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### **Michael Schlatter (1716-1790): A Man-In-Between\***

Michael Schlatter's career in Pennsylvania is remarkable because of his involvement in three areas.<sup>1</sup> As an organizer of the German Reformed Church in the Middle Colonies he defended orthodox teachings in conformity with the stance taken by his employers, the Dutch ecclesiastical authorities. He opposed therefore not only such Pietist German-speaking groups as the Moravians, but also trends within the German Reformed Church towards organizational and doctrinal independence from Holland. Despite the resulting internal struggles, Schlatter's unwavering commitment to his principles resulted in a durable organizational structure for his denomination that became independent from the Dutch Church in 1792.<sup>2</sup>

Schlatter also became involved in the Charity School Movement, an educational project of the 1750s that had as its aim the anglicization of German-speaking immigrants who seemed to the movement's proponents too stubbornly attached to their inherited language and customs.<sup>3</sup> The undertaking was funded by the London-based Society for the Propagation of the Knowledge of God Among the Germans and was controlled by prominent colonial trustees of English origin. The promoters considered Schlatter an ideal mediator between English-Pennsylvanian interests and those of the German-speaking immigrant communities and chose him to be superintendent of the schools when they opened after February 1755. Yet most German-speaking immigrants rejected the schools' political and culturally assimilationist goals. Hence Schlatter met with deep-seated mistrust and failed in his mission.

After 1757 the immigrant pastor participated in several campaigns against American Indians as chaplain of the Royal American Regiment.<sup>4</sup> On the eve of the Revolution he joined General Howe's army, but refused further cooperation with the British in September 1777. He was imprisoned and lost a considerable part of his property.<sup>5</sup> After his release, he retired to Chestnut Hill where he died in 1790.<sup>6</sup>

Schlatter was a controversial figure during his lifetime and has remained so also in the assessment of historians. He failed in his most

important assignments, was dismissed from his ecclesiastical post, and earned the scorn of German-speaking Pennsylvanians for his role in the Charity School Movement. On the basis of incomplete information or by conscious suppression of fact, historians such as Henry Harbaugh, James I. Good, William J. Hinke, Sidney Ahlstrom, and Charles H. Glatfelter have interpreted those failures as resulting from intractable immigrant behavior. Based on a study of primary sources in Switzerland, Holland, Great Britain, and the United States, this essay presents a different view and also hopes to correct some widely repeated errors of fact.<sup>7</sup>

### Youthful Years

Michael Schlatter was born on July 14, 1716, in St. Gall in eastern Switzerland. His family was fairly prominent and its origin reached back to the late fifteenth century.<sup>8</sup> His paternal grandfather had served as dean, that is chief ecclesiastic, of the Reformed churches in St. Gall, and one of his uncles finished his ministerial career as headmaster of the city's grammar school. Michael Schlatter's father was a bookkeeper, and on both sides of his parents familial relations reached beyond Switzerland into Germany and Holland. This may in part account for young Schlatter's open-minded disposition and his knowledge of foreign languages.

His education was typical for a member of a family of such station. He had decided early to enter the ministry of the Reformed Church. After completion of his schooling in St. Gall, Michael Schlatter went abroad in 1739 without the knowledge of his parents to visit universities in Germany and Holland. He returned home briefly, only to leave again since opportunities seemed too limited in his native city and ministerial candidates had to be prepared to spend long years in subordinate positions. It was also a time when emigration to British North America had become quite common.

In mid-1744 the young theologian returned home and accepted a position as assistant pastor in Wigoltingen, Canton Thurgau. He fulfilled his duties to everyone's satisfaction, although a certain worldliness became apparent quite early. The curate liked to smoke tobacco in public and delighted in arguing against public control of social behavior. He also got to know Anna Bürkli-Beyel, the married daughter of the pastor he served and the mother of eight children.

In the summer of 1745 Schlatter accepted the position of Sunday evening preacher in the city of St. Gall. Soon after, Anna Bürkli informed him that she was with child. Thus the young curate faced prosecution and, possibly, the end of his ministerial career. Although in serious difficulties, Schlatter did not inform his family of his precarious situation, but prepared instead his secret escape. In the first days of 1746, shortly after the birth of his illegitimate son (who was to die the following year), Schlatter disappeared.<sup>9</sup>

His behavior in this crisis provides some insight into his character, an important element for understanding later events when Schlatter had

entered the service of Pennsylvania's German Reformed Church. Three traits stand out. First, he seems to have been prone to deception and cowardice in dealing with people. It appears proven, for instance, that he advised Anna Bürkli to explain her pregnancy by testifying under oath that she had been attacked and abused by three soldiers she had encountered while working in the fields. Later he claimed that he had not been informed about her pregnancy. Second, he seems to have been high-handed and irresponsible in dealing with money. In 1746 his parents complained to the authorities that their son had already spent a good part of his inheritance on travels and books. Shortly after his ordination on August 25, 1739, he had reportedly requested immediate payment of a scholarship awarded to him. On December 4, 1745, when preparing his secret escape, he demanded early payment of his salary; both requests were however denied by the authorities.<sup>10</sup> Third, the independence with which he had undertaken his travels as a student of theology and the daring with which he executed his flight are remarkable and reveal a resourceful personality. Positive and negative traits were apparently closely intertwined in his character.

### Between Free and Organized Church

In the 1730s the South Holland Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church assumed responsibility for the spiritual welfare of the German-speaking Reformed settlers in Pennsylvania, in part because of the growing importance of Rotterdam as a port of embarkation. At the very time when Schlatter was in search of a new career, the synod was in great need of ministers willing to assume pastoral duties in Penn's province. By presenting testimonials of good conduct and expressing sincere concern for Pennsylvania's infant Reformed Church, Schlatter was able to secure an influential position that would have certainly been denied him, had the truth about his past been known.<sup>11</sup>

Although only thirty years old and without experience as pastor of a congregation, Schlatter was now entrusted not only with taking a census of Pennsylvania's Reformed communities, but also with establishing an ecclesiastical organization that was to conform to that of the Reformed Church of Holland. A written instruction detailed his authority as *visitor ecclesiae*, a function that was assumed in the Dutch tradition in rotation and only by senior ministers. He was also provided with sufficient funds for carrying out his initial tasks until he could draw an income from taking charge of a congregation.<sup>12</sup>

Schlatter left the Netherlands on June 1, 1746, and arrived in Philadelphia three months later. Because of the urgent need for ministers his arrival was welcome, yet distrust emerged as soon as it was realized that the newcomer derived his authority from the Reformed Church of Holland; many Pennsylvania Germans greatly valued their independence, and above all, their congregational independence. Schlatter went to work with much energy. By 1750 he had undertaken twenty-six journeys on horseback, ten of them in his first year, that took him also into New Jersey and Virginia. He organized some fifty Reformed congregations which he grouped into sixteen parishes.<sup>13</sup>

In his report to the Synod of South Holland Schlatter estimated that there were some 90,000 German-speaking people in Pennsylvania, a third of them of the Reformed persuasion. He described them as often quite ignorant and in danger of losing their accustomed faith. This view which he disseminated in Switzerland, Holland, and England was deeply resented by Pennsylvania Germans who considered it as pure slander. It was also noted with some bitterness that Schlatter catered to those in leading political or ecclesiastical positions to the detriment of the common people.<sup>14</sup>

In 1746 Schlatter succeeded in uniting the German Reformed congregations of Philadelphia and Germantown into one parish although many had defended their respective independence for years. He hoped to assume permanently the pastorate of that parish himself, but his dependence on the Synod of South Holland as well as his personality dashed this plan. He did, however, achieve another goal, the creation of a viable organization for Pennsylvania's German Reformed Church. At the end of September 1747, the Reformed "coetus" of Pennsylvania held its first synod in Philadelphia, the main port of entry of German-speaking immigrants. In addition to Schlatter the participants included the ministers John Philip Boehm, George Michael Weiss, and John Bartholomew Rieger, representing ten of Pennsylvania's thirty-eight congregations; the clergymen were joined by twenty-eight church elders from eighteen communities.<sup>15</sup> Conflicts arose from the beginning. Schlatter was a recent arrival, quite young, elitist, and in control of ample funds. Boehm, in contrast, had labored in Pennsylvania since 1720, was thirty-three years older, and had remained a man of only modest means.<sup>16</sup> The lay elders were farmers, artisans, or petty merchants with less formal schooling, but often critical of Schlatter's approach to church affairs. In their view he represented a foreign authority in whose name he often took unilateral action.

Anger and dissatisfaction resulted from the way Schlatter handled the so-called Reiff case.<sup>17</sup> Since 1730 the church elder Reiff, a merchant, had retained funds that had been collected in the Netherlands for Pennsylvania's Reformed parishes. Although Schlatter finally succeeded in persuading Reiff to relinquish at least part of the funds, he failed to turn them over to the parish, but took them into his own custody until 1756. He also praised Reiff in a German-language newspaper as "an honest man and friend." Boehm further criticized the Dutch emissary for overstepping his authority, for introducing catholicizing ceremonies into the Reformed liturgy, for keeping inadequate records, and for boasting about his privileged position because of his special relationship with the leaders of the Reformed Church of Holland, and his control of church funds. Boehm also lamented Schlatter's efforts to expand his powers since the coetus of 1747 and his plans to construct a splendid stone church in Philadelphia that would plunge the congregation into debt.<sup>18</sup>

The elders of the Philadelphia-Germantown congregation were also quite unhappy with their pastor. They complained about his arrogant manner, his preference for dealing with "English gentlemen," his

persistent dissatisfaction with the allotted salary, and his empty promises as to financial support expected from Europe. They reproached him for neglecting his duties towards the sick, the poor, and the young whom he taught in a boring and ridiculous manner. Also his affair with Anna Bürkli had become known and he was accused of having tried to seduce the wife of one of his hosts and of having commented that adultery was not really sinful, a statement also attributed to him in St. Gall when the Bürkli matter was being investigated by the authorities. But most important was the quarrel over church property. The elders refused to relinquish their title to the church grounds, for which the parish had paid, and to sign them over to Schlatter as the representative of the Dutch authorities. They refused, furthermore, to grant him an indefinite appointment and insisted on their right to install and remove ministers as they saw fit; nor would they commit themselves to a foreign power. These views, although not inconsistent with European as well as Pennsylvanian traditions, were interpreted by Schlatter in his reports to Holland as sheer insubordination. The Synod of South Holland accepted that interpretation and dismissed all the other complaints against their representative as unfounded and slanderous attacks by arrogant and ungrateful parishioners.<sup>19</sup>

In 1749 the Philadelphia-Germantown parish split into two factions. Schlatter's opponents rallied around John Conrad Steiner, also a Swiss immigrant, who had consistently challenged Schlatter's claim of special authority and of the parishes' subjection to Dutch jurisdiction. In the ensuing near-violent confrontations influential Philadelphians sided with the embattled Schlatter. In March 1750 a special investigating committee, composed of prominent Philadelphians of English descent, cleared him of all wrongdoing. The Dutch ecclesiastical authorities also dismissed all complaints that had reached them in May of 1750. On the occasion of Schlatter's first return visit to Europe in 1751-52 they attested to his "snow-white" innocence. Once again he had been able to obtain letters of good conduct with extraordinary cleverness, even from members of the opposition after he had promised to relinquish his claim to the permanent pastorate of the Philadelphia-Germantown parish. This made him unemployed, a fact he never mentioned on his European tour.<sup>20</sup>

He was able to collect funds and books, especially in Holland, whereas in Switzerland he was received much more coolly. The Bürkli matter, however, was officially laid to rest there since his family and that of Beyel had come to an amicable settlement some years earlier. Schlatter's greatest success was the selection of six young ministers willing to enter the service of Pennsylvania's German Reformed Church.<sup>21</sup> In addition, the Presbyterian minister of Amsterdam had been so impressed by Schlatter's description of the supposed plight of Pennsylvania's German Reformed Protestants that he volunteered to collect funds in Great Britain.

In August 1752 Schlatter arrived in Philadelphia with reinforced authority, new funds, and the six ministers. He immediately reclaimed the Philadelphia-Germantown congregation which, however, was also

claimed by Rubel, one of the new arrivals, who had become alienated from him during the voyage. When the coetus convened in October, a schism occurred: The three ministers Weiss, Leydich, and Wissler as well as the elders of the congregations left the gathering declaring that "the parishes do not agree with the subordination of our coetus and rules under the Dutch church." They challenged Schlatter's authority as illegitimate and held a separate coetus in 1753. When news of these developments reached Holland, both coeti were declared invalid. Although Schlatter was without the support of church elders, his position remained strong, not the least because he controlled most of the funds. The schism, however induced the members of the Synod of South Holland to take the accusations that continued to reach them more seriously, to inquire in St. Gall about the rumored Bürkli affair, and to criticize the behavior of their representative. Schlatter resigned, therefore, from the coetus on October 11, 1753, and prepared to return to Europe, again armed with testimonials of good conduct.<sup>22</sup>

When he met with the Dutch ecclesiastical authorities in April 1754, the situation had changed drastically. He was confronted with the Bürkli affair and his subsequent concealment of the matter. Yet the Dutch authorities decided to grant him an honorable discharge, not in the least because Schlatter had already accepted the superintendency of a planned system of free schools for German-speaking Pennsylvanians. According to the minutes of the deputies of both synods, dated June 19, 1754, a general cover-up was decided upon. Official and everlasting silence was to be kept about the Bürkli affair and its subsequent concealment, and Schlatter was to receive a strong recommendation for his new post.<sup>23</sup>

When Schlatter returned to Pennsylvania in the fall of 1754, peace had been restored. He was invited to rejoin the coetus in a show of unity and reconciliation. On that occasion also a declaration of loyalty was sent to the governor of Pennsylvania since armed conflict with the French seemed unavoidable and Pennsylvania's Germans had met with distrust from the Anglo-American elite.<sup>24</sup> When news reached Holland about these events, the church authorities remained firm. They insisted on his complete withdrawal from all official affiliation with the German Reformed Church. In November 1755 his name appeared for the last time in the minutes of the deputies of both synods in The Hague when his permanent and full dismissal was insisted upon. Thus Schlatter was deprived of reaping the fruits of his efforts at the very moment when his full acceptance seemed to have been achieved.

### **Between Religion and Reason of State**

In his diary of 1746, in a letter to Thomas Penn of June 1751, in the *Warhafte Erzählung* of 1752, as well as in other documents Schlatter had described the supposedly desperate educational level of his countrymen and fellow believers in dramatic terms, as a situation potentially damaging both to the Protestant faith as well as to British interests. The lack of ministers, teachers, books, churches, and schools, the supposed

ignorance of the German-speaking settlers, their alleged inclination to adopt Indian ways and thus to lapse into paganism, were themes that he had repeated on his European journey in order to collect funds and other assistance. The Presbyterian minister Thompson, a Scot who resided in Amsterdam, had been so deeply moved by Schlatter's descriptions that he decided to carry his message to England.<sup>25</sup> Out of his efforts grew the so-called Charity School Movement under the patronage of prominent politicians and clergymen. In 1753 they founded in London the "Society for the Propagation of the Knowledge of God Among the Germans." In 1754 six Pennsylvanian trustees were chosen to supervise the work: Governor James Hamilton, Chief Justice William Allen, Secretary of State Richard Peters, Postmaster Benjamin Franklin, the Reverend William Smith, and Conrad Weiser, himself a Pennsylvania German. Schlatter was entrusted with the founding and management of the planned schools. His experience, and knowledge of the German language, seemed to make him an excellent choice in helping to anglicize the so-called Pennsylvania Dutch.<sup>26</sup> The traditional denominational school became thus transformed into an institution in the service of the state, that is of Great Britain just then engaged in a serious struggle with France over supremacy in North America.<sup>27</sup>

These plans, however, met with the stiff resistance of the Pennsylvania Germans, led in part by Christopher Sauer, a Pietist and pacifist who published the *Hoch-Deutsche Pennsylvanische Berichte oder: Sammlung wichtiger Nachrichten aus dem Natur- und Kirchen-Reich*.<sup>28</sup> He claimed that the German-speaking settlers did not need English charity, that English influence would merely spoil the children of plain German folk, and that those of poorer parents could not attend the free schools anyway because they lacked the necessary means to defray the costs of transportation and for room and board. German and Swiss settlers were also incensed about Schlatter's negative reports and claimed that he had failed to work for the establishment of a German Reformed grammar school. All the previous criticisms as to his conduct were revived. Schlatter was also opposed by the Anglican William Smith who fully shared Franklin's negative view of the Pennsylvania Germans and hoped to intensify the anglicizing effort of the schools by the elimination of any involvement of Schlatter or the German Reformed coetus.<sup>29</sup>

Between February and July 1755 Superintendent Schlatter opened nevertheless eight of the planned twenty-five schools; some of them attracted over a hundred children. In April 1756 he started on his second visitation of the schools in the company of trustee William Smith, but soon after withdrew from the enterprise, at the very time when he was forced also to leave the coetus and to relinquish any official pastoral position. It turned out that his choice had been ill-advised in the light of the deep distrust many Pennsylvania Germans harbored against him because of his previous conduct and his bad reports on their situation. But most also rejected any anglicizing effort, especially the demand that instruction be given in English.

### Between Loyalty and Revolution

In March 1756 the English government had decided to establish an infantry regiment that was to be composed of German, Dutch, and Swiss Protestants and to be named The Royal American Regiment. On March 25, 1757, Reverend Schlatter accepted an appointment from General Loudon, to serve as "His Majesty's Chaplain" in the regiment's 4th Battalion.<sup>30</sup> He was now forty years of age and had already failed three times in his career. Although he had just purchased a home near Philadelphia he decided to leave his wife, aged twenty-six, and his six children in order to partake in the northern campaign of the French and Indian War from 1757 to 1759. On his return he made his living as an independent minister. In 1764 he returned to the Royal American Regiment to serve as chaplain in the 2nd Battalion that was commanded by his fellow-countryman Henry Bouquet who was to rout the Indian forces at Bushy Run near present-day Pittsburgh.<sup>31</sup> After that campaign Schlatter returned to Philadelphia.

In political matters Schlatter supported the policy of military defense, the proprietary party, and full loyalty to the British crown. His allegiance remained unchanged despite the fact that many Pennsylvania Germans of pacifist leanings allied themselves with the militantly anti-British Scotch-Irish.<sup>32</sup> He kept aloof from the various controversies engendered by British policies, and his name was absent from an address of support sent by leading Lutheran and Reformed clergymen to the Second Continental Congress. In contrast, the leading Lutheran minister, Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, as well as many German Reformed ministers, cautiously or actively sided with the cause of the independence party.<sup>33</sup> In 1777 Schlatter left secretly for New York to join Howe's army whereas two of his sons joined the ranks of the German American Regiment that had been established by an act of the Continental Congress in May 1776. When, in September 1777, Howe's army approached Philadelphia and faced the Continentals at Brandywine Creek, Schlatter deserted the British forces for unexplained reasons, perhaps because he could not bear fighting against his own sons. He was captured by the British and imprisoned, and his house was plundered. These experiences somewhat rehabilitated him in the eyes of those who were fighting for independence.<sup>34</sup>

### Years in Retirement

A list of his losses, published by Schlatter in the *Pennsylvania Packet* on January 2, 1779, as well as documents relating to his purchase of a new home in September 1780, give some insight into the circumstances of his last years. He was clearly a book lover; he had lost over eight hundred of them in 1777, and an inventory of his belongings of November 27, 1790, lists many works written in various languages as well as maps and bibles. Their value was equivalent to that of his horse "Imprimus."<sup>35</sup>

In the last decade of his life Schlatter lived with three of his unmarried daughters in Chestnut Hill not far from his first residence.



Two other daughters were married; Maria lived with her husband Adam Schneider nearby; Susannah, the wife of Daniel Hughes, an ironmaster, lived at Mont Alto near the Maryland border. Schlatter performed occasional ceremonies such as marriages and kept in contact with members of Philadelphia's elite. When he died on October 31, 1790, aged 74, he had survived three of his four sons. Schlatter's estate was valued at about 730 pounds.<sup>36</sup>

In 1900 Henry S. Dotterer praised James I. Good for his *History of the Reformed Church* as follows: "He extracts these facts which help to illustrate our history and lets rest in obscurity the mischievous stuff to which misguided men gave utterance."<sup>37</sup> Thus Dotterer, like historians before and after him, concentrated on Schlatter's successful efforts to give the German Reformed denomination in Pennsylvania a durable organizational structure. It seems important, however, not to neglect "the mischievous stuff" because it not only reveals aspects of Schlatter's personality, but also explains attitudes and actions by his opponents who all too often have been described as simple- and narrow-minded troublemakers. Their fight for congregational autonomy, for title to church properties, and for administrative independence from Holland had been greatly complicated by Michael Schlatter's high-handedness and his morally not untroubled past. Three aspects of his career stand out:

(1) Schlatter always seems to have been a man-in-between: He seems to have been suspended between the expectations of the Dutch authorities and the aspirations of the Reformed Pennsylvania Germans; between the assimilationist efforts of the Anglo-American elite and the stubborn Pennsylvania-German defense of their inherited language and traditions; between the demands of loyalty towards the crown and those of the ultimately victorious independence party. His character made him ill-suited for the task of mediator, and his difficulties seemed at times exacerbated by genuine moral weakness.

(2) Although Schlatter was ambitious and enjoyed positions of power and influence, his life was beset by crises and failures which brought him much suffering. His yearning for social prestige and organizational power was never fully satisfied. Even his family brought him no joy: Whereas his friend, the Lutheran leader Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, had gained much prestige from the success of his sons in the formative years of the American republic, Schlatter lost three of them before his own death.<sup>38</sup>

(3) Although Schlatter had clearly alienated many Pennsylvania Germans because of his elitist and assimilationist posture, his activities and contacts during his later years remained impressive. A certain charismatic charm and magnetism had secured him enduring sympathies not only among the Anglo-Pennsylvanian elite, but also among German-speaking plain folk.<sup>39</sup>

Schlatter's life was marked by genuine achievement as well as serious failure, by energetic devotion to the tasks at hand as well as high-handed arrogance, by moral failure as well as virtuous perseverance. His life highlights not only the peculiar condition of an

immigrant who was caught between competing forces, but also the general human condition in which the low and the sublime seem hopelessly intertwined.

Brugg, Switzerland

### Notes

\* American adaptation by Leo Schelbert; for an earlier version see *SAHS Newsletter* 19 (June 1983): 3-25.

<sup>1</sup> This essay summarizes the main findings of Marthi Pritzker-Ehrlich, *Michael Schlatter von St. Gallen (1716-1790), eine biographische Untersuchung zur schweizerischen Amerika-Auswanderung des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Diss. Zürich 1981 (Zürich: ADAG, 1981). Two biographies are basic: Henry Harbaugh, *The Life of the Reverend Michael Schlatter . . . 1716-1790* (Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston, 1857); James I. Good, *History of the Reformed Church in the United States, 1725-1792* (Reading, PA: D. Miller, 1899), pp. 294-472. More recent biographical sketches are: William J. Hinke, *Ministers of the German Reformed Congregations in Pennsylvania and in other Colonies in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. George W. Richards (Lancaster, PA: Historical Commission of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, 1951), pp. 37-47; Sidney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1972), pp. 248-49; Charles H. Glatfelter, *Pastors and Congregations*, Vol. I of *Pastors and People: German Lutheran and Reformed Churches in the Pennsylvania Field, 1717-1793* (Breinigsville, PA: The Pennsylvania German Society, 1980), pp. 117-19; Vol. II: *The History* (1981), pp. 217-21; cf. also pp. 112-26. For the general context of Swiss emigration in the eighteenth century see Leo Schelbert, *Einführung in die schweizerische Auswanderungsgeschichte der Neuzeit* (Zürich: Leemann, 1976), pp. 231-34.

As to basic printed sources see William J. Hinke, ed., "Diary of the Reverend Michael Schlatter: June 1-December 15, 1746," *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*, 3 (September 1905), 105-21; (December 1905), 158-76; Michael Schlatter, *Warhafte Erzählung von dem wahren Zustand der meist hirtelosen Gemeinden in Pensilvanien und denen angrenzenden Provinzen . . .* (Frankfurt a.M.: Philip Wilhelm Eichenberg d. J., 1752); William J. Hinke and James I. Good, eds., *Minutes and Letters of the Coetus of the German Reformed Congregations in Pennsylvania 1742-1792. Together with Three Preliminary Reports of Reverend Philip Boehm 1734-1744* (Philadelphia: Reformed Church Publishing Board, 1903); William J. Hinke, ed., *Life and Letters of the Reverend John Philip Boehm, Founder of the Reformed Church in Pennsylvania, 1683-1749* (Philadelphia: Publication and Sunday School Board of the Reformed Church in the United States, 1916; rpt. Salem, NH: Ayer Co., 1972).

<sup>2</sup> Basic primary sources are: Archives of the Dutch Reformed Church in The Hague, Netherlands, "Acta Deputatorum Utriusque Synodi," Vols. IX-XI (September 8, 1738-June 26, 1756), No. 32, hereafter cited as "Acta Deputatorum"; also *ibid.*, "Pennsylvania," No. 74, I and II; Hugh Hastings, ed., *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York*, Vols. IV-VI (Albany, NY: J.B. Lyon, State Printer, 1902 and 1905). The archives of the [German] Reformed Church in the United States are located in Lancaster, PA, and St. Louis, MO; those of the [Dutch] Reformed Church in America in New Brunswick, NJ. In 1934 the Reformed Church in the U.S. joined with the Evangelical Church to form the Evangelical and Reformed Church, which in 1957 merged with the Congregational Christian Churches to form the present United Church of Christ.

<sup>3</sup> See Whitfield J. Bell, Jr., "Benjamin Franklin and the German Charity Schools," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 99 (December 1955), 381-87; Glenn Weaver, "Benjamin Franklin and the Pennsylvania Germans," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 14 (October 1957), 536-59. Schlatter's role is discussed by Arthur D. Graeff, *The Relations Between the Pennsylvania Germans and the British Authorities (1750-1776)* (Norristown, PA: Pennsylvania German Society, 1939, Vol. 47, Pennsylvania German Society, Proceedings and Addresses, Part Three), pp. 33-49; Dietmar Rothermund, *The Layman's Progress. Religion and Political Experience in Colonial Pennsylvania 1740-1770* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1961), pp. 88-94; Harbaugh, *Schlatter*, pp. 258-310; Good, *History*, pp. 435-59; Pritzker-Ehrlich, *Schlatter*, pp. 180-208.

<sup>4</sup> See Graeff, *Relations*, pp. 150-54; Robert L. Davidson, *War Comes to Quaker Pennsylvania 1682-1756* (New York: Published for Temple Univ. Publications by Columbia Univ. Press, 1957), pp. 184-85; *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, VII (Harrisburg, PA: Theo Fenn, 1851), 234-35. On French Swiss Officers who played a major role in the regiment see Arnold Lätt, *Schweizer Offiziere als Indianerkrieger und Instruktoren der englischen leichten Infanterie*, 125. *Neujahrsblatt der Feuerwerkergesellschaft (Artillerie-Kollegium) in Zürich auf das Jahr 1933* (Zürich: Beer, 1933). See also Harbaugh, *Schlatter*, pp. 325-26; Good, *History*, p. 468; Pritzker-Ehrlich, *Schlatter*, pp. 213-14.

<sup>5</sup> See Harbaugh, *Schlatter*, pp. 336-41; Pritzker-Ehrlich, *Schlatter*, pp. 209-10, 220-29; for the broader context see Graeff, *Relations*, pp. 246-52; William T. Parsons, *Another Rung up the Ladder: German Reformed People in American Struggles 1754-1783* (Collegeville, PA: Ursinus College, 1976).

<sup>6</sup> See City Archives of Philadelphia, "Register of Grantees and Grantors 1683-1851," Vol. S, "Schlatter"; also Register of Wills, Philadelphia, "Last Will and Testament No. 18, 1790, in the Matter of the Estate of Michael Schlatter."

<sup>7</sup> Harbaugh, *Schlatter*, offers a highly idealized and patriotic view; Good, *History*, omitted negative aspects; for this he was praised by Henry S. Dotterer, *Historical Notes Relating to the Pennsylvania Reformed Church* (Philadelphia: Perkiomen Publishing Co., 1900), p. 101; Glatfelter, *Pastors and Congregations*, pp. 117-19, also blames the parishioners for Schlatter's difficulties; cf. Marthi Pritzker-Ehrlich, "Glatfelter's Schlatter: A Review Note," *SAHS Newsletter*, 19 (June 1983), 18-19.—A major error found in most secondary sources is to make Schlatter an employee of the Classis of Amsterdam; his main bond was to the Synod of South Holland, with eventual involvement also of the Synod of North Holland and of the Classis of Amsterdam; for the complex jurisdictional structure see Pritzker-Ehrlich, *Schlatter*, pp. 47-48.

<sup>8</sup> City Archives of St. Gall, Vadiana, "Stemmatologia Sangallensis," Tomus P, Family CIX, Nos. 4 ss; No. 74: "Michael Schlatter"; much detail in Pritzker-Ehrlich, *Schlatter*, pp. 17-23, esp. pp. 22-23, where several errors of Harbaugh, *Schlatter*, pp. 27-32, are addressed.

<sup>9</sup> City Archives of St. Gall, "Biographia omnium ministrorum Sangallensium"; on Schlatter there are two biographical sketches, a first in Vadiana, Kirchenarchiv I, Vol. 196/D, No. 179; a second in Vol. 193, No. 180, which is of later origin and contemptuously hostile.—Harbaugh, *Schlatter*, p. 31, mistakenly dates Schlatter's candidacy as preacher to 1730 instead of 1739: see Vadiana, Ratsregister, Vol. III, p. 784; also Ratsprotokoll, 26 March 1739, p. 93.—Schlatter received a certificate of good conduct from Dean Beyel on 21 June 1745, before the Anna Bürkli-Beyel matter had become known. He made extensive use of this document in Holland as well as in Philadelphia; see Pritzker-Ehrlich, *Schlatter*, p. 258, for details as to sources and errors in Harbaugh.

<sup>10</sup> As to money matters see Vadiana, Verordnetenbuch 4 Dec. 1745, p. 126; also Ratsprotokoll 25 Aug. 1739, p. 252; Pritzker-Ehrlich, *Schlatter*, pp. 101-05, for details relating to Philadelphia.

<sup>11</sup> Besides Dean Beyel's certificate of good conduct Schlatter also received a recommendation from a Mr. Cruciger of Heidelberg according to the protocol of 14-18 March 1746, of the Deputies of South Holland; some days later he was interviewed by the deputies of both synods and impressed them by his pious comportment, but was asked to submit a letter of honorable discharge from his post in St. Gall; Schlatter did submit such a document from the Reverend Joachim Scherer; see Pritzker-Ehrlich, *Schlatter*, pp. 49-52.

<sup>12</sup> "Acta Deputatorum," IX (23 and 27 May 1746), 622-32.

<sup>13</sup> For the diary in Dutch see *ibid.*, No. 74, I, 45; English translation by Hinke, "Diary"; the years 1746 to 1750 in Michael Schlatter, *Getrouw Verhaal . . .* (Amsterdam 1751), in German as *Warhafte Erzehlung . . .* (Frankfurt a. M., 1752).

<sup>14</sup> Boehm's letter, critical of Schlatter, to an official of the Classis of Amsterdam is printed in Hinke, ed., *Boehm*, pp. 442-63; a possibly abridged version of a document with eight charges in "Acta Deputatorum," No. 74, II, 10, No. 27, 99-101. Schlatter shared the misgivings of the Anglo-American elite as to the German-speaking Pennsylvanians; see Pritzker-Ehrlich, *Schlatter*, pp. 181-92.

<sup>15</sup> Hinke and Good, eds., *Minutes*, pp. 32-38; Hinke, ed., "Diary," p. 116; Schlatter, *Erzehlung*, pp. 50-51.

<sup>16</sup> Harbaugh, *Schlatter*, labels him as "founder," a title Hinke, ed., *Boehm*, reserves for the latter.

<sup>17</sup> William J. Hinke, "History of the Reiff Case," in *Notes*, ed. Dotterer, pp. 133-37, 150-57, 164-66, 187-97; Joseph H. Dubbs, ed., "Papers in the Reiff Case, 1730-1749," *The Reformed Quarterly Review*, 40 (1893), 55-70; for a summary view see Pritzker-Ehrlich, *Schlatter*, pp. 85-86.

<sup>18</sup> Hinke, ed., *Boehm*, pp. 442-63; his fully credible reports went unheeded in part because of the involvement of three different bodies which met at different times.

<sup>19</sup> See "Pennsylvania," No. 74, II, 10, 63-106, for some thirty documents which were not taken seriously until after 1753.

<sup>20</sup> Favorable testimonials from high-ranking people which Schlatter had received for his 1751-52 trip to Europe effectively neutralized the complaints sent by obscure parishioners.

<sup>21</sup> For biographical sketches see Hinke, *Ministers*. In July 1752 the Reformed Cantons of the Swiss Confederacy decided against any support of Schlatter, partly inspired by anti-emigration mercantilist views.

<sup>22</sup> Congregational independence and the role of lay elders as trustees of church property were main issues of contention; see "Pennsylvania," No. 74, I, 473-75; also "Acta Deputatorum," XI (June 1753), 52. For testimonials from Richard Peters, Secretary of State, and the Presbyterian ministers Gilbert Tennent and Samuel Davis see "Pennsylvania," No. 74, I, 84-86; "Acta Deputatorum," XI (March 1754), 136-38.

<sup>23</sup> Dutch inquiries about Schlatter's past were answered by Antistes Wirz, the chief ecclesiastic of the Zurich church, on April 9, 1754; see Staatsarchiv Zürich, E II, 434, No. 20, verso; also "Acta Deputatorum," XI (April 22-23, 1754), 155-57. "Holy silence" was decided upon by the deputies of both synods, "Acta Deputatorum," XI (June 19, 1754), 165, for five reasons: Nobody would gain from the promulgation of the facts; the reputation of the Schlatter family would be damaged and Schlatter's service in Pennsylvania annihilated ('zunichte gemacht'); the interests of the Pennsylvania parishes would be harmed; charitable contributions from Dutch parishes would diminish and, finally, one could claim that the deputies had failed properly to examine Schlatter's credentials in 1746; for additional details see Pritzker-Ehrlich, *Schlatter*, pp. 163-70.

<sup>24</sup> Latin version of memorial to Governor Morris (1754), in *Pennsylvania Archives*, II (Philadelphia: Joseph Severns, 1853), 185-86; trans. in Hinke and Good, eds., *Minutes*, pp. 120-21.

<sup>25</sup> See Rothermund, *Layman's Progress*, pp. 161-63, for Schlatter's letter to Thomas Penn, 12 June 1751; cf. also "Acta Deputatorum," XI (March 13-15, 1753), 43; (June 4-8), 54-55; (June 19), 162-65.

<sup>26</sup> William Smith supported the school project, but rejected any involvement by the German Reformed Coetus; see Bell, "Franklin," p. 383.

<sup>27</sup> Graeff, *Relations*, p. 33, comments: "The so-called Charity School movement among the Germans of Pennsylvania was not so much a charitable as a political undertaking."

<sup>28</sup> See, e.g., Sauer's letter to Conrad Weiser, in Rothermund, *Layman's Progress*, pp. 171-73; pp. 91-93 for the context.

<sup>29</sup> See Graeff, *Relations*, pp. 46-49; also Hermann Wellenreuther, *Glaube und Politik in Pennsylvania 1681-1776. Die Wandlungen der Obrigkeitsdoktrin und des Peace Testimony der Quäker* (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 1972), pp. 270-73.

<sup>30</sup> See above, note 4.

<sup>31</sup> On Bouquet see E. Douglas Branch, "Henry Bouquet: Professional Soldier," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 62 (1938), 41-51; Louis M. Waddell, "The American Career of Henry Bouquet, 1755-1765," *SAHS Newsletter*, 17 (February 1981), 13-38. Basic is: S. K. Stevens et al., eds., *The Papers of Henry Bouquet*, Vol. I: 1756-1758 (Harrisburg, PA: Historical and Museum Commission, 1972); Vol. II: *Forbes Expedition* (1951); Vol. IV: *September 1-August 31, 1760* (1978).

<sup>32</sup> See Wellenreuther, *Glaube und Politik*, pp. 402-21, for context.

<sup>33</sup> Graeff, *Relations*, pp. 239-52; Rothermund, *Layman's Progress*, pp. 134-38; also Don Yoder, "The Pennsylvania Germans and the American Revolution," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, 25 (Spring 1976), 2-17; he offers an incisive general analysis as to clergy and laity.

<sup>34</sup> Harbaugh, *Schlatter*, pp. 336-37; Pritzker-Ehrlich, *Schlatter*, pp. 220-29.

<sup>35</sup> Schlatter's notice of missing items appeared in *The Pennsylvania Packet or The General Advertiser*, 2 Jan. 1779, front page, middle column; rpt. *SAHS Newsletter*, 19 (June 1983), p. 17; see also above, note 6.

<sup>36</sup> See "Will Index 1682-1859," M-Z. S: Book U, No. 18, 1790, p. 41, for Schlatter's will (22 October) and inventory of property (27 November); account and payment of debts (1 September 1794); final statement of condition (2 May 1795).

<sup>37</sup> Dotterer, ed., *Notes*, p. 101.

<sup>38</sup> The Schlatter and Muhlenberg families were well acquainted; see Hinke, ed., "Diary," pp. 151-59. Two sons of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg were witnesses to Schlatter's will; see Harbaugh, *Schlatter*, pp. 342-48.

<sup>39</sup> Harbaugh, *Schlatter*, pp. 351-52, notes that people he interviewed remembered Schlatter with affection.

