The situation of the Germans in colonial Pennsylvania presents an interesting political and cultural phenomenon which can be viewed in a fresh aspect from a number of hitherto unpublished manuscripts. These documents, selected for their revealing comments on contemporary attitudes, may serve as a useful supplement to the work of historians who have traced the growth of democracy in Pennsylvania, the relations of the Pennsylvania Germans with the government, and the impact of the French and Indian wars on the colony. Since most of the political alignments of these years followed the lines of religious affiliations, it is well to point out some of the interrelations between denominations and parties, and also to stress patterns of leadership and the interaction of groups.

In the short period between the Great Awakening and the days of the Stamp Act, colonial Pennsylvania experienced all the familiar American problems and reactions caused by mass immigration. This particular period, however, deserves special study because it saw the first major encounter between different European ethnic

groups in the New World and because the percentage of immigrants was higher than at any later time. Most of these immigrants of the mid-eighteenth century came from Germany. Obstinate adherence to their language and culture set them apart from the main stream of Anglo-Saxon colonial society. Political rights granted to them seemed to endanger the predominant position of earlier English-speaking settlers. However, the encounter was not one of solid fronts. The social, religious, and political dynamics of an era of rapid transition caught older settlers and immigrants alike in a network of contending factions. Yielding to these pressures, the German immigrants soon began to vote on both sides of political issues. When this occurred, and they no longer constituted an alarmingly solid support for one party only, the Germans ceased to be a worrisome political problem in Pennsylvania.

By 1740 the involvements of the British Empire began to catch up with Pennsylvania's "Holy Experiment." The distant refuge of quietist sects had become a wealthy and expanding colony. Britain had to defend its empire against the envy and competition of European neighbors. Migration across the ocean was no longer restricted to persecuted religious minorities preferring a life in the wilderness to a loss of integrity; more and more settlers were attracted by the legend of a fabulous New World. Diversification of population, as well as imperial problems, disturbed the earlier placid group control and made political affairs a matter of mounting concern to the public. Groups that wanted to maintain political control had to find support among other bodies in the populace at large. All immigrants, therefore, became of immediate interest to the politician. Liberal legislation which provided for easy naturalization made it possible for the immigrant to become a citizen before he ever learned the language of his new country. In Pennsylvania, a powerful Assembly, whose privileges had been granted by the reluctant William Penn at the time of his visit in 1701, gave weight to the vote of many citizens. Since the Assembly had the power of the purse, met on its own adjournment, but was subject to annual elections, the scene was set for vigorous political campaigns. The "ticket" was intro-

duced as a new device to marshal the vote of a diversified electorate.³

The party system of colonial Pennsylvania came into its own in the 1740's. For a long time the differences between the Proprietary and Antiproprietary factions were insufficient to give rise to a real two-party system. The Antiproprietary Quakers who controlled the Assembly had found little competition from the small group of "governor's friends" who were partisan chiefly because they held Proprietary offices. However, when the threat of war in 1740 raised the question of the defense of the province, the Proprietary party found a cause which was popular among nonpacifist Pennsylvanians. There seemed to be a possibility at last of cornering the all-powerful Quakers by turning their own religious tenets against them.

After a number of years of quiescence in political affairs,⁴ the Great Awakening and the War of Jenkins' Ear created a rising tide of political campaigns and partisan strife. The Quakers called upon the German sectarians to defend pacifism at the polls. The Presbyterians, who formed the hard core of the Proprietary party, in trying to frighten away the Germans only increased the perseverance of their adversaries.⁵ Conrad Weiser, a prominent German in Proprietary employ, tried to bring the message of the Proprietary party to his countrymen, but to no avail.⁶ The Germantown publisher Christoph Sauer, a radical pietist, exercised a much greater influence

³ Richard Peters, the secretary of the Proprietors, introduced and explained the word "ticket" in a letter to John Penn in 1741. The word was obviously new at that time. Peters to Penn, Apr. 4, 1741, Penn Manuscripts, Official Correspondence, III, 145, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania (HSP).

⁴ In 1739 William Allen, leader of the Proprietary party, and some of the Presbyterian leaders had withdrawn from the Assembly because no important issues were at stake. Allen to John Penn, Nov. 17, 1739, ibid., 91.

⁵ In a letter to Thomas Penn, Richard Hockley wrote: "... on the day of Election a great number of Dutch appeared for the Quakers, said not to be properly qualified they carried all the Inspectors to a man, upon this a number of Sailors in all I believe sixty came up to the market street with Clubbs in their hands knock'd down all that stood in their way ... crying out down with the plain Coats & broad Brims. ... Mr. Allen wou'd have certainly gott into the house [Assembly] had this affair not happened. ... Benjn Shoemaker said numbers came & alter'd their ticketts in his house. ..." Ibid., 241.

⁶ Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, Nov. 20, 1741, ibid., 133; copy of Weiser's appeal, ibid., 195.
among the Germans. Known for his integrity, independence, and frankness, but also for his bias against clergymen and government officers, he imbued his countrymen with a spirit of insistence on their rights as citizens and of resistance to government plans that might lead to an encroachment upon the privileges that they enjoyed in Pennsylvania. As long as Pennsylvania was not actually invaded by an enemy, the argument of Sauer and the Quakers remained without a flaw and the Proprietary party was hard pressed to adduce proof to the contrary. Even the German church people, the Reformed and Lutheran groups, although not bound by a belief in pacifism, were not sufficiently motivated to rally around the flag of the party which advocated measures for the defense of the province.

The unity and strength of the Quaker-German coalition was a source of deep frustration to the men of the Proprietary party. Since the language barrier prevented the English politicians from gaining more detailed knowledge of the structure of the German groups, the Germans appeared to them as one vast inarticulate mass of people, mysteriously manipulated by Quaker leaders. The rapid increase of German immigration in the 1740's and early 1750's seemed to turn this nuisance into a menace.

Paradoxically enough, this outward impression of unity was caused by upheavals within the German community itself. The Moravian revival among the German church people, which was at its peak from 1741 to 1747, was a matter of intense controversy and retarded the activities of the church leadership. For this reason, the German

7 Sauer had started a German almanac and a German newspaper in 1739; both ventures proved very successful. He also printed and sold a large number of religious books, most of them in the radical pietist line. Radical pietism was a movement of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries which had a great impact on religious thinkers in Europe. William Penn was also influenced by this current of thought. The idea of "Philadelphia" as a community of believers was among the tenets of radical pietism. William R. Steckel, "Pietist in Colonial Pennsylvania: Christopher Sauer, Printer," Ph.D. thesis, Stanford University, 1949.

8 Sauer worked constantly for the spread of political information and admonished his countrymen to use their political rights lest they be taken away from them because of their own negligence. In later pamphlets (e.g., *Hochsündige Warnung*, Germantown, 1755) he even adopts concepts like "natural law" in order to defend and encourage the German voter.

9 The work of the missionaries of the Moravian church among the German church people of Pennsylvania far exceeded the work of Whitefield among the English. In the years 1742 to 1745 more than forty missionaries preached almost daily in many German settlements of the Middle Atlantic region. The regular ministers of the Lutheran and Reformed churches were few and could not match these efforts.
clergy and German vestrymen did not become a major factor in Pennsylvania politics until the 1760's. Experienced leaders like Henry Melchior Muhlenberg avoided jeopardizing their efforts to organize their churches by making unpopular political commitments, 10 while an inexperienced man like Michael Schlatter rushed toward his political defeat. 11

It was the self-imposed restraint of the church leaders and the clear-cut position of the sectarians that made the German community look like a stubborn phalanx seemingly at the beck and call of the Quakers. However, for the Quakers themselves the management of their German allies became increasingly difficult as the German community became more heterogeneous.

The spectacular career of John Kinsey, chief justice of Pennsylvania and speaker of the Assembly, was partly built on the fact that he posed as a patron of the Germans. Kinsey was the product of a particular period of transition. At a time when political control had switched from the Quaker meeting to a larger public he happened to be equally at home in the meeting and in the management of public affairs, and, being a good lawyer, he seized the control of the judiciary and legislative branches of the government. Furthermore, in a time of rapid economic expansion he ran the Loan Office of the province as if it were his own private bank. The province was at his mercy, and he evidently chose to be particularly merciful toward the Germans. By monopolizing power and popularity, Kinsey preserved Quaker control for another decade. 12

10 Muhlenberg had succeeded in convening a Lutheran synod in August, 1748. In November he wrote in his journal on the political situation of the day: "Our pastors' collegium has been sharply watched to see which side we would turn to. We said, however, that we had been sent to preach . . . and hence we could not mix in political affairs. . . ." Theodore G. Tappert and John W. Doberstein, eds., The Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg (Philadelphia, 1942), I, 212.

11 Michael Schlatter had come to America in 1746 and had organized the German Reformed Coetus in 1747. However, he faced competition of dissident ministers in his own congregation and took too little time to build up his position slowly and thoroughly. H. Harbaugh, The Life of Michael Schlatter (Philadelphia, 1857).

12 Governor Hamilton characterized Kinsey's ambitions by noting that he encouraged lawyers "to bring original process in the Supreme Court, entirely against the intention of the Law, and a vote of the Assembly explanatory of it. This was actually done the Term before he died . . . had he lived, he would have carried it into Execution, and thereby have compelled me to differ with him, which perhaps might have been part of his Scheme, for he was sensible he lost much of his importance in a time of security . . . he was used to boast to his friends
When the mighty man died in 1750 there was a considerable breakdown of control. Richard Peters, the secretary of the Proprietors, complained that there was nobody to whom he could talk in order to get things done. And the Quakers quarreled in the Assembly over what to do about a deficit in the Loan Office which Kinsey had left to them as an unfortunate heritage. The vacuum left by the death of Kinsey fostered the ambitions of other men. Since no single person was in a position to inherit all of Kinsey’s functions, he was bound to have a number of political heirs. William Allen became chief justice, Isaac Norris speaker of the Assembly, and Benjamin Franklin, who had himself elected to the Assembly in 1751, shared with Israel Pemberton the role of political manipulator.

This transfer of power took place at a time of peace when no immediate crisis tested the new alignments. The greatest problem was German immigration and the rapid expansion of German settlements, which produced a strange concord. In order to maintain the status quo, the Proprietary and Quaker parties combined in a measure which was designed to gerrymander the Germans out of their voting rights. The old counties were so divided that new counties could be established which would comprise a major part of the German population, and which would have only one or two representatives in the Assembly. The Proprietary councilor Dr. Thomas Graeme de-

that his Commission was not determinable at Pleasure. . . .” Hamilton to Thomas Penn, Nov. 18, 1750, Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, V, 89.

“there was the last spring a knott of six or seven [Germans] apprehended for coining Dollars and prosecuted in the Supream Court, and tho’ the Fact was not only prov’d by others, but confess’d by themselves, yet Mr. Kinsey whose great dependance was upon them for his Election, got them excus’d for trifling Fines. . . . He had got himself so involv’d in the Loan Office, that he knew he must be ruin’d if ever call’d to account, and was therefore oblig’d at all adventures to secure a Majority of the Members in his favour, which was only to be done by the Dutch votes, and for that reason, he set himself up for their head & Protector on all Occasions. . . .” Hamilton to Thomas Penn, Sept. 24, 1750, ibid., 53.

“[I used to settle all matters with Mr. Kinsey previous to their being laid before the house & could tell what woud & what would not be done but now I have not a creature to speak to that can carry a point. . . .” Peters to Thomas Penn, September, 1753, ibid., VI, 107.

Israel Pemberton and others petitioned that the greater part of the deficit in the Loan Office should be abated on account of Kinsey’s great services. Isaac Norris, the new speaker, however, attacked Kinsey’s record and lost ground with the Quakers. The whole affair was hushed up. Ibid.

Pemberton controlled the Quakers, and Franklin had considerable influence among the liberal Anglicans.
scribed this measure very astutely in a letter to Thomas Penn: "The present clamour of a great many people here of all Ranks, Friends as much as others, is that the Dutch, by their numbers and Industry, will soon become Masters of the province, and also a Majority in the Legislature. . . . the late Instance of a tumultuous Election in the New County of York is aduced as an Instance of their disposition and manners. . . ." Graeme then reported a conversation with Governor Hamilton about the danger of the "Dutch" getting a majority in the legislature:

I replied that there was an easie way to prevent it, and seemingly to please the Dutch too. . . . I told him he might observe that the Legislature in Erecting the two late Countys, allow'd them only Two Members each, and that upon the division of the Countys of Philada & Bucks, which was also much wanting, if they brought the division line 16 or 18 Miles to the Southward of Reading, and that of Bucks as far to the Southward of the Forks, and to each County Two Members, they would by this division comprehend to a trifle the whole Body of the Dutch and consequently forever exclude them from becoming a Majority in the assembly, for allow Lancaster, York and the Two not yet appointed Countys to send all Dutch it would make but Ten Members in 38, and to this if the assembly would be induc'd to add Two more to the City of Philada it would still strengthen this Scheme.

Mr. Hamilton said he had consider'd it long as a Subject of great importance, and had fallen on the very same thought, as the best expedient for preventing the Evil in Prospect; yes I told him it ought to be done in time and with privacy in regard to the Intention, for the Dutch might soon discover which way this would operate, he in this readily agreed. 16

The Quaker-dominated Assembly endorsed this measure despite the fact that it was introduced by the governor and his friends who hoped by it to deprive the Quakers of their German allies. However, Kinsey being dead, the Quakers themselves could no longer depend on a reliable management of their German allies and were, at least for some time, better off by playing it safe and restricting the bulk of the representation to the old rural settlements in the east where most of the Quakers lived.

Naturally, the German allies of the Quakers felt that they had been betrayed. In trying to defend their political rights they greatly increased their political awareness. The draft of a resolution written

16 Nov. 6, 1750, *ibid.*, V, 83.
by the Schwenkfelder leader Christopher Schultze in 1752 vividly expresses this awareness:

The good and well-meaning inhabitants of Berks County who have been greatly pleased by the conduct and good manners of previous sessions of the Assembly in troublesome times are now highly displeased since they find themselves deprived of 7/8ths of their former right to elect capable men as their representatives in the Assembly. They apprehend that in future dangerous times they may be easily overruled in this way as far as good elections, the welfare of the province, and the guarantee of the present laudable constitution are concerned, and that they, on the contrary, may be forced to accept such matters which are against their conscience and against their present valuable privileges. For this reason . . . they think that any propertied and capable Freeholder of this province should have equal participation and equal rights in the election of the members of the legislature of this province. This they deem to be not only natural but also extremely necessary for the preservation of our dearly beloved liberties. And since all good Patriots in Philadelphia and other Counties have to admit . . . that the said inhabitants have contributed to the best of their knowledge with great steadfastness, eagerness, and unanimity to the encouragement of good elections . . . which we have maintained by God’s grace at times when it was rather difficult, [these Patriots] must necessarily be rather distressed (and this they really are) at the fact that their good neighbors and faithful supporters are weakened to such an extent and in such an important point. It remains to be hoped that a future Assembly will foresee such consequences and take care that such a breach may be healed and that our future constitution may be guaranteed, to the pleasure of all Patriots and of all those who have migrated to this country refuge to escape the suppression of their conscience. Many will testify to the truth of what is said here in case it should be demanded. God preserve us.17

These protests were of no avail. The restriction of representation in the western counties had come to stay until the Revolution changed the whole pattern radically.

Even though the restriction of representation seemed to have solved the German problem politically, it was clearly no solution to the social and cultural aspects of increasing German immigration. Benjamin Franklin, who had given some thought to the “Peopling of Countries,”18 was particularly aware of this fact. Franklin had

17 Translated from the German original, Elections Folder, Sept. 28, 1752, Schwenkfelder Library, Pennsburg, Pa.
18 The essay “Some Observations on the Increase of Mankind and the Peopling of Countries” had been written by Franklin in 1751/2. It was first printed in Boston in 1755.
had frustrating experiences with the Germans as a printer and as a politician.\textsuperscript{19} His early attempt to launch a German newspaper had been a failure. Although he never gave up his efforts to capture a part of the expanding German book market, his German competitors were far more successful. As a politician he had been disappointed by the lack of response among the Germans to his carefully planned Association for Defense. However, Franklin was not only a printer and local politician, he was also a statesman, striving for an enlightened and unified British Empire. A large and unassimilated group of aliens in one of the key provinces of this empire seemed to him to be a threat to the realization of this aim. In a reply to seven proposals of Peter Collinson he described his point of view most concisely:

With regard to the Germans, I think Methods of great tenderness should be used, and nothing that looks like a hardship be imposed. Their fondness for their own Language & Manners is natural; It is not a Crime. When people are induced to settle a new Country by a promise of Privileges, that Promise shou'd be bona fide performed, and the privileges never infringed: If they are, how shall we be believed another time, when we want to people another Colony? Your \textit{first} proposal of establishing English Schools among them is an excellent one, provided they are free Schools, \& can be supported. As your Poet Young says

\begin{quote}
\textit{The Dutch Wou'd fain save all the Money that they touch.}
\end{quote}

If they can have English Schooling gratis, as much as they love their own language they will not pay for German Schooling.

The second proposal, of an Act of Parliament, disqualifying them to accept of any post of Trust, profit, or Honour, unless they can speak English intelligibly, will be justifeyd by the reason of the thing, and will not seem an hardship; But it does not seem necessary to include the Children. If the Father takes pains to learn English, the same Sense of its usefulness will induce him to teach it to his Children.

The third proposal, to invalidate all Deeds, Bonds, or other legal Writings written in a foreign Language (Wills made on a Man's Death Bed excepted, as an English Scribe may not be always at hand) is not at all amiss. I think it absolutely necessary, and that it cannot be complain'd of.

The fourth proposal, to suppress all German printing houses, \&c. will seem too harsh. As will be the fifth, to prohibit all Importation of German Books. If the other Methods are taken, the printing Houses will in time

\textsuperscript{19} Glenn Weaver, "Benjamin Franklin and the Pennsylvania Germans," \textit{William and Mary Quarterly}, Third Series, XIV (1957), 536 ff.
wear out, as they become unnecessary, & the Importation of Books will cease of itself.

The sixth proposal of Encouraging Intermarriages between the English & Germans, by Donations, &c. I think would either cost too much, or have no Effect. The German Women are generally so disagreeable to an English Eye, that it wou'd require great portions to induce Englishmen to marry them. Nor would the German Ideas of Beauty generally agree with our Women: *dick und starke*, that is, thick & strong, always enter into their Description of a pretty Girl; for the value of a Wife with them consists much in the Work she is able to do. So that it would require a round Sum with an English Wife to make up to a Dutch Man the difference in Labour & Frugality. This Matter therefore I think had better be left to itself.

The seventh proposal of discouraging the sending more Germans to Pennsylvania is a good one; those who are already here would approve of it. They complain of the late great Importations, & wish they could be prevented. They say the Germans that came formerly were a good sober industrious honest people; but now Germany is swept, scour'd & scumm'd by the Merchants, who, for the gain by the Freight, bring all the Refuge Wretches poor and helpless who are burthensome to the old Settlers, or Knaves & Rascals that live by Sharking & Cheating them. The Stream may therefore be well enough turned to the other Colonies you mention. And our Land Owners will have no Cause to complain, if English, Welsh, & Protestant Irish are encouraged to come hither instead of Germans, which will still continue the rising Value of Lands; and at the same time by mixing with our Germans restore by degrees the predominancy of our Language &c. Nor would the British Subjects be miss'd at home, if my Opinions in the paper I formerly sent on the peopling of Countries, are right, as I still think they really are.  

The quintessence of Franklin's opinion was that an attempt should be made to divert the present stream of immigrants and to make an

---

20 The passage quoted here is taken from an undated, unsigned, and hitherto unidentified manuscript, Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, VIII, 287. Evidence that the text is Franklin's is found in the direct reference to his essay on the "Peopling of Countries." The proposals referred to in the letter can easily be identified as those of Peter Collinson. A comparison of this letter with a letter written by Franklin to Richard Jackson on May 9, 1753, leads to the conclusion that this letter to Collinson must have been written at about the same time. The text of this letter to Collinson seems to have remained unknown, since Alfred Owen Aldridge (Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. 94 [1950], 391 ff.) contends that the letter of May 9, 1753, was written to Collinson and not to Jackson. As far as the present evidence allows some conclusions, it may be stated that the letter of May 9, 1753, was indeed addressed to Jackson, while in another letter to Collinson, which is quoted above, Franklin systematized his ideas concerning the Germans by reviewing the proposals which Collinson had sent to him in a letter of Aug. 12, 1752 (for this date, see Aldridge, 394). Collinson seems to have prepared excerpts from both these letters, the one addressed to him and the one addressed to Jackson.
intensive and extensive attempt to educate the children of the German immigrants in free English schools. Young William Smith who came to know about these proposals while traveling in England, combined this scheme with another one which had been advocated two years earlier by the Reverend Michael Schlatter, who had written to Thomas Penn:

I must assure you, Honoured Sir, that the Large body of Germans that inhabite your territorie are in danger of growing savage, if there are not some wise methods taken to reclaim them: the want of a regular ministry, and of the instructions, that are administred thereby, has such a desperate influence upon there morals, that they must in such a situation, by becoming bad men, become also very bad and troublesome subjects, of which we have seen fatal instances already. The Annals of the German History prove this truth, by a number of extraordinary revolutions, their uncultivated Tempers has often made Sovereigns tremble on their Thrones, because it was often attended with Rebellion and Revolt: Now by the introduction of an orderly discipline and ministry, which is the end of the fund in question, the Instructions of Religion being regularly administered, of Pastors not entirely dependent upon them—and the motives to virtue being properly inculcated, the fatal effects of Ignorance and vice may (thro' the blessing of God be happily) prevented: and many made good subjects, who at present can scarcely be called men.22

When the plan finally came to pass, the money collected to support the catechetical services of German ministers and the funds raised to establish free or charity schools were placed at the disposal of one board of trustees which was controlled by the eager Reverend William Smith. Schlatter became inspector of the free schools, and unknowingly jeopardized his position among the Germans in a twofold way. Smith refused to turn over the money earmarked for the German Reformed ministers to the German Reformed Coetus because he did not want to lose direct control of these ministers.23 The

22 Schlatter to Penn, The Hague, June 12, 1750, Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, V, 17.
23 “... I had forgot to mention that Mr. Schlatter proposed that the money to be allowed the Calvinist ministers should be given to their Coetus in the Lump to be divided by themselves. I strongly objected to that; & I believe Mr. Schlatter looks unkindly on me for it. But my reasons were these. I apprehend that those ministers we may think most deserving might be thought least so by the Coetus. Nay the very Division of the money might be made the means of Quarrelling, & we should have no check upon the ministers, & no opportunity of seeing
ministers, in turn, were irritated by this measure and blamed Schlatter for the arrangement. On the other hand, the free school movement ran into bitter opposition among many German groups, whose attention also focused on Schlatter. He was rightly suspected of having depicted the Germans as a treacherous crowd in order to promote his own plans. As pressures mounted, Schlatter was dropped by his own colleagues; finally he resigned and joined the British army as a chaplain.

The opposition against the free schools was not, however, founded merely on objections to Schlatter's conduct. There were several cultural and social reasons which caused this reaction. Christopher Sauer, in an interesting letter of September 16, 1755, to Conrad Weiser, summarized the attitudes which stood against the free school plan:

I received your friendly letter and returned the answer by the messenger who brought your letter. In the meantime I had doubts whether it is really true that Gilbert Tennent, Schlatter, Peters, Hamilton, Allen, Turner, Shippen, Smith, Franklin, Muehlenberg, Brunholtz, Handschuh, etc., do care in the least for the real conversion of the ignorant Germans in Pennsylvania, or whether the institution of Free Schools is rather supposed to be the foundation for the subjection of this country, since everybody will pursue his own selfish ends by means of this scheme. As far as Hamilton, Peters, Allen, Turner, Shippen and Franklin are concerned, I know that they care very little either for religion or for the cultivation of the Germans; they rather want the Germans to stick out their necks by serving in the militia in order to protect the property of these gentlemen. These men do not know about faith or trust in God. Their wealth is their God, and it is them. I therefore proposed that we as Trustees should pay every minister his Quota with our own Hand; and that the ministers shou'd be told on receiving the same that it was given by the Society for their trouble as Catechists of the free Schools, under their respective cares. This will convince the Ministers of our Regard to Religion, & keep them firm to the Interest of the Schools, because they think their Salary depends entirely on their Services among the Children, Whereas, did we either give the money in one Sum, or give it to them merely as ministers, they would give themselves no Trouble to forward the Schools, nay they might perhaps openly oppose them. But as Catechists we have a right to advise & direct them." William Smith to Thomas Penn, July 2, 1755, ibid., VII, 81.

24 The leader of the opposition to Schlatter in the Reformed Coetus, the Rev. William Stoy, wrote to the Classis of Amsterdam in 1755: "... we grieve that some of us ... through our great love for Mr. Schlatter were not cautious enough, and suffered him to abuse our simplicity and good intentions." In the same letter Stoy calls the free schools "purely a political matter." Minutes and Letters of the Coetus of the German Reformed Congregations in Pennsylvania (Philadelphia Reformed Church Publication Board, 1903), 134, 138.
their only mortification that they cannot compel the people to protect their Gods. Tennent may firmly believe that his religion is the best and if it can be achieved with Schlatter's help that the Germans get English preachers who are paid for, and if such preachers can be produced at Philadelphia or at New Jersey [College], then Tennent will have honor and Schlatter food and the Germans will unfailingly elect Hamilton, Peters, Shippen, Allen, Turner, etc., to assemblymen in order to please their benefactors. These assemblymen then will make a law with R.H.M. to establish a militia, to build fortifications, drill soldiers, and to fix a stipendium or salary for preachers and schoolteachers, so that it will no longer be necessary to write letters to Halle pleading for funds of which they are ashamed and are looked upon as liars when these letters come back to the province in print. Fiat! Thus we all will achieve our ends and there is no better pretext than the Poor Germans. I live here, so to speak, at a corner and hear many things that people say. One says: I do not like the idea of having my children taught by means of alms because I do not need to depend on alms and can pay for their education myself. Others say: Where many children come together one child will always rather learn something bad rather than something good from the other children. I will teach my children myself in reading and writing and I do not like their getting together with other children. Others say: If the German children know how to speak English and get around with the others then they will also want to be dressed according to the English fashion, and it will be hard to get this foolishness out of their heads. Others say: We poor people do not derive any benefit from the alms of the King and of the Society [for the free schools] because if there is not a schoolhouse or a schoolmaster every ten miles, the Poor cannot participate in the scheme, since a child cannot attend a school which is farther than five miles away; otherwise it will be much too great a distance to walk twice a day, and poor people cannot send their children to board with others nor can they afford clothes for their children fit enough to go among the stately people. Thus the scheme is only for the rich and for the English. The people are supposed to petition to their own temporal and eternal detriment. I have read an English booklet on the principles of the Freemasons, the 3rd Edition, printed in England. In these [principles] I saw the greatest contrast to the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, yes, indeed, the complete prevention of it, and the people who are the instigators of the free school scheme are Grand Masters, Wardens...among the Freemasons and the pillars of their society. Do you think they have anything else in mind but what they think best for themselves?

If they would invite Zuebly I will confess that I have been mistaken, since if they want to combat the foolishness of sectarian imagination and want to promote truth alone, then Zuebly would be one among a thousand [who would be able to do it]. But I fear they are afraid of him because there is a sentence in the pamphlet which runs as follows: "There is nothing they [the Quakers] more fear than to see the Germans pay any regard to regular
ministers. Whenever they know any such minister in good Terms with his People, they immediately attack his character by means of this Printer and distress him by dividing his congregation and encouraging Vagabonds and pretended Preachers whom they every now and then raise up. This serves a double end."

When I consider the foundations of the Freemasons as they are described in their booklet which a goldsmith among the Freemasons gave to Siron and which Siron gave to me, I do not know what I should think of Professor Smith's praise of the author and the booklet "The Life of God in the Soul of Men." Perhaps he praises it for political or some such reasons.

The free school plan failed largely because its English promoters did not put the execution of the plan into the hands of a popular and independent German leader. Zuebly, backed by Sauer, would have had much better chances of success. The fact that independent leadership could have made the free school plan work was demonstrated by Muhlenberg, who received money from the free school fund and with it supported the schools connected with the Lutheran churches in Pennsylvania. A stable organization of his own made it possible for him to accept the money more or less on his own terms without becoming dependent upon the promoters of the free school plan. When Smith finally decided that the free school enterprise should be supplemented by a German press subsidized by the school fund, it was Muhlenberg with whom he bargained for the establishment of the press, and the Reverend Johann Friedrich Handschuh, one of Muhlenberg's colleagues, became the editor of a newspaper printed on this press. Franklin sold the press to the free school society, but he lent his name for the enterprise, since it was hoped that his newly gained popularity with the Germans would be a boon to the venture. Franklin had achieved this popularity when

---

25 "Christopher Sauer to a friend [Conrad Weiser]," translated from the German original in the Abraham Cassel Collection, Juniata College. See also Harbaugh, 293–295.

26 The Rev. Bernhard Zuebly, a German Reformed minister, served a congregation in Charleston, but had been on preaching tours in Philadelphia. Sauer was impressed by Zuebly's approach to religion and had a correspondence with him about the possibility of inviting Zuebly to be the director of the free school plan. See Sauer's letters, Abraham Cassel Collection, Juniata College.

27 Muhlenberg received money from the free school fund until 1763. *Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg*, I, 648.

28 "We are just bargaining with Mr. Muhlenberg for the Direction of the Dutch press. Schlatter must not be seen in it, nor yet the Society. We have therefore resolved that the press shall keep Mr. Franklin's name, who is very popular among the Dutch, by his waggon-project. The press will cost dear at first purchase; but he thinks it will answer the End, & more than support itself. . . ." William Smith to Thomas Penn, July 2, 1755, Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, VII, 81.
he hired German teams and wagons for General Braddock's campaign and obtained good payment for them.

The critical years of the French and Indian wars, which gave new vigor to Pennsylvania's partisan strife, caused a number of political changes which influenced the relationship between the English and the German Pennsylvanians. For one, the team that had worked for the free school scheme disintegrated swiftly. Franklin, who had carefully built up his political stature, was now ready to cash in on his work. Since the Proprietary party did not seem to offer the right platform for his political plans, he joined the Quaker party, which was in need of up-to-date leadership. While he was sent to England as the trusted representative of the people, and of the Quaker party, his former colleague Smith was thrown into jail by an irate Assembly because he had attacked that august body and had also printed his attacks in German in the newspaper sponsored by the free school society. Schlatter left the scene of his frustrations as a chaplain. The free school movement had come to an end, although the free school society was kept alive until 1763.29

Indian invasions jeopardized the position of the pacifist sects and provided the first serious issue of disagreement between the German sects and the German church people. The radical pacifist wing of the Quakers withdrew from the Assembly and concentrated their activities in the Friendly Association for Regaining and Preserving Peace with the Indians.30 The German sects contributed freely to this enterprise.31 The earlier practice of the 1740's of actively soliciting German support was revived to an unprecedented degree by these dissident Quakers, who made many field trips to the western counties in order to raise funds for the Friendly Association and to negotiate with the Indians.32 A more vivid interest among

30 This Association was founded at about the same time, 1756, as the Meeting of Sufferings of the Friends. Both organizations were led by the Pemberton brothers.
31 The small group of Schwenkfelders contributed more than £200, the Mennonites more than £400. It seems that the assets of the Association amounted to about £4,000 in the 1760's. See Account Book of the Association, HSP.
32 Israel Pemberton combined his travels to the Indian treaties with solicitations among the Mennonites on behalf of the Friendly Association. On May 11, 1757, he wrote the following letter to his wife from Lancaster: "... six or seven of us this morng attended a Meeting of ye Menonists, where their Representatives from every part of ye County were present & receiv'd the Account we gave them of our proceedings & further views ... & there seems reason to hope they will contribute freely to ye work of peace." Pemberton Papers, XII, 18, HSP.
Quaker leaders in the religious views of some German sects seems to have been a by-product of these activities.\(^{33}\)

When the wars were over and Pennsylvania was calm again, the Quaker party could close its ranks once more. The pacifists made their peace with those leaders of the Quaker party who had preferred to stay in power. Good relations with the German sects which had been renewed by the dissenting Quakers by means of the Friendly Association were a valuable asset to the Quaker party in the 1760's.\(^{34}\)

In the meantime, the Proprietary party had gained the respect of the German church people by their insistence on the defense of the frontier. Presbyterian military leaders like Colonel John Armstrong and Colonel James Burd became advocates of the Proprietary party in the western counties. The astute Samuel Purviance, Jr., took care of party affairs in Philadelphia proper. In the crucial years of 1764 and 1765, these men made as much use as they could of the emerging leadership of the German church people. They considered them an important factor which should not be overlooked in making up “tickets.” The correspondence of Purviance and Burd provides some good examples of these political calculations.\(^{35}\) On September 10, 1764, Purviance wrote to Burd in Lancaster:

The News which I brought from Lancaster of the Quakers & Menonists having made a powerful Party to thawrt [sic] the Measures your Friends have so vigorously pursued of late for thrusting out of the Assembly those men who have lately endanger’d our happy Constitution by their precipitate Measures, has given great Concern to all your friends here; & very much dampen’d our hopes which were very sanguine that there could be no danger of carrying the Election in yr County to our Wishes: This unfavorable Prospect has induced several Gentlemen here, to think that in order to prevent our being defeated at so critical a Time when measures are taken to bring about a general Change thro the whole Province, It will be expedient to fall on some alteration of the Ticket lately proposed by a few leading Friends, & submitted to yr Consideration, for Alteration or Amendment against the Borough Election, Vizt. to put in Emanl. Carpenter Dr. Adam Choan [Kuhn] or Jacob Carpenter & Isaac Saunders & John Hayse or

\(^{33}\) Israel Pemberton came to know the Schwenkfelder leader Christopher Schultze in the days of the French and Indian wars. Schultze subsequently wrote a short history of the Schwenkfelders for the Quakers because they had asked him for more information about this group. Kriebel Letter Book, Schwenkfelder Library.

\(^{34}\) In 1760 the Meeting for Sufferings reported that many Quakers had taken up office again. Minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings, Friends Record Office, Arch Street, Phila.

\(^{35}\) Shippen Papers, VI, 107, 109, 127, HSP.
Andrew Worke: The design is by putting in two Germans to draw such a Party of them as will turn the scale in our Favour & tho by such a Measure we must reject Mr. Ross, yet I'm persuaded he has too much regard for the Public Good to be offended at such a measure when taken purely to defeat the Views of our Antagonists. . . .

A week later Burd informed Purviance that

We have on our side the Lutherin & Calvanists Dutch with many others of the Germains, we think ourselves strong Enough for the Task we have undertaken, and I can only assure you that no stone shall be left unturn'd on my part to accomplish the Laudable Design. But at the same time I think if our freinds in Philada. could prevail upon Mr. Henry Kiply [Heinrich Keppele] to write up Circular letters to his freinds for this County to join me in the Ticket & those letters warmly wrote it would greatly help our cause and if such thing should be approved off by our freinds with you & done I should be glad to have a list of the Peoples Names that Mr. Kiply writes to that I may talk to them upon the subject.

The election of Heinrich Keppele for assemblyman in Philadelphia in 1764 was significant in many respects. It definitely marked the end of Pennsylvania's German problem which had caused so much apprehension ten years earlier. There could no longer be any doubt that German voters were on both sides of the issues of the day. And, as the campaigns proved, communication with the German populace was no longer a monopoly of any one group. Another fact demonstrated by this election was the coherence and political assertiveness of the German Lutherans. This coherence was largely the achievement of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, who had moved to Philadelphia in 1761 and had succeeded in establishing a new church constitution providing for the annual free election of vestrymen, thus preventing a break between the older and richer vestrymen led by Keppele and the younger and poorer laymen who felt themselves excluded from church affairs. It may be suggested that Keppele's political success was largely based on his willing acceptance of this democratic church constitution.

36 "There was great rejoicing and great bitterness in the political circles of the city, since it was reported that the German church people had gained a victory in the election by putting our trustee, Mr. Henry Keple, into the assembly—a thing which greatly pleased the friends of the Proprietors, but greatly exasperated the Quakers and German Moravians. Never before in the history of Pennsylvania, they say, have so many people assembled for an election. The English and German Quakers, the Herrnhuters, Mennonites, and Schwenckfelders formed one party, and the English of the High Church and the Presbyterian Church, the German Lutheran, and German Reformed joined the other party, and gained the upper hand—a thing heretofore unheard of." Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, II, 123.

37 For a discussion of the church constitution, see ibid., I, 559 ff.
It was a kind of special irony that Keppele's success was bound up with a defeat of Franklin. Ten years earlier Franklin had hoped that the Germans might express themselves independently, and not follow Quaker advice. When this finally came to pass, Franklin happened to be on the other side of the political fence. In addition to this, Franklin's political enemies had rediscovered the little pamphlet on the "Peopling of Countries," in the concluding part of which he had made some unguarded remarks about "Palatine Boors." Thus, Franklin was pitted against Franklin.

The political change among the Germans had been accompanied by a social and cultural change as well. Wealth had been accumulated by both the church people and the sectarians. The sects tried to preserve their original austerity and drifted toward isolation. The church people, on the other hand, became accustomed to finer buildings and more fashionable ceremonies. Even Muhlenberg himself thought at times that he might soon be considered no longer stylish enough for his urbane congregation.\(^8\) He had to preach more frequently in English in order to satisfy the young people who wanted to listen to English sermons. In order to obtain their political support the German churches had been given charters by the governor. Although this was an act of political expediency, it was nevertheless an outward sign of the coming of age and of the importance of these churches in Philadelphia.\(^9\)

The environment of the German sects was subject to changes too. The diversification of Pennsylvania's sects and denominations produced tolerance but, at times, indifference also. A letter of the Schwenkfelder leader Christopher Schultz to a Schwenkfelder who had remained in Silesia portrays this situation very well:

You can hardly imagine how many denominations you will find here when you are attending a big gathering like that of Abraham Heydrich's or Abram Jaeckel's funeral. . . .


\(^9\) "At the Instance of Mr. Allen, Mr. Chew & Dr. Smith I have broken one of my Instructions by giving Charters of Incorporation to the Lutheran, Calvinist and Swedish Churches upon the same footing with that lately given to the English Church. . . . It was done with a view to engage these people to vote against the Quaker faction, for I call it nothing else. I believe if I had not done it they intended to have applied to the Assembly and were as I was assured instigated to it, by some busy people of the other Party." John Penn to Thomas Penn, Oct. 14, 1765, Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, X, 17.
We are all going to and fro like fish in water but always at peace with each other; anybody of whom it were known that he hates somebody else because of his religion would immediately be considered a fool. However, everybody speaks his mind freely. A Mennonite preacher is my nearest neighbor and I could not wish for a better one; on the other side I have a big Catholic church. The present Jesuit Father here comes from Vienna and his name is Johann Baptista Ritter. He confides in me more than in those who come to him for confession; when he has a problem he comes to me. These gentlemen have learned perfectly to adjust to the tempo.

Next to them the Lutherans and Reformed have their congregations here, the latter being the most numerous here. On Sunday we meet all these coming to and fro, but it does not mean anything. . . .

The Separatists live here like birds sitting in the midst of seeds. Whoever is punished for something or other by the members of his denomination . . . becomes a Separatist immediately, and if anybody starts talking about religion or salvation, it is their common confession to mock at preachers and denominations. Their children proceed one step further: they become Epicureans, Atheists, or pagans, or whatever you wish to call them. Dear Friend, think of the unlimited freedom, think of the unfathomable wickedness of Adam's offspring, consider the narrow path of life and the mortification of the flesh, and you will understand in what dangers we are concerning our children. As far as sects go, it is no longer especially dangerous here, but alas! the indifference toward religion increases like a cancerous growth and infiltrates among the old and the young. They say, I want to preserve my freedom, and then they add one link to the other until the end of the chain is firmly fixed in the rock of atheism. . . .

In such an atmosphere only withdrawal could preserve the integrity of the sects who had come to Pennsylvania in order to go out of the "world." As the centuries passed, those groups which succeeded in preserving their identity have become conspicuous because of their withdrawal. The other groups, primarily the church people, who achieved in a surprisingly short time an influential position in Pennsylvania politics and were thus assimilated by the main stream of events, have attracted less interest in later times.

The integration of a major part of the German groups into the political life of Pennsylvania and the relatively quick disappearance of a "German problem" remain important incidents in the Americanization of immigrants of diverse origins.

Kirchende über Dortmund

Germany

Dietmar Rothermund

40 Christopher Schultze to Ehrenfried Hentze, 1768, translated from the German original in the Kriebel Letter Book, Schwenkfelder Library.