

# Introduction: Multilingual Soundings in the Colonial Mid-Atlantic

*“Differences of Manners, Languages and Extraction, Was Now No More”?*

BETHANY WIGGIN

*Nec ignoro ingrati ac segnis animi existimari posse merito si obiter atque in transcurso ad hunc modum dicatur terra omnium terrarum alumna eadem et parens, numine deum electa quae caelum ipsum clarius faceret, sparsa congregaret imperia ritusque molliret et tot populorum discordes ferasque linguas sermonis commercio contraheret ad colloquia et humanitatem homini daret, breviterque una cunctorum gentium in toto orbe patria fieret. Sed quid agam?*

I am well aware that I may with justice be considered ungrateful and lazy if I describe in this casual and cursory manner a land which is at once the nursling and the mother of all other lands, chosen by the providence of the gods to make heaven itself more glorious, to unite scattered empires, to make manners gentle, to draw together in converse by community of language the jarring and uncouth tongues of so many nations, to give mankind civilization, and in a word to become throughout the world the single fatherland of all the races. But what am I to do?

—PLINY THE ELDER (TRANS. H. RACKHAM)

Differences of manners, languages and extraction, was now no more [in Cincinnatus's Rome]. . . . The rising generation acquired a conformity in all things. No distinction remained but between a virtuous and vicious citizen.

—WILLIAM SMITH

The relationship of mother tongue to fatherland—and of language to empire—has preoccupied writers ancient as well as modern. Scottish-born Anglican cleric and early American schoolman William Smith (1727–1803), first provost of the University of Pennsylvania, worried that “differences of manners, languages and extraction” dotted the *via imperii*. For Smith, and many other modern students of empire, Roman farmer turned general re-turned farmer Cincinnatus provided a favorite model for how to smooth the path to power. Across the eighteenth-century Atlantic world, a classical education furnished lessons in how to achieve that “conformity in all things” accomplished by Cincinnatus and prized by Smith. Roman “civilization,” in the words of Pliny the Elder in this chapter’s first epigraph, had brought “the jarring and uncouth tongues of so many nations” into concert. And what civilization and Cincinnatus had done for ancient Rome, Smith aimed to do for Whitehall. Acting from his post in mid-eighteenth-century colonial Philadelphia, as the French and Indian War wore on, Smith promised that “no distinction” would remain “but between a virtuous and vicious citizen.”

These “jarring and uncouth tongues of so many nations” as they sounded in the colonial mid-Atlantic unite the essays gathered in *Babel of the Atlantic*. The diversity of the “uncouth tongues” heard there countered the “conformity” that men such as Smith desired. More troublingly for Smith, some of these tongues raised their voices in an anti-imperial key. The colony’s various languages elicited anxious comparisons to Babel by British imperial projectors, including German speakers, working in offices of the church or the state, in the metropole or on the periphery. Yet its various languages also produced what we might call a Philadelphia sound—one whose diverse speakers together embodied the promise of a community of brothers.

*Babel of the Atlantic* aims to recall some of those “differences of manners, languages, and extractions” that collectively sounded attempts at a Philadelphian utopia, sometimes less and sometimes

more loudly, in the years leading up to the French and Indian War. Drawing on archives of Delaware, Dutch, English, French, German, and Mohican cultural, linguistic, material, and textual artifacts, *Babel* explores how language, or languages, provided critical tools for building the “new worlds for all” that resulted from early modern globalism.<sup>1</sup> Its ten chapters, along with this introduction, document the many and varied negotiations that the alleged babble of the Atlantic produced. *Babel* suggests how language itself was, in Mary Louise Pratt’s seminal formulation, a “contact zone,” a place where “highly asymmetrical relations of power” come into sharp relief.<sup>2</sup>

To take soundings in this contact zone is to listen for its silences as well as for its babble. As we cross between languages, we traverse “translation zones” everywhere marked and made by relations of power.<sup>3</sup> Any equivalence between languages or cultures does not lie ready-made; translanguing and transcultural equivalence cannot be “natural,” it can only be made and remade.<sup>4</sup> Translational equivalence is not equality, for translators and their tools can never be neutral (even when they would prefer to remain invisible).<sup>5</sup> As Lydia Liu reminds us, “In thinking about the translatability between historical languages, one cannot but consider the actual power relations that dictate the degree and magnitude of sacrifice that one language must make in order to achieve some level of commensurability with the other.”<sup>6</sup> The colonial mid-Atlantic was a place where languages mixed, crossed, attempted to silence or to draw one another into more or less civil dialogue. Building on powerful work on cultural brokers and the cross-cultural use of metaphor by Daniel Richter, Jane Merritt, and others, *Babel of the Atlantic* focuses squarely on the question of language and the tasks of translation, plunging us into the everyday, uneven, and unequal multilingualism with which empires and other transnational structures, including the antislavery and human rights movements, are necessarily built.<sup>7</sup>

Oceanic Atlantic history has done much to move colonial American historiography beyond the confounding frame of an English-speaking American nation. And yet national historiographical traditions, themselves heirs of powerful imperial traditions, die slowly. The colonial Atlantic world imagined by historians today often seems to remain an English-only place. And, when other language communities are considered, they are considered as monolingual, largely undifferentiated

wholes. The work of translation between its language communities often remains, with notable exceptions discussed below, invisible.

These essays jointly demonstrate the continued need to hear non-English voices constitutive of other linguistically defined communities. But this volume also documents how, in this Babel of the mid-eighteenth-century Atlantic, individuals as well as groups often moved fluidly across linguistic borders. Such was their multilingual traffic that in many cases it can be hard to identify discrete single-language communities. Everyday life in the colonial mid-Atlantic necessitated functional multilingualism, as well as other forms of interlingual communication such as patois and pidgins, and nonverbal modes of communication. Some degree of pragmatic multilingualism was the norm, not the exception. Indeed, this introduction suggests how the very prosaicness of multilingualism can make its echoes hard to hear in archives structured by monolingual paradigms. The present volume is thus most interested in the quotidian, polyglot landscape produced for reasons both commercially pragmatic and tolerantly high-minded, and so often commented on by observers of colonial Pennsylvania, even as those voices have been quieted in historical scholarship.

*Babel's* essays are grounded primarily in the geography of the eastern Atlantic seaboard, centered on Philadelphia and nearby Germantown, with forays north to Bethlehem and west into "Indian country," from the late seventeenth century into the late eighteenth and, in one case, some decades beyond. Highlighting this region's multiple languages allows us to glimpse this translation zone as process, one also reminiscent of Richard White's middle ground: a site of continuous negotiations within and across languages that constituted and reconstituted place.<sup>8</sup> *Babel of the Atlantic* shows how attention to the transactions between languages also helps to "reimagine space not as a surface to be crossed and conquered but rather as the product of inter-relations, be they local or global."<sup>9</sup> Attending to the languages of empire and of those who would resist its reach—in the archives of the everyday, that is, in almanacs and newspapers, and including too the vernaculars of the built environment and the material world—allows us to see how spaces were produced "where people came together to coexist as best they could" (24).<sup>10</sup>

## ORGANIZING BABEL

To recover the hum and whirl of voices speaking in various languages who talked, laughed, argued, and not infrequently tried to silence one another permanently in eighteenth-century Pennsylvania, this volume draws a variety of fields of historical research into conversation. To hear conversations across and between languages—and to be more attendant to those occasions when their voices have been brought into “conformity”—these essays draw from the fields of European, American and Native American, and African histories; from literary and religious histories; from the history of education; of slavery and abolition; and of material culture and the built environment. *Babel of the Atlantic* is organized along four themes.<sup>11</sup> The first, “New Worlds, New Religions,” begins with Patrick Erben’s expert reconstruction of the rhetorical (and political) use made by European settler colonists of the Tower of Babel. Erben explores a print skirmish in which printer Christoph Saur was alleged by Smith, Franklin, and their occasional ally, German Lutheran and Pietist preacher Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, to be Babel’s ruler, Nimrod. In their contributions to this section foregrounding religion, Craig Atwood and Katherine Faull variously explore the multilingual eighteenth-century world of the Moravians. If Pennsylvania’s Philadelphia was named as a place for a dialogue among brothers, Moravian Bethlehem sought to extend the conversation into the mission fields, where sisters too played a vital role. If Pennsylvania’s polyglot, multiconfessional society as a whole was a *novum*, it was in Moravian Bethlehem and in the mission field in “Susquehanna country,” as Faull calls it, where the “holy experiment” was perhaps pushed to be the most inclusive. For the Moravian sisters, as Faull’s essay meticulously documents, spoke, worked, and lived on apparently equal terms with sisters who spoke the English, German, French, Mohican, and Delaware languages.

The essays in the volume’s second section attend to “The Languages of Education and Established Religions.” Drawing respectively on university and Lutheran archives in Pennsylvania and in Germany, Jürgen Overhoff and Wolfgang Flügel document how men of more established churches, Anglican and Lutheran, sought to reshape the colony’s officially tolerant landscape. In some cases, as the chapter by Erben also

discusses, the educational institutions they supported were designed explicitly to correct the “error” of supposedly “illiterate” Quaker, Moravian, Anabaptist, and separatist “fantasy.” Overhoff’s chapter takes up the foundation and expansion of the Philadelphia Academy, forerunner to today’s University of Pennsylvania, beginning with the concern that the Academy’s expanding curriculum was missing, as awakened English evangelist George Whitefield phrased it in a letter to Franklin, “*aliquid* Christi in it.” Whitefield thus recommended a “little Dutch book” to Franklin and the Trustees, the German *Kurtzer Bericht* (Brief description) of a school for gentlemen and part of the Francke Foundations in Halle. When Franklin—ever on the lookout for educational models—later toured the leading eighteenth-century German university, in Göttingen, the professors who hosted him voiced the same concern about the absence of a theological faculty in Pennsylvania. The colony’s mixed religious landscape, reflected in the curriculum the trustees implemented, was experienced by German Lutheran pastors sent to Pennsylvania from the Pietist educational center in Halle as a “babbling Babel” (babylonisches Sprachgewirr), as Wolfgang Flügel discusses. His survey of their different language choices, German or English, spans the French and Indian War, stretches across the divide of the War of Independence, and reaches into the early decades of the republic. In the pastors’ different language choices, we can observe the variety in their philosophy of language. Some saw the medium (language) as the message (belief), while for others, language provided merely a transparent, incidental vehicle.

*Babel*’s third section turns to “The Languages of Race and (Anti-) Slavery.” American notions of race—more aptly termed American racism—had been invented by the eighteenth century.<sup>12</sup> While drawing from older ideas about geography, ethnicity, and skin color, early modern racist thought was developed to justify the persistent denial of subjectivity to persons of African descent upon which the legal system of American slavery came to rest. And it rested there increasingly heavily over the course of the eighteenth century, even as the rights of men were asserted from Philadelphia, to Paris, to Port-au-Prince. Katharine Gerbner’s chapter surveys late seventeenth-century German, Welsh, and English Quaker communities in the mid-Atlantic and in the Caribbean, locating amidst German Quakers in Germantown an early formulation of a rights-based argument against slavery, whether that enslavement was of

Africans by European settler colonists in the Atlantic or of Europeans by Ottomans in the Mediterranean world. Birte Pfleger's contribution explicitly counters the notion that Germans and German Americans in colonial Pennsylvania were—especially after the middle of the eighteenth century, as the numbers of migrants from established churches increased—any more opposed to the system legalizing the hereditary slavery of people of African descent. Pfleger frames her chapter with a contrast between Lutheran Pietist pastor Henry Melchior Muhlenberg's account of African slavery in the British Atlantic colonies in 1742 and his observations made three decades later, and she shows how the language of race and the "naturalization" of slavery evolved in tandem with the delineation of rights for European indentured servants and redemptioners ever more carefully distinguished from the disenfranchisement of African slaves. The delineation, she writes, retroactively produced a "natural" difference and so a justification for this most unnatural institution. Maurice Jackson's final chapter in this section on race turns to the French-born Pennsylvania Quaker and Atlantic polyglot Anthony Benezet, and it considers the polyphony of people and books from which Benezet drew as he began his lifelong campaign for educational opportunities for and the enfranchisement of African people across the Atlantic world.

The volume's final section, "The Languages of Stone and Wood," reminds us of the mixtures that fed a European cosmopolitan colonial Atlantic culture especially legible in material culture artifacts. Cynthia Falk makes an elegant end-run around scholarship emphasizing European ethnic and linguistic tribalism with the example of a single, architecturally pathbreaking Germantown home. The Deshler house appealed equally to David Deshler and to his wife, Mary, both from Heidelberg, she of French Huguenot parents; to British general William Howe; and, in the 1780s, to American president George Washington. The influence of this fashionable, cosmopolitan culture is also explored in the final chapter, by Lisa Minardi. In her insightful readings of two groups of exquisite furniture produced in Pennsylvania, Minardi poses powerful questions: Why are sophisticated, worldly objects made by Germans in urban Philadelphia not identified as "German"? And conversely, why have historians not attended to these goods' urban cultural production, deeming only quaint rural folk art German and considering it coterminous with

Germans in Pennsylvania? The answers to these questions, she argues, lie in the mistaken assumption that culture is not always plural—no matter how strong the desire that those “differences of manners, languages and extraction” be “no more.” There were differences across languages, to be sure; and there were differences within language too. To disregard them is to fall prey to the myth of monolingualism, or the monolingual fallacy.

#### MYTHS OF BABEL AND MONOLINGUALISM

The remaining pages of this introduction look at how, when we consider language as such, we run, in the midst of history, straight into the work of myth. Like others working on Germans in the wider world, I have profited from the pioneering work of Werner Sollors and his insistence that the *German American Tradition* needed reconsideration.<sup>13</sup> This volume’s title, *Babel of the Atlantic*, indicates a debt also to Marc Shell’s work, including *American Babel*, which I return to below.<sup>14</sup> It is time, as Patrick Erben also suggests, to reconsider the valence of the Babel story itself. In the multitude of voices heard after the tower’s fall, we hear today a different foundational story: not one according to which “differences of manners, languages and extraction” arose and threatened good order, but, instead, a tale that suggests the variety of languages as a *bonum* to be celebrated rather than overcome.

We remain heirs to an epistemology structured by purification, as Bruno Latour influentially wrote.<sup>15</sup> This division of the natural from the social, constitutive of modernity in the West, the division of objective science from subjective humanist pursuits, relies on an instrumental conception of language. For language, as linguistic anthropologists Richard Bauman and Charles Briggs argue, first had to be made “unimportant” for science to work as the realm of pure fact.<sup>16</sup> Stated otherwise, moderns constructed truth as if it had no social life.<sup>17</sup> If some moderns still have a hard time in recognizing the messy, creative work of language, we have perhaps yet more trouble recognizing a “language” as a deeply plural, multilingual formation. To recognize the myth of modernity, we need to learn to hear linguistic variety. The notion that differences, including those of language, must be made “no more” is rooted in a “monolingual fallacy.” This mistake rests on the profoundly ahistorical



notion that humans, somehow naturally and more authentically, speak only a single language. As a whole, *Babel of the Atlantic* contributes to the ongoing decolonization of Atlantic archives and the scholarship that colonial archives have enabled, so often organized within a serially monolingual paradigm. Working across and between languages, following the lead of eighteenth-century predecessors other than Smith, we might better hear the many differences that imperial projectors sought to quiet in the Atlantic.

In emphasizing the plurality of Atlantic culture in colonial Pennsylvania, and in calling attention to language as such, *Babel of the Atlantic* offers a twofold intervention. First, it intervenes into the field of Atlantic history, where English often, as we have noted, remains the de facto language. Despite the field's transnational contours—as well as its desire to work in spaces before, beyond, and other than the nation<sup>18</sup>—Atlantic history has retained much of its (English) American inheritance. The American nation continues, often in strange and uncanny ways, to shape Atlantic history no less than early American studies.<sup>19</sup> As Shell observed in *American Babel*, even as American literary and cultural studies began to emphasize cultural diversity, scholarship on the whole has tended to deemphasize language difference. This deafness to language as a material witness, following Shell, “arises from the traditional American pretense that culture is not largely linguistic or, rather,” he continues, “that culture ought to be English.” But in the normativity of English, the work of myth, not history, is at play. As Shell brilliantly observes, “The monoglottal Tereus fears the nightingale’s song.”<sup>20</sup>

Following Shell's lead, more recent historical work has begun listening more carefully to multilingual voices and the productive passages between and among languages.<sup>21</sup> Nonetheless, now nearly two decades after *American Babel*, English disciplinary models still provide a powerful normative model for early American scholarship. This state of affairs is surely fed by the fact that for many scholars in the American academy, monolingualism remains the reigning norm of the human condition.

Monolingualism has, as Elizabeth Ellis points out, been the unmarked case since the nineteenth century.<sup>22</sup> It became so with the increase in authority accorded to the figure of the “native” speaker of a mother tongue. This figure requires historicization. As Richard Bauman and Charles L.

Briggs write, “If cultures of the printed word are also ideologies of print, so too are cultures of the spoken word ideologies of orality. . . . Essentialist conceptions of the spoken word and determinist understandings of how it shapes society, culture, or thought are as much in need of critical examination as corresponding conceptions of print.”<sup>23</sup> Birgit Jostes has suggested how a “Herderian, deeply Romantic notion of language gave rise in the nineteenth century to the primacy of the native speaker.”<sup>24</sup> Jostes draws on the work of linguist Konrad Ehlich, reminding us again, “The conceptualization of the human being as . . . fundamentally monolingual is deeply entrenched.” She explains, “As a result of the socio-economic and political generalization of national concepts in the nineteenth century, the concept of monolingualism underwent stabilization and became practically unassailable.”<sup>25</sup> It remains constitutive, for example, of the modern (national) language departments, including English no less than the “foreign” languages.

The reign of monolingualism—studded by a welter of disciplinary blind spots—coincides roughly with what Paul Giles, via his reading of Emerson reading German Romantics, identifies as the nationalist phase in American literature and culture, from the end of the American Civil War to roughly 1981. Giles convincingly argues that today’s “current transnational phase actually has more in common with writing from the periods on either side of the War of Independence, when national boundaries were much more inchoate and unsettled.”<sup>26</sup> Those porous boundaries, then as now, implied, too, a degree of flexibility to stretch and encompass a variety of voices and languages, as we shall see.

From our present vantage point, in plain view of the emergence of global English and global Chinese as powerful hybrid, internally polyglot formations, spoken as second or third languages by many of the planet’s citizens, we might recognize monolingualism more as a historical aberration than as a norm. The yoke of nation to language, then as now, was far less binding than Herderian acolytes imagined. Jürgen Leonhardt explains in his introduction to the English version of the magisterial *Latin: Study of a World Language*: “Beginning in the sixteenth century and then more intensively since the eighteenth, the primacy of ‘natural’ [i.e., oral] language was joined by a second notion, namely, that one’s

individuality and one's inclusion in a national or social community (*Volksgemeinschaft*) can develop only from within the mother tongue and that the mother tongue alone enables individuals to express their deepest thoughts and yearnings."<sup>27</sup>

The monolingualism with which the Atlantic world is often unwittingly described is perhaps particularly pervasive in Anglophone studies.<sup>28</sup> But if the monolingual fallacy is a snare Anglophone scholars fall into, it has also frequently tripped up studies of other European settler colonists. In the colonial mid-Atlantic, German was the second-most widely spoken language after English, as documented by several of the essays in the following pages. Yet colonial German speakers have most often been considered in the historiography as if they spoke only to one another.<sup>29</sup> Questions of a single ethnic identity continue to dominate, even as ethnicity is today more often considered as a discursive formation rather than as innate or essential.<sup>30</sup>

*Babel of the Atlantic* aims to tell stories that traverse the Atlantic, and, in some cases, the globe, foregrounding how colonial Pennsylvania was not a national but a transnational space, and also profoundly local: coconstituted by people and objects—including the African slaves whose labor was increasingly at the center of the British imperial project—carried by ships plying Atlantic waters.<sup>31</sup> Stories that begin in Germantown, in present-day Philadelphia, for example, proceed across routes that cross the eastern ocean to the British Isles or flow south to the Caribbean or east to Africa and across the Mediterranean to the Ottoman Empire and on to India. They help us to see how the world entered Philadelphia clergymen's homes and shaped how they chose to furnish and inhabit their houses in the cosmopolitan city as well in the countryside, and, conversely, how those same men's concerns at home went out into the world. As Minardi remind us in this volume's final chapter, German Lutheran pastor Muhlenberg was "keenly aware of the need for keeping up appearances." As he noted in his diary, given here as translated into English by Theodore Tappert and John W. Doberstein, Muhlenberg "would not dare" wear homespun clothing made by his wife, "unless I wanted the children on the streets to laugh at me behind my back."<sup>32</sup> While in Philadelphia, worldly concerns shaped the pastor's appearance as he negotiated the urban landscape.

MULTILINGUAL SOUNDINGS, WILLIAM SMITH, AND GERMANS  
*IM BUSCHE* (IN THE WILD)

In what follows, two historical sketches, or soundings, offer sharp contrasts to one another, although they share a cast of characters, even beyond William Smith, and are both set in the 1750s in Philadelphia and Germantown, amidst the swirling fear and panic reported in the daily press across the Atlantic during the first global war. This was the Seven Years' War (1756–63), known in North America as the French and Indian War, which in fact was breaking out already in 1755 in the Pennsylvania “backcountry.” Its theaters extended across Europe to South America, Africa, and the Indian subcontinent. Rather than remaining unwitting inheritors of Smith's resolve to plane the colony's linguistic and religious differences, which he alleged made the British colony ripe for French invasion—the subject of the first sketch—we might take cues from those in the eighteenth century who opposed him—the subject of the second.

The first sketch features Smith in dialogue with Benjamin Franklin, and it shows a rather nastier side of the favorite founding father than we are perhaps accustomed to seeing. The second sketch features Germantown printer Christoph Saur (1695–1758) and his newspaper's account of the printer's court-martial, overseen by British General Forbes in the company of fourteen regimented *Bergschotten* (Highland Scots) in the *Wirtshaus zum Hirsch* (Deer's Inn). The contrasting sketches help us to hear the diversity of voices that sounded, within and between languages, in the mid-1750s—even at the command headquarters of the British imperial military enterprise.

These sketches offer soundings in the translation zone of colonial Pennsylvania from two different locations. Everywhere he went, Smith spoke an English inspired by imperial Roman models, and he sought to force everyone else to do so as well. The second traces Saur's route, described in the popular newspaper he published, down the high street in Germantown to Lancaster Street and the Deer's Inn. Along his route he passed in and out of German, summarized discussions held in English, and referenced others held with Delaware leaders. Only the first man, Smith, is much remembered in colonial Atlantic world scholarship. But the second, Saur, I argue, provides far better evidence toward a history of the diverse, polyglot places scattered across the colonial Atlantic. His

relative obscurity in colonial Atlantic scholarship is symptomatic of how that multilingual story has been made barely audible within a disciplinary framework constituted of and by the monolingual fallacy.

William Smith had taken up the problem of language and empire in his influential educational plan, the *General Idea of the College of Mirania*, published in 1753.<sup>33</sup> *Mirania* proved the young Smith an eager reader of Roman history, and he aspired to translate Roman civilization, now dressed in English garb, to a still farther shore. Along the North American continent's eastern coast, he would work tirelessly to extend the patrimony of the civilization he believed had spawned "the single fatherland of all the races." *Mirania* caught the notice of Franklin, who was heading a committee of Philadelphia men working to expand higher education in colonial Philadelphia, as explored in greater detail by Overhoff in this volume; and, like Smith, Franklin would soon become involved in a plan to create charity schools for poor German children, as both Erben and Flügel discuss in their chapters.

It was likely *Mirania's* advocacy of mixing classical tradition with practical application that first attracted Franklin's notice, rather than Smith's poetic talent. *Mirania's* preface marches on leaden feet; its heroic couplets drill Smith's imperial design for gentlemen in the British American colonies into readers' heads:

Lo! The wild INDIAN, soften'd by their Song,  
Emerging from his *Arbors*, bounds along  
The green *Savannah* patient of the *Lore*  
Of Dove-ey'd *Wisdom*—and is *rude* no more. (6)

Smith aimed to provide an imperial curriculum suitable to "draw together . . . the jarring and uncouth tongues of so many nations." They would be united in their adulation of the humble plowman ever ready to pick up his sword again. Smith promised to educate boys to bear arms, a readiness Franklin found sorely wanting, especially among the Germans in Quaker Pennsylvania.

At the same historical moment, also in 1753, Franklin wrote to his friend in London Peter Collinson that the Germans "come in droves."<sup>34</sup> Furthermore, he complained to Collinson, while earlier German migrants to Pennsylvania had little influence on local politics, they now

“carry all before them, except in one or two Counties.” Inconveniently for Franklin, the Germans had not supported his pet project of the 1740s: how to solve the conundrum of funding and training an armed militia in a colony founded on pacifist principles. Indeed, Quaker founder William Penn had included in the colony’s guarantees of freedoms the right *not* to bear arms; and, as Erben discusses below, it was *Freyheit* from military service that many German migrants both sought and defended, some having left Europe expressly to avoid conscription into Prussia’s growing army. Franklin explained in several letters to Collinson in the early 1750s that the Germans seemed beyond the power of his otherwise influential press. They would not become humble plowmen ready to bear arms, never mind produce a latter-day Cincinnatus.

Six years earlier, in 1747, as Collinson would have known, Franklin had published the pamphlet *Plain Truth*. As Franklin later recalled in his autobiography, it “had a sudden and surprizing Effect.”<sup>35</sup> In it, a woodcut (fig. I.1) featured a plowman praying to Hercules to help get his cart unstuck from the mud, with a Latin caption from Sallust’s *Bellum Catilinae*, “Non Votis, & C.”<sup>36</sup> The woodcut had been recycled from a children’s book illustrating Aesop’s fables, where it illustrated the tale of the wagoner whose cart got stuck, with its lesson “He that won’t help himself, shall have Help from no Body.”<sup>37</sup> This was the gospel as Franklin’s popular *Poor Richard’s Almanac* also preached it. “God helps them that helps themselves” had appeared there already in 1736.<sup>38</sup> *Plain Truth* owed its “sudden and surprizing Effect” to broad segments of the English-speaking audience, particularly those modest “tradesmen” to whom it was addressed and who, like Franklin and Poor Richard, distinguished themselves from the wealthy ruling Quaker elite. They participated in the lottery to support a militia, subscribed money, and began training in brigades.

But the plan to arm and train European settlers was less convincing to many of the colony’s German speakers. And yet it did not fail for lack of trying. Franklin had collaborated with Philadelphia German printer Gotthard Armbrüster to bring out J. Crell’s translation, *Die Lautere Wahrheit* (fig. I.2). Franklin even lent Armbrüster the woodcut from Aesop’s fable.<sup>39</sup> Despite this German translation, Franklin insisted that many Germans’ resistance to his plan to form militias was rooted in their linguistic and cultural separatism. That Germans in Pennsylvania, like



FIGURE 1.1A First page of Franklin's *Plain Truth* (Philadelphia, 1747).

many of their English Quaker neighbors, might genuinely hold pacifist principles was not a fact he bothered to consider publicly.

In a manuscript that Franklin authored in 1751, four years after the publication of *Plain Truth*, then sent to Collinson and eventually allowed to be printed, he lamented,

Few of their children in the Country learn English; they import many Books from Germany; and of the six printing houses in the Province, two are entirely German, two half German half English, and but two entirely English; They have one German News-paper, and one half German. Advertisments intended to be general are now printed in Dutch and English; the Signs in our Streets have inscriptions in both languages, and in some places only German: They begin of late to make all their Bonds and other legal Writings

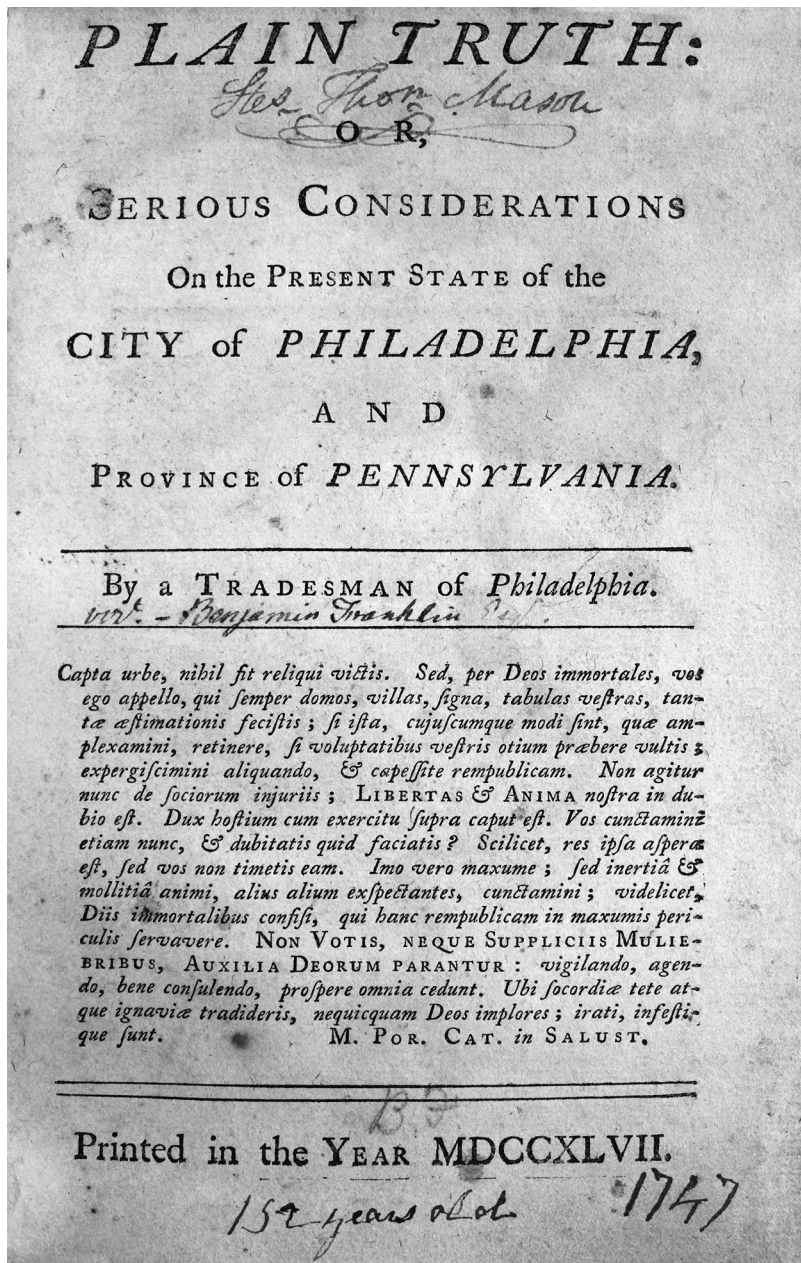


FIGURE 1.1B First page of Franklin's *Plain Truth* (Philadelphia, 1747).



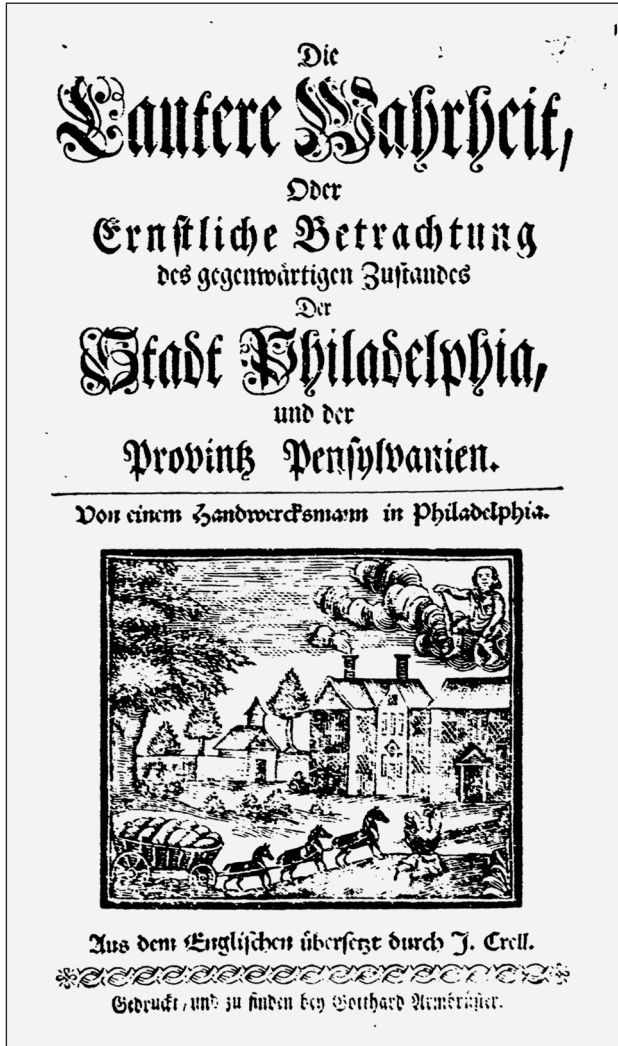


FIGURE 1.2 German translation, by J. Crell, of Franklin's *Plain Truth*.

in their own Language, which (though I think it ought not to be) are allowed good in our Courts, where the German Business so encreases that there is continual need of Interpreters; and I suppose in a few years they will be also necessary in the Assembly, to tell one half of our Legislators what the other half say; In short

unless the stream of their importation could be turned from this to other Colonies, as you very judiciously propose, they will soon so out number us, that all the advantages we have will not [in My Opinion] be able to preserve our language, and even our Government will become precarious. The French who watch all advantages, are now [themselves] making a German settlement back of us in the Illinois Country, and by means of those Germans they may in time come to an understanding with ours, and indeed in the last war our Germans shewed a general disposition that seems to bode us no good; for when the English who were not Quakers, alarmed by the danger arising from the defenceless state of our Country entered unanimously into an Association within this Government and the lower Countries [Counties] raised armed and Disciplined [near] 10,000 men, the Germans except a very few in proportion to their numbers refused to engage in it.<sup>40</sup>

The insinuation of French sympathies infuriated many German Pennsylvanians, pacifist or not. Franklin's disparagement of the colony's multilingualism became notorious, and several chapters in *Babel of the Atlantic* take it up. The *Observations* treat Pennsylvania as a veritable Babel, a place "where the German Business so encreases that there is continual need of Interpreters."<sup>41</sup> For Franklin, this mixture of languages spelled the end of "all the advantages we have." Despite the work of translators and the appearance of bilingual papers, Franklin opines that we "will not [in My Opinion] be able to preserve our language." A decade earlier, non-Quaker English speakers had "raised armed and Disciplined [near] 10,000 men." But now, such was the English colony's precarity, according to Franklin's *Observations*, that "the French who watch all advantages" were ready to pounce. For Franklin, or at least for the Franklin of the late 1740s and '50s, as for Smith, Pennsylvania's linguistic diversity marked the colony's vulnerability; it provided the possible point of entry through which the French and "their" Indians were bound to march. The colony's several mother tongues made "even our Government . . . precarious." Pennsylvania was badly in need of Pliny's "civilization." Non-Quaker Englishmen willing to assemble with guns would be its bearers. And William Smith would be the man to train their leaders.

Smith took up his role at the Academy in May 1754, after first returning to London, where he received ordination as an Anglican cleric. When the Academy was granted a new charter in 1755, making it a degree-granting college, Smith was at the helm.<sup>42</sup> And the college was not the only pedagogical mission Smith embraced. Even before *Mirania's* publication, Smith had made a *Proposal for Erecting Indian Schools*, prefaced by *Indian Songs of Peace*.<sup>43</sup> Furthermore, as Patrick Erben recounts in extensive detail in the following chapter, while in London in 1753–54, Smith had joined forces with a group of German Lutherans and English Anglicans, and with German and Dutch Reformed allies, on a project, to be funded by donors in North America, Great Britain, and Hanover and Prussia, to educate the colony's German-speaking children. The children's acquisition of English was, as Erben's essay shows, to be cajoled and coerced; Smith would have them learn English, like it or not. For in Smith's view, a monolingual English nation was the rightful inheritor of Rome's imperial power, *translatio imperii*. Thus, just as *Mirania* proclaimed that "the INDIAN" must be "soften'd by their [English] Song," so too must the German be made "rude no more." He must instead be made English—and ready to bear arms.

Throughout the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century, Pennsylvania's multilingual population elicited commentary, delighting some and driving others to despair. Some fifty years after Smith's *Mirania*, the observer of America Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur famously proclaimed that meaningful differences were indeed now no more, subsumed under a "naturalized" American identity: "He is become a freeholder, from perhaps a German boor—he is now an American, a Pennsylvanian, an English subject. He is naturalized. . . . From nothing to start into being; from a servant to the rank of a master; from being the slave of some despotic prince, to become a free man, invested with lands, to which every municipal blessing is annexed! What a change indeed! It is in consequence of that change that he becomes an American" (Letter III).<sup>44</sup> St. John's naturalized American rootstock, "from perhaps a German boor," was hardly incidental; it recalled Franklin's infamous *Observations*, which conclude by racializing Pennsylvania's inhabitants. Germans were judged "swarthy," as Birte Pflieger's chapter in this volume discusses, and they were thus anything but sound stock for future American generations. They were "boors," perhaps a play on the German *Bauern* (farmers),

and these colonists, unlike St. John's naturalized, hybrid freeholders in the early republic, would in Franklin's view prove Pennsylvania's undoing. Franklin concluded his *Observations*, "Why should the Palatine Boors be suffered to swarm into our Settlements, and by herding together establish their Language and Manners to the Exclusion of ours? Why should Pennsylvania, founded by the English, become a Colony of *Aliens*, who will shortly be so numerous as to Germanize us instead of our Anglifying them, and will never adopt our Language or Customs, any more than they can acquire our Complexion."<sup>45</sup> Franklin's racist thinking on the eve of the French and Indian War loathed mixtures—whether of peoples or of their languages. His thinking on slavery evolved, as Maurice Jackson's chapter here documents. But, like the Franklin of the *Observations*, William Smith saw multilingualism's messiness as threatening the purity of the civilizing imperial project.

It bears emphasizing that English-speaking imperial projectors were not the only mid-eighteenth-century observers worried about Pennsylvania's hybridizing, plural identities. These identities frightened many German observers too, particularly those employed by the Lutheran or Calvinist Churches. In his well-known *Reise nach Pennsylvanien* (Travels to Pennsylvania), for example, published in 1756, Lutheran Gottlieb Mittelberger (1715–1779) opined that "Pennsylvania's freedom was more harmful than healthy to many a body and soul."<sup>46</sup> According to more educated German observers, while simple farmers and tradespeople might believe they had found heaven on earth, their ignorance led them into error. As Mittelberger reported, "There is a saying: 'Pennsylvania is heaven for farmers, paradise for tradespeople, and hell for government officials and clergy.'<sup>47</sup>

It was these allegedly uneducated Germans—including those who remained unmoved by Franklin's *Plain Truth*—who were presumably not ready for *die Pennsylvanische Freiheit* (Pennsylvanian freedom). For Franklin and Smith, this freedom must be guarded and defended with military measures; only the Germans' lack of education prevented them from recognizing this necessity. Smith, in league with other men of the cloth, whether speaking German or English, stood ready to school them. Mittelberger returned to Germany, but in Philadelphia Smith found a willing partner in Henry Melchior Muhlenberg.<sup>48</sup> Muhlenberg—as Patrick Erben, Craig Atwood, Wolfgang Flügel, and Birte Pflieger variously

discuss below—had been sent in 1742 by Lutheran Pietists from the Francke Foundations in Halle (Saale) specifically to minister to those many Germans alleged to have gone wild *im Busche* (in the wild, or in the wilderness, i.e., “gone native”). These Germans were believed by Lutheran church leaders in Halle to be particularly susceptible to what Atwood, echoing Aaron Fogleman, calls the “Moravian threat.”<sup>49</sup> As Mittelberger noted, so many articles of faith and sects ruled over Pennsylvania that they could not all be named, especially since no one confirmed the beliefs they held.<sup>50</sup> Muhlenberg, no less than Smith, aimed to bring these renegades back into conformity. If only they could be educated, they would abandon their troubling pacifism and other “fantasies.”

Brought into conformity by educated schoolmen, the Germans *im Busche* might form a united eternal defensive wall against all America’s enemies (“ewige Vormauer wider alle ihre Feinde), as Mittelberger’s editor expounded (see the quotation below). These men of the cloth, trained in the shared classical curriculum also held up by Smith, would form the bulwark of what Carla Pestana has more recently called the Protestant Empire. Despite the “failure to create a uniformly Anglican Atlantic world under English purview,” Pestana argues that the “expansion [out of Europe] established a broadly shared culture that united believers from different Protestant churches (and different ethnic and racial backgrounds) into a common Anglophone spiritual orientation.”<sup>51</sup> How far this Protestant culture might move toward the inclusion of Protestant “brothers” speaking languages other than English and of complexions deemed more “swarthy” than their own presented urgent questions, to Smith no less than his various contemporaries. Mittelberger’s editor added a long note, from which we have already quoted, amplifying Mittelberger’s own concerns that more educated men were needed:

An English text about the condition of immigrants who have settled in Pennsylvania, Virginia, Maryland, etc, announces the following: The most reliable reports we have from these provinces reveal that the number of immigrants has uncommonly increased in the last years. The greatest part consists of Palatines, Franconians, Swiss. In the colony of Pennsylvania alone there are over one hundred thousand, of which some twenty thousand are Calvinist, and nearly as many are Lutheran, and around seventeen hundred

are devoted to the Roman religion. The rest consist of Baptists, Herrenhutens [Moravians], Brothers of Zion, Rondonfers, and other separatists. Since, among these last, each is his own teacher [Lehrer], so it can be said that they know their articles of faith [Lehrsätze] (if their fantasies can be so called) far better than many of the others who hold similar beliefs. Even though one can meet among them many of no little piety as well as awakened Christians, the vast majority remain in the greatest ignorance, for there are not enough preachers and schoolmasters and the people lack the means to support them. The [English] author of this text thus concludes with the wish that the nation of Great Britain might take into their heart these [poor] brothers in all things spiritual and secular and help them achieve a condition such that America would have in them an eternal outer wall against all her enemies.<sup>52</sup>

For some observers, the mix of voices speaking separatist, often pacifist articles of faith—in German, in English, as well as in other languages—produced a maddening roar. It confirmed Pennsylvania's status as a latter-day Babel, a place brought to a fall and henceforth consigned to disharmony and discord. For some, it bordered on Babylon. For others, however, the colony's various tongues, both religious and linguistic, sounded the freedom that put paid to the Quaker colony's foundational Philadelphian promises of a place in which all were to be recognized as brothers.

#### MULTILINGUAL SOUNDINGS, CHRISTOPH SAUR, AND THE REGIMENT OF *BERGSCHOTTEN* (HIGHLAND SCOTS)

The July 8, 1758, issue of the *Pensylvanische Berichte* (Pennsylvanian Reports)—a newspaper published twice weekly in Germantown, with a circulation of some four thousand<sup>53</sup>—reported that nine days earlier, on the same day that British general Forbes was to set out on his expedition to Fort Duquesne (soon to be renamed Fort Pitt), fourteen soldiers from the regiment of Highland Scots (*Bergschotten*) had appeared at the paper's offices. They arrived, the article continued, on the High Street in Germantown to escort the paper's founder, printer, and publisher, Christoph

Saur, to an audience with the general before his imminent departure to confront the French and “their Indians.”

Saur, the father of a son and printer of the same name, is well known in scholarship on German Americans but sadly less so beyond it.<sup>54</sup> A self-taught printer who also built his own press, the elder Saur is perhaps most famous for publishing the first Bible in North America in a European language, to Muhlenberg’s chagrin, as Erben’s chapter below discusses. Saur’s *Almanac* circulated in print runs of ten thousand annually: the same estimate given for Benjamin Franklin’s celebrated *Poor Richard’s Almanac*. Franklin’s *Almanac* has gone into the canon of American literary history; poor Christoph’s has definitely not.<sup>55</sup> Even more linguistically inclusive literary histories of America, including the one edited by Greil Marcus and Werner Sollors, make no mention of him.<sup>56</sup>

Saur’s exclusion from the American canon should not be read as a judgment on his wit or originality. He was ridiculed in the eighteenth century by imperial promoters because he was a nonconformist pacifist; he is excluded today because he wrote predominantly in German. But his story is not proper only to German American history; it is a story that points to the need to recover more voices of the multilingual Atlantic. His provides one sounding in a sea of voices that crossed and mixed languages. To hear them, we must bring monolingual, monocultural archives into dialogue; and we must hybridize the disciplinary frameworks of those pedagogical systems constructed as a road to empire. To do so, we might take a hint from Saur himself.

As we have heard above, Saur had opposed Franklin’s scheme to militarize the colony since the 1740s. Unsurprisingly, Saur also bore no sympathy for Smith’s plans to educate the colony’s youth. Until the end of his life in 1758, a few months after his hearing with Forbes, Saur would use his press to restore peace, constantly reminding readers of the colony’s pacifist foundation.<sup>57</sup> In 1755, Delaware warriors began to attack European squatters and settlers along the disputed border of Indian country, including Germans, both Lutherans and Moravians. These violent attacks were broadly publicized across the Atlantic world, in newspapers from Philadelphia to Hanover. The reasons why the Lenape had grown so angry with British colonists, switching their support to the French and declaring war, received less spectacular coverage. And yet, English Quakers and German pacifists worked to make their grievances

public, forming the Friendly Association and publishing under its auspices histories of Delaware grievances and colonial authorities' broken promises and fraudulent land deals.<sup>58</sup> With Quaker leaders, including the wealthy Israel Pemberton—known derisively in the English-language, prowar press as “King Wampum”—Saur used his press to raise money to gift to dislocated Lenape.<sup>59</sup>

It was, the newspaper article hinted, Saur's refusal to whitewash Penn family dealings and sanctify the new military campaign against the “French and their Indians” that had brought the *Bergschotten* to his door. The article is little known; it deserves a wider audience. Like other examples of Saur's writing, it contains some rhetorical gems. I present it here in a lengthy excerpt as a powerful—if nearly unknown—document of the everyday multilingualism of the colonial mid-Atlantic. Our disciplinary paradigms have made it only barely audible today. It shows, in a matter-of-fact manner, how multilingual voices were heard even at the very headquarters of the British imperial project in North America. And it shows Pennsylvania's babble not as a condition to be overcome, or an index to Babel after the fall. Rather, it documents diverse citizens exercising the freedoms (*Freyheiten*) and privileges (*Privilegien*) enshrined in colonial Pennsylvania's founding charter, freedoms, including the freedom of speech, that they sought to extend—at least to all the colony's males. This was a freedom not to be enforced by a militia, but one designed to tolerate a variety of voices; indeed, this freedom would take its meaning precisely with the multitude of voices who could speak and so instantiate it.

Forbes had been sent to the colonies in the aftermath of the dismal defeat and death of his predecessor, General Braddock. The former—in taking the French Fort Duquesne and rechristening it with the name of the English prime minister who had given him his orders, William Pitt—saved the British Empire in North America. He was celebrated for a time as a second Cincinnatus. William Smith's 1758 panegyric to Forbes on the eve of the troops' departure for Fort Duquesne urged,

Rise then, my countrymen! as you value the blessings you enjoy,  
and dread the evils that hang over you, rise and shew yourselves  
worthy of the name of Britons! rise to secure to your posterity,  
peace, freedom, and a pure religion! rise to chastize a perfidious



nation for their breach of treaties, their detestable cruelties, and their horrid murders! remember the cries of your captivated brethren, your orphan children, your helpless widows, and thousands of beggar'd families! think of Monongahela, Fort-William Henry, and those scenes of savage death, where the mangled limbs of your fellow citizens lie strewed upon the plain; calling upon you to retrieve the honour of the British name!<sup>60</sup>

Forbes, in Smith's unparalleled bombast, was nothing less than a divine instrument:

This, my dear Countrymen, is happiness indeed! and what still enhances it, is the consideration that we are not only called to enjoy it ourselves, but perhaps to be the instruments of diffusing it over this vast continent, to the nations that sit "in Darkness and the Shadow of Death." . . .

. . . Or shall a French slave and popish bigot, at this day, do more for the glory of his tyrannical Lord, than a Freeman and Protestant for the best of Kings, and the Father of his people?

This land was given to us for propagating Freedom, establishing useful Arts, and extending the kingdom of Jesus.<sup>61</sup>

For Smith, Forbes was the "instrument" of divine, Anglophone Protestant light. He had been called to propagate "Freedom" in "this land given to us."

For all Smith's and the pacifist Saur's differences, Saur, cannily, also portrayed Forbes as a hero. Despite the general's very *raison d'être*, Saur styled Forbes as a more loyal son of Pennsylvania's freedoms than were the pastors of the organized churches, whether Anglican or Lutheran. Saur preferred army leaders, "generals in red," to those of the church, "generals in black," quipping, "there is more understanding, intelligence, and moderation among the red generals than among the black." The full news item appeared in the *Pensylvanische Berichte* on July 8, 1758:

The **Germantown** printer has been accused to General Forbes, probably by adversaries, to be a doer of terrible deeds and to have sinned against the king, the government, and the province. It seems the General wanted to prove his loyalty to the king, the government, and the province. On the day of his departure [for

Fort Duquesne], he sent the printer a written order delivered by fourteen **Highland Scots** that he should appear in front of the General at twelve noon in **Lancaster** Street at the Deer's Inn and answer for a sentence in his recent newspaper. The order, however, was moderated to say that if he would come freely, then the detachment could go on their way. This happened. The **Highland Scots** left one hour before and arrived one hour after him. The general had hardly arrived when he called the printer aside, into a separate room, and read him, in the presence of the Herr Governor, the following sentence [from Saur's newspaper], translated into English, which reads:

Several days ago the emissaries who had been sent to **Tedyuskung** and the **Delaware** returned to Philadelphia and report that **Tedyuskung** and his people remain in good peace with the **English**, etc.

With this he questioned the printer: Was this not written **against** the king, **against** the governor, and **against** the province? The printer answered: He believed he had been unjustly accused and additionally the translation was not made completely according to his meaning and his words. That in fact the complete opposite was true of him than that of what he had been accused. Indeed, since he had come thirty-four years ago from a bad country into this good country, he had written various letters to **Germany** that had drawn many people to this country: And those who came wrote in their turn and attracted still others; and because he believed that he is the reason why so many people have moved here, he also felt it was his duty to support the welfare of this province via good government by supporting its good government. The general said: **I want to believe you**; but a person can hold a good intention that can nonetheless turn bad. And so he warned the printer with all due seriousness that he should not print anything that might be against the king, against the government, and against the welfare of this province. This the printer willingly promised, indeed he even offered that if there was something in the accusations that proved him wrong, he would correct it in the next newspaper; but the general did not name any

points that did not bear out; instead he told the printer to go about his business.

He could have given the printer nothing easier, since he loves the **king of England**, he loves a good **government**, and when this **province** fares well, he benefits from it too. And thus within three minutes, the great charges of guilt were heard, explained, and resolved, all at no cost.

After the meal, it is true that another officer gave the printer privately to understand that he hoped the printer would retract and would not write anything inappropriate against this expedition in the newspaper. But as he did not name anything that should be retracted, so [the printer] promised the latter, and himself desires, that he might be able to discover and write nothing but purely appropriate, good, and praiseworthy things about the whole expedition.

The printer claims no cleverness in flattering fancy people; but he can attest in truth to what **Christian Democritus** has written, that there is more understanding, intelligence, and moderation among the red generals than among the black. And if His Excellency General Forbes possesses as much good fortune as he does understanding, seriousness, loyalty, and moderation, the expedition against Fort **Duquesne** will soon be over and we will be able to report on his heroics.

It was desired that the whole episode be passed over in silence, but since so many pernicious, calumnious things have been and may still be spread about the country and people are asking hourly about the course of the thing, we've reported how it is.

On this past Thursday, the sixth of July, **Teedyuskung** and forty **Indians** traveled through **Germantown** to **Philadelphia**. It is reported that some of these Indians had stood in friendship with the English; there are also two other foreign nations which until then had remained independent or had been in peace with the French. They have two wagons full of gifts with them, the best deerskins among them. It is reported that one person is in their midst who had previously captured two children and had wanted to bring them back; but they had not wanted to come. They also have brought a Low Dutch woman with them who was supposed

to have stayed in **Bethlehem**, but she had not wanted to leave the Indians' side and so also came to Philadelphia, and it seems she wants to return back with them; maybe she considers such an idle life to be freedom.

A man named **Hochstädtler**—who had been a prisoner of the Indians for eight months and escaped—reports that as the French have very little rations, so too are the **Indians** in short supply, and that this might do much to move them to peace with the English.<sup>62</sup>

Saur was an American original. Largely self-taught, he became by the end of his life an adept rhetorician and master of well-placed rhetorical questions. He deftly employs parallel structures and notes with refreshing understatement that some contemporaries, “probably adversaries,” have reported him to military authorities. They alleged him “to have sinned against the king, the government, and the province,” whereupon he was summoned by the commanding officer, who pressed him on his account of Friendly Association emissaries to the Delaware, lately “returned to Philadelphia.” The emissaries, and Saur’s newspaper, had reported “that Teedyuskung and his people remain in good peace with the English, etc.” Together, they begged the question why Forbes was on a war footing. And Forbes, echoing Saur’s accusers, demanded, “Was this not written against the king, against the governor and against the province?” But then the article cleverly overturns the parallel formulation, insisting that in fact the “red generals” were much more understanding than those who wore black.

In the following chapter, Patrick Erben shows how Saur delighted in vilifying paid clergy. He often did so with understatement and humor; he is relatively free of the bombast of churchmen such as William Smith. We would be wrong to conflate Saur’s separatist religious beliefs with quietism. It was not the case, as Gregg Roeber has suggested, that Christoph Saur “assaulted closer English-German union in religious or political affairs in Pennsylvania.” Saur assaulted a union that would have curtailed religious and personal freedoms to nonchurch members. He did not have, as Roeber argues, “one simple lesson” that he simple-mindedly “hammered home”: “Support the Quakers and avoid courts, lawyers, politics, and unnecessary involvement with English-speakers that might endanger our language, our families and customs, and our faith.”<sup>63</sup> On

the contrary, Saur's position entailed no withdrawal from the public sphere: he used his press to expand the space for civil discourse, and to make it, no less than Pennsylvania itself, a place where pacifist voices, some speaking German, might continue to be heard even amidst a war.<sup>64</sup>

His press, as this report also shows, was influential. Governors and generals had to reckon with it. They did so across languages. The article shows Forbes and Saur arguing the finer points of translation. Saur told the general, "He believed he had been unjustly accused." Indeed, the English translation of the originally German article reporting on the emissaries, Teedysukung, and the continued peace they enjoyed "was not made completely according to his meaning and his words." The English translation, the German account hints, had been made according to remarkably un-Philadelphian principles. It was religiously partisan, the work of the "generals in black," and Saur received far fairer treatment from Forbes, a man distinguished by his "understanding, seriousness, loyalty, and moderation." American history has given Saur a less fair hearing.

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This introduction has set Christoph Saur in contrast to William Smith. It has done so in part to contextualize Saur's suspicions of the colony's educational institutions, including the leading establishment, run by Provost Smith. Saur's resistance to Smith's various educational schemes does not signal the printer's ignorance—or that he was capable of only "one simple lesson." Rather, it shows Saur as a witness to and participant in contests to give shape to British imperialism, contests that still bear on American legacies. The contrast between Smith and Saur also helps bring into view the other "possible pasts" obscured by the monolingual fallacy, reminding us how things might have gone otherwise.<sup>65</sup>

Saur's print shop provides us with a microcosm of the colony's multilingualism. It is rather unremarkable, in many ways; it was the business of everyday colonial Pennsylvania. But it is also here, in the multilingual commerce of Saur's shop, where we find outstanding historical figures such as Anthony Benezet, as Maurice Jackson discusses in his contribution to the volume. Both men were active in the Friendly Association; Saur, as we have seen, printed for the Association. And Saur's son would go on to print, also in English, Benezet's pioneering work against slavery. In the print shop, we can again hear the mixed babble of life and

languages in the colonial mid-Atlantic, a discourse carried out in several languages all at once, a place unspectacular and yet also productive of a powerful tradition of human rights advocacy.

In Saur's work with the Friendly Association, we recognize Saur as a cultural broker, to use Daniel Richter's now classic formulation. In a multilingual history, Saur can no longer be read as an icon of an insular German American historical tradition. Cultural brokers, often translators, remind us, in Richter's words, how "the fate of both the imperial powers of the modern world-system and the native peoples that system sought to absorb" lay at key moments in local hands.<sup>66</sup> But, as the following chapters richly illustrate, cultural and linguistic negotiations were not the exclusive purview of official translators. Instead, transactions and exchanges across and between languages made up the mid-Atlantic, the public sphere no less than the physical world that print culture sought to represent. Language itself, as we have seen, was under debate. Across languages, various meanings of freedom were at stake.

In a globalized world, myths of the monoglot nation have lost their magic. As sociologist Ulrich Beck and historian Martin Mulrow together write, questions of perception, cultural translations, and negotiations among different cultural codes take center stage.<sup>67</sup> These are the translations and negotiations that also provide the focus of *Babel of the Atlantic*. Perhaps, we want to suggest, it is time to reconsider the meaning of Babel. It is past time to return to this rich trope, the *locus classicus* of all the "differences of manners, languages and extraction" that William Smith would have made "no more."

#### Notes

1. Colin Calloway, *New Worlds for All: Indians, Europeans, and the Remaking of Early America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997).

2. Mary Louise Pratt, "Arts of the Contact Zone," *Profession* (1991): 34.

3. Emily Apter, *The Translation Zone: A New Comparative Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005).

4. See also Rey Chow, "Translator, Traitor; Translator, Mourner (or, Dreaming of Intercultural Equivalence)," in *Not Like a Native Speaker: On Linguaging as a Postcolonial*

*Experience* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 61–77.

5. Lawrence Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation* (New York: Routledge, 1995).

6. Lydia Liu, quoted in Chow, "Translator, Traitor," 68.

7. Daniel K. Richter, "Cultural Brokers and Intercultural Politics: New York–Iroquois Relations, 1664–1701," *Journal of American History* 75, no. 1 (1988): 40–67; Jane T. Merritt, *At the Crossroads: Indians and Empires on a Mid-Atlantic Frontier*,

1700–1763 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003).

8. Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1680–1815* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

9. Juliana Barr and Edward Countryman, eds., *The Contested Spaces of Early America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 24.

10. James Taylor Carson, “Ethnogeography and the Native American Past,” *Ethnohistory* 49, no. 4 (2002): 775.

11. Some chapters originated in a conference held in December 2012 at the McNeil Center for Early American Studies at the University of Pennsylvania called “Envisioning the ‘Old World.’” John Pollack offers a conference review, “Lumping or Splitting: Fresh Perspectives on the ‘German-Speaking Peoples’ of Early Pennsylvania,” *Early American Literature* 48, no. 3 (2013): 801–9. The “Old World” conference, in turn, inspired a public history workshop in November 2013, “‘Equally Entitled to Freedom’: Benezet Now, Benezet Then,” convened by Historic Germantown with cosponsorship from the Germantown Monthly Meeting, the Germantown Friends School, the William Penn Charter School Germantown United CDC, and the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. The program is available online: see “‘Equally Entitled to Freedom’: Benezet Now, Benezet Then,” accessed November 18, 2017, <http://www.freedomsbackyard.com/programs-events/anthony-benezet-symposium/>.

12. Ta-Nehisi Coates, “How Racism Invented Race in America: The Case for Reparations; A Narrative Bibliography,” *Atlantic*, accessed July 28, 2016, <http://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2014/06/the-case-for-reparations-a-narrative-bibliography/372000/>. Coates’s essay provides a wealth of further materials on the history of American racism. Also drawing on decades of work on the black Atlantic and slavery, Susan Buck-Morss situates racism at the very center of European idealism, rather than at the margins. She insists, correctly, that we reimagine what has been rendered invisible by the long “construction of

disciplinary discourses through which knowledge of the past has been inherited.” That which has been rendered invisible includes the racism at the heart of universalism. It is, as she writes, the limits of disciplines that long made pairing such as Hegel and Haiti hard to conceive, rather than inconceivable. Susan Buck-Morss, *Hegel, Haiti, and Universal History* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2009), 50.

13. Werner Sollors, “The German American Tradition Reconsidered,” in *German? American? Literature? New Directions in German-American Studies*, ed. Winfried Fluck and Werner Sollors (New York: Peter Lang, 2002), 3–5.

14. Marc Shell, ed., *American Babel: Literatures of the United States from Abnaki to Zumi* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002).

15. Bruno Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern*, trans. Catharine Porter (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993).

16. “While purification and hybridization render society and science visible and seemingly omnipotent, these processes measured their success in constructing language and managing discursive practices by the degree to which they could render language unimportant—only worthy of attention by linguists and grammar teachers. Locke only thought to worry about language, he tells us, when it got in the way.” Richard Bauman and Charles L. Briggs, “Introduction,” in *Voices of Modernity: Language Ideologies and the Politics of Inequality* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 8.

17. Steven Shapin, *A Social History of Truth: Science and Civility in Seventeenth-Century England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

18. A survey of approaches and paradigms adopted, often explicitly, to counteract the narrative pull of the nation is provided by Eric Hinderaker and Rebecca Horn, “Territorial Crossings: Histories and Historiographies of the Early Americas,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 67, no. 3 (2010): 395–432. They include oceanic studies (Atlantic world) as well as continental and hemispheric approaches.

19. Consider, for example, Stievermann's description of the American Atlantic perspective. He describes how it "involves attention to the myriad ways in which events and developments in the territory of the (future) United States were connected to and influenced by happenings and changes across the Atlantic world, and vice versa." The specter of the nation haunts its prehistory. Jan Stievermann, "Introduction," in *A Peculiar Mixture: German-Language Cultures and Identities in Eighteenth-Century North America*, ed. Jan Stievermann and Oliver Scheiding (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2013), 7.
20. Marc Shell, "Babel in America," in *American Babel*, ed. Marc Shell (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002), 14.
21. Exemplary in this regard in American scholarship is Wai-Chee Dimock, *Through Other Continents: American Literature Across Deep Time* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2006); Paul Giles, *Global Remapping of American Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011); and Patrick M. Erben, also a contributor to the present volume, *A Harmony of the Spirits: Translation and the Language of Community in Early Pennsylvania* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2012). Emily Apter, in dialogue with the work of a multilingual team led by Barbara Cassin, has published widely on the instrumental concept of language that Apter locates too at the heart of a concept of world literature that fails to account adequately for the work of translation. See, most recently, Emily Apter, *Against World Literature: On the Politics of Untranslatability* (New York: Verso, 2014). And for an account, drawing on both Apter and Cassin, of how scholarship on German literature has often remained deaf to "Wörter aus der Fremde" (words from abroad), to use Theodor Adorno's wonderful title, see also Bethany Wiggin, Catriona MacLeod, Daniel DiMassa, and Nicholas Theis, "Un/Translatables: An Introduction," in *Un/Translatables: New Maps for Germanic Literatures*, ed. Bethany Wiggin and Catriona MacLeod (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 2016), 1–25.
22. Elizabeth Ellis, "Monolingualism: The Unmarked Case," *Estudios de sociolingüística: Linguas, sociedades e culturas* 7, no. 2 (2006): 173–96.
23. Bauman and Briggs, "Introduction," 14.
24. Brigitte Jostes, "Monolingualism: An Outline of an Unpopular Research Programme," *Language and History* 53, no. 1 (2010): 27–47.
25. Ehlich, quoted in Jostes, "Monolingualism," 29.
26. Giles, *Global Remapping*, 21.
27. Jürgen Leonhardt, *Latin: Study of a World Language* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2012), 7.
28. Consider, to take one representative example, how rapidly Eve Tavor Bannet and Susan Manning align transatlantic and Anglophone. In the introduction to their essay collection, they first assert that encounters with others surely matter: "On land and at sea in this multinational Atlantic world, Britons and Americans repeatedly encountered others who resisted incorporation, even as they were themselves unwillingly incorporated through captivity in the societies of others. British and American treatment of others and by others was a key part of transatlantic experiences, and increasingly, of violent differences and debates." Then, however, they declare that they will consider only texts in English. Finally, they assert, "Before about 1830, however, Anglophone lines of transatlantic circulation and exchange dominated in both Britain and America." Given that they only consider texts in English, can they be so sure? How might those lines become considerably more complex, even tangled, were their intersections with non-Anglophone lines ever accounted for? Eve Tavor Bannet and Susan Manning, "Introduction: British and American Genres," in *Transatlantic Literary Studies, 1660–1830*, ed. Eve Tavor Bannet and Susan Manning (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 2–3.
29. Pennsylvania historians' persistent assumption of separate, insular communities is a topic I consider at greater length in Bethany Wiggin, "Birds of Different Feathers': Recent Publications from the Max Kade Series," *Early American Literature* 50, no. 1



(2015): 153–66. As that essay discusses in greater detail, Bannet and Manning’s circuitous English-only logic, as discussed in the previous note, is mirrored by Hermann Wellenreuther’s German-only examples in *Citizens in a Strange Land*. As Wellenreuther notes, “We have intentionally limited ourselves to [German printers in America] and excluded any discussion of English printers, who made no contribution to Pennsylvania German broadsides and who have already received lavish scholarly attention.” Hermann Wellenreuther, *Citizens in a Strange Land: A Study of German-American Broadsides and Their Meaning for Germans in North America, 1730–1830* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2013), 9.

30. On colonial historians’ adoption of a discursive model of German ethnicity, see Stievermann, “Introduction.”

31. An excellent review of American and Atlantic historians’ gradual recognition of the importance of enslaved labor to the British Empire and the early American republic is presented by Sven Beckert, *Empire of Cotton: A Global History* (New York: Knopf, 2014). Nineteenth-century white American abolitionists’ entanglement in the slave economy is the subject of Bethany Wiggins, “The German Calico Quilt,” in *Future Remains: A Cabinet of Curiosities for the Anthropocene*, ed. Gregg Mitman, Marco Armiero, and Robert Emmett (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018), 149–58.

32. English-speaking scholarship on Muhlenberg sometimes fails to consider that he actually wrote his journals in German and quotes uncritically from the far more readily available translated edition by Theodore G. Tappert and John W. Doberstein. Birte Pflieger has compared some of the original German journal entries with the English translation and notes how consulting the fragile, unpublished original German caused her to “rethink some of my interpretations [based solely on the English translation]: for example, while Tappert and Doberstein had used the term ‘huge Negro,’ Muhlenberg actually wrote ‘fremder [foreign] Neger’” (e-mail communication to the author, August 16, 2015).

33. William Smith, *A General Idea of the College of Mirania* (New York: J. Parker and W. Weyman, 1753).

34. Benjamin Franklin, letter to Peter Collinson, May 9, 1753, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-04-02-0173#BNFN-01-04-02-0173-fn-0015-pt.r>.

35. The Library Company of Philadelphia has an informative online exhibit of Franklin and other sympathizers’ print efforts to fund what was to be a voluntary militia, including the lottery tickets sold to fund its training. James N. Green and Peter Stallybrass, *Benjamin Franklin: Writer and Printer*, section 1, “Plain Truth,” accessed March 12, 2016, <http://www.librarycompany.org/BFWriter/plain.htm>.

36. Lemay explains that Franklin gave the whole quotation in full capitals: “NON VOTIS, NEQUE SUPPLICIIS MULIEBRIBUS, AUXILIA DEORUM PARANTUR.” Franklin provided the English translation two days later in the *Gazette*: “Divine Assistance and Protection are not to be obtained by timorous Prayers and womanish Supplications.” J. A. Leo Lemay, *The Life of Benjamin Franklin*, vol. 3, *Soldier, Scientist, and Politician, 1748–1757* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 5.

37. Green and Stallybrass, *Benjamin Franklin*, section 1, “Plain Truth.”

38. Lemay, *Life of Benjamin Franklin*, 5.

39. Franklin lent Armbrüster the title-page woodcut of Hercules and the farmer. See Green and Stallybrass, *Benjamin Franklin*, section 1, “Plain Truth,” fig. 5.3, <http://www.librarycompany.org/BFWriter/images/large/5.3.jpg>.

40. “Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind, 1751,” Founders Online, National Archives, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-04-02-0080>. Source: Leonard W. Labaree et al., eds., *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, 41 vols. to date (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961–), 4:225–34.

41. The publication history of the essay is sketched by Leonard Labaree in the notes introducing the essay as printed in the Franklin Papers, and now available at Founders Online, National Archives, accessed June 8,

2015, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-04-02-0080>. While Franklin came to regret the anti-German remarks and sought to have the language about “Palatine boors” in the final sections of the essay omitted from subsequent print editions after 1755, he had only modest success in repressing it. And in any case, his language was adumbrated upon by William Smith. In 1764, in the run-up to the Pennsylvania election, Franklin’s “Observations” were reprinted with the offending final two paragraphs. Franklin lost, and he attributed it to his failure to attract German voters, who were no doubt swayed by being reminded that he had called them “boors.”

42. The University of Pennsylvania recognizes William Smith as its first provost. [http://www.archives.upenn.edu/faids/upt/upt50/smith\\_w.html#ref3](http://www.archives.upenn.edu/faids/upt/upt50/smith_w.html#ref3).

43. William Smith, *Indian Songs of Peace with a Proposal, in a prefatory Epistle, for Erecting Indian Schools. And a Postscript by the Editor, introducing Yariza, an Indian Maid’s Letter, to the Principal Ladies of the Province and City of New-York* (New York: J. Parker and W. Wayman, 1752).

44. Quoted from the e-edition: Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer*, accessed June 6, 2015, <http://xroads.virginia.edu/~hyper/CREV/letter03.html>.

45. “Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind, 1751,” Founders Online; in Labaree et al., *Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, 4:234.

46. “Die Pennsylvanische Freyheit [ist] einem manchen Menschen an Seel und Leib mehr schädlich als nützlich.” Gottlieb Mittelberger, *Reise nach Pennsylvanien im Jahr 1750 und Rückreise nach Teutschland im Jahr 1754* (Frankfurt, 1756), 51.

47. “Sonst ist ein Sprichwort darinnen: Pennsylvania ist der Bauern ihr Himmel, der Handwerksleute ihr Paradis, der Beamten und Prediger ihre Hölle.” Ibid.

48. Mittelberger’s travel narrative provided an account of higher education in Philadelphia on the eve of William Smith’s guidance. The *Gymnasium*, as Mittelberger calls it, was designed to educate students in a variety of languages so that they might better train the colony’s diverse population: “Es ist in dieser

Stadt auch schon ein *Gymnasium* erbauet, worinnen mancherley Sprachen tractiret werden, dann es sind in dieser Stadt und in diesem Land Leute aus allen Theilen der ganzen Welt zu sehen, sonderheitlich Europäer und könnte man derer mehr denn ein hundert Tausend zehlen. Die gröseste Anzahl der Inwohner von Pennsylvanien sind die Teutschen. Es studiren auch in gedachtem *Gymnasio* viele von denen Teutschen in unterschiedlichen Sprachen.” Ibid., 39.

49. Aaron Spencer Fogleman, *Jesus Is Female: Moravians and Radical Religion in Early America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).

50. “In Pennsylvanien herrschen so vielerley Glaubens-Lehren und Secten, die nicht alle können nahmhafft gemacht werden, weilen mancher es niemanden bekennet, was er vor einen Glauben habe.” Mittelberger, *Reise nach Pennsylvanien*, 20.

51. Carla Gardina Pestana, *Protestant Empire: Religion and the Making of the British Atlantic World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 6.

52. Mittelberger, *Reise nach Pennsylvanien*, 50–51n.

In einer Englischen Schrift, welche von dem Zustande der Emigranten handelt, die sich in Pennsylvanien, Virginien, Maryland u. niedergelassen haben, wird unter andern folgendes gemeldet: Aus den glaubwürdigsten Berichten, die man von diesen Provinzen hat, erhellet, daß die Anzahl der Emigranten sich daselbst seit den letzern Jahren ganz ungemein vermehret habe. Der gröste Theil derselben bestehet aus Pfälzern, Franken, Schweizern. In der einzigen Colonie von Pennsylvanien befinden sich über 100000. davon sind ungefehr 20000. der Reformirten, fast eben so viel der Lutherischen und ungefehr 1700. der Römischen Religion zugethan. Der Rest bestehet aus Wiedertäufern, Herrenhütern, Zionsbrüdern, Rondonfern und andern Separatisten. Da von diesen letzern [*sic*] fast ein jeder sein eigener Lehrer ist; so kan man von ihnen sagen, daß sie ihre Lehrsätze (wenn man anders die Geisttreibereyen dieser

Menschen so nennen kan) besser inne haben, als viele der andern Glaubens-Verwandten, denn obgleich unter denselben nicht wenig Fromme und erleuchtete Christen angetroffen werden, so steckt doch der größte Haufe in der tiefsten Unwissenheit, woran der Mangel an gnugsamen Predigern und Schulmeistern schuld ist, zu deren Unterhaltung den Einwohnern die Mittel fehlen. Der Verfasser dieser Schrift endiget dieselbe, mit dem Wunsche, die Großbritannische Nation den Zustand dieser ihrer Brüder sowohl im geistlichen als weltlichen bestens beherzigen und sie in den Stand setzen möge, um an ihnen in Amerika eine ewige Vormauer wider alle ihre Feinde zu haben.

53. Saur was also publisher of an even more widely read annual *Almanac*, whose print runs are estimated at ten thousand per year. The estimate of four thousand readers for the biweekly newspaper comes from the February 1, 1752, edition of the paper itself, as Erben discusses at greater length in the following chapter.

54. His name, for reasons I cannot understand, is often spelled Sauer; and, more understandably, in English, as Sower. His press's many imprints consistently spell the name Saur, and I, like Erben, use this spelling.

55. See also Bethany Wiggin, "Poor Christoph's Almanac: Popular Media and Imperial Education in Colonial Pennsylvania," in *New Perspectives on German-American Educational History: Topics, Trends, Fields of Research*, ed. Anne Overbeck and Jürgen Overhoff (Bad Heilbrunn: Klinkhardt Verlag, 2017), 1–22.

56. Greil Marcus and Werner Sollors, eds., *A New Literary History of America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2009).

57. On the Saur press's steady stream of newspaper articles and almanac essays to try to keep the peace, see Bethany Wiggin, "For Each and Every House to Wish for Peace": Christoph Saur's *High German Almanac* on the Eve of the French and Indian War," in *Empires of God: Religious Encounters in the Early Modern Atlantic*, ed. Linda K. Gregerson and Susan Juster (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 154–71, 295–302.

58. See, for example, To William Denny, Esquire lieutenant governor and commander in chief [sic] of the province of Pennsylvania, &c. The address of the trustees and treasurer of the Friendly Association for Regaining and Preserving Peace with the Indians by Pacific Measures (Philadelphia, 1757). The Papers of the Friendly Association, held by Haverford College, document how Friendly Association activists—including Pemberton, Anthony Benezet, and others—worked across languages and added their voices to Delaware leader Teedyuskung, who sought clarification of promises made by Governor William Denny at the controversial council meeting in Easton of 1756, and then another in Philadelphia in July of 1758. James Merrell has meticulously demonstrated how contentious the minutes of these meetings were, as various parties vied for how they would be recorded, with pacifist activists working with Teedyuskung to provide their own council meeting minutes. James Merrill, "I desire all that I have said . . . may be taken down aright": Revisiting Teedyuscung's 1756 Treaty Council Speeches," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 73, no. 4 (2006): 777–826.

A new multilingual history of the Friendly Association is overdue. Useful in this regard will be the Moravian archival reports, now increasingly available in digital editions by Kate Carte Engel, Katherine Faull, and others. Faull provides bibliographic references in her chapter in this volume. The Moravian Indian Diaries, published via the Bethlehem Digital History Project, also have records of the refuge built on Province Island: accessed August 20, 2016, [http://bdhp.moravian.edu/community\\_records/christianindians/indiandiaryintro.html](http://bdhp.moravian.edu/community_records/christianindians/indiandiaryintro.html). A revised history of the Friendly Association would also draw on the lives of the German Moravian Christian Frederick Post as well as the Scots Charles Thomson. The latter, Teedyuskung's secretary at the Treaties in Easton, is also the author of the excellent *An Enquiry into the Causes of the Alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians from the British Interest* (London: J. Wilkie, 1759). See too Merritt, *At the Crossroads*, 228.

59. As Peter Silver also notes, the work of the so-called Friendly Association needs

retelling. Peter Silver, *Our Savage Neighbors: How Indian War Transformed Early America* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2008), 100.

60. William Smith, "An Earnest Address to the Colonies, Particularly Those of the Southern District; on the Opening of the Campaign, 1758: Written and Published at the Desire of Brigadier-General Forbes, when Levying Forces for the Expedition Against Fort Du Quesne, Which Was Afterward Taken by Him," appendix I, no. 2 in William Smith, *Discourses on Public Occasions in America*, 2nd ed. (London: A. Millar, D. Wilson, T. Becket, P. A. De Hondt, and G. Keith, 1762), 30–31.

61. *Ibid.*, 27–28.

62. Bold in original.

Der Drucker zu **Germanton** ist vermuthlich von Wiedrig-Gesinneten bey dem Genral hefftig verklagt worden / als ein groser Uebelthäter der sich versündigt habe an dem König, am Governement und an dieser Prozintz. Wie es scheint so hat der Genral seine Treue gegen den König / gegen das Governement, und gegen diese Provintz beweisen wollen. Er sandte dan am Tag seiner Abreise einen schriftlichen Befehl an den Drucker mit 14 **Bergschotten**, daß er um 12 Uhr bey ihm seyn soll, an der **Lancäster** Straß im Wirthshauß zum Hirsch, und antworten auf einen Satz in seiner letzten Zeitung; jedoch mit solcher Moderation daß wan er willig sey allein zu kommen, so möge das Detaschement ihres wegs gehen. Das geschah. Die **Bergschotten** gingen eine Stunde vorher, und kamen auch eine Stunde nach ihm dahin. Kaum war der Genral daselbst angelanget, so rief er den Drucker beyseit, in ein apartes Zimmer, las ihm in Gegenwart unsers Herrn Governörs den folgenden Satz vor, in Englisch übersetzt: da es heißt

Vor etlichen Tagen sind die Botschaffter welche zu **Tiediuskung** und den **Dellawar** Indianer gesandt worden, wieder nach Philadelphia gekommen, welche berichten, daß **Tiediuskung** mit den Seinigen noch in gutem Frieden mit den **Englischen** stehen u. u.

Hierbey stellte Er den Drucker vor: Ob dieses nicht **gegen** den König, **gegen**

das Governement, und **gegen** die Provintz geschrieben sey? Der Drucker antwortete: Er glaube, Er sey unrecht beschuldiget, auch sey die Uebersetzung nicht völlig nach seinem Sinn und Worten: Ja es sey bey ihm gantz das Gegentheil dessen, was Er beschuldiget worden. Dann weil Er vor 34 Jahren aus einem schlechten Land in diß gute Land gekommen, so habe Er verschiedene Briefe nach **Teutschland** geschrieben, welche sehr viele Leute in diß Land herein gereizet: Und die gekommen sind, haben wieder so geschrieben, und noch mehr gelocket; und weil Er geglaubt, daß Er Ursach daran ist, daß viele Menschen herein gezogen, so habe Er es seine Schuldigkeit erachtet, das Wohlseyn in dieser Provintz zu unterstützen durch ein gutes Governement und das gute Governement so viel möglich zu unterhalten. Der Genral sagte: **Ich will euch glauben**; aber man kann doch eine gute Meynung haben und kan doch übel ablaufen. Dabey warnete Er den Drucker mit allem Ernst, das er ins künftige nichts drucken soll, das gegen den König, gegen das Governement, und gegen die Wohlfahrt dieser Provintz seyn möge. Das versprach der Drucker gar willig, ja er erboth sich auch, daß wan etwas in den Klagen-Puncten ware, das nicht so ist, so wolle ers verbessern in der nechsten Zeitung; es hat aber der Genral keinen Puncten benahmet, der sich nicht so verhalten; sondern sagte dem Drucker: Er soll seinen Geschäften nachgehen.

Nichts leichters hätte der Genral dem Drucker auferlegen könne, dan Er liebet den **König** von **Engelland**, er liebet ein gutes **Governement**, und wan es der **Provintz** wohlgeht, so geneißt ers mit. Also war die große Beschuldigung in 3 Minuten verhört, erklärt, und geschlichtet, ohne Kosten.

Es hat zwar nach der Mahlzeit ein anderer Officier dem Drucker in privat zu verstehen gegeben, wie er hoffe der Drucker werde wiederrufen, und werde nicht ungeziemendes gegen diese Expedition in die Zeitung schreiben. Weil er aber nichts benahmet, was wiederrufen werden

soll, so versprach er das Letzte, und verlangt selber, das er nichts als lauter Geziemendes, Gutes, und Löbliches von der ganzen Expedition erfahren und schreiben könne.

Der Drucker verlangt keine Geschicklichkeit vornehmen Leuten zu schmeicheln; aber er kan doch mit Warheit bezeugen, was **Christian Democritus** schreibt, daß er mehr Verstand, Klugheit und Moderation bey den rothen Generalen gefunden, als bey den schwarzen Generalen. Und wan Sr. Excellenz General Forbes in der gegenwärtigen Expedition so viel Glück haben wird, als er Verstand, Ernst, Treue und Moderation besitzt, so wird die Expedition gegen Fort **du Quesne** in kurtzer Zeit zu Ende seyn, und wir werden etwas Heldenmäsiges von ihm berichten können.

Man hatte die Sache gantzlich wollen mit Stillschweigen übergehen; aber weil so viele verkehrte und lügenhaftige Reden im Land außgebreitet sind, und noch außgebreitet werden möchten, und man täglich und stündlich im den Verlauff der Sache gefragt worden, so hat man es dargelegt wie es ist.

Am verwichenen Donnerstag den 6 July ist **Tidiuskung** und 40 **Indianer** durch **Germanton** nach **Philadelphia** gereißt. Wie man höret, so sind es solche Indianer, welche zum theil mit den Englichen in Freundschaft stunden; es seyen aber auch von 2 fremden Nationen, welche biß daher entweder allein oder mit den Frantzosen friedlich waren. Sie haben 2 Pferde-Last mit Geschenken bey sich, von den besten Hirschfellen. Wie man höret so ist einer unter ihnen, der ehemahls 2 Kinder gefangen weggeführt, und wolte sie wieder mitbringen; sie hätten aber nicht mit gewolt: Auch haben sie eine niederteutsche Weibs=person mit sich gebracht, die hat sollen zu **Bethlehem** bleiben; sie aber wolte nicht von den Indianern weichen, und ist auch mit nach **Philadelphia**, und wie es scheint, so will

sie wieder mit ihnen zurück; vielleicht halt sie so ein müßiges Leben für eine Freyhiet [*sic*].

Ein Mann Names **Hochstädtler**, der bey 8 Monat ein Gefangener unter den Indianern war u. erschappiert ist, meldet daß weil die Frantzosen sehr wenig Proviant haben, so mangle es den **Indianern** auch, und das mögt noch mehr bewegen Frieden zu machen mit den Englichen.

63. A. Gregg Roeber, "The Origin of Whatever Is Not English Among Us': The Dutch-Speaking and the German-Speaking Peoples of Colonial British America," in *Strangers Within the Realm: Cultural Margins of the First British Empire*, ed. Bernard Bailyn and Philip D. Morgan (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1991), 252.

64. Some of the peace churches, including the Church of the Brethren, shared a common background with the separatist older Saur. Saur hailed from Laasphe, near Berleburg, home to "Christian Democritus," whom Saur evokes in the account of his hearing with Forbes. The name was an occasional pseudonym for Johann Konrad Dippel, a Pietist and alchemist active in and around Berleburg, sometimes said to be Mary Shelley's model for Frankenstein. Berleburg is well known as a home for radical Pietist and Philadelphian thought, including the famed Berleburg Bible.

65. Robert Blair St. George, ed., *Possible Pasts: Becoming Colonial in Early America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000).

66. Richter, "Cultural Brokers."

67. "Wahrnehmungsfragen, kulturelle Übersetzungen, Aushandlungen zwischen Typen mit unterschiedlichen kulturellen Kodierungen treten in den Mittelpunkt des Interesses." Ulrich Beck and Martin Mulsow, "Einleitung: Soziologie und Geschichtswissenschaft," in *Vergangenheit und Zukunft der Moderne*, ed. Ulrich Beck and Martin Mulsow (Berlin: Suhrkamp, 2014), 16–17.