

Franklin and the Pennsylvania Germans

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INTRODUCTION

Although the Germans began to arrive in Pennsylvania forty years before Benjamin Franklin left Boston for Philadelphia in 1723, both began to attract attention in that decade. Franklin gained fame as an innovative writer and expert printer, which made him wealthy enough to withdraw from business by the late 1740s.¹ The Pennsylvania Germans became obvious because of the non-Britishness of the multitudes of them who were leaving behind the wars of Europe for William Penn's comparatively peaceful "Holy Experiment." By the middle decades of the century, estimates placed their numbers between 60,000 and 100,000, constituting one-third to three-fifths of the colony's nearly 200,000 to 300,000 inhabitants.² Most of the early arrivals belonged to the pacifistic religious groups. Almost all of the later ones were Lutheran and Reformed, with a few Roman Catholics, who had no qualms about fighting "a just war," though almost all initially supported the peace-loving English Quakers politically.³

Franklin's Early Contacts with the Pennsylvania Germans

Benjamin Franklin and the Pennsylvania Germans early came in contact with each other. Franklin heard and conversed with the German Seventh Day Baptist evangelist Michael Welfare when he preached in Philadelphia in 1734. After Franklin began his own printing establishment, he published material for German settlers. As early as 1731, he printed in German two books for the German Baptists.⁴ He printed in pamphlet form a letter from Pennsylvania's negotiator with the Indians Conrad Weiser to the German-language publisher Christopher Sauer.⁵ In 1740, he brought out a German translation of Gilbert Tennent's sermon "The Danger of an Unconverted Ministry." Between 1742 and 1744, he published in German a Moravian catechism and the *Authentische Relation* (*Authentic Relation*) of the Moravians' conferences of 1742 at which they tried to unite Pennsylvania's numerous religious groups. (No doubt, the colony's Governor George Thomas considered this a worthy objective. He charged that the Germans had brought with them all of the "religious whimsies" of their homeland and sub-divided even further after their arrival.)⁶ At Franklin's bookstore, he sold German-language books to German-speaking colonists, such as Weiser and Pennsylvania's leading Lutheran pastor Henry Melchior Muhlenberg.⁷ In 1732, he made the first of four futile attempts to publish a German-language newspaper. This one might have floundered because of his own inability to hire capable German editors and printers and to obtain a sufficient number of subscribers.⁸ His subsequent attempts probably failed

because of effective competition from Sauer's paper, *Pennsylvanische Berichte* (*Pennsylvania Reporter*).⁹

Except for trying to block the paper supply of his rival for the Pennsylvania Germans' printing contracts,¹⁰ which could have been a mere business tactic, Franklin seems not to have taken hostile actions or expressed significant negative opinions about his German-speaking neighbors during the first quarter century of his residence among them.¹¹ In fact, Franklin praised them on at least a couple of occasions. He expressed admiration for their craftsmanship in developing the "German Stove" that was loaded entirely on the outside and therefore could heat quickly without permitting cold air to enter the room. He mentioned also that this meant that people in the room had to breathe the same air constantly "mix'd with Breath and Perspiration from one anothers Bodies, which is very disagreeable to those who have not been accustomed to it."¹² In the tract *Plain Truth* that Franklin published in 1747, he acknowledged the bravery and steadiness of the Germans who, he wrote, joined "the most obstinate Courage to all other military Virtues." He asked, "Would they refuse to unite with us in Defense of their newly acquired and most precious Liberty and Property?"¹³

Franklin's Hostility toward the Pennsylvania Germans

Probably, it was the Pennsylvania Germans' failure to demonstrate their courage to Franklin's satisfaction that stimulated his hostility toward them.¹⁴ In the 1740s and early '50s Spanish ships entered into the Delaware Bay, and the French moved to implement their claims to the trans-Appalachian area.¹⁵ The Quakers who dominated the Pennsylvania Assembly refused to provide defense.¹⁶ Franklin formed a volunteer association to defend the colony, apparently hoping that large numbers of Pennsylvania Germans would join. He had been pleased to note the Philadelphia "Dutch [Germans] to be as hearty as the English" in staffing the batteries that he had constructed along the Delaware River.¹⁷ When, however, they did not rush in large numbers to join Franklin's unofficial defense force, he began to question their loyalty.¹⁸ He feared that the Germans would ally with the French, no doubt, agreeing with William Smith's *Brief View of the Conduct of Pennsylvania*, that the French had "turned their Hopes upon the great Body of Germans in Pennsylvania" by sending their "Jesuitical Missionaries among them, to persuade them over to the Popish Religion, and by offering them easy Settlements" on lands that they claimed in the Ohio River Valley. The French were confident that they could realize their hopes because they "know these Germans are extremely ignorant . . . thinking a large farm the greatest Blessing in life."¹⁹ Franklin mistakenly charged that the French were "making a German settlement, back of us in the Illinois country, and by means of these Germans they may in time come to an understanding with ours. . . ." ²⁰

Franklin's anxiety concerning the Pennsylvania Germans' loyalty increased as war with France became more likely. Even in the face of the French menace, the German voters continued into the mid-1750's to support Quaker candidates for the provincial legislature. This they did because they knew that Quaker assemblymen would maintain freedom of worship, low taxes, and pacifism. The opposite having prevailed in their homelands, they cherished these characteristics of William Penn's "Holy Experiment." Furthermore, Sauer's publications consistently encouraged the Germans to maintain this stance. Not actually a member of any religious body²¹ Sauer normally served as spokesman for the German pacifistic groups. In his German-language almanac for 1755, Sauer asked "Is the boundary in America so important that such costly preparations for war must be made" that will be expensive "and perhaps also cost many thousands of lives."²² As the raids of allegedly French-inspired Indians increased, Sauer cautioned against military retaliation. In his German-language newspaper, he advised: "If a man sees Indians coming toward his house he does well to bring them bread and milk if he has any. If they are enemies they will become friendly."²³ These and other such pacifist pleas that he had read and heard in recent years deepened Franklin's fear that there were too many Germans in his adopted province.

In private correspondence in early 1751 and subsequently, Franklin expressed alarm at the large number of German-speaking settlers in the colony of Pennsylvania. He predicted in a letter to James Parker, dated March 20, 1751, that "This will in a few years become a German Colony. . . ." "Already," he complained, "the English begin to quit particular neighborhoods surrounded by Dutch," meaning Germans, and he predicted that eventually they would leave Pennsylvania.²⁴ In his thoughts on "The Increase of Mankind . . ." of the same year, he asked why the German settlers should "be suffered to swarm into our Settlements, and by herding together establish their Language and Manners to the Exclusion of ours. Why should Pennsylvania, founded by the English, become a Colony of Aliens, who will shortly be so numerous as to Germanize us, instead of our Anglifying them." In a phrase that would come back to haunt him, he called the Pennsylvania Germans "Palatine Boors."²⁵

Of course, the Germans' numbers gave them political power which at times was decisive. Not until late in the colonial period did Pennsylvania Germans hold provincial offices, but they did vote. Critics charged that Quaker political leaders would bring the Germans to be naturalized when they needed help in close elections. Franklin exaggerated that politically the Germans came "in droves" and that the Germans carried all before them. This, he reminisced, was different from "when they modestly declined intermeddling with our elections."²⁶

Not only did the large numbers of German settlers disturb Franklin, but the quality of the recent immigrants alarmed him. The ship owners, he charged,

“were sweeping the German Goals to make up the number of their passengers, to bring “hither . . . the most Stupid Sort of their own Nation” Their “Ignorance,” he explained in a letter to Peter Collinson, prominent English scientist with whom Franklin frequently corresponded, was “often attended with Credulity when Knavery would mislead it, and with Suspicion when Honesty would set it right” Franklin observed that “Not being used to Liberty, they know not how to make a modest use of it” “They seem to take an uncommon pleasure in abusing and discharging the Minister on every trivial occasion . . . and seem to think themselves not free, till they can feel their Liberty in abusing and insulting their Teachers.” He labeled their manners “dissonant” and disagreeable.²⁷

Measures Against the Germans

With the encouragement and assistance of others, including Peter Collinson and William Smith, Franklin proposed strong measures to ensure the allegiance of the Pennsylvania Germans. Although he did not advocate terminating their settlement in this province, he did recommend regulating it and distributing the Germans more equally throughout British America.²⁸ For those Germans already in the province, he proposed Anglicization. Consistent with Peter Collinson’s suggestion that the German children be taught the English language, Franklin became a trustee of the “Charity Schools.”²⁹ Actually, the German Reformed minister, Michael Schlatter, initiated the project by going to Europe in 1751 to raise funds for the German children.³⁰ Out of Schlatter’s “Appeal . . .” emerged a “Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge Among the Germans.” The formation of this group preceded only slightly the arrival in London of Franklin’s protégé at that time, William Smith, as a candidate for Holy Orders in the Church of England. Smith proposed to the German Society what he considered a “practical program” that steered the schools away from Schlatter’s Reformed Church synods.³¹ Franklin approved the plan that called for teaching German children how to qualify “for all the advantages of English subjects” and promised to do all in his “power that may contribute” to the success of “so judicious, so generous, and so pious an undertaking.”³² By 1755, Smith could inform Thomas Penn that schools were in session in “Reading, New Providence, Lancaster, and upper Solfort” and that others were about to open at Easton, York, Vincent Township, Tulpehocken, Oley, and Upper Dublin.³³ Initially, the German churchmen supported the schools. Schlatter became the superintendent.³⁴ When Sauer expectedly criticized them, Pastor Muhlenberg then encouraged Franklin to set up a rival printer whose paper was to counteract Sauer’s opposition. Sauer prevailed, however. Anthony Armbrüster’s *Philadelphische Zeitung* never achieved more than ten percent of Sauer’s circulation and failed within two years.³⁵ The schools lasted longer. In

1760, there were in operation nine schools that enrolled 400 students. During the early 1760s, they gradually disbanded as the Germans accepted as truth Sauer's charge that the English promoters "care very little about religion, nor do they care for the cultivation of [the] mind[s] of the Germans. . . ." Sauer claimed that Franklin's only concern was that "the stupid Germans could be used as militia-men to protect their property."³⁶

Franklin really saw no hope of assimilating the German population. The "swarthy" Germans, he wrote, "can no more adopt our ways than they can adopt our complexion." To Collinson's advice that the English intermarry with the Germans, Franklin replied that it was impossible. "It would either cost too much, or have no effect." He explained that "The German women are generally so disagreeable to an English Eye, that it wou'd require great Portions to induce Englishmen to marry them. German men would not find English women desirable either. . . ." According to Franklin, Germans liked their women fat and strong. He went on to charge that the "value in a wife with them consists much in the work she is able to do. So it would require a round Sum with an English Wife to make up to a Dutch [German] Man the difference in Labour and Frugality."³⁷

Germans' Defense Against Franklin's Charges

How widely Franklin's opinions circulated among the Pennsylvania Germans is impossible to determine, but some did notice and object. When new Governor Robert Hunter Morris arrived in 1754 to take up his duties, a group of thirty-one "German Protestants, Freeholders and Inhabitants" from "Philadelphia and the adjacent Counties" presented their defense. They explained that it was the "mild Government, the incomparable Privileges, the inestimable Liberty of Conscience, and the just Administration of the excellent Laws so happily established . . . by our first worthy Proprietor Willm Penn, Esquire . . . so loudly proclaimed over the best Part of Germany" that had led "a considerable number of Germans oppressed by arbitrary Powers and Slavery to transport themselves" to Pennsylvania. They admitted that they did not normally express their affection for their "Sovereign King and Governours. . . for Fear of being looked upon as Audacious" and might not have on this occasion either if "some Spirit" had not accused them "publicly" both in Pennsylvania and in England "of a Secret Conspirace [sic] against our beloved King George and Country we live in." How could any "man of due reason," they asked, even "think much less, say that the Pennsylvania Germans were in any ways inclined to Submit themselves again under a Romish Slavery upheld by a French King?" They then pledged to assist the King, Governor, and Assembly to repulse the French threat.³⁸

Pennsylvania Germans in the “French and Indian War”

Despite Franklin's premonitions, when the French and Indian War began in 1754, the Pennsylvania Germans did not ally with the French in the interior to push the English into the sea, nor did all maintain their political solidarity with the Quakers. Of course, some German pacifists declined to resist the French and Indians, encouraged all the while by Sauer. Seventh Day Baptists at the Ephrata Cloisters “bound themselves by oath not to march against the enemy until every non-combatant in the country had been massacred.” Superintendent Conrad Beissel assured the Brethren that they would have no problems because God had promised him in a dream that “none of them should die at the hands of the Indians.” Perhaps as added insurance, however, the Superintendent shared with British military officers who came his way the bountiful contents of his wine cellar.³⁹ The Moravians at Bethlehem were less pacifistic. Superintendent August Gottlieb Spangenberg instructed guards to aim low at approaching Indians and to bring for treatment those whom they shot in the legs.⁴⁰

Other Pennsylvania Germans gradually became more belligerent and began to contribute significantly to the colony's defense. After the British government sent General Edward Braddock from Great Britain in 1755 with an army to protect Pennsylvanians, he complained that the Germans were not providing supplies for his expedition against the French in the Ohio Valley. Franklin then published a “hand bill in both the German and English languages” that circulated among the residents of heavily German Lancaster and York Counties requesting “150 Waggon with 4 Horses to each Waggon, and 1500 Saddle or Pack-Horses . . .” with “Oats, Indian Corn or other Forage . . . for the Subsistence of the Horses . . .” at a “reasonable Price.” Franklin warned that British soldiers might seize what they needed if residents did not satisfy them, which he professed he would “be sorry to hear because” he was “very sincerely and truly” their “Friend and Well-wisher.” Whether because of the threat of seizure, the promise of reimbursement, or patriotism, the residents responded promptly and abundantly.⁴¹ After the Indians ambushed the British, killed Braddock, and turned back his expedition, Indians intensified their attacks on Pennsylvania's frontier, especially in the Tulpehocken area between the Schuylkill and Susquehanna Rivers. Feeling that provincial officials were neglecting them, 500 Germans assembled at Conrad Weiser's plantation in November, 1755, and then went on to Philadelphia to demand that the Quaker-dominated Assembly protect their families, homes, and farms.⁴² A short time later, the Assembly passed a Militia Act that Franklin was “instrumental in framing.”⁴³ Governor Morris acted promptly and early in 1756 appointed Franklin and Weiser to construct a line of forts “along the Blue Mountains, from the Delaware to the Susquehanna.”⁴⁴ Moravians contributed tools for construction in Northampton County. Although the forts may have prevented the Indians

from remaining for long periods of time on the south side of the mountains, they did not prevent periodic raids.⁴⁵

Noticing again the ineffectiveness of Pennsylvania's defense, the British Parliament in May, 1756, authorized the formation in Pennsylvania of a regiment that became known as the "Royal Americans." It included German and Swiss officers, for example the Swiss Colonel Henry Bouquet. The regiment's chaplain was the Pennsylvania German Reformed clergyman Michael Schlatter, formerly superintendent of the Charity Schools for the Germans. Possibly more than half of the troops were Pennsylvania Germans.⁴⁶ In 1758, General John Forbes, with Bouquet's essential assistance, commanded the Regiment's first Battalion across Pennsylvania to renew the British attack on the French at Fort Duquesne. As with Braddock's earlier attempt, German farmers, whom Forbes considered more reliable than Virginians, provided wagons, horses, and other supplies. A Virginian, noting the loss of that reimbursement to his fellow colonists, blamed "a set of Dirty Dutchmen . . ." who did receive payment.⁴⁷

As the British troops approached Fort Duquesne in the late summer of 1758, the Indians threatened to turn them back, as they had done to Braddock's expedition three years earlier. For the eventual success of the campaign, Colonel Bouquet, in a letter to Chief Justice William Allen, gave credit to God. Perhaps ultimately that was a valid attribution, but more immediately the Moravian missionary Christian Frederick Post deserved accolades. Post, who had gained the Indians' trust, learned from them that the French garrison would starve if the Indians stopped providing them with food. Consequently, with new Governor William Denny's authorization, he successfully wooed the Delawares, Ottawas, and Shawnees from their support of the French.⁴⁸ Bereft of their Indian allies, the French abandoned their fortress at the forks of the Ohio and retreated north on the Allegheny River.⁴⁹ It is impossible to escape the conclusion that the Pennsylvania Germans played an important role in reducing the French and Indian menace to the colony's frontiers. Franklin, by this time in England,⁵⁰ may have learned of the Germans' involvement, for after the war he no longer aimed his sharp barbs at them and even offered faint praise.

The Provincial Election of 1764

Although Franklin was out of the colony from 1757 until 1762, the voters of Philadelphia returned him to the Assembly each year after his initial election in 1751. In the 1764 election campaign, however, Franklin's opponents aroused the city's Germans against him.⁵¹ They became pawns in a contest to determine whether Pennsylvania should remain a proprietary or become a royal colony, as Franklin now advocated. Politically astute, Pennsylvania Germans had little reason to want a change. Of course, the Proprietary Party opposed Franklin's plan. Its leaders, desperate for the German vote that was significant even in

the Philadelphia area, reminded the Germans of the rights and privileges that they had enjoyed under the proprietors. Not confident that this issue alone would influence a sufficient number of Germans to vote against Franklin and his plan, they searched for material to direct against Franklin. They found what they were looking for in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1755 that had printed Franklin's "Increase of Mankind . . .," the piece that contained Franklin's reference to the German settlers as "Palatine Boors." Franklin actually had called the Germans low-class, uneducated farmers and regretted that they had concentrated so heavily in one colony. His political detractors, however, claimed that he had written of the Germans as Palatine pigs who had herded together in Pennsylvania. They circulated this charge far and wide, with Franklin's other disparaging observations of the Germans. They wanted to impress upon the Germans that Franklin was not a genuine friend of theirs.⁵²

"The German Freeholders of Philadelphia" responded by publishing "A Broadside Against . . . Franklin" asking "every German subject of the English Crown who still have [sic] a drop of blood in his body to give for his nation: Firstly: Does Mr. Franklin merit a vote on the coming election day from a single German? Secondly: Is this man a friend whom we dare trust to administer our rights in the Assembly? Thirdly: What benefits under these circumstances, can we expect of him? Fourthly: Should we not expect him to cause us more harm than good if at the Time it is in his power to do so?" The "Freeholders" added that they would "allow every German to answer all these questions for themselves" but then expressed the hope that "no one will give him a vote since he has not deserved it of us."⁵³ Non-German opponents of Franklin urged the Germans to invoke a "What is Sauce for a Goose is also Sauce for a Gander" or a "Tit for Tat" approach to the election.⁵⁴

It was a spirited election. Franklin's supporters also campaigned vigorously. John Penn reported to his brother Thomas in England that Franklin's son William, now the royal Governor of New Jersey, even had "left his own government to keep open house at German Town during the election. He was several days there canvassing among the Germans. . . ."⁵⁵ For the first time, Franklin lost his bid for re-election. Although some voters might have been expressing their opposition to his plan to transform Pennsylvania into a royal colony, many Philadelphia Germans were expressing also their ethnic pride. Muhlenberg asserted that the Germans were not illegitimate citizens, but were "His Majesty's loyal subjects" and noted that German voters proceeded from the schoolhouse to the polling place to elect their own people to the Assembly.⁵⁶

Franklin took his defeat personally, as well he should have, according to the Germans. In a letter to Richard Jackson that Franklin wrote after the election, he complained that his opponents had taken "1000 Dutch [Germans] from me by printing part of my Paper sent to you 12 Years since on Peopling New Countries where, I speak of Palatine Boors herding together, which they

explain' I call'd them a Herd of Hogs." Franklin added that this was a "laughing matter."⁵⁷ It was obvious that the Philadelphia Germans disagreed.⁵⁸ Other Pennsylvania political leaders shared Franklin's conclusion that the German voters had contributed to his defeat. William Allen reported to Thomas Penn that "Franklin's opponents are composed chiefly of Presbyterians, one half of the Church of England, and most of the other societies, [sic] particularly the Lutherans and Calvinist Germans." Allen noted that many German church people initially signed Franklin's petition for royal government but later felt that Franklin had deceived them.⁵⁹ When writing to Franklin in 1765, Thomas Wharton informed him that the German clergy had urged the Germans, "low drunken Dutch," he called them, to vote against him, which caused him to lose the election.⁶⁰

Franklin Charged With Responsibility for the Stamp Act

Franklin's elimination from the Assembly did not entirely satisfy some Pennsylvania Germans. Casper Kriebel described "Continued Columny against Mr. Franklin . . . as some were so stirred up to implicate and curse "him to all eternity."⁶¹ A part of that "curse" was to imply that Franklin was responsible for a portion of Great Britain's revised colonial policy that involved raising revenue to reduce the national debt and provide funds to administer and defend the new territories that the British acquired as a result of the recently concluded "Great War for the Empire." The Stamp Act of 1765 required government paper on numerous types of documents and publications, including double the normal number of stamps on foreign language documents. According to Kriebel, some Germans were certain that the author of the act and especially of that provision was none other than Benjamin Franklin.⁶³

The British Parliament's repeal of the Stamp Act in 1766 marked a transition in the controversy between Franklin and the Pennsylvania Germans. It was not that Franklin had played an extremely important role in the repeal, as Casper Kriebel had recommended that he should,⁶⁴ but that both parties went their separate ways.

The Founding of Franklin College

A generation of Pennsylvania Germans matured before Franklin again associated significantly with them. When they did come together in the mid-1780's, it was through another plan for German education. While Franklin was President of Pennsylvania in 1787, the Assembly chartered a college in Lancaster, some of the purposes of which were "to promote an accurate knowledge of the German and English languages," and other disciplines that would "tend to make good men and useful citizens."⁶⁵ Franklin contributed £200 to the college, possibly twice as much as any other donor, and the Pennsylvania Assembly subsidized the college with a grant of "10,000 acres of

land” and “the public Store House and two lots of grounds in the borough and county of Lancaster. . . .”⁶⁶ Although there is little evidence that Franklin was involved in the college’s founding, either the Germans or the Assembly specified that “from a profound respect for the talents, virtues and services to mankind in general but more especially to his country, of His Excellency Benjamin Franklin, Esquire, President of the Supreme Executive Council” that the institution be known as “Franklin College.” A French visitor to the United States, Hector St. John de Crevecoeur, remembered, perhaps inaccurately, accompanying Franklin to the college’s opening ceremonies on June 6, 1787.⁶⁷ It is not certain that the naming of the Germans’ college for Franklin symbolized a genuine reconciliation between the two; what is definite, however, is that by that time, the enmity between them had ended.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it is possible to understand Franklin’s concern about the willingness of the Pennsylvania Germans to take up arms in defense of the province. His early contacts were with the pacifists among them. It was easy for him to overlook the vast majority of Germans who were Lutheran and Reformed, for they did not distinguish themselves from the pacifists in ways that Franklin could notice until after he had generalized about all of them. His suspicion, however, that the Pennsylvania Germans, whom he called “ignorant,” would ever ally with the French, whose invasions of their homeland had contributed to their departure, casts some doubt on his own knowledge. It is difficult to believe also that he did not at least occasionally see a German woman who was sufficiently attractive to catch his sharp and roving eye. If the Germans had different preferences in female beauty and other matters, that was to be expected. It was unrealistic of Franklin to have believed that they should have resembled the British, especially so soon after their arrival in British America. Eventually, the Germans proved him wrong about their defensive prowess, and they gained revenge on him for doubting them. After going their separate ways for two decades, they came together again, at least nominally, in the founding of an educational institution. Franklin College eventually contributed to the Germans’ acculturation, which would have greatly pleased its namesake.

Notes

1. For a detailed account of Franklin's youth, adolescence, and early adulthood, see Carl Van Doren, *Benjamin Franklin* (New York: Viking Press, 1938), 3-68.
2. Estimates of the German population in Colonial Pennsylvania appear in Howard F. Barker, "National Stocks in the Population of the United States as Indicated by Surnames . . .," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1931*, I (Washington, D.C., 1932), 294-298; Everts B. Greene and Virginia D. Harrington, *American Population Before the Federal Census of 1790* (New York: Peter Smith, 1932), 114-118; William S. Perry, *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church*, II (Hartford: Printed for Subscribers, 1870-1878; reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1969), 256, page number from reprint; Jonathan Oswald, trans, *Reports of the United German Evangelical Lutheran Congregations . . .*, II (Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society, 1882), 242-243, and August Gottlieb Spangenberg, *The Life of Nicholas Lewis Count Zinzendorf* (London: S. Holdsworth, 1838), 294, originally published in German between 1772 and 1775. Benjamin Franklin testified to the House of Commons in 1765 that German-speaking colonists constituted one-third of Pennsylvania's population of about 160,000. See "The Examination of Doctor Benjamin Franklin before an August Assembly, relating to the Repeal of the Stamp Act, . . ." in *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, Leonard W. Labaree, et al., eds., 13 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969), 132. For Franklin's attitude toward the movement of people to America, see Stephen Fender, "Franklin and Emigration: The Trajectory of Use," in J. A. Leo Lemay, ed., *Reappraising Benjamin Franklin: A Bicentennial Perspective* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1993), 335-46.
3. Descriptions of the Pennsylvania Germans can be found in Oscar Kuhns, *The German and Swiss Settlements of Colonial Pennsylvania: A Study of the So-Called Pennsylvania Dutch* (New York: Eaton and Mains, 1900; Frederic Klees, *The Pennsylvania Dutch* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1951); William T. Parsons, *The Pennsylvania Dutch: A Persistent Minority* (Boston: Twayne, 1976); and Ralph Wood, ed. *The Pennsylvania Germans* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1943), 3-281; and Don Yoder, "The Pennsylvania Germans," in Stephan Thernstrom, ed., *The Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980), 770-72; Charles H. Glatfelter, *The Pennsylvania Germans* (University Park: Pennsylvania Historical Association, 1990); and Aaron S. Fogelman, *Hopeful Journeys: German Immigration, Settlement, and Political Culture in Colonial America, 1717-1775* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993).
4. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 19-25, 1734; *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin*, "Introduction by Carl Van Doren" (New York: Heritage Press, 1951), 153; Van Doren, *Franklin*, 103; and Glenn Weaver, "Benjamin Franklin and the Pennsylvania Germans," *William and Mary Quarterly* 3rd Ser. XIV (October 1957): 537.
5. Paul A. W. Wallace, *Conrad Weiser, 1696-1760: Friend of Colonist and Mohawk* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1945), 199.
6. Weaver, "Franklin and the Pennsylvania Germans," 537, n. 5; "Governor Thomas to the Bishop of Exeter, Apr. 23, 1748," in Perry, *Historical Collections*, II, 256; and *Benjamin Franklin's Philadelphia Printing, 1728-1766: A Descriptive Bibliography*, Clarence William Miller, ed. and comp. (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1974), 69, 100, 151-55, 157-58, 177. For information on the Moravians' conferences, see J. Taylor Hamilton and Kenneth G. Hamilton, *A History of the Moravian Church . . .* (Bethlehem: Interprovincial Board of Christian Education, 1967), 89.
7. Wallace, *Weiser*, 105, 250.
8. Weaver, "Franklin and the Pennsylvania Germans"; Van Doren, *Franklin*, 103; Marc Harris, "What Politeness Demanded: Ethnic Omissions in Franklin's *Autobiography*," *Pennsylvania History*, 61 (July 1994): 291; and Edward W. Hocker, "The Sower Printing House of Colonial Times," in *Proceedings and Addresses of the Pennsylvania German Society* LII (1948): 13-14, 27; and Stephen Longenecker, *The Christopher Sauer: Courageous Publishers Who Defended Religious Freedom in Early America* (Elgin, Illinois: Brethren Press, 1981), 42, 51, 58-59, 104.
9. For additional information on Franklin's attempts to exert influence, see Ralph Frasca, "To Rescue the Germans Out of Sauer's

- Hands': Benjamin Franklin's German-Language Printing Partnerships," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* CXXI (October 1997): 329-50.
10. Wallace, *Weiser*, 103.
11. For a different interpretation, see Weaver, "Franklin and the Pennsylvania Germans," 536.
12. *Papers*, Labaree, et al., 2, 429.
13. Benjamin Franklin, *Plain Truth: or Serious Considerations on the Present State of the City of Philadelphia, and Province of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Franklin, 1747), 21.
14. The first widely circulated expression of Franklin's hostility toward the Germans appeared in his "'Observations concerning the Increase of Mankind, Peopling of Countries, . . ." that he wrote and sent to Peter Collinson and Richard Jackson, in 1751, in *Papers*, Labaree, et al., 4, 227-34. It appeared in *Gentleman's Magazine*, November, 1755, and later in other publications also. Glenn Weaver has arrived at a different conclusion concerning when Franklin became hostile to the Germans and what led to it. See his "Franklin and the Pennsylvania Germans," 536. It is interesting to note that there is little evidence in Franklin's *Autobiography* of his anxiety about the German population. See Harris, "Politeness," 292-93.
15. Van Doren, *Franklin*, 183 and Robert L. D. Davidson *War Comes to Quaker Pennsylvania, 1682-1756* (New York: Columbia University Press, for Temple University Publications, 1957), 51, 98-112.
16. Davidson, *Quaker Pennsylvania*, 49 and Van Doren, *Franklin*, 183-184.
17. Franklin, *Plain Truth*, especially 19-22; Franklin to James Logan, December 4, 1747, in *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, Albert H. Smyth, ed., (New York: MacMillen, 1905), 356; and Van Doren, *Franklin*, 183-87.
18. See Franklin's Letter to James Parker, March 20, 1750/1, in *Papers*, Labaree, et al., 4, 121; and Benjamin Franklin to Peter Collinson, May 9, 1753, in *ibid.*, 4485.
19. William Smith, *A Brief View of the Conduct of Pennsylvania for the Year 1755 so far as it affected the General Service of the British Colonies, particularly the Expedition Under the Late General Braddock . . .* (London: R. Griffiths, 1756), 12-13. See also William Smith to Secretary Chandler (?), May 30, 1754, in Horace Wymiss Smith, *Life and Correspondence of the Reverend William Smith, D.D.*, I (Philadelphia: S. A. George, 1879), 46.
20. Franklin to Peter Collinson, May 9, 1753, *Papers*, Labaree, et al., 4, 485.
21. Donald F. Durnbaugh, ed., *The Brethren in Colonial America: A Source Book on the Transplantation and Development of the Church of the Brethren in the Eighteenth Century* (Elgin, Illinois: Brethren Press, 1967), 33.
22. Quoted in Clair Gordon Frantz, "The Religious Teachings of the German Almanacs Published by the Sauers in Colonial Pennsylvania" (D. Ed. diss., Temple University, 1955), 100.
23. *Pennsylvania Berichte*, 1 August 1755, translated and quoted in William R. Steckel, "Pietist in Colonial Pennsylvania: Christopher Sauer, Printer" (Ph.D. diss. Stanford University, 1949), 197.
24. Labaree, et al., *Papers*, 4, 120.
25. *Ibid.*, 234.
26. *Ibid.*, 4, 484. Pennsylvania's Governor Robert Hunter Morris also complained about the Germans' political influence, charging that the "majority of the Electors here are Germans. . . ." See "Gov'r Morris to Gov'r Dinwiddie," January 7, 1755, *Pennsylvania Archives* First Series, II, 227. See also Alan Tully, *William Penn's Legacy: Politics and Social Structure in Provincial Pennsylvania, 1726-1755* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977), 64, 93-94.
27. Franklin to Peter Collinson, May 9, 1753, in *Papers*, Labaree, et al., 4, 483-85.
28. *Ibid.*, 485.
29. For Franklin's role, see Whitfield J. Bell, "Benjamin Franklin and the German Charity Schools," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 99 (December 15, 1955): 381-87.
30. Henry Harbaugh, *The Life of Reverend Michael Schlatter With a Full Account of His Travels and Labors Among the Germans* (Philadelphia: S. R. Fisher, 1857), 87-123.
31. William Smith to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in Smith, *Life and Correspondence*, I, 29-39; "Minutes of the Coetus, Held in Philadelphia, June 15-17, 1756," *Minutes and Letters of the Coetus of the German Reformed Congregations in Pennsylvania, 1747-1792*, James I. Good and William J. Hinke, eds. (Philadelphia: Reformed Church Publication Board, 1903), 143-144; and Bell, "German Charity Schools," 383-84.
32. Franklin to Peter Collinson, May 28, 1754,

Papers, Labaree, et al., 5, 333.

33. Penn Official Correspondence, 7: 23, quoted in Bell, "German Charity Schools," 385.

34. Smith to Muhlenberg, October 23, 1754, and Muhlenberg to Smith, October 29, 1754, in Smith, *Life and Correspondence*, I, 77-80; *Minutes of the Coetus*, 129-30; and Harbaugh, *Life of Schlatter*, 264.

35. "Dr. Smith to Secretary Chandler, October 3, 1755," in Smith, *Life and Correspondence*, I, 96-97; "Henry Melchior Muhlenberg to the society's trustees, August 3, 1754," in *Papers*, Labaree, et al., 5, 418-21; Bell, "German Charity Schools," 384-385; and Henry J. Graeff, *Relations Between the Pennsylvania Germans and the British Authorities, 1750-1776* (Norristown: Times Herald, 1939), 46-48. Vernard Eller discusses the controversy between Franklin and Sauer in his "Tale of Two Printers-One City," *Brethren Life and Thought*, XVI (Winter 1971): 49-57. See also Frasca, "To Rescue the Germans," 45-47.

36. Christopher Sauer to ?, September 6, 1755, in Smith, *Life and Correspondence*, I, 94-96; "Minutes of the Coetus, Held in Lancaster, June 24 and 25, 1761," *Minutes of the Coetus*, 138-39, 143, 198; and Bell, "German Charity Schools," 386-87. The quotation appears in Harbaugh, *Life of Schlatter*, 293-95. For a detailed account of the Charity Schools for the Germans, see Samuel E. Weber, *The Charity School Movement in Colonial Pennsylvania, 1754-1763: A History of the Educational Struggle Between the Colonial Authorities and the German Inhabitants of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: William J. Campbell, 1956), 23-64.

37. "Franklin to Peter Collinson," [1753?] *Papers*, Labaree, et al., 5, 159.

38. "German Protestants of Phil. Col. to Gov. Morris, 1754," *Pennsylvania Archives*, First Series, II, 200-02.

39. "Lamech and Agrippa," *Chronicon Ephratense; A History of the Community of Seventh Day Baptists at Ephrata . . .*, trans. J. Max Hart (Lancaster: S. H. Zahm, 1889), 236-37.

40. Joseph M. Levering, *A History of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, 1741-1892, With Some Account of Its Founders and Their Early Activities in America* (Bethlehem: Times, 1903), 330, 337.

41. "Advertisement of B. Franklin for 'Waggons,'" 1755; and Franklin to "Friends and Countrymen," *Pennsylvania Archives*, First

Series, II, 294-96. See also Graeff, *Relations*, 82-92.

42. Graeff, *Relations*, 125-39.

43. *Ibid.*, 142; and Wallace, *Weiser*, 415.

44. Graeff, *Relations*, 145; and J. Bennett Nolan, *General Benjamin Franklin: The Military Career of a Philosopher* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1936), 75, 79-83, 86.

45. Graeff, *Relations*, 145, 147.

46. *Ibid.*, 152; and Harbaugh, *Life of Schlatter*, 322.

47. Graeff, *Relations*, 152, 158-60, 164. The quotation appears on 164.

48. Thomas C. Chase describes Post's diplomacy in "Christian Frederick Post, 1715-1785: Missionary and Diplomat to the Indians of America," (D.Ed. diss., The Pennsylvania State University, 1982), 57-75.

49. For a detailed account of the campaign under the command of British General John Forbes that resulted in evacuation by the French of the Pennsylvania frontier, see Lawrence H. Gipson's *British Empire Before the American Revolution*, vol. VII, *The Great War for Empire: The Victorious Years, 1758-1760* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949), 249-86.

50. David T. Morgan, *The Devious Dr. Franklin, Colonial Agent: Benjamin Franklin's Years in London* (Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 1996), 93-94.

51. Philip Gleason, "A Scurrulous Colonial Election and Franklin's Reputation," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Ser. XVIII (January, 1961): 78-81.

52. *Ibid.*, and an address "To the Freeholders and Electors of the Province of Pennsylvania," in the *Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser*, no. 1138, supplement, September 27, 1764.

53. "A Broadside Directed Against Benjamin Franklin, Candidate for the Assembly, By German Freeholders of Philadelphia County in 1764," reprinted in the *Yearbook of the Pennsylvania German Society* 4 (1939): 21-22.

54. "Election Papers," *Papers*, Labaree, et al., 11, 380.

55. "To Thomas Penn, October 19, 1764." Penn Correspondence, Official IX, 274-276, quoted in Sister Joan de Lourde Leonard, C.S.J., "Elections in Colonial Pennsylvania," *William and Mary Quarterly* 3rd Ser. XI (July 1954): 391. See also Gleason, "A Scurrulous Election," 78-79, n. 43.

56. *The Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg*,

- trans. Theodore G. Tappert and John W. Doberstein, II (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1945), 192.
57. Franklin to Richard Jackson, October 11, 1764, *Papers*, Labaree, et al., 11, 397.
58. Gleason, "Scurrulous Election," 80-81.
59. William Allen to Thomas Penn, September 25, 1764, *Papers*, Labaree, et al., 11, 327, n. 7.
60. Thomas Wharton to Franklin, August 14, 1765, *Papers*, Labaree, et al., 12, 240; for evidence of Muhlenberg's conferences with provincial leaders, see his *Journals*, II, 91, 100, 101, 102-03, 107, 111. See also Hutson, *Pennsylvania Politics*, 173-74. Theodore Thayer arrived at a different conclusion concerning the reason for Franklin's defeat. See his *Pennsylvania Politics and the Growth of Democracy, 1740-1775* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1953), 102. Although Robert Middlekauff mentions very briefly the role of the Germans in the election of 1764, his emphasis is on Franklin's English-speaking enemies. See his *Benjamin Franklin and His Enemies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996). See especially 92-100.
61. Casper Kriebel to David Deshler, John Wister, Richard Wister, October 21, 1765, *Papers*, Labaree, et al., 12, 329.
62. See Lawrence H. Gipson, "The American Revolution As An Aftermath of the Great War for Empire," *Political Science Quarterly*, LXV (March 1950): 96-102.
63. Casper Kriebel to David Deshler, John Wister, Richard Wister, October 21, 1765, *Papers*, Labaree, et al., 12, 329.
64. *Ibid.*
65. Joseph H. Dubbs, *History of Franklin and Marshall College* (Lancaster: Franklin and Marshall College Alumni Association, 1903), 19-23, 29.
66. *Ibid.*, 29.
67. *Ibid.*, 25, 54-60. The quotation appears on 25. See also J. M. J. Klein, *History of Franklin and Marshall College* (Lancaster: Franklin and Marshall College Alumni Association, 1952), 17-20. Van Doren denies that Franklin was present. Van Doren, *Franklin*, 741.