A LETTER BY
Dr BENJAMIN RUSH
A LETTER

BY

Dr BENJAMIN RUSH

Describing the CONSECRATION

Of the

GERMAN COLLEGE at LANCASTER

In June, 1787.

Printed, with an Introduction and Notes, from a newly discovered Manuscript, now in the FA克ENTHAL LIBRARY at FRANKLIN AND MARSHALL COLLEGE.

LANCASTER, PENNSYLVANIA:

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M DCCC XLV.
PREFACE

THE letter here printed for the first time was written by Dr. Rush to his mother-in-law, Mrs. Richard Stockton, of Princeton, New Jersey. With other Rush papers it passed into the possession of Colonel Alexander Biddle of Chestnut Hill, Pennsylvania, who married Rush’s granddaugh-
ter, Julia Williams Rush. Colonel Biddle died in 1898, and his large collection of family papers was sold at public auction in several sessions during 1943. The present letter is listed as No. 231 in The Alexander Biddle Papers: American Historical Autographs... Part Two, N.Y.: Parke-Bernet Galleries, Inc., 1943. It was acquired by Franklin and Marshall College in June 1944.

The letter is printed with as close fidelity to the manuscript as type permits. Rush wrote a large, legible hand, but his use of capital letters was inconsistent, and therefore modern usage has been followed when it is not clear whether he intended a capital or lower-case initial letter.

On behalf of the College the editor has the high privilege of thanking the trustees, faculty members, alumni, and other friends of Franklin and Marshall whose contributions made possible the purchase of the Rush manuscript and the publication of this book. On his own behalf he takes pleasure in acknowledging help generously given him by M. Ray Adams, Herbert B. Anstaett, Herbert H. Beck, J. William Frey, Edwin M. Hartman, and Elizabeth C. Kieffer of Franklin and Marshall College; Edward P. Alexander of the Wisconsin State Historical Society; Julian P. Boyd of the Princeton University Library; M. Luther Heisey of the Lancaster County Historical Society; C. N. Heller of the Theological Seminary of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, Lancaster; Gertrude D. Hess of the

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American Philosophical Society; George W. Lamb of the Church Historical Society, Philadelphia; Felix Reichmann of the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation; and W. N. Schwarze of the Moravian Archives, Bethlehem.

L. H. BUTTERFIELD

Lancaster, Pennsylvania
15 February 1945
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NOTE ON THE FRONTISPICE

This portrait of Rush is from a stipple engraving which first appeared in The American Universal Magazine (Philadelphia, 13 June 1797), after a pastel drawn about 1796 by the English artist James Sharples and now in Independence Hall. Sharples’ first sojourn in the United States lasted from 1793 to 1801. His crayon portraits were quickly and inexpensively made, frequently with the help of members of his talented family. “In all these portraits the purpose of the artist seems to have been sturdily honest. To produce a likeness which the eye of any friend, however unimaginative, might instantly recognize was all the magic of his method. . . . In every picture the countenance, like the clothes, is the man’s familiar wear”—J. W. Palmer, in Lippincott’s Magazine, VIII, 1871, 624.
1. Strophe.

HAIL, ye Banks of Conestogoe!
Fertile, favor'd Region, hail!
Chosen Seat of Franklin College,
What but Good can here prevail?
Science never comes alone,
Peace and Plenty,
Heaven herself support her Cause.

1. Antistrope.

CREATOR, hail! thy Light and Glory
Rejoice the Good, the Bad dismay,
Dispel the Mists of Vice and Folly,
And consecrate this happy Day.
Now doubly blest the favor'd Region,
Where Science joins with mild Religion,
To raise their grateful Hymns to GOD.

2. Strophe.

By JEHOVAH's Care protected
The Fabric gains a Height sublime,
Truth expands its bright Effulgence,
Error seeks another Clime,
All its dark and base Attendants,
Superstition,
Pride and Discord, fly from Truth.

2. Antistrope.

All in the glorious Work assisting,
We build on Christ, the Corner-Stone,
The Walls may bear diverse Directions,
The Building still shall be but One.
Devotion pure and peaceful Science
United, bid their Foes Defiance,
While Time remains, the Work shall stand.

—"Ode in English," from the Order of Procession and Public
Worship to be observed in the Dedication of Franklin College,
in the Borough and County of Lancaster. Philadelphia: Printed
by Melchior Steiner, 1787.
ON 11 December 1786 there was laid before the General Assembly of Pennsylvania a petition signed by ten eminent Philadelphians representing the learned and military professions and political and business life. Styling themselves "the Trustees of the German College and Charity School to be established in Lancaster," they respectfully stated that they had "been led to undertake the charge of this institution from a conviction of the necessity of diffusing knowledge through every part of the State, in order to preserve our present republican system of government, as well as to promote those improvements in the arts and sciences which alone render nations respectable, great and happy." Accompanying the petition was a "General Plan of the College," which recited the reasons for the choice of Lancaster, outlined the curriculum, fixed the number and qualifications of the trustees, and, finally, requested that, "From a profound respect for the character of His Excellency the President of the State, the institution shall be called Franklin College."

Three months later (10 March 1787) the Assembly granted a charter to the new College. Plans were then completed for the dedication, a ceremony at once solemn and festive, which took place on 6 June in Lancaster.\(^1\) The work of instruction began in the following month in a building known as the Brew House, on Mifflin Street west of Duke Street, near Trinity Lutheran

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2 Accounts of the formal opening, accompanied by most of the documents available before the discovery of Rush's letter, will be found in Dubbs, History, ch. iv; and F. S. Klein, The Spiritual and Educational Background of Franklin and Marshall College (Franklin and Marshall College Studies, No. 2), Lancaster, 1939, ch. iii.
Church. It has continued, there or elsewhere in Lancaster, ever since.

The founding of Franklin College, one of the earliest inter-sectarian ventures in higher education and a perhaps unique example of a bi-lingual college in the United States, was an event of importance in American educational history. But as in the case of other cultural contributions by the Pennsylvania Germans, its significance has been largely overlooked. Until a recent period, as Professor Shryock has pointed out, the majority of professional historians—most of them New Englanders or New-England trained—have dismissed the Pennsylvania Germans as contentedly illiterate, superstitious, and backward. In doing so they have followed and at the same time encouraged popular misconceptions. Thus the "Palatine Boors" of the eighteenth century became (and for many people remain) the "dumb Dutch" of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries—the least likely of all classes of people, surely, to initiate an ambitious and enlightened plan of higher education.

Study of the social history of the Pennsylvania Germans shows that such a notion is grounded on very partial evidence, though it shows as well how the notion could grow and flourish. In the colonial melting-pot the German immigrants constituted an ethnic group distinguished from all others by their origin and folkways and, most sharply and permanently, by their language. They were not illiterate, unless we accept their fellow-colonists' definition of illiteracy as the use of a language other than English. But their stubborn clinging to their fathers' language,

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4 In the same letter in which he complained of the German colonists' boorishness, Franklin noted the activity of their printing-presses and the large number of German books they imported; Franklin to Richard Jackson, 5 May 1753, Writings, ed. A. H. Smyth, N.Y., 1905-7, iii, 139-40. A recent authority, C. S. Stine, states that about seventy-five percent of the German immigrants could write their
which was so integral a part of their religion, not only kept them "foreigners" but aroused suspicions of their loyalty during the colonial struggle with France. A great many of them had come to America in the destitute status of redemptioners, had gone onto the land, and had won economic independence by the hard means of industry and frugality. They naturally associated their new prosperity with their Old World ways and stoutly resisted efforts made to break down their social solidarity. Besides, since their experience with governments had not been happy, they did not enter politics, and therefore prior to the Revolution they had few capable public spokesmen. Insulation against the world went furthest of course among the pietistic sects, some of which have thereby retained to this day their distinctive beliefs and customs, including the refusal to bear arms for the state and opposition to education above the elementary level.

On the other hand the two largest religious groups among the German immigrants, the Lutherans and the Reformed, required, like the Puritans in Massachusetts Bay, an educated clergy and literate communicants. Though long handicapped by poverty, they organized schools as rapidly as they did churches, church and school being a single unit with the minister often serving as schoolmaster. Since the ministers were German or Swiss, instruction was in the German language. At mid-century, as the tide of immigration continued to rise, leaders among the English colonists grew alarmed at the prospect of a predominantly German culture in Pennsylvania. The result was the ill-fated project of Dr. William Smith to establish charity schools, maintained by funds from England, in the German

defines—a high rate of literacy for any immigrant group then or later; The Pennsylvania Germans, ed. Wood, p. 107.


communities. A number of schools were established, but all of them declined within a few years for the reason clearly stated by the Coetus of the Reformed Church in 1757: "We can do but little to promote them, since the Directors try to erect nothing but English schools, and care nothing for the German language. Hence, now as before, the Germans themselves ought to look out for their schools."

This they did as best they could. Their parish schools increased in number, and in 1773 the Lutherans established an academy in Philadelphia.8 Having survived until the British occupation of the city during the Revolution, the academy was re-established in 1779 under the German Department of the newly incorporated University of Pennsylvania.9 J. H. C. Helmuth, formerly the Lutheran pastor at Lancaster, conducted the work of this preparatory school for German students, and not without success, for six or seven years. But the arrangement did not wholly answer the purposes of the German cultural leaders. The University supplied too few ministers and teachers for the growing German communities and was too distant from them. The meager number of German students at the University appear to have suffered some social derision; at any rate it was pointed out that in a German college Germans would not be called "Dutchmen" and "Sour Crouts."10 Moreover, it is clear from the petition of 1786 and other sources that the founders of Franklin College hoped to attract students not only from German families but from the community at large. The high qualifications of the original faculty suggest that this was a reasonable

8 Ibid., p. 59.
10 Dubbs, History, pp. 8-11.
11 J. O. Knauss, Social Conditions among the Pennsylvania Germans in the Eighteenth Century, as Revealed in the German Newspapers Published in America (Pennsylvania German Society, Proceedings, XXIX), Lancaster, 1922, p. 92.
hope. The Pennsylvania Germans were now ready to make a contribution from their own resources to the intellectual advancement of their state and nation. They were moving from their side to break down the barriers separating the peoples of Pennsylvania. The Revolutionary struggle, in which they had played a material and effective part, had broadened their conception of citizenship—had, in a word, gone far toward Americanizing them. In the republic they had helped to establish, education could no longer be regarded as exclusively or even mainly religious training. Franklin College was founded for the double purpose of preserving the best of the Pennsylvania Germans' Old World inheritance and of fitting American youths of whatever origin or creed for the responsibilities and opportunities of a new nation.

The little group of Lutheran and Reformed clergymen who initiated the idea of a German college could not hope to succeed alone. For financial help they turned to public-spirited men among the non-German Pennsylvanians. One of these was Dr. Benjamin Rush, who plunged energetically into the cause, gained patrons for it among his wide acquaintance, and may have made the happy suggestion of naming the College for his good friend Dr. Franklin.12

In 1787, at the age of forty-one, Benjamin Rush was rising to fame as the foremost medical figure in the United States. Educated at Princeton and Edinburgh, he had in 1769 been appointed to the staff of the College of Philadelphia as the first

12 This is an inference from Rush's earlier naming of the college at Carlisle for John Dickinson, Franklin's predecessor as president of Pennsylvania. For Rush's association with the German founders and faculty of Franklin College, see a number of letters quoted in the early chapters of Dubbs' History. It was at his suggestion that Princeton College in 1787 conferred the degree of doctor of divinity upon the German clergymen who planned and first administered the College; Dubbs, History, pp. 69-70. (Unless otherwise acknowledged, the biographical facts concerning Rush that follow are drawn from N. G. Goodman, Benjamin Rush, Physician and Citizen, 1746-1813, Philadelphia, 1934.)

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professor of chemistry in America. For forty-four years, with one short interruption, he retained one or more posts in the medical schools of Philadelphia and became the most popular and influential among the teachers who made that city the medical center of the nation. He was a founder of the College of Physicians and of the Philadelphia Dispensary and was an American pioneer in the science of psychiatry. His heroic conduct during the yellow-fever epidemic in 1793 was to be long remembered. In spite of the controversies into which his assertiveness often led him, Rush's professional reputation was such that for many years he conducted a large practice not only in Philadelphia but elsewhere in the country by what can only be described as mail-order methods.

Medicine by no means fully occupied Rush's extraordinary energies. An early advocate of separation from England, he had sat as a Pennsylvania delegate in the Continental Congress, formed enduring friendships with Jefferson and John Adams, and signed the Declaration of Independence. During the Confederation period he worked and wrote for a stronger national union, and a few months after the launching of Franklin College he took a vigorous part in the State Convention that ratified the new federal Constitution.

During these eventful years Rush's pen was ceaselessly busy recording his observations and advancing his innumerable causes. He is said to have told his students that their minds should always be, like plants, "in an absorbing state." His own mind always was. He recorded everything he saw; and much that he recorded he wrote up in the form of newspaper and periodical articles, addresses, pamphlets, and books. His voluminous writings deal not only with medicine but with subjects as diverse as

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18 David Ramsay, *An Eulogium upon Benjamin Rush...*, Philadelphia, 1813, p. 100. In an undated entry in his MS. commonplace book, now in the library of the American Philosophical Society, Rush remarked that he had been "accused of polygamy in [his] studies." His characteristic defence was: "Unlike a plurality of wives—my studies all agree, & are handmaids to each Other."

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politics, education, agriculture, psychology, temperance, slavery, and penology.

No cause could have appealed more strongly to Rush than the proposed college for Pennsylvania German youth. In all his associations with the maligned “Dutch” he displayed an understanding and respect that distinguished few of his contemporaries. His view of Pennsylvania’s racial-minority problem was enlightened and, in the best sense, modern. He had taken the trouble to learn the German language when returning from his European studies to America in 1769.14 His Account of the Manners of the German Inhabitants of Pennsylvania has become a classic.15 It was the first comprehensive description of the character and life of that class of citizens to whom, as Rush said in his opening sentence, “the State of Pennsylvania is so much indebted for her prosperity and reputation.” Curiously blended with his scientific optimism there was a vein of pietism in Rush’s temperament that led him to admire the devout and simple ways of the German farmers and to point them out for others to emulate. His sentiments were evidently crystallized by his leisurely visit to Lancaster in 1787 for the dedication of the new College. The care and fullness of his letter recounting that visit may be explained by the fact that he already had in mind the longer, formal essay.

The founding of Franklin College was an event of capital importance in the history of the Pennsylvania Germans, but Rush’s letter enables us to place this event against the broader background of contemporary thought. In the post-Revolutionary period the philosophers of all nations looked upon America

14 *A Memorial Containing Travels through Life, or Sundry Incidents in the Life of Dr. Benjamin Rush. . . . Written by Himself*, ed. L. A. Biddle, Lanoraie [i.e., Philadelphia], 1905, p. 52.
as a land where the ideals of the intellectual movement known as the Enlightenment could at last be put effectually into practice. The paramount aim of the Enlightenment was the perfecting of human institutions so that mankind, too long the victim of tyranny and superstition, could be freed for "the pursuit of happiness." The means to this end lay in the further discovery and application of natural laws, not only in the physical but in the social and moral realms as well. It was devoutly believed that the human reason, by following the scientific method, could achieve an earthly millennium.

As has been shown in a recent excellent study, one of the world centers of scientific activity in the later eighteenth century was Philadelphia. A principal article of trade in that thriving New World port was ideas, particularly ideas for "promoting useful knowledge." Benjamin Rush, as a friend and colleague of Franklin, Rittenhouse, and others who were winning international repute for the American Philosophical Society, shared the reigning faith in science as the great means of increasing human happiness. In his writings on education he recommended scientific above classical studies for young men so that they would be fitted "to explore and apply" the resources of their new country; and young women too, he believed, should study science in order "to prevent superstition, by explaining the causes, or obviating the effects of natural evil." In his account of the dedication exercises at Lancaster Rush expressed confidence that Franklin College would promote these aims. His confidence was justified. The intellectual leaders among the Pennsylvania Germans had entered fully into the spirit of the age. Two members of the little faculty that began the work of instruction were later to make signal contributions to scientific knowledge: Dr. Muhlenberg in botany and Professor Melsheimer in entomology.

16 Carl and Jessica Bridenbaugh, Rebels and Gentlemen: Philadelphia in the Age of Franklin, N.Y., 1942, especially ch. ix.
17 "Observations upon the Study of the Latin and Greek Languages," Essays, 1798, p. 39; "Thoughts upon Female Education," ibid., pp. 79-80.
An educated public being essential to the circulation of scientific discoveries, the advancement of education itself was a major aim of the Enlightenment. Jefferson, Paine, and others besides Rush pointed out that in the United States there was a special need for widening educational opportunity because of the dependence of republican government on popular opinion. In 1786 Rush declared: "The business of education has acquired a new complexion by the independence of our country. The form of government we have assumed, has created a new class of duties to every American."¹⁸ In short, education is essential to responsible citizenship. Rush therefore in the same year proposed a comprehensive plan for establishing public schools and colleges in Pennsylvania,¹⁹ and at the beginning of 1787 he published his well-known "Address to the People of the United States," which contains a plan of a federal university offering instruction in law, history, economics, and military science. Selected graduates of the state colleges would enroll in the university, and from its graduates in turn all federal office-holders would eventually be chosen.²⁰ "Government, like all other sciences," Rush had written earlier, "is of a progressive nature. The chains which have bound this science in Europe are happily unloosed in America. Here it is open to investigation and improvement," and its advances may be expected to parallel those in the natural sciences.²¹ His symmetrical plan for a federal educational system, no doubt fortunately, was not adopted. But it provides a striking example of the new and characteristically American faith in education that led to the establishment in the United States, during the single decade following the Revolution, of as many colleges as

²⁰ The "Address" has been reprinted several times, among other places in the American Historical Association's Report for 1889, Washington, 1890, pp. 129-32.
had been founded in the whole century and a half of the colonial era.

Still another distinctive principle of the Enlightenment reflected in the plans of the founders and in Rush’s letter is the idea of equality and harmony among all religious denominations. The drift of the time was markedly toward secular control of education. This was of course not the intent of the German clergymen who initiated the plan of Franklin College, nor would it have had the approval of Rush, whose religious views were conservative. The founders were determined, however, to avoid a narrowly sectarian control of the institution and the prejudice and rivalry that would follow in its train. To this end the charter specified that there were to be fixed and equal numbers of Lutheran and Reformed trustees; the rest were to be chosen “from any other society of Christians.” On the original board, accordingly, there sat Episcopal, Moravian, and Catholic clergymen, together with laymen of still other denominations. Rush’s gratification upon seeing adherents of so many different faiths worship and work together in a common cause—“a striking mark of the powerful effects of a liberal education”—appears in several passages in his letter. Other observers, at a greater distance, were equally struck. Franklin had sent his friend the Abbé Morellet a copy of the program in advance of the dedication, and Morellet promptly replied in a letter from Auteuil dated 31 July 1787:

In the dedication of your college in the County of Lancaster, and the fine procession, and the religious ceremony, where were met together Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Lutherans, Catholics, Moravians, e tutti quanti, there was toleration in practice. I have translated the whole of the pamphlet which you sent me, and had it inserted in our Mercury. I think, indeed, that many readers will not perceive its scope, but it will not be thrown away upon every one. You see that I continue to diffuse, as far as is in my ability, religious tolerance.29

Blended with these international ideals in the minds of the founders was an ardently nationalist purpose which no one who reads the contemporary documents can overlook. Franklin College was born with the federal Constitution and in intimate association with it. Twelve days before the formal opening of the College a quorum of delegations had at length arrived at the Convention of the States at Philadelphia and had settled to their solemn task. That task, as Washington wrote to Lafayette on the day Franklin College was dedicated, was "to determine whether we are to have a Government of respectability under which life, liberty, and property will be secured to us, or are to submit to one which may be the result of chance or the moment, springing from anarchy and Confusion." It is safe to say that most of the trustees, as men of property, held a like opinion. Four of the men associated with the launching of the College—Franklin, Clymer, Mifflin, and Robert Morris—were Pennsylvania delegates to the Federal Convention and signed the new frame of government when it was completed. A number of others, notably Rush, McKean, and Yeates, were to play leading parts in the State Convention that ratified the Constitution. It is therefore not surprising that the founding ceremonies were accompanied by frequent expressions of hope for a more vigorous federal government. The interest of some of the eminent non-German patrons of the College was definitely, if not invidiously, political. The German vote was to be of critical importance in the coming contest over ratification.

In a larger view, however, theirs was a work of patriotism. The weakness and difficulties of the young nation, as Rush had earlier explained to the English philosopher Richard Price, were not due to faults inherent in a popular government, but rather to sectional self-interest, to the lack of a concept of national citizenship. The remedy lay in public enlightenment:

24 On this point see F. S. Klein, Spiritual and Educational Background, p. 44ff.
Republics are slow in discovering their interest, but when once they find it out they pursue it with vigor and perseverance. Nothing can be done by our public bodies till they can carry the people along with them, and as the means of propagating intelligence and knowledge in our country are as yet scanty, all their movements are marked with appearances of delay and procrastination. To remedy these inconveniencies, Colleges, newspapers, and posts are establishing in all our States. I have thrown my mite into these necessary undertakings.  

Under the government established by the Constitution, Rush’s prediction was to be fully borne out. So was another prediction of his, made twice in the course of his letter on Franklin College: that with their widened educational opportunities his German fellow-citizens would soon come forward to take their rightful place in the councils of the nation.

Proof of the sincerity of Rush’s interest in Franklin College will be found in the genuine pleasure with which he reports and reflects upon his visit to Lancaster. He has seen new country, has conversed on literary and philosophical subjects with old and new friends, and, best of all, has helped launch another enterprise for the improvement of human society. With its wealth of sharp, significant detail, its ease and dignity of style, its touches of humor, and its sanguine faith in the American experiment, his narrative reveals Rush at his best. It reveals as well the founders of Franklin College sharing fully in the practical idealism of that American generation which stood, in Mr. John Dos Passos’ happy phrase, “on the white porch of the Republic.”

25 Rush to Price, 22 April 1786; Massachusetts Historical Society, Proceedings, 2nd ser., xvii, 1903, 341.
A LETTER BY
Dr BENJAMIN RUSH
My dear Madam / Philada June 19. 1787

You take so kind a part in every thing that relates to your son in law, and to the welfare of Pennsylvania, that I cannot help gratifying your benevolence in both cases, by giving you a short account of my late excursion, & of the consecration of the German College in Lancaster.

I left this city on Monday June the 4th in company with Mr. Bingham & a Mr. Corbin—a gentleman of worthy character from Virginia, & a particular friend of Mr. Bingham's who seized that opportunity of visiting an interior county of our State. We arrived in Lancaster the next day at 2 o'Clock, & after taking a hasty dinner, Mr. Bingham & myself with Mr. Hamilton & Mr. Rawle (from Phila) proceeded to the Court house where we found upwards of 30 of the trustees assembled from every part of the State. The business was opened by a prayer in the German language by the Rev'd Mr. Helmuth. After this, we elected the officers of the board. A silence now ensued for a few minutes, when at the request of Mr. Rawle who sat next to me I rose & addressed the meeting as nearly as I can recollect in the following words.

——"Mr President & Gentlemen/ I cannot resist the inclination I feel, from seeing so many respectable characters assembled in this house, of rising to congratulate you upon the joyful occasion. We are met
here to lay the foundation of a seminary of learning the objects of which are of the utmost importance to Pennsylvania. By means of this seminary in the 1st place the partition wall which has long separated the English & German inhabitants of the State will be broken down. By meeting occasionally in this board we shall form connections with each other that will be alike useful to ourselves & to the State. Our children will be bound together by the ties of marriage, as we shall be by the ties of friendship, and in the course of a few years by means of this College the names of German—Irishman & Englishman will be lost in the general name of Pennsylvanian.—

A 2nd advantage that will result from this College will be, it will serve to unite the different Sects of Christians among the Germans together. The Lutherans & Calvanists* by sharing equally in the honors & government of the College will here bury all their past jealousies & disputes, while every other Sect will here find protection & support.

3ly By means of this College the English language will be introduced among our German fellow citizens.* In a State where all legal proceedings as well as commerce are carried on in English, a knowledge of it must be of the utmost consequence for the preservation of property. If our Germans expected at a future day to establish their language in Pennsylvania, they never can expect to see it established in our

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federal councils, where they must prepare to be called to assist in the government of the United States. The English language will be absolutely necessary to qualify them for usefulness in our great national legislature.

4th By means of this College the German language will be preserved from extinction & corruption by being taught in a grammatical manner. The advantages we shall derive from it will be very great, inasmuch as it will enable us to understand, and adopt all the discoveries in Science that shall hereafter be made by one of the most learned nations in Europe.

5th By means of this College, the sons of the Germans will be qualified to shine in our legislature, & to fill with reputation the professions of law—physic—and divinity. Their ministers of the Gospel & Schoolmasters will no longer be Strangers to their American habits & manners, but will be prepared for immediate Usefulness by an education in this College.

With these views before us, I hope no pains will be spared to carry the design of the College into execution."

After this speech, we proceeded to elect the officers of the College, an account of whom you will see in the annexed newspaper which I have sealed on my letter that it may be preserved with it—if you think it worthy of that honor.

The next day we met at the Court house. The news
paper contains a full acct of what followed. I shall only add to it that the acct of the effect of the sermons prayers & music upon the minds of the audience is no ways exaggerated. It was to me one of the highest entertainments I ever enjoyed in my life.—I enclose you a copy of the odes & hymns sung upon the occasion.¹⁴ The Odes were composed by the Revd Mr Helmuth. After the consecration was finished, the trustees assembled with a number of the citizens of Lancaster amounting in all to near 80 Gentlemen, & dined together at a public house in the town.¹⁵ The design of this dinner was to make us better acquainted with each other.—I improved it for this purpose, by sitting near, and talking alternately, with a Lutheran—a Calvanist—a roman Catholic,¹⁶ & a moravian minister—all of whom I found to be sensible agreeable men. My Companions from the city enjoyed this instance of my attention to our new acquaintances. Nor were they deficient in similar acts of familiar intercourse with them. Mr Hamilton charmed everybody with his easy behaviour. Mr Bingham interested the gravest of our German Company in national politics—while Mr Rawle forced his way into thier hearts at once by conversing with them upon the Subject of thier College in thier own language.—After dinner the following toasts were drank. They were only 12 in number, to designate as well as to insult

[ 18 ]
Lancaster, June 8, 1787.

Tuesday last being appointed, by the charter of Franklin or the German College, for the first meeting of the trustees, they assembled at three o'clock at the Court-house, and unanimously elected

The Rev. Henry Muhlenberg, Principal of the College.
The Rev. William Handell, Vice-Principal.
The Rev. Frederick Valentine Miltzeimer, Professor of the Latin, Greek and German languages.
Mr. William Reichenbach, Professor of Mathematics.
And the Rev. Joseph Hutchins, Professor of the English language, and of the Belles Lettres.

The next day the Faculty of the College, followed by the Trustees, the Clergy of the German Reformed Cettus and Lutheran Synod, the Officers of all the religious societies in the town, and many other respectable citizens, proceeded in procession from the Court-house to the Lutheran Church, where the Rev. Mr. Weiberg opened divine service with an excellent prayer, suited to the occasion. Afterwards the Rev. Mr. Muhlenberg delivered an elegant discourse in the German language, in which he recommended, in strong terms, the necessity of human learning to his German fellow-citizens, and shewed its influence upon religion, government, manners, and the various professions and occupations of men. This discourse was followed by one in English, in which the same subjects were handled with great ingenuity by the Rev. Mr. Hutchins. Several odes composed, and hymns chosen for the occasion, in German and English, were sung (accompanied with the organ) in a manner that pleased and affected every body. The whole was concluded with a well adapted prayer by the Rev. Mr. Herbst, Minister of the Moravian Church in this town, to the very great satisfaction and entertainment of a very crowded audience.

Extract of a Letter from Lancaster, dated June 7.

"We were yesterday gratified with a scene, to this part of Pennsylvania entirely new, and which was both grand and important—I mean the consecration and dedication of a Seminary of Learning.

"On this occasion the people assembled from all parts of the adjacent country, to the amount of some thousands. The ceremony was calculated to excite in the minds of that very crowded audience, the most agreeable emotions. The whole was conducted with a degree of decorum and splendor, which I cannot find words to describe: But a circumstance, which must be truly grateful to the mind of every good man, justly deserves to be mentioned—- It was a spectacle beautiful in itself, and which we may with certainty pronounce, no age, or country, nor any sett of people, ever beheld before—- On the same
PHILADELPHIA, JUNE 13.

day, in the same church, and to the same set of christians, the ministers of four different religious persuasions successively joined in the worship and adoration of the Supreme Being: a type, however small, of the glorious reign of the Messiah, which we are promised will one day come.

"The music was well adapted to the solemn occasion, and was performed in a masterly manner. The Principal, who, I am told (for I have not the pleasure of a personal acquaintance with him) is a man of extensive learning and great liberality of sentiment, and who is universally beloved, delivered a judicious and elegant sermon in the German language, and, after some interruption by music, a sensible discourse in English was delivered by one of the Professors. The subject of this last sermon was the general utility of learning, and was calculated to impress upon every heart the exalted principles of benevolence.

"All the teachers in the college are equally qualified with the Principal, for the branches of literature assigned to them. Mr. Handell, the Vice-Principal, is a man of profound learning, and of a most exemplary character. The Professor of the Latin, Greek and German languages, is a stranger in this place, but comes recommended to us as a man of critical knowledge and taste in polite literature. Mr. Hutchins, who was educated in the College of Philadelphia under Dr. Smith and Dr. Allison, is greatly esteemed among us, and has taught a school here for some time past with great reputation. The Professor of Mathematics is said to be an able man in his way. In short, a cluster of more learned or better qualified masters I believe have not met in any university.

"I am informed, that in the prosecution of the business relative to the institution, the greatest unanimity and harmony subsisted among the trustees, tho' composed of gentlemen of a variety of different denominations, and even of different countries—a striking mark of the powerful effects of a liberal education, which (with perhaps a few instances to the contrary) will enlarge the mind, and fill it with the purest sentiments of patriotism and public spirit! And it may not be unjustly remarked, that men of science will never suffer form to impede the prosecution of any undertaking, which may tend to the general welfare.

"From the establishment of this college, a new era will commence in Pennsylvania. The introduction of the English language among our Germans, who constitute at least one fourth of the inhabitants of the state, cannot fail of being attended with the happiest consequences, both to themselves and to the public, while their own language will hereby be preserved from extinction and corruption, by being grammatically taught in the college, a circumstance this, which will enable them to become the vehicle to our country, of all the discoveries of one of the most learned nations in Europe."
RhodeIsland for her separation from the federal Union.  

1 Franklin College—may it become a nursery of religion & learning while the sun & moon endure.  
2 The President & State of Pennsylvania.  
3 The influence of Science upon agriculture—manufactures—government & religion in the United States.——  
4 The Convention of the United States.  
5 George Washington Esq' President of the Convention.  
6 May the Citizens of the United States discover as much Wisdom in adopting a vigorous federal Government to preserve their liberties as they did zeal & fortitude in defending them.  
7 The King of France—the father of his people.  
8 The United Netherlands.—  
9 Spain, & the other friendly European powers.—  
10 The friends of Science—liberty & religion in Germany.  
11 Perpetual harmony among the citizens of every Nation & Sect in Pennsylvania. May they ever consider themselves as members of the same family.  
12 The friends & benefactors of Franklin College.—  

At 6°Clock, the trustees left the table, and returned to the Court house where they were engaged till 8°Clock in the business of the institution. The fornoon
of the next day was spent in the same duties. At One Clock we adjourned till next September. The trustees from Philad's dined at M' Yeates's an eminent lawyer in Lancaster, & spent an agreeable afternoon with him.—The next day (friday) we left Lancaster, & after a pleasant ride thr'o a highly cultivated & beautiful Country, we reached Philad on Saturday about 3 o'Clock.

It has given me great pleasure to find, that our conduct at Lancaster has given universal satisfaction. Disputes were happily prevented—ancient jealousies were composed, & a foundation was laid for a lasting Union between men of nations & Sects formerly opposed to each other.—Nor is this all—By introducing the English language among the Germans, we have paved the way for the advancement of the Gospel in Pennsylvania. As soon as thier ministers are able to preach in English (which they wish to do) they will collect together a great number of stragling English Episcopalians & Presbyterians who are too few or too poor to maintain ministers of thier own denominations, & who in consequence of this, live without the benefit of the ordinances of religion. The Gospel will be safe in the hands of the German Lutheran's & Calvanists—not only because they hold its most essential doctrines,—but because they are just & punctual in maintaining thier ministers. I discovered at Lancaster that they always lodge in private houses when
they assemble at thier Synods & Cœtuses. Even thier horses are kept in private stables, and thier travelling expences to, & from thier general meetings, are always borne by thier respective Congregations.— How honourable will it be for these worthy people, not only to preserve thier religion among strangers, but to propagate it likewise in a foreign Country!—

My prospects of the utility & perpetuity of our institutions for extending science & humanity, arise in a great measure from the expectations I entertain of thier falling into the hands of Quakers & Germans. From them Pennsylvania has derived the beginning, & will probably derive the consummation of her fame & happiness. When the blessings & ornaments of science are added to thier christian morals, & republican manners, they cannot fail of becoming the first people upon the face of the earth.—The quakers have shewed us already the influence of human learning upon thier character & manners. They rank every where highly at present in the republic of letters & Government. The Germans will probably surpass them, as thier principles admit of more unlimited pursuits upon literary subjects." At present they exhibit the most melancholly proofs of ignorance. They consider the whole business & duty of man to consist in acquiring land and money. They value each other chiefly for animal qualities, or at most, for those qualities only which are essential to them as cultivators of

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the earth. "Can She work well" is the first & often the only question, a German farmer asks his son when he mentions the name of his intended bride to him. "Conrad — — — is ruined (said an old German). He has married Caty — — and She is not able to carry half a hand" meaning that She could not do half the work of a man in a harvest field. —A German farmer once lost his only son. One of his neighbours who came to condole with him told him he was sorry for his loss. — "My loss (said he) — no loss to me — Hance has been working for himself these four years." — I have been told that they seldom teach thier women to write — and permit them to read nothing but the bible & religious books. — From thier extreme ignorance they are large contributors to the support of lawyers, and Quacks. Thier carelessness in the forms of thier titles & wills, leads them often to the law, & thier credulity which is the offspring of ignorance, disposes them to prefer the boasting empiric to the sceptical regular bred physician. I must add here that this ignorance prevails most among the Menonists who have proclaimed war against priests and schools ever since they suffered so much from the Bishop of Munster who was both a priest & a man of learning. —

I am not discouraged by these anecdotes in my attempts to introduce knowledge & civilization among them. They are excellent materials for scholars — citizens & Christians, and should my life be spared for
20 years. I expect to be charmed by hearing the elo-
quence of my German fellow citizens in the senate,
at the bar, & in the pulpit. I expect further—to see
them add to thier wealth all the embellishments of
polite & social life upon thier farms & in thier houses.
—Nor will thier attainments in literature lessen the
products of thier industry. On the contrary—they
will be doubled, or quadrupled by them—for knowl-
edge like the mechannic powers increases the force &
activity of labor no less in agriculture than in the
mechannical arts. The fears of some little minded
men, that we shall have too many Colleges, & too
many learned men, are as absurd as it would be to
say that we shall have too plentiful harvests—too
much religion—or too much happiness.—

I have only to apologize for the length of this let-
ter, & to add that if your pleasure in reading it is half
as great as mine has been in my attempt to amuse you
with it, I shall be highly gratified.

With love to our good Sisters & brothers at Mor-
ven, & most respectful Cmpt's to our worthy friend
D' Smith I am my D' Mad

Your dutiful &
Affectionate Son Benj'n Rush

[ 23 ]
After the consecration was finished, the Convent assembled with a number of the citizens of Lancaster amounting in all to near 80 gentlemen & dined together at a public house in the town. The design of this dinner was to make us better acquainted with each other.

—I improved it for this purpose, by alternately sitting near, and talking with a Lutheran, a Calvinist, a Roman Catholic, & a Moravian minister—all of whom I found to be sensible agreeable men. My companions from the city enjoyed this instance of my attention to our new acquaintances.
Nor were they deficient in similars of familiar intercourse with them. Mr. Hamilton charmed every body with his easy behaviour. Mr. Brigham interested the greatest number of our German Company in national politics. While Mr. Rawle found his way into their hearts at once by speaking with them upon the subject of this College in their own language. — After dinner the following toasts were drank. They were only 12 in number, to designate as well as to insult Rhode Island for her separation from the federal Union.

1. Franklin College — may it become the seat of a nursery of religion & learning.
While the sun & moon endure.
2. The President of Pennsylvania.
3. The influence of Science upon agriculture, manufactures, government & religion in the United States.
5. George Washington - 2nd President of the Convention.
6. May the citizens discover as much wisdom in adopting a vigorous federal government to preserve their liberties as they did zeal & fortitude in defending them.
7. The King of France - the father of his people.
8. The United Netherlands.
12. I prays, & the other friendly foreign powers.

10. The friends of science, liberty, & religion in Germany.

11. Perpetual harmony among the citizens of every nation, that in Pennsylvania. May they ever consider themselves as members of the same family.

12. The friends & benefactors of Franklin College.

At 6 Clock, the trustees left the table and returned to the Court House. When they were engaged, they stopped till 8 o'Clock in the business of the institution. The former
NOTES

Short references are given for works already cited in the Introduction. The following abbreviations are used:

H.S.P. for the Historical Society of Pennsylvania;
L.C.H.S. for the Lancaster County Historical Society;
P.M.H.B. for The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography.

1. Mrs. Richard Stockton, born Annis (or Anice) Boudinot (1736-1801), wife of a New Jersey jurist who signed the Declaration of Independence; sister of Elias Boudinot, one-time president of the Continental Congress; mother of Julia Stockton Rush, who married Benjamin Rush in 1776. Like her husband, whose death in 1781 was attributed to hardships suffered while he was a captive of the British, Annis Stockton had been active in the patriotic cause. She was also a literary lady; especially remembered are her poems on Washington's victories, which elicited spirited letters of thanks from Washington himself. There is a portrait of Mrs. Stockton, probably by Joseph Blackburn, in the Princeton Museum of Historic Art. J. J. Boudinot, The Life... and Letters of Elias Boudinot, Boston and N.Y., 1896; J. W. Stockton, A History of the Stockton Family, Philadelphia, 1881; Elizabeth Ellet, The Women of the American Revolution, N.Y., 1848-50, iii, 13-34; L. H. Butterfield, "Morven: A Colonial Outpost of Sensibility. With Some Hitherto Unpublished Poems by Annis Boudinot Stockton," Princeton University Library Chronicle, vi, 1944-5, i-16.

2. William Bingham (1752-1804), Philadelphia capitalist and landowner; member of the Continental Congress, 1786-9; United States senator, 1795-1801. Known as one of the wealthiest men in the United States, he was the first president of the Philadelphia and Lancaster Turnpike Company, 1792; and Binghamton, N.Y., settled on land belonging to him, was named for him. At this time Bingham should have been on duty with Congress in New York (see letters of Secretary Charles Thomson summoning him there, 25 June and 8 July 1787;
H.S.P., MSS.), but like others he stayed in Philadelphia to observe the proceedings of the Federal Convention. Ann Willing Bingham, his wife, was a celebrated beauty and hostess of the young republic; the Bingham’s palatial home at Third and Spruce Streets was long considered the finest house in Philadelphia. Two portraits of Bingham by Stuart are reproduced in *P.M.H.B.*, lxi, 1937, facing pp. 294, 394. *D.A.B.;* Margaret L. Brown, three articles on Bingham in *P.M.H.B.*, lxi, 1937, 54-87, 286-324, 387-434.


4. William Hamilton (1745-1813) of Bush Hill in Philadelphia and The Woodlands on the Schuylkill; member of a family of lawyers and politicians who were prominent in Pennsylvania throughout the eighteenth century and who owned the land on which the city of Lancaster stands. The Hamiltons were Loyalists, but William Hamilton made his peace with the State government at the close of the Revolution and retained the extensive family properties. On 1 June 1787 Washington noted in his diary having “spent the evening at a superb entertainment at Bushhill given by Mr. Hamilton, ... at which were more than an hundred guests”; *Diaries*, ed. Fitzpatrick, iii, 220-1. There is a full-length portrait of Hamilton with his niece, painted by Benjamin West, in H.S.P. University of Pennsylvania, *Biographical Catalogue of the Matriculates of the College ...,* Philadelphia, 1894, p. 9; Thompson Westcott, *The Historic Mansions and Buildings of Philadelphia*, Philadelphia, 1877, pp. 415-27.

5. William Rawle (1759-1836), lawyer and member of a prominent Quaker family of Philadelphia; appointed United States attorney for Pennsylvania by Washington, 1791; member of the American Philosophical Society, 1786; a founder of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, 1805, and of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1825; author of works on legal and religious subjects; portrait by T. S. Duché in H.S.P. *D.A.B.*
6. This was the new, or second, Court House, in Penn Square, completed earlier in the year to replace the first Court House, which had burned down in 1784. The second Court House was outgrown and demolished in 1852. Franklin Ellis and Samuel Evans, History of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania ..., Philadelphia, 1883, pp. 204-6, with illustration.

7. Forty-five trustees were nominated in the College charter. Their names are given in Dubbs, History, pp. 25-6.

8. Justus Henry Christian Helmuth (1745-1825), born in the Duchy of Brunswick and educated at Halle; ordained and called to Pennsylvania in 1769; pastor of Trinity Lutheran Church, Lancaster, 1769-79; co-pastor of St. Michael’s and Zion Churches, Philadelphia, from 1779; Professor of German at the University of Pennsylvania from 1780; member of the American Philosophical Society, 1784; D.D., University of Pennsylvania, 1785; author and editor; engraved portrait in T. E. Schmuck, A History of the Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania (1638-1820) ..., Philadelphia, 1903, p. 330. More perhaps than any other one person, Helmuth was responsible for the idea and plan of the “German College.” D.A.B.; Dubbs, History, chs. i-iv; Memorial Volume of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Holy Trinity, Lancaster, Pa. ..., Lancaster, 1861, pp. 49-61.

9. The term Calvinists was then commonly used by non-Germans to distinguish members of the German Reformed (Hoch-Deutsche Reformierte) Church from Lutherans. The Reformed themselves disliked being called Calvinists (William Hendel to Rush, 26 January 1787, cited in Dubbs, History, p. 13, note); and accordingly Rush used another name—Presbyterians—in his Account of the Manners of the German Inhabitants (Schmuck edition, 1910, p. 96).

10. This was then and long remained a delicate and controversial point. The German immigrants’ resistance to English, as noted in the Introduction, caused a deep cleavage between Pennsylvanians of English and German blood. For the position of the German conservatives, see W. M. Kollmorgen’s study in The Pennsylvania Germans, ed. Wood, pp. 48-50. In some quarters, however, in consequence of intermarriage and business relations between the two peoples and their common participation in the Revolution, the German prejudice against English was breaking down. Educated Germans recognized that their people, for their own best interest, should learn to use English as their principal language.
One of the purposes of the founders of Franklin College was undoubtedly to forward this aim, but the German community was not yet ready for a frank public statement of this policy. See the notes on Joseph Hutchins and his dedication sermon, below.

11. There was at this time a concerted movement among German cultural leaders, who deplored the rapid growth of the "Dutch" dialect, to restore and spread the use of High German. Knauss, Social Conditions among the Pennsylvania Germans, pp. 105-6, 112-3.

12. "Many young men in this country, who have great ability, would like to devote themselves to the service of the Church, if they only had an opportunity, and many inhabitants have for some time had a greater confidence in natives than in foreigners, who [have] just arrived, because they have several times fared badly."—From a letter of 1785 to the Synods of Holland, in Minutes and Letters of the Coetus of the Reformed Congregations in Pennsylvania, 1747-1792, Philadelphia, 1903, pp. 403-4.

13. The clipping inserted by Rush is from The Pennsylvania Gazette of 13 June. The same article, which was no doubt written by Rush himself, appeared in The Pennsylvania Packet on the same day and, later, in two German-language papers: the Philadelphische Correspondenz, 19 June, and the Germantowner Zeitung, 26 June.

14. This enclosure has not survived with the letter. Probably Rush sent Mrs. Stockton a copy of the official program of the dedication exercises: Order of Procession and Public Worship to be observed in the Dedication of Franklin College . . . , Philadelphia: Melchior Steiner, 1787. Printed in English and German on two sides of a single large sheet folded in quarto, this contained the original poetical compositions in English and German in their respective places, but without translations. (The title-pages and the English portion of the program are given in Dubbs' History, pp. 40-5.) The pleasing "Ode in English" is printed opposite the first page of the Introduction in the present volume. Rush says Dr. Helmuth wrote the "odes," but he probably meant the German hymn and ode, for the rendering of which Helmuth sent precise instructions; Dubbs, History, pp. 37-8. Helmuth's compositions have apparently never been reprinted, but they were well executed, and the ode in particular is interesting for its allusion to Dr. Franklin and the Federal Convention. It is therefore given here, followed by a literal translation.

[28]
ERSTE STROPHE.

Komm und besuche, du Heiland der Menschen,
Deine FRANKLINE, dir heute geweiht,
Sie sey die würdige Tochter des Greisen,
Dessen Erkenntniss die Staaten verneut,
Höre, wir singen in betenden Weisen,
Komm und beziche
FRANKLINEN,
Ja, eigne Sie heut.

ERSTE GEGENSTROPHE.

Fliehe, fliehe, Unwissenheit,
Mit dem Gefolge von Thorheit und Neid,
Es öffnet sich heut, FRANKLINENS Thor weit:
Kommt heran . . . Kommt und betretet
Der Wissenschaft Bahn.

ZWEIFTE STROPHE.

Eltern und Kinder, sie stehen und staunen,
Singen und lallen: Jehovah ist nah!
Ihn fasst der Glaube, singt voll von Vertrauen:
Er der Erbarmer, ist wirklich schon da,
Er will mit Segen Sie gründen und bauen,
Der Deutschen Zierde,
FRANKLINEN;
Er bleibt Ihr stets nah.

ZWEIFTE GEGENSTROPHE.

Heil dir, heil dir, erkornes Land,
Wo Man des Götzen Verehrung sonst fand,
Sey innig erfreut, hier gründet dir heut,
Mein Geheiss . . . baut
Dir den Tempel der Weisheit zum Preis.
Translation

FIRST STROPHE.
Come and visit, thou Saviour of men,
Thy FRANKLINIA, dedicated to Thee today.
May She be the worthy daughter of the sage
Whose knowledge renews the union of states.
Hear, we sing in reverent tones,
Come and abide with
FRANKLINIA.
Yea, accept her today.

FIRST ANTISTROPHE.
Begone! begone! Ignorance,
With thy train of Folly and Envy.
FRANKLINIA's door opens wide today:
Come nigh . . . Come and enter upon
The pathway of learning.

SECOND STROPHE.
Parents and children, they stand and marvel;
They sing and lisp: Jehovah is nigh!
Faith embraces Him, sings full of trust:
He, the compassionate, is truly here now;
He with His blessing will found and upbuild Her,
The adornment of the Germans,
FRANKLINIA;
He will always be near Her.

SECOND ANTISTROPHE.
Hail to thee! hail to thee! chosen land,
Where of old the worship of idols was found.
Rejoice within; here is founded for thee today,
At my bidding . . . is builded
A temple of wisdom to thy glory.
15. The leading inn of the day was Colonel Mathias Slough’s White Swan on South Queen Street at Penn Square; see D. F. Magee, “The White Swan Tavern,” L.C.H.S., Papers, xxviii, 1924, 156-69, with illustration between pp. 118-9. However, the gathering described by Rush may well have taken place at The Grape, a long-established inn on North Queen Street near the Square, whose proprietor was Adam Reigart, one of the original trustees of Franklin College and long active in its affairs; Ellis and Evans, History of Lancaster County, p. 395; E. P. Brinton, “Col. Adam Reigart,” L.C.H.S., Papers, xxx, 1926, 75-9, with a drawing of The Grape.

16. The Rev. John Baptist Causse (also spelled Cousie, Gausse, Kauss, etc.), a Recollect Father, pastor of St. Mary’s Church, Lancaster, 1787-9, and one of the original trustees of the College, Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, iii, 1891, 143-7; v, 1894, 327; xxii, 1911, 132; xxv, 1914, 36-9.

17. Gotthilf Henry Ernest Muhlenberg (1753-1815), youngest son of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, born at Trappe, Pennsylvania, and educated at Halle; succeeded Helmuth as pastor of Trinity Lutheran Church in Lancaster in 1780, and held this charge until his death; D.D., Princeton, 1787. Letters and other memorials of his term as president of Franklin College will be found in the early chapters of Dubbs’ History. He was versed in several sciences but was pre-eminent in botany, a field to which he made substantial contributions in works dating from 1785 to 1817. He corresponded with the leading botanists of his time in the United States and Europe, was elected to membership in the American Philosophical Society, 1785, and to other learned societies here and abroad. A portrait is reproduced in Dubbs, History, facing p. 48. D.A.B.; Memorial Volume of the Church of the Holy Trinity, Lancaster, 1861, pp. 61-85; H. H. Beck, “Henry E. Muhlenberg, Botanist,” L.C.H.S., Papers, xxxii, 1928, 99-107.

18. John William Hendel (1740-98), born in the Palatinate and educated at Heidelberg; sent by the Synods of Holland to America, 1764; pastor of the Reformed Church in Lancaster, 1764-9, 1782-94; D.D., Princeton, 1787; a leading spirit in the successful movement to establish an independent Reformed Synod of the United States, 1793. D.A.B.; Henry Harbaugh, The Fathers of the Reformed Church in Europe and America, 2nd ed., Lancaster, 1872, ii, 120-30. Hendel was to have delivered the German prayer at the dedication service, but was ill,
and his place was taken by Rev. C. D. Weiberg; MS. diary of the Lancaster Moravian Congregation, in the Moravian Archives, Bethlehem.

19. Frederick Valentine Melsheimer (1749-1814), born in the Duchy of Brunswick and educated at Helmstedt; chaplain of a regiment of Brunswick dragoons in the British service, 1776; captured, and resigned his post, 1779; served as Lutheran pastor and schoolmaster in various Pennsylvania communities, including New Holland, 1785-7, and Hanover, 1789-1814; elected a member of the American Philosophical Society, 1795. He was a pioneer entomological collector and student, his Catalogue of Insects of Pennsylvania, Part First (Hanover, 1806), being the earliest separate work on the entomology of North America. The large collections made by him and his son were purchased by Louis Agassiz in 1864 for the Harvard Museum of Comparative Zoology. Portrait in L.C.H.S., Papers, xli, 1937, facing p. 106. D.A.B.; articles on Melsheimer by M. L. Heisey in L.C.H.S., Papers, xli, 1937, 103-11, and P. A. Barba in The American-German Review, xi, February 1945, 17-9.

20. John Christian William Reichenbach (1749-1821), born at Rudolstadt, Thuringia, is said to have studied at the University of Mar- seats and to have arrived in America in 1785. In addition to his teaching duties he served as treasurer of the College, practised surveying, map-making, and gauging, and preached occasional lay sermons in the Moravian Church. He later adopted Swedenborgian views and wrote mystical works that were published in both English and German. Alex. Harris, A Biographical History of Lancaster County . . ., Lancaster, 1872, pp. 475-6; Dubbs, History, pp. 63-5; L.C.H.S., Papers, iv, 1900, 4, and viii, 1903, 76-8.

21. Joseph Hutchins (1747-1833), rector of St. James' Episcopal Church, Lancaster, 1783-8, and a trustee of the College. Born in Barbados, W.I.; member of the class of 1765 at the College of Philadelp-hia; A.M., 1767; member of the American Philosophical Society, 1768; D.D., University of Pennsylvania, 1790; author of An Abstract of the First Principles of English Grammar (Philadelphia, 1791), which reached a third edition in 1810. Judging from the substance and style of his writings, Hutchins must have been a good English teacher, but he left Lancaster under a cloud about a year after the College opened; on this matter see Dubbs, History, pp. 65-6, and the note on Hutchins' dedication sermon, below. University of Pennsylvania, Biographical Catalogue of the Matriculates of the College, p. 12; also in-
22. This phrase, for obvious stylistic reasons, was cancelled by Rush in the clipping he attached to his letter.

23. The Church of the Holy Trinity, at South Duke and East Mifflin Streets, a handsome and imposing Georgian edifice consecrated in 1766 and still in use, though its plan was altered in the 1850’s; see the Memorial Volume of the Church of the Holy Trinity, Lancaster, 1861. A view of Trinity Church as it was before alteration will be found in L.C.H.S., Papers, xlv, 1941, facing p. 134.

24. Caspar Dietrich Weiberg (or Weyberg) (d. 1790), pastor of the Race Street Reformed Church, Philadelphia, 1763-90, and a trustee of the College; noted for his patriotic sermons during the British occupation of that city, for which he suffered imprisonment. Harbaugh, Fathers of the Reformed Church, 2nd ed., ii, 100-8.

25. Published by the desire of the trustees, with the title Eine Rede, Gehalten den 6ten Juny 1787, bey der Einweihung von der Deutschen Hohen Schule oder Franklin Collegium in Lancaster . . ., Lancaster: Albrecht und Lahn, 1788.

26. Published with the title Sermon Preached in the Lutheran Church, on the Opening of Franklin College, in the Borough of Lancaster, Pennsylvania: July 17th [sic], 1787 . . ., Philadelphia: Daniel Humphreys, 1806. The delay in publication is explained in the dedication “To the Germans and Their Descendants in the Borough of Lancaster,” where Hutchins states that the trustees paid him the usual compliment of requesting publication but that he was “discouraged, by some particular circumstances,” from complying. The circumstances may be guessed at. In his able but evidently too frank discourse Hutchins set forth two propositions not very acceptable to his listeners. He appealed, first, for the extinction of sectarian differences:

When liberal knowledge shall be still more generally diffused, . . . men will . . . grow ashamed of keeping up unsocial and unchristian distinctions among disciples of the same master, founded merely upon old scholastic unintelligible tenets of faith, ignorant corruptions of primitive Christianity, and traditional prejudices in favor of languages, forms, and customs, at best indifferent, and often destructive to Christian charity and social peace (p. 13).

Second, he argued boldly for the supremacy of the English language among the Germans:
Whatever impediments you throw in the course of spreading this language ... among your children, will be so many obstructions to their future interest in private and public life. ... Although the English language is nervous, copious, and beautiful, yet I do not recommend your preference of it on that account; but solely because it is the national language of the United States. ... The German may be studied as a secondary useful language, and no English American would ever wish to oppose it in that view (pp. 14-6).

These home truths, coming as they did from an English-bred Episcopal clergyman, aroused ill-feeling among the Germans that doubtless contributed to Hutchins' resignation from the faculty a year later.

27. John A. Herbst (1735-1812), one of the original trustees of the College. Born in Swabia; called to serve as pastor of the Moravian congregation in Lancaster, 1786; pastor at Lititz, 1791-1811, where he composed sacred music that is still used in Moravian churches; consecrated bishop, 1811. A manuscript copy of his dedication prayer is in the College archives. Information kindly furnished by Rev. W. N. Schwarze from E. deSchweinitz, “The Bishops of the Unitas Fratrwm,” MS. in the Moravian Archives, Bethlehem; L.C.H.S., Papers, xix, 1915, 80.

28. William Smith, D.D. (1727-1803), Anglican clergyman and first provost of the College of Philadelphia (later the University of Pennsylvania). Smith had been the leading figure in the abortive movement to establish charity schools among the Pennsylvania Germans; see the Introduction, p. 3, above. D.A.B.


30. The Rhode Island Legislature, dominated by a popular political faction, had refused to send delegates to the Federal Convention. For failing to discharge its indebtedness to the federal government the State had won the nickname of Rogue Island, and in this very month a rumor circulated in the newspapers that it had been read out of the Union by the Convention sitting at Philadelphia. Charles Warren, The Making of the Constitution, Boston, 1928, pp. 131-3, 198.

31. His Excellency Dr. Benjamin Franklin (1706-90) president of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, 1785-8. This is the sole allusion in Rush's narrative to the great man for whom the College was named. Franklin's personal connection with the College, especially the question whether or not he was present for the dedication, has been a matter of debate. All that is known from documents is that Franklin
made the largest recorded subscription to the new institution, £200 (MS. list of subscribers in the College archives, printed in Dubbs, *History*, p. 21), and that he sent a copy of the dedication program to the Abbé Morellet, part of whose reply is quoted in the Introduction (p. 10, above).

It was long confidently believed that Franklin attended the formal opening, and ingenious arguments were advanced to explain the lack of any mention of his presence in the official program and in other contemporary documents; see Dubbs, *History*, ch. v, *passim*. The belief rested on an explicit statement by the French-American traveler St. John de Crèvecoeur that he had accompanied Franklin to Lancaster for the laying of the cornerstone ("à poser la première pierre") of the German College in 1787; Crèvecoeur, *Voyage dans la Haute Pensylvanie et dans l'État de New-York . . .*, Paris, 1801, i, 26. This statement has very recently been accepted as truthful by Mr. Van Wyck Brooks (*The World of Washington Irving*, N.Y., 1944, p. 51, note); but some years earlier Mr. Carl Van Doren pointed out that Franklin could not have made the trip, since he was present at a session of the Executive Council in Philadelphia on the dedication day (6 June) and entertained guests, one of whom was Washington, at dinner that evening; *Benjamin Franklin*, N.Y., 1938, p. 741, with references to the *Minutes of the Supreme Executive Council*, in *Colonial Records*, Harrisburg, 1838-53, xv, 223, and *Washington's Diaries*, ed. Fitzpatrick, iii, 221. To this may be added the fact that neither could Crèvecoeur have been in Lancaster for the dedication, because at that time he was on the Atlantic returning to his consular duties in New York. *The New-York Journal* for 28 June 1787 reported the arrival of the French packet *Courrier de l'Europe* in New York harbor on the 26th, in forty-five days from Le Havre, among her passengers being M. St. John de Crèvecoeur, "Consul of France for New-York." Another passenger was Samuel Breck, Jr., later a well-known Philadelphia merchant, in whose *Recollections* (ed. H. E. Scudder, Philadelphia, 1877, pp. 84-9) may be read a circumstantial account of this crossing.

Some explanation of Crèvecoeur's pleasing fiction is, however, still called for, and the present editor intends to furnish it in a forthcoming article.

32. Jasper Yeates (1745-1817), one of the original trustees; a graduate of the College of Philadelphia, 1765; for many years one of the leading lawyers and citizens of Lancaster, where he managed William
Hamilton’s large real-estate interests; active during the Confederation period in state politics and a staunch Federalist; associate justice of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, 1791-1817; portrait reproduced in J. B. McMaster and F. D. Stone, *Pennsylvania and the Federal Constitution, 1787-1788*, Philadelphia, 1888, facing p. 295. Yeates’ home on the southwest corner of South Queen and West Mifflin Streets, though much altered, still stands; there is an engraving in W. F. Worner, *Old Lancaster: Tales and Traditions*, Lancaster, 1927, facing p. 126. On 8 June 1787 Yeates’ daughter Margaret wrote Mrs. Jacob Hubley of the “large company” entertained at her home the day before, and with an excusable flutter of feeling she added concerning the dedication exercises: “It was very solemn to see so many youths walking in order, and brother John being foremost helped to make a greater impression on me”; MS. in the College archives. *D. A. B.*; C. I. Landis, “Jasper Yeates and His Times,” *P. M. H. B.*, XLVI, 1922, 199-231.

33. An entry in Dr. G. H. E. Muhlenberg’s journal for 1788 reads as follows: “I must apply myself more to the English language, so that if necessary, I may be able to preach or speak it fluently”; *Memorial Volume of the Church of the Holy Trinity, Lancaster*, 1861, p. 71.

34. “Quakers impose the same restraint upon taste which the Roman Catholics impose on appetite”—undated entry in Rush’s MS. commonplace book in the library of the American Philosophical Society. Though noted in colonial times for their elementary schools and afterward for their academies, the Quakers long disapproved of higher education and founded no colleges until the second half of the nineteenth century. Wickersham, *History of Education in Pennsylvania*, chs. ii-iii, v; *A Cyclopedia of Education*, ed. P. Monroe, N.Y., 1911-13, pi, 715-8.

35. In 1789 Rush wrote: “There is scarcely an instance of a German, of either sex, in Pennsylvania, that cannot read; but many of the wives and daughters of the German farmers cannot write. The present state of society among them renders this accomplishment of little consequence to their improvement or happiness”; *Account of the Manners of the German Inhabitants*, ed. Schmuck, 1910, p. 105.

36. That is, Mennonites, a Protestant sect originating in Switzerland but taking its name from the Dutch reformer Menno Simons (1492-1559). The first Mennonites to arrive in America came from Frankfort-on-Main and settled at Germantown in 1683. From them and others who followed stemmed various “plain sects” (notably the Amish Mennonites) which are still resident in southeastern Pennsyl-
vania and still oppose education beyond an elementary level. The misleading allusion to the Bishop of Münster refers to the bloody struggle between a group of fanatical Anabaptists, who had set up a theocracy in that city, and the Prince-Bishop of Münster, who subdued and executed them in 1535. Menno Simons gathered up the remnants of the Anabaptists but disclaimed all connection with the Münster fanatics. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. J. E. Hastings, N.Y. and Edinburgh, 1908-27, various articles; C. G. Bachman, *The Old Order Amish of Lancaster County*, Norristown, 1942, pp. 19-25, 199-205.

37. Julia Stockton Rush had two younger brothers and three younger sisters.

38. The Stockton homestead on the outskirts of Princeton, built soon after 1700 and named by Annis Stockton for the home of the hero of James Macpherson's pseudo-epic *Fingal* (London, 1762). Morven has recently (1944) been purchased for use as the executive mansion of the State of New Jersey. See the article on Morven, with an illustration, by the present editor, cited in the note on Mrs. Stockton, above.

39. Samuel Stanhope Smith, D.D. (1750-1819), Presbyterian clergyman; born in Salisbury Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania; professor of moral philosophy from 1779, and president of Princeton College, 1795-1812; writer on philosophical and theological subjects. He was a close friend of the Stockton family. *D.A.B.*