverse items as a sermon, a prayer, an English Royal edict, "a short Relation of the Endured Misery and Fate During [the Journey]," and "a Warning-Sermon by a Mr. Johann Tribecko, given for the Returners to London. All Assembled for the Love of Truth and Patriotic Benevolence."<sup>9</sup>

At the center of the second group of early eighteenth-century Swiss-German emigration pamphlets is Jean Pierre Purry's propagandistic tract of 1734 which appeared in French and in German. In English the title reads: *The Now in the New World Merrily and Without Homesickness Living Swiss. Or: Short and Appropriate Description of the Present State of the Royal English Province Carolina.* In time it earned the label "Lugenbüchlein," little book of lies,<sup>10</sup> and was opposed by the broadside *Most Necessary News Concerning Carolina*<sup>11</sup> and by the eighty-page booklet *New Report of Old and New Important Facts, Containing an Informed Discourse and True Letters Concerning the Region of Carolina and Other Plantations in America.* It was, as the title page states, available in Zurich, Bern, Basel, Schaffhausen and St. Gallen.<sup>12</sup>

The third group of pamphlets was linked to the rival undertaking of some Bernese entrepreneurs<sup>13</sup> and to the departure of Moritz Götschi, a Reformed minister, who had lost his pastorate due to marital infidelity and who led some three hundred people avowedly to Carolina, but actually to Pennsylvania.<sup>14</sup> Central were three tracts: Ludwig Weber's *Limping Messenger of Carolina* of 1735,<sup>15</sup> *The Newly-Found Eden* of 1737,<sup>16</sup> issued by Jenner's Helvetische Societät, and the anonymous *Christhold's Thoughts* of 1737 that explicitly opposed Purry's Carolina appeal.<sup>17</sup>

Among the fourth cluster of pamphlets that reached also Swiss-German readers was Michael Schlatter's *Truthful Account of the True Condition of the Mostly Pastorless Parishes in Pennsylvania and the Bordering Provinces* of 1752,<sup>18</sup> Johannes Tobler's *Noteworthy Description of South Carolina* of 1753 and 1754,<sup>19</sup> and Gottlieb Mittelberger's *Journey to Pennsylvania*, published in 1756.<sup>20</sup> Each of these and other such pamphlets deserve scrutiny as to author, content, accuracy, distribution, reception, and significance. This essay, however, probes merely Ochs's *Wegweiser*, which was written in part as a critique of Kocherthal's *Bericht*; what follows reveals that the ideal research agenda can be realized only partially, even for just one emigration guide.

## II

Johann Rudolf Ochs was baptized on 12 September 1673, the son of Samuel Ochs, born 1638, and of Rosina, born Herbort. On 5 May 1702, Johann Rudolf married the widow Catharina Lerber, and in June 1705 a son, also named Johann Rudolf, later anglicized to John Ralph, was born to the union. In 1753 the clergyman Rudolf Gruner, "V.D.M. Predicant [Preacher] und Decan [Dean] zu Burgdorff," a compiler of various Bernese genealogies, noted that Johann Rudolf Ochs had "departed in annoyance from his wife to Pennsylvania [zog im verdruß von seiner Frau in Pennsylvanien] where he remained for long years. 1705."<sup>21</sup> This entry is puzzling since Ochs refers in his *Americanischer Wegweiser* merely to an "eight years' stay in England" and does not claim ever to have been in British North America.<sup>22</sup> Ochs had actually settled in London where, according to Gruner, he had become a Quaker.

By 1711 Ochs was back in Bern, perhaps after the death of his first wife. There he had another son, possibly with a widow named Kirchberger;<sup>23</sup> the child was born on 30 June 1715 and named Rudolf Emmanuel. By 1719 Ochs was back in London, accompanied by his two sons;<sup>24</sup> there he found employment at the royal mint where he rose to prominence. A biographical sketch of 1812 claims that he had become an esteemed artist who was expert in "seal-cutting on metals" as well as in "the cutting of precious stones." The sketch further claims that "[i]n imitating the ancients in [the engraving of] heads and figures he was so outstanding that experts mistake his works as being of genuine antiquity. He knew not only the secret of polishing like the ancients, but even more so that of detailed elaboration."<sup>25</sup> Eventually also Ochs's first son, Johann Rudolf (1705-88), found employment at the royal mint and, after his father's death in 1749 or 1750, followed him in the position of royal

mintmaster.<sup>26</sup> The second son, Rudolf Emmanuel (1715-86), however, pursued a career in commerce; he returned to the city of Bern, "where he established a shop that sold all kinds of textiles."<sup>27</sup>

Between 1711 and 1730 Ochs seems to have lost interest in questions of emigration, but on 30 March 1731 his name appears with that of Jacob Stauber, anglicized Stover, Ezekiel Harlan and Thomas Gould on a petition to the Council of Trade and Plantations. The petitioners hoped for "a joint patent of a free grant of a tract of land to begin at the Double Top Mountain by Hawks Bill Creek including the mountains." The main promoter of this scheme to create "a separate Colony and government under the [na]me of Georgia" was Stauber, a Swiss who had "lived upwards of 20 years in Pennsylvania following husbandry."<sup>28</sup> For three months he had journeyed westward "to make a search after some uninhabited land behind the mountains" of Virginia. He had crossed these "with much pains, great difficulty and hazard of life without any company or seeing any Indians."<sup>29</sup>

It was natural that Stauber involved Ochs, a fellow Swiss who had access to governmental authorities, as main contact for his plans. The petition justified their enterprise as a bulwark against "the French settlements of Missisipy and Canada" and was to prevent their joining together. The entrepreneur promised to carry over

a great number of Germans and Swiss Protestants who will be chiefly such as can provide for themselves at [ow]n charge, which are also reputed to be a good Militia. . . . [they were to produce] hemp, flax, silk, potash, salt petre with other valuable commodities in which the Germans and Swissers are particularly skilled in (except the silk).

Stauber requested "a speedy decision" so he could recruit people in Germany and Switzerland.<sup>30</sup>

Negotiations, however, dragged on for two years. On 13 May 1731 Sir William Keith's similar petition was read again to the Board of Trade and Plantations. It promised "to settle in three years time 300 Switz and German families, all Protestants."<sup>31</sup> On 3 August the Duke of Newcastle transmitted the petition again, signed once more by Keith, Gould, Ochs, Stauber and Harlan. They stressed "their credit with the Indian Nations of America" and planned "to bring over some thousands of families" since they were in "correspondence with many substantial industrious people of the protestant Cantons of Switzerland, and other parts of Germany."<sup>32</sup> Keith and Stauber were the main link to British North America; Ochs had ties to the entrepreneurial elites of Bern. Stauber's scheme failed, however, due to the stiff opposition of "the Lords Baltimore and Fairfax."<sup>33</sup> Efforts to assure them—"Petitioners had not the least intention to deprive them of a hand's breath of land"<sup>34</sup>—were of no avail.

Although Stauber returned to Pennsylvania in late October 1732, having "invested and lost two years of his life and all his cash in this venture,"<sup>35</sup> Ochs continued his efforts to become an emigration entrepreneur. On 12 November 1734 his request to the Board of Trade was read that declared:

Petitioner did not intend to make any further solicitations, but being every year troubled with these poor strangers that came over, to provide them passage and take care of them, which he hath now done these two years, with much loss of time, assisting them in all honesty, integrity, good advice and expence, having sent last year 57 persons att their request to Pensilvania, and this year in 2 shippes 49 persons to S. Carolina, induces him to offer his service once more.<sup>36</sup>

Because some 300,000 acres had already been taken up behind those mountains, Ochs explained, their lordships might be inclined "to assign land up to the mountains in Virginy and going southwards into North Carolina along the sayd mountains for about 150 miles in length and 50 in breadth." He proposed to settle "the Swiszers" there because being near the mountains would "be most agreeable" to their "constitutions."<sup>37</sup>

By 1734, however, Jean Pierre Purry, another Swiss emigration entrepreneur, had embarked successfully on a venture in South Carolina. On 12 August his report was received by the Board of Trade that stated he had "embarked at Calais in three vessels 270 Swiss with whom he is sailing for S. Carolina."<sup>38</sup> Ochs viewed Purry's enterprise with suspicion and observed that "a little book of Mr. Purry by too much praise of Carolina and without instruction hath set the people on, for going there, which come without any certainty, or money, and the little they have, is spend't by a long ill-contriv'd and unseasonable voyage."<sup>39</sup> Yet Purry's undertaking was then at its height and the British authorities hesitated to get involved in another venture. But on 15 September 1735 another of Ochs's petitions was dealt with by the Board of Trade. In it he reiterated that he had "these 2 years been much troubled with a good number of German and Swiss Protestants"; he had assisted them "with the utmost care, and fidelity, loss of much time, and expence, to the best of his knowledge and their intire satisfaction." Yet he had realized that assistance in London alone was not enough, that he should "take also care that they may be well settled together, upon good land, in a healthy situation, and temperate climate."

Ochs asked, therefore, for a land grant of twenty square miles. The prospective settlers would all be Protestant in faith, be naturalized on arrival in British North America, receive fifty acres each, and be exempt from paying duties on goods taken along as well as from quitrents for fifteen years. At his boldest, Ochs requested for his services "an annual allowance for some years" and for "a certain quantity of land free from quit rent forever."<sup>40</sup>

Nothing came of this proposal nor of later schemes as the one submitted by "Samuel Jenner, Agent for the Switzers," like Ochs also of Bern. On 22 January 1736 Jenner's petition was dealt with that asked for land in the "upland part of North Carolina" that had remained "uncultivated, uninhabited, and at present useless." Once five hundred "Switzers" are settled therein, a new district was to be created exclusively for them.<sup>41</sup> Although none of the schemes materialized in which Ochs was involved, he had been an honest adviser and helper of

German-speaking emigrants who passed through London. A close reading of his 1711 emigration guide shows that he was not out for profit, but genuinely concerned about the emigrants' well-being. His approach resembled that of his fellow Quaker, William Penn, whose emigration appeals too had been models of "honesty, integrity [and] good advice."

### III

Ochs's *Wegweiser* starts with a brief address to the Bernese government. His booklet, Ochs explained, aimed to offer "such certain and believable particulars and descriptions which til now had been available neither in English nor in German nor from other writers."<sup>42</sup> He had gathered his data with care. He had inquired "thoroughly and comprehensively at reliable and well-known places as to the nature of the North American provinces." He had done it initially merely for himself, but then friends had urged him to make his findings widely known because various European nations had embarked on colonizing North America, and the Bernese lords, too, "might themselves view those regions of such quality that they could help solve this or that domestic problem."<sup>43</sup>

In his preface, Ochs observed that "because of the hard and sad times" many had heard of British North America, "not merely from curiosity, but from serious interest." Since few reliable facts were known about it, however, his "present little tract" hoped to offer useful information not only about the country's fertility, commerce, and available land, "but also about the cost of moving to there, on how to prepare for the journey, also which province was the most advisable to select." As to the general description of the land and its people, Ochs had followed John Lawson's work of 1709 on North Carolina. As to matters of trade, he had gathered data from "trustworthy merchants and other honest people"; as to the journey, his knowledge derived "from reliable experience." He had written his book "exclusively for the guidance, advantage, and instruction of the common man."<sup>44</sup>

Chapters one through eight of the *Wegweiser* describe climate, geography, fauna, flora, and the inhabitants. The message is clear: Of all the British North American provinces the Carolinas were the least populated, thus the most desirable for potential emigrants; their climate was mild, their winters were short, although June, July, and August were quite hot with occasionally violent thunderstorms; also drought was not uncommon as it had occurred in 1709. Chapter three features the Carolinas' inhabitants. Most were English, with a few interspersed French and German households. The North Carolinians generally led a "leisured life (ein müßiges Leben)" because they could safeguard their livelihood with little work.<sup>45</sup> South Carolina's people, in contrast, were busily engaged in trade. The Carolinians were healthier than Europeans, Ochs claimed; their families were large, their women fertile, and their young people well disciplined. The laws were sensible and attempts at creating a landed nobility had failed. The country's elected deputies "did not want to allow that one inhabitant should be more



than the other."<sup>46</sup> Taxes were light, services in kind minimal, and justices of the peace kept order and adjudicated minor conflicts. The indigenous people were divided into many small, at times mutually hostile nations; they were generally pleasant, if unable to resist the newcomers' designs. After commenting on the indigenous people's clothing, eating habits, and dwellings, Ochs stated: "One could talk further about their way of hunting, warfare, also of their households, rules, and customs; yet because such things merely serve to satisfy curiosity rather than our purpose, we want to pass over it for the sake of brevity."<sup>47</sup>

Chapter nine is the *Wegweiser's* most unique part and deals with the "advantage to be derived from this province (die Nutzbarkeit / so an dieser Provintz zu erheben)." Ochs started with the explicit assumption that a family of six would receive three hundred acres of "wild and uninhabited land, part of which was to border on a river," part to be moist, thus treeless and part was to have fruit trees, but not evergreens "because these would indicate sandy and bad soil."<sup>48</sup>

Ochs then described in detail what and how much to plant in the first year, what the yield to be expected might be, and at what price it might be sold. He assumed that the colonists would arrive in September and spend the first four weeks with building a log cabin. They would then devote December through February to the felling of trees, the clearing of land, and the preparation of the ground for planting, without, however, clearing it from the tree stumps. Then the farmer would use

one acre for Indian corn, one for barley, one half for peas, the other half for a vegetable garden. On the first acre he would sow 1½ measure of Indian corn, on the other 3 measures of barley, one half acre with 2 measures of peas; in the moist land where no wood stands [he would] prepare 2 acres for the planting of rice and would plant them with 10 pounds of rice; from which planting (in case God protected it from mishap) one could harvest (with God's blessing) from 4½ acres in this first year . . . :

2 acres rice in 600-fold increase of 10 pounds	= 60 cent.
1 acre Indian corn in 500-fold increase of 1½ measure	= 187½ bushels
½ acre peas in 20-fold increase of 2 measures	= 10 bushels
1 acre barley in 20-fold increase of 3 measures	= 15 bushels
. . . Of this harvest the household would need 104 measures, i.e., 13 bushels of barley, 13 bushels of Indian corn, 1 bushel of peas in addition to the produce from the garden, and a hundredweight of rice. Thus the following amount of the harvest could be sold at the following prices:	
Rice, 59 hundredweights à 2½ Rthl [Reichsthaler]	= 147 Rthl.
Indian corn, 174 bushels à 2 shillings, i.e., 10 batzen	= 58 Rthl.
Barley, 2 bushels à 3 shillings, i.e., 15 batzen	= 1 Rthl.
Peas, 9 bushels à 3 shillings, i.e., 15 batzen	= 4½ Rthl.
The value of the harvest in the first year comes to	210½ Rthl. <sup>49</sup>

Ochs then discussed the second year with similar attention to acres, probable yields, and possible profits from the sale of the surplus, then

repeated the same for the third year. Detailed comments on cattle, cheese and butter making, silk production, and trading opportunities, especially with the British Caribbean, complemented his extensive portrait, taking into account low, middle and high market prices. Rice, flour, Indian corn, beef and pork, all these could be sold advantageously, according to Ochs, because South Carolina provided the West Indies with these and other commodities.<sup>50</sup>

The *Wegweiser's* final chapter deals with the journey. It was no trifling matter, Ochs observed, because it "had to be made mostly on the high seas which created unfounded terror and fear in those who had never been on them; the distance from England to Carolina, furthermore, was 1,200 hours, all of which appears to be horrifying." For many such facts weighed far more than "all the welfare, benefit, and amusement one might be able to enjoy in that land."<sup>51</sup> Ochs then tried to show that in actuality the journey was manageable if people traveled in groups, planned every step with care, relied only on honest people and selected ships that were commanded by competent captains. He also listed needed provisions in food, clothing, and tools, possible incidental costs, and expenses incurred on arrival.

Ochs's guide is a model of attempted accuracy and caution. It contains none of Purry's simplifications and half-truths and is more detailed than Kocherthal's report. Unfortunately, the pamphlet's *Rezeptionsgeschichte*, that is, its dispersal, reception, and influence, are unknown. The Bernese government did vote Ochs fifty thalers, however, in recognition for his labors, and several of its members remained deeply involved in the pursuit of transatlantic settlements, possibly as extensions of their own city state, as John Lawson had observed:

Mr. Francis Louis Mitchell, of Bern in Switzerland, . . . has been employed by the Canton of Bern to find out a Tract of Land in the English America where the Republick might settle some of their People; which Proposal, I believe, is now in a fair way towards a Conclusion between her Majesty of Great Britain and that Canton. Which must needs be of great Advantage to both; . . . nothing can be of more Security and Advantage to the Crown and subjects of Great Britain, than to have our Frontiers secured by a warlike People, and our Friends, as the Switzers are.<sup>52</sup>

Today, Ochs's tract is quite rare. In 1912, Albert B. Faust found but two copies extant in Switzerland, both at the library of the University of Bern.<sup>53</sup> It appears likely that Bernese entrepreneurs such as Georg Ritter and Franz Ludwig Michel were the actual promoters of Ochs's *Wegweiser*, men with whom he remained allied for the next three decades. Strategically stationed in London, he served as a vital link between Bern and the powers at the English court. Thus his work, although professedly written for the "common man," actually was to reach those interested in making the promotion of emigration a profitable business, perhaps even a matter of expansionist statecraft.

#### IV

A recent work titled *Colonial Encounters* stresses "how difficult it is to

develop the kind of critical vocabulary necessary for textual interrogation," that is, to raise questions "that make a text speak more than it knows."<sup>54</sup> These tracts, be they for or against emigration, are not innocent texts, not only because they are often embedded in rival entrepreneurial pursuits, but—more decisively—because they are part of the European transatlantic colonial discourse, that is, of a cognitive construct that was to enable people to participate, be it merely in the humble function of "settler," in the establishment of a radical Caucasian transatlantic dominance. From this perspective, four observations seem relevant.

First, Ochs's work neither mentions nor features enslavement, either of Carolina's indigenous "Indian" people, or of captive black people imported for sale from Africa or the Caribbean. Although Ochs strove valiantly to be truthful, it did not enable him to discover these crucial, if inconvenient facts about Carolina. Second, like most of the German-language emigration tracts of the early eighteenth century, Ochs used the word "Landschaft (region or landscape)" as a crucial term of his title. Does this not imply an unconscious, yet effective separation of Carolina as mere land (to be taken) from Carolina as an already peopled land (to be ignored)? This creates, to use Peter Hulme's formulation, "an identity that dissimulates the existence of any relationship between the two at the moment of their encounter with Europe."<sup>55</sup> This corresponds with a third observation, that is, Ochs's marginalization of the Caucasian takeover of Carolina. He tells the Bernese political and entrepreneurial elite as well as the artisans, mountain peasants, and midland farmers with disarming brevity and simplicity: Of the indigenous Indian peoples there were many, but they were split into small, separate, at times mutually hostile entities, "therefore the Europeans could take possession of their land so easily (Deßwegen die Europäer so leichtlich ihres Land in Besitz nemmen könnten)." He adds, however, that of all British North American colonies only Carolina had not spilled native blood: "dennoch ist keine Provintz wie Carolina ohne Blutvergiessen der Indianer / mit welchen die Europäer niemahls Streit gehabt / in Besitz genommen worden."<sup>56</sup> The truth was, of course, far different.<sup>57</sup>

Fourth, Ochs not only marginalized the takeover, he also felt no need to raise the juridical or moral question. Whereas John Winthrop explicitly had tried to justify the takeover of Massachusetts Bay in 1629,<sup>58</sup> by the dawn of the eighteenth century public discourse had largely dropped such questioning. Reduced to basics, Ochs's message, as formulated in his *Wegweiser* of 1711, was far simpler: The Carolinas were still in their infancy as to their European peopling; the indigenous people, called savages, though nice and benign, were irrelevant to that process; either he did not know about slavery or he did not find it worthwhile talking about it; the available lands were in part magnificently fertile and attractive, although far away and difficult to reach; yet careful planning and the pooling of resources would make the journey bearable, the settling process successful, and the working of the land, especially of trade-oriented South Carolina, highly profitable. Thus

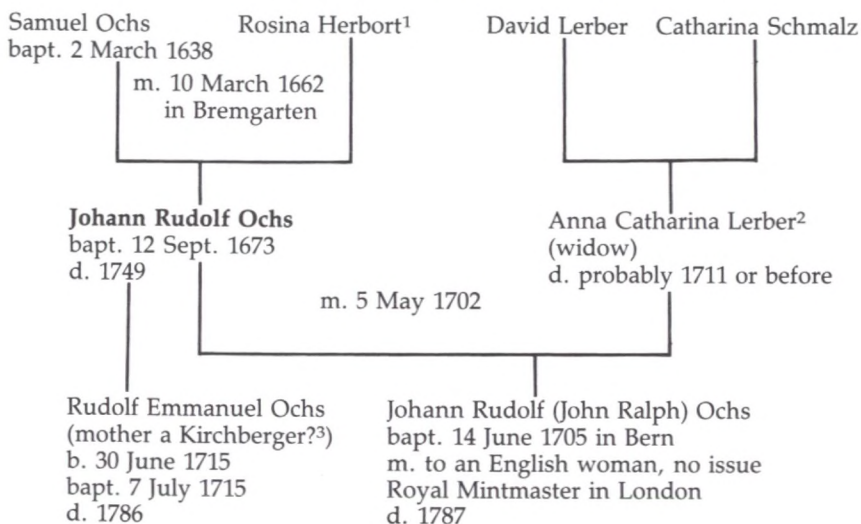
Ochs united mercantilism with colonialism and concerns of entrepreneurial elites with those of so-called common folk. His booklet is devoid of that "colonial anxiety"<sup>59</sup> that John Winthrop or Roger Williams<sup>60</sup> had so sharply wrestled with and that is still apparent in William Penn's late seventeenth-century promotional tracts. By 1711, public discourse had moved beyond such trifles.

These reflections do not intend to belittle Ochs's impressive short work. They hope, rather, to lift that segment of the German-American press, of which it is a small example, out of its merely antiquarian significance into an interpretative realm that general American immigration history tends to ignore.

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## Appendix

### Tentative Family Tree of Johann Rudolf Ochs



<sup>1</sup> Or Ester Koch.

<sup>2</sup> According to Samuel von Werdt, "Stammtafeln," II, 1 "Ochs."

<sup>3</sup> Widow of Pastor Johann Niclaus of Affoltern.

Manuscript Sources Consulted, Burgerbibliothek Bern:

1. Johan Gruner, "Genealogia," 1753, Mss. Hist. Helv. XVIII, 43.
2. Samuel von Werdt, "Stammtafeln," II, 1, 101.
3. Mss. Hist. Helv. XVIII, 31: "Ochs."
4. Mss. Hist. Helv. VIII, 17: "Ochs."

Secondary Sources Consulted:

1. *Dictionary of National Biography* (1964), 14:798.

2. His, Eduard. *Chronik der Familie Ochs, genannt His* (Basel: Benno Schwabe, 1943), 329.

3. *Historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Schweiz* (1929), 5:329.

4. Lutz, Markus. *Nekrolog denkwürdiger Schweizer aus dem achtzehnten Jahrhundert . . .* (Aarau: Heinrich Remigius Sauerländer, 1812), 380.

5. Volmar, P. F. *Sammlung Bernischer Biographien* (Bern: Schmid & Francke, 1898), 3:212–13.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean 1492–1797* (London: Methuen, 1986), 1.

<sup>2</sup> Ludwik Fleck, *Entstehung und Entwicklung einer wissenschaftlichen Tatsache: Einführung in die Lehre vom Denkstil und Denkkollektiv*, ed. Lothar Schäfer and Thomas Schnelle (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1980), esp. 129–37; originally published in Basel: Benno Schwabe, 1935; English version: *Genesis and Development of a Scientific Fact*, ed. Thaddeus J. Trenn and Robert K. Merton, trans. Fred Bradley and Thaddeus J. Trenn (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), esp. 98–105.

<sup>3</sup> See Julius F. Sachse, "Title Pages of Book[s] and Pamphlets That Influenced German Emigration to Pennsylvania," *The Pennsylvania-German Society Proceedings and Addresses* 7 (1897): 175–256; numerous title pages are given in facsimile.

<sup>4</sup> For a survey see Leo Schelbert, "Swiss," *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, ed. Stephan Thernstrom (1980), 983–84; an in-depth survey of Swiss in colonial British North America is still lacking.

<sup>5</sup> See Helmut Mathy and Karl Scherer, "Einführung," *Außführlich- und umständlicher Bericht . . . Von Kocherthalern*, 4th ed. (Neustadt an der Weinstraße: D. Meininger Verlag, 1983), unpaginated; citation on p. 5.

<sup>6</sup> The fourth edition—expanded by three appendices not by Harrsch, but "the entrepreneurially clever publisher" (*ibid.*)—was especially influential because it seemed to intimate that emigrants would receive financial support from the British government. Its complete title page reads: *Außführlich- und umständlicher Bericht von der berühmten Landschaft Carolina / In dem Engelländischen America gelegen. An Tag gegeben Von Kocherthalern. Vierter Druck / Mit Anhängen / zweyer Engeliſchen Authoren gethanen Beschreibung / und eines auff der Keyſe dahin begriffenen Hochteutschen auß Londen Benachrichtigung; Nebst Einer Land- Carte von Carolina vermehrt* (Frankfurt am Mäyn / Zu finden bey Georg Heinrich Oehrling/ Anno MDCCIX).

<sup>7</sup> *Americanischer Wegweiser Oder Kurtze und eigentliche Beschreibung der Englischen Provinzen in Nord-America, Sonderlich aber der Landschaft Carolina / Mit grossem Fleiß zusammen getragen und an den Tag gegeben Durch Joh. Rudolff Ochs / Neben einer neuen und correcten Land-Karte von Nord- und Sud-Carolina* (Bern / Anno MDCCXI).

<sup>8</sup> See *Neue deutsche Biographie* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1955), 2:387.

<sup>9</sup> *Das verlangte / nicht erlangte Canaan bey den lustgräbern; oder Ausführliche beschreibung von der unglücklichen reise derer jüngsthin aus Teutschland nach dem engelländischen in America gelegenen Carolina und Pensylvanien wallenden pilgrim / absonderlich dem einseitigen übelgegründeten Kochenthalerischen bericht wohlbedächtigt entgegen gesetzt in I. Einem beantwortungsschreiben etlicher diese sach angehenden fragen; nebst einer Vorrede Moritz Wilhelm Höens. II. Ermahnungsschreiben an die bereits dahin verreiste Teutsche / Anthon Wilhelm Böhmens. III. Der Berg-predigt Christi / und gebettern vor die noch dahin auf dem Weg begriffenen etc. IV. Königl. englischen deswegen nach Teutschland erlassenen Abmahnung. V. Kurtzen relation, jener dabey erlittenen elendes und schicksals. VI. Noch einer andern relation davon. VII. Einem Stück der Warnungspredigt von Hn. Johann Tribecko / etc. den zuruckreisenden in Londen gehalten. Alles aus liebe zur warheit und patriotischem wohlmeinen zusammen verfasst* (Frankfurt und Leipzig, Andrea, 1711); Johann Tribecko is perhaps Johannes Tribbeckow (1677–1712), also a Pietist preacher who served Queen Anne's husband and wrote a prayerbook in 1710 for the dispersed Palatines. See *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1894), 38:598–601.

<sup>10</sup> *Der nunmehr in der Neuen Welt vergnügt und ohne Heimwehe lebende Schweitzer. Oder:*

Kurtze und eigentliche Beschreibung des gegenwärtigen Zustandes der Königlichen englischen Provinz Carolina, aus den neulich angekommenen Briefen / der allorten sich befindenden Schweitzern zusammengetragen von J. K. L. (Bern, getruckt bey Joh. Bondeli, 1734); see Leo Schelbert, "On the Power of Pietism: A Documentary on the Thommens of Schaefferstown," *Historic Schaefferstown Record* 17 (July and October 1983): 47, letter of Durs Thommen of 19 October 1736; also Leo Schelbert and Hedwig Rappolt, eds., *Alles ist ganz anders hier: Auswandererbriefe aus zwei Jahrhunderten* (Olten, Switzerland: Walter Verlag, 1977), 75, 81, 95.

<sup>11</sup> Nöthigste Nachricht betreffend Carolina, aus den Weitläuffigern kurtz gefasset, für den gemeinen Mann (1734).

<sup>12</sup> Neue Nachricht alter und neuer Merkwürdigkeiten, enthaltend ein vertrautes Gespräch und sichere Briefe von der Landschafft Carolina und übrigen Pflantz-Städten in Amerika. Zu finden zu Zürich, Bern, Basel, Schaffhausen u. St. Gallen in den Bericht-Häusern gegen Ende des Jahres 1734.

<sup>13</sup> A leading figure was Samuel Jenner who was collaborating with William Byrd (Wilhelm Vogel!) of Westover who in 1735 had "secured rights to a huge tract of 100,000 acres on the Dan River." See Klaus Wust, *The Virginia Germans* (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1969), 25-26. On the Jenner family see also *Historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Schweiz* (1927) 4:396-98; there were several Samuel Jenners: No. 19 (1683-1759) or No. 50 (1666-1759) is possibly the one in question.

<sup>14</sup> See Hans Ulrich Pfister, "Zürcher Auswanderung nach Amerika 1734/1735: Die Reisegruppe um Pfarrer Moritz Götschi," *Zürcher Taschenbuch auf das Jahr 1986* (Zürich 1985), 45-99; also the petition for support in *Calendar of State Papers: Colonial Series: America and the West Indies* (London, 1953), 41:296, appears to have come from the Götschi group.

<sup>15</sup> *Der Hinckende Bott von Carolina, oder Ludwig Webers von Wallisellen Beschreibung seiner Reise von Zürich gen Rotterdam, mit derjenigen Gesellschaft, welche neulich aus dem Schweizerland in Carolinam zu ziehen gedacht* (Zürich, 1735).

<sup>16</sup> *Neu-gefundenes Eden. Oder: Aufführllicher Bericht von Sud- und Nord-Carolina, Pensilvania, Mary-Land / & Virginia. Entworfen durch zwey in dise Provintzen gemachten Reisen, Reiß-Journal, und ville Briefen / dardurch der gegenwärtige Zustand diser Länderen warhafftig entdeckt / und dem Nebenmenschen zu gutem an Tag gelegt wird. Samt beygefügem Anhang, oder freye Unterweisung zu dem verlohnen / nun aber wieder gefundenen Lapide Philosophorum [Philosophers' Stone], dardurch man bald zur Vergnügung / und wahrer Reichthum gelangen kan* (In Truck verfertigt durch Befelch der Helvetischen Societät, 1737).

<sup>17</sup> Christholds Gedancken, Bey Anlaß der Bewegung / welche die bekante Beschreibung von Carolina, in America, in unserm Land verursacht / und der vor etlichen Tagen dahin geschehenen Abreiß verschiedener von unserm Volck.

<sup>18</sup> *Wahrhafte Erzehlung von dem wahren Zustand der meist Hirtenlosen Gemeinden in Pensilvanien und denen angrenzenden Provinzen, von Michael Schlatter, Evangelisch Reformirten Prediger zu Philadelphia, denen Hoch-Ehrwürdigen Christlichen Synoden in den Niederlanden, wie auch andern mildthätigen Christen in Holländischer Sprache vorgestellt. Nunmehr aber von dem Verfasser selbst in die deutsche Sprache übersetzt, und zugleich an die löbliche Reformirte Eidgenossenschaften und Ministeria in der Schweiz dediciret, nebst einem Vorbericht der Verordneten von der Classe zu Amsterdam* (Frankfurt a.M., gedruckt bey Ph. Eichenberg d. Jüngeren, 1752).

<sup>19</sup> Johannes Tobler, "Beschreibung von Carolina," *Alter und verbesserter Schreib-Calendar, Auf das G. G. Gnadenreiche Christ-Jahr MDCCCLIV. Nach dem Meridian der der Löbl. Ständen Glarus, Appenzel und der drey Bündten gestellt. Neben andern nuz-ergözlischen Erforderlichkeiten mit einer merkwürdigen Beschreibung von Süd-Carolina versehen, verfasst und bemeldt Dreyen Löbllichen Ständen dedicirt von Herr Johannes Tobler, ehedemigen Landshauptmann des Löbl. Stands Appenzel, A. R. nunmehrigem Königl. Gross-Britannischen Friedens-Richter zu Granwil County in Süd-Carolina* (St. Gallen: Hans Jacob Hochreütiner [1753]), unpaginated; Tobler's text on pp. 32-42; a richly annotated version in English is Walter L. Robbins, ed. and trans., "John Tobler's Description of South Carolina (1753)," and "(1754)," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 71 (July 1970): 141-61; (October 1970): 257-65.

<sup>20</sup> *Gottlieb Mittelberger's Reise nach Pennsylvania im jahr 1750. und rückreise nach Teutschland im jahr 1754. Enthaltend nicht nur eine beschreibung des landes nach seinem gegenwärtigen zustande, sondern auch eine ausführliche nachricht von den unglückseligen und*

betrübtten umständen der meisten Teutschen, die in dieses land gezogen sind, und dahin ziehen (Frankfurth und Leipzig, 1756); a version in English is: Gottlieb Mittelberger, *Journey to Pennsylvania*, ed. and trans. Oscar Handlin and John Clive (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1960).

<sup>21</sup> John R. Gruner, "Genealogia," 1753, Mss. Hist. Helv. XVIII, 43, in Burgerbibliothek Bern, Switzerland; see appendix for a genealogical chart with corresponding bibliographical data; Wust, *Virginia Germans*, 30, also assumes that Ochs spent a number of years in America; the *Wegweiser*, however, opens the dedicatory preface with: "Zur Zeit meines acht-jährigen Auffenthalts in Engelland (at the time of my eight years' stay in England)"; the preface is dated "Bern, den 20. Jenner (January) 1711." This would imply that Ochs left Bern in 1703, the year after his marriage.

<sup>22</sup> Ochs's first wife was a Lerber; Franz Ludwig Michel reported that he met "the four sisters Lerber from Berne" in Mattapony and, also, that "their mother had died shortly after arrival"; see William J. Hinke, ed. and trans., "Report on the Journey of Franz Louis Michel from Berne, Switzerland, to Virginia, October 2, 1701–December 1, 1702," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 24 (April 1916): 115–16; the relationship between these Lerbers and Ochs's wife remains undetermined; these Lerbers were mentioned in the context of Anabaptism.

<sup>23</sup> See Samuel von Werdt, "Stammtafeln," II, 1, "Ochs," 6, in Burgerbibliothek Bern; according to Werdt she was the widow of Pastor Johann Niclaus of Affoltern.

<sup>24</sup> The sources are silent about Ochs's wife.

<sup>25</sup> Markus Lutz, *Nekrolog denkwürdiger Schweizer aus dem achtzehnten Jahrhundert* (Aarau, Switzerland: Sauerländer, 1812), 380.

<sup>26</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography* (1964) 14:798.

<sup>27</sup> Gruner, "Genealogia," 12.

<sup>28</sup> *Calendar of State Papers: Colonial Series: America and the West Indies, 1731* (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1938), 38:76–77; cited hereafter as *Calendar*; the Staubers were an ancient family of Volketswil, Canton Zurich. See *Historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Schweiz* (1931), 6:508.

<sup>29</sup> *Calendar* 38:76; on Stauber see also Wust, *Virginia Germans*, 30–32; main documents are offered by Ann V. Strickler, ed., "Colony West of the Blue Ridge, Proposed by Jacob Stauber and Others, 1731, etc.," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 35 (April 1927): 175–90; (July): 258–66; 36 (January 1928): 54–70.

<sup>30</sup> *Calendar* 38:77.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 103–4.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 212.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 302.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, (1939), 39:207.

<sup>35</sup> Wust, *Virginia Germans*, 31.

<sup>36</sup> *Calendar* (1953), 41:309.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 310.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 186.

<sup>39</sup> *Calendar* (1953), 42:61.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 60–61 passim.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 152–53; *ibid.*, No. 238 i, reference to "a deputation from several Switzers [Joachim Laurent [Lorenz] Haberling de Schenenberg [Schönenberg], Lord of Heffenhoffen [Diesenhofen?] and Moos, John Ulrick and Jacob Haberling, Lords of Mauve [Mauren] etc. three brothers and free habitants of the Province [Canton] of Tergovie [Thurgau] in Switzerland) to Samuel Jenner for obtaining a tract of 300,000 acres for them in Carolina. Heffenhoffen in Turgovie. 16th Oct. 1735"; the brothers belonged to the family Häberling; Hans Ulrich (1668–1739) had served as mayor of Mauren. See *Historisch-biographisches Lexikon* (1924), 2:717–18; (1927), 4:41; (1931), 6:232.

<sup>42</sup> Ochs, *Wegweiser*, 4.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 3–4.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 6–7 passim.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 35.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 75.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 76-77; on the monetary denomination "Thaler," see Johann Heinrich Zedler, *Großes vollständiges Universal-Lexicon* (Halle, 1742; repr., Graz: Akademische Druck und Verlagsanstalt, 1962), 43: cols. 358-69.

<sup>50</sup> Ochs, *Wegweiser*, 82-83.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 86.

<sup>52</sup> *Lawson's History of North Carolina*, ed. Frances L. Harriss (Richmond, VA: Garrett & Massie, 1937), 218.

<sup>53</sup> Albert B. Faust, *Guide to the Materials for American History in Swiss and Austrian Archives* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Institution, 1916), 31.

<sup>54</sup> Hulme, *Colonial Encounters*, 11-12.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>56</sup> Ochs, *Wegweiser*, 32.

<sup>57</sup> For a description of conflicts see E. Lawrence Lee, *Indian Wars in North Carolina, 1663-1763* (Raleigh, NC: A Publication of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission, 1963), esp. chapter 3: "Early Indian Wars 1663-1711," 14-20; cheating by white traders, enslavement and sale to the West Indies, and encroachment on indigenously held lands caused bitter, if localized, strife; Lee discusses "the Clarendon County War" of 1667 (15-16); the "Chowanoc War" of 1675-77, and the war against the Coree people; in 1711 the war against the Tuscarora began (21-38); it was followed by the bloody Yamasee and Cheraw Wars 1715-18 (39-45).

<sup>58</sup> For a convenient summary with corresponding documents see Darrett B. Rutman, *John Winthrop's Decision for America: 1629*, The America's Alternatives Series, ed. Harold M. Hyman (Philadelphia; J. B. Lippincott, 1975), 40-44.

<sup>59</sup> Hulme, *Colonial Encounters*, 2.

<sup>60</sup> Rutman, *Winthrop's Decision*, 40-44; on Roger Williams see, e.g., *The Complete Writings of Roger Williams* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1963), 2:46-47, where John Cotton summarizes Williams's views and counters them along the lines of John Winthrop.