

FranklinGazette

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"Great-Almsgiving, lessens no Man's Living." Poor Richard, August 1757

President's Message

By Roy E. Goodman

2009 promises to be an exciting year for the Friends. Many of our members have requested reviving an annual symposium, much like those gatherings at the Franklin Institute, sponsored and organized by the Friends several years ago. Heeding your wishes, an April 17 symposium on the timely topic, "Franklin and Money" will bring together a distinguished group of speakers at the National Constitution Center in Philadelphia.

FOF members, Dr. Blaine McCormick, of the Hankamer School of Business of Baylor University, and Dr. Mark Skousen, are among the presenters and organizers of the event. We expect that several hundred attendees will participate in this symposium, helping to disseminate Franklin's ideas and explore new perspectives on 21st century economic realities. Certainly, wealth is a crucial factor in shaping the United States and world economies, and one that Franklin frequently wrote about. So, mark your calendars, offer suggestions, and by all means, join us on April 17.



L'Apôtre de la Liberté immortalisé
(The Apostle of Liberty Immortalized)

by Baricou Monbrun, c. 1790

Courtesy of the American Philosophical Society

Required reading for a better understanding of these complex issues should include the late Leo Lemay's recently published third volume of *The Life of Benjamin Franklin*, (University of Pennsylvania Press) especially on "paper currency" in chapter 11, as well as Alan Houston's *Benjamin Franklin and the Politics of Improvement*, (Yale University Press, 2008), particularly chapter 1 on "commerce." We will miss Leo Lemay for his many contributions to our better understanding of Franklin's world, but also as a friend and colleague. As we were going to press we learned of the death of Dr. Whitfield J. Bell, Jr.--Whit Bell, the former executive director of the American Philosophical Society, was one

of the founders of the Franklin Papers and his contributions to the field of Franklin scholarship cannot be overemphasized. We will miss both of these Franklin scholars and Friends and invite you to send your anecdotes and stories on how Whit and Leo's friendship may have impacted your research, professional, or personal lives.

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In Memoriam: J.A. Leo Lemay & Whitfield J. Bell Jr.



J.A. Leo Lemay

The Friends of Franklin lost a great Friend and a scholar of towering accomplishment on Oct. 15 with the death of Leo Lemay.

The University of Delaware, his academic home since 1977, called him "One of the nation's leading Benjamin Franklin scholars. Prof. Lemay spent decades researching Franklin for a seven-volume biographical work, being published by the University of Pennsylvania Press. The first volume covers Franklin's life up to his 1730 marriage and explores previously unknown influences on Franklin's philosophy and writing. Volume two covers the period between 1730 and Franklin's retirement from printing in 1748. It assesses Franklin's writings up to that point and notes the birth of William Franklin, Franklin's illegitimate son." Both volumes were included in the *New York Sun's* "best books of 2006" list.

"Lemay's ... biography of Franklin is ... magisterial," wrote the *Journal of American History*. "His *Life of Benjamin Franklin* is the fruit of a lifetime of careful, dedicated and loving research, and we are all the richer for it."

"In 1997, Prof. Lemay launched a Web site chronicling Franklin's life [www.english.udel.edu/franklin]." He also published an earlier, critically acclaimed book of the selected writings of Franklin, the 1987 Library of America edition of *Benjamin Franklin: Writings*. In fact, Leo's career began and ended with books on Franklin, as well as many essays; in 1976 he published *The Oldest Revolutionary: Essays on Benjamin Franklin*, followed by two volumes edited with Paul M. Zall, *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin: A Genetic Text* (1981) and *Benjamin Franklin's Autobiography: An Authoritative Text, Backgrounds, Criticism* (1986). In 1986 came *The Canon of Benjamin Franklin, 1722-1776: New Attributions and Reconsiderations* (1986). In 1993 he edited a conference book celebrating the two hundredth anniversary of Franklin's death, *Reappraising Benjamin Franklin: A Bicentennial Perspective*.

Friend Carla Mulford sent these reflections on Leo: "This comes with many, many thanks to those of you who have taken the time to express to me personally your recognition of our mutual loss. I'm planning to compile a version of your

Whitfield J. Bell Jr.

The world of Franklin scholars lost another leading member in the last few weeks, Dr. Whitfield J. Bell, Jr., who died on January 2, 2009, in Carlisle, Pennsylvania at the age of 94. Dr. Bell, or Whit as he was known to his colleagues and friends, was born in New York but educated in Pennsylvania, attending Lower Merion High School and going on to do his undergraduate work at Dickinson College in Carlisle before receiving a PhD in history from the University of Pennsylvania. Poor eyesight kept him out of the service during World War II but he worked with the American Field Service and drove ambulances for the British troops. He returned to Dickinson College to teach history from 1945-1954, but soon narrowed his interest when he began working with the American Philosophical Society and Yale University to begin a project to publish the papers of Benjamin Franklin. The project no doubt far exceeded the expectations of Dr. Bell and his colleagues; The Franklin Papers at Yale have just announced publication of volume 39. Dr. Bell continued his affiliation with the APS, serving as librarian and later as the executive director from 1977 until he retired in 1983. Retirement did not end his association with Philadelphia and its history. He was a familiar figure walking through the grounds of APS and its neighbor, Independence Hall, and continuing his research at the library of the American Philosophical Society. He returned to his Carlisle roots several years ago.

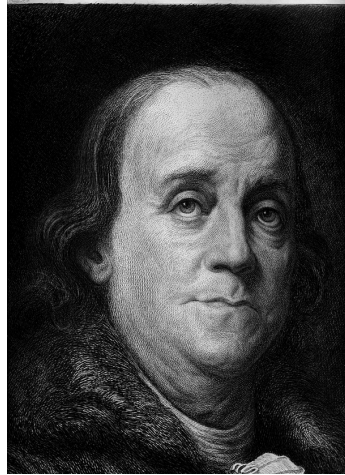
The Franklin Papers are perhaps his lasting memorial and from his friends at the Papers comes the following tribute:

"Whitfield J. Bell's name has been associated with the modern comprehensive edition of *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin* since its inception in 1954. In the early stages of the project Whit tirelessly searched for elusive Franklin documents in local and national historical societies, libraries, and private manuscript collections in the United States and England. In the introduction to *Benjamin Franklin: A Biography in His Own Words* Whit wrote: 'The editors searched systematically through libraries and archives where Franklin letters might be expected to be... all yielded manuscripts. Still others were found in such unlikely places as Windsor Castle, the Karl Marx University of Leipzig, and a resort hotel in northern Pennsylvania

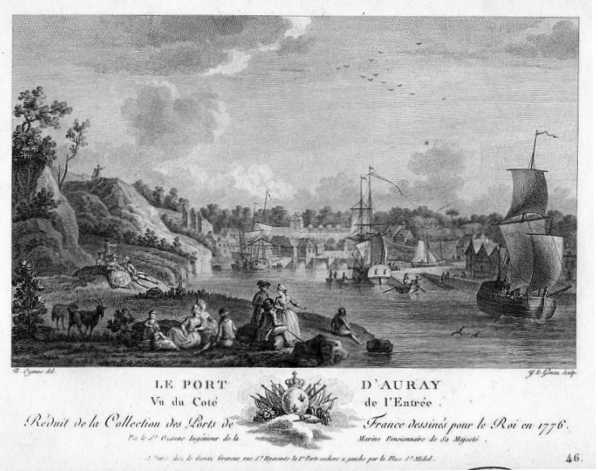
Franklin Abroad

Benjamin Franklin in Auray, December, 1776

By Geneviève Hamon



Portrait of Benjamin Franklin offered to the town of Auray in 1928 by J.C. Oswald.
Engraving by Henri Le Fort based on an original by Duplessis.



Auray in the XVIIIth century

His Journey

Benjamin Franklin was entrusted with the mission of negotiating a treaty of alliance with France to help the Americans in the War for Independence (1775 – 1783). He set off from Philadelphia on October 26, 1776 for Nantes. He “was badly accommodated in a miserable vessel, improper for those northern seas, was badly fed, so that on his arrival he had scarce strength to stand”. For several days, the winter weather kept his ship from sailing up the Loire. Impatient after a rough crossing to set foot on dry land, Franklin discovered that the closest the ship could approach to the Breton coast was to anchor northwest of its destination, off Auray. On December 3, the old man and his two grandsons left the ship in a fishing boat and landed in the evening at Auray. He listened to the boatman speaking Breton and recognized some words as similar to Welsh. No carriages were to be had in the village, and one was sent for which arrived the next day. He wrote three letters there, one for his friend Jacques Barbeu-Dubourg, one to Silas Deane, agent of the committee of secret correspondence, and hence of Congress, and one to Thomas

Morris, agent for the secret committee in Nantes. On December 4, Franklin set out for Nantes. He wrote in his journal, “The carriage was a miserable one, with tired horses, the evening dark, scarce a traveller but ourselves on the road; and to make it more *comfortable*, the driver stopped near a wood we were to pass through, to tell us that a gang of eighteen robbers infested that wood, who but two weeks ago had robbed and murdered some travellers on that very spot.”. He noted on the 6th “On the road yesterday we met six or seven country women, in company, on horseback and astride: they were all of fair white and red complexions, but one among them was the fairest woman I ever beheld. Most of the men have good complexions, not swarthy like those of the North of France, in which I remember that, except about Abbeville, I saw few fair people”.

Save the Franklin quay

Today the quay where Franklin landed is on the verge of collapse and must be reconstructed. The total cost for this operation is estimated at 1,884,178€, nearly \$2,500,000. The little town of

Auray, with a population of only about 11,000, needs help to help preserve a landmark that is important to both France and America. The town has been able to identify sources of funding for almost half the cost of the repair. In October, 2008, “Save the Franklin Quay (Sauvons le quai Franklin),” a grass roots association, was created to raise what monies cannot be furnished by the local government. All monies raised by the organization will be received by the Fondation du Patrimoine (Heritage Foundation), which in turn will pay out the funds for the reconstruction; for more information about this foundation on line click on <http://www.fondation-patrimoine.com>. The town of Auray has posted a description of the work to be done and a schedule for completion on line at <http://www.Auray.fr>

Geneviève Hamon is in charge of Auray's Archives and Heritage Department; she can be reached at the Auray Town Hall: Hôtel de Ville, 100 place de la République, 56400-Auray, France, or by email: archives@ville-auray.fr

View of Auray today



In His Own Words

“More Money to be borrowed”

On September 14, 1783, Robert R. Livingston, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, added a postscript to the letter he had been writing to Franklin. Ignorant of the status of the peace negotiations [by the time Franklin acknowledged his letter, the preliminary treaty with Britain was signed], Livingston wrote about the United States' urgent need for money. The only likely source of the funds, Congress reasoned, was France, who had given or loaned many millions of *livres tournois* already. In fact, this country's first bail out was undoubtedly underwritten by the French. Livingston wrote:

“Sir,

Since writing the above, I have received the enclosed resolutions of Congress—“

[These three resolutions of Sept. 14 all concerned the nation's finances. The first informed all American ministers in Europe that Superintendent of Finance Robert Morris would henceforth be in charge of managing all funds obtained in Europe. The second indicated that “a sum not exceeding four millions of dollars, exclusive of the money which Mr. (John) Adams may obtain by the loan now negotiating in Holland, be borrowed in Europe on the faith of the United States of America, and applied towards defraying the expences ... for carrying on the war.” The third instructed Franklin to communicate that resolution to Louis XVI, along with assurances of gratitude and an explanation of the necessity of a new loan application to him. Individual copies of the latter two resolutions are with Franklin's papers at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. He endorsed the first ““More Money to be borrowed.” He endorsed the second, ““Necessity of the Application for more Money.” Robert Morris enclosed copies of these resolutions in his letter of September 27, appending the latest resolution of September 23. Franklin, at his wit's end, endorsed that sheet, “Money! Money!” (This copy is at the University of Pennsylvania Library.)]

Livingston's demand that Franklin obtain more money from the French continued, “I have already anticipated all that can be said upon the subject of the last [resolution]— The Melancholy Tale of our Necessitys Is sufficiently known to you. It has been too often repeated to need reiteration. The SuperIntdt. [Morris] who writes from an empty treasury amidst

perpetual duns [demands for repayment of monies borrowed] will speake most feelingly. In short Money must be had at any rate whether we have Peace or War.{ France haveing all ready done much for us & it not being probable that we shall extend our demands beyond the present she may think it wise not to let us open accounts with a new banker since the debtor is always more or less under obligations to the Creditor.”*

When Franklin received this frantic plea, he was in the midst of the final negotiations with the British. Would the Shelburne ministry fall, and would the American negotiators have to begin anew with a whole new set of British representatives? Everything was up in the air. He reluctantly appealed once more to the French government for additional monies, but a decision was not immediately forthcoming. Franklin turned his attentions once more to concluding a peace to which both sides could agree.

Responding to Livingston only a few days after the November 30, 1782 signature of the preliminary treaty, Franklin wrote an uncharacteristically long letter (the manuscript of which is at the National Archives). You can read it in its entirety on line at <http://www.franklinpapers.org>. Search the correspondent list for Livingston and read the letter of December 5[-14], 1782:

“Sir,

I am honoured by your several Letters No 16. 17. 18. & 19. dated Sept. 5. 13. 13. & 18. I believe the Complaints you make in some of them of my not Writing, may ere now have appear'd less necessary, as many of my Letters written before those Complaints must have since come to hand: I will nevertheless mention some of the Difficulties your Ministers meet with in keeping up a regular and punctual Correspondence. We are far from the Seaports, not well informed, and often misinformed about the sailing of Vessels. Frequently we are told they are to sail in a Week or two, and often they lie in

** The remainder of this paragraph is in code, except for a few scattered words. The text above is Franklin's decipher.*

Franklin had his secretary copy the text of this postscript down to the brace (which he added). He sent that extract to French Foreign Minister Vergennes on Nov. 8, 1782.

Port for Months after, with our Letters on board, either waiting for Convoy, or for other Reasons. The Post Office here is an unsafe Conveyance, many of the Letters we receive by it have evidently been opened, and doubtless the same happens to those we send. And at this Time particularly there is so violent a Curiosity in all trading People to know something relating to the Negotiations, and whether Peace may be expected or a Continuation of the War, that there are few Private Hands or Travellers that we can Trust with carrying our Dispatches to the Sea Coast; and I imagine they may be sometimes opened, & destroy'd because they cannot be well sealed again. The Observation you make that the Congress Ministers in Europe seem to form themselves into a Privy Council, transacting Affairs without the Privy or Concurrence of the Sovereign, may be in some Respects just; but it should be consider'd, that if they do not write as frequently as other Ministers here do to their respective Courts, or if when they write, their Letters are not regularly received, the greater Distance, the War, and the extream Irregularity of Conveyances, may be the Causes, and not a Desire of acting without the Knowledge or Orders of their Constituents. There is no European Court to which an Express cannot be sent from Paris in 10 or 15 Days, and from most of them Answers may be obtained in that Time. There is I imagine no Minister who would not think it safer to act by Orders than from his own Discretion: And yet unless you leave more to the Discretion of your Ministers, than European Courts usually do, your Affairs may sometimes suffer extreamly from the Distance, which in time of War especially may make it 5 or 6 Months before the Ansr. to a Letter shall be received. . . .

I communicated together with my Memoir demanding a Supply of Money, Copies of every Paragraph in your late Letters, which express so strongly the Necessity of it. I have been constant in my Sollicitations, both directly and thro' the Marquis de la Fayette, who has employ'd himself diligently and warmly in the Business. The Negotiations for Peace are I imagine one Cause of the great Delay & Indecision on this Occasion, beyond what has been usual, as the Quantum may be different if those Negotiations do or do not succeed. We have not yet learnt what we may expect. We have been told that

we shall be aided, but it cannot be to the extent demanded. Six Millions has been mentioned, but not as a Sum fixed. The Minister [Vergennes] tells me still that he is working upon the Subject, but cannot yet give a determinative Answer. I know his good Will to do the best for us that is possible. It is in vain for me to repeat again what I have so often written, and what I find taken so little Notice of, that there are bounds to every thing, and that the Faculties of this Nation are limited, like those of all other Nations. Some among you seem to have established as Maxims, the Suppositions that France has Money enough for all her Occasions and all ours besides; and that if she does not supply us, it is owing to her Want of Will, or to my Negligence. As to the First, I am sure it is not true, and to the second, I can only say I should rejoice as much as any Man in being able to obtain more, and I shall also rejoice in the greater Success of those who may take my Place.

You desire to be 'very particularly acquainted with every Step which tends to a Negociation.' I am therefore encouraged to send you the first Part of a Journal, which Accidents and a long severe Illness interrupted, but which from Notes I have by me may be continued, if thought proper. In its present State it is hardly fit for the Inspection of Congress, certainly not for Public View; I confide it therefore to your Prudence.

The Arrival of Mr [John] Jay, Mr [John] Adams and Mr. Lawrens [Henry Laurens; all of whom were on the peace commission with Franklin] has relieved me from much Anxiety, which must have continued if I had been left to finish the Treaty alone; and it has given me the more Satisfaction, as I am sure the Business has profited by their Assistance. . . .

I have this Day signed a common Letter to you drawn up by my Colleagues which you will receive herewith. We have kept this Vessel longer for two things, a Pass-port promised us from England, and a Sum to send in her; but she is likely to depart without both, being all of us impatient that Congress should receive early Intelligence of our Proceedings [the settlement of the preliminary peace treaty]; and for the Money, we may probably borrow a Frigate.

I am now entering my 78th. Year. Public Business has engross'd fifty of them. I wish now to be, for the little time I have left, my own Master. If I live to see this Peace concluded, I shall beg leave to remind the Congress of their Promise then to dismiss me, I shall be happy to sing with Old Simeon, Now lettest thou thy Servant Depart in Peace, for mine Eyes have seen thy Salvation.

With great Esteem, I have the honour to be, Sir, Your most obedient & most humble Servant. B Franklin"

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What was it like working for/with Benjamin Franklin?

Part II

by Priscilla H. Roberts and Richard S. Roberts



"I am Yet Very young in office and therefore take the greater liberty of Applying to you that I may profit by Your Advice...." So wrote fifty-four-year-old Thomas Barclay to seventy-six-year-old Benjamin Franklin in February of 1782. After years of ignoring Franklin's pleas for a consul, Congress had appointed Barclay, an Irish-American merchant in Philadelphia.

Barclay and his family had no sooner reached France in late 1781 than Franklin sent him to Holland to deal with American military supplies stranded there. The difficulties he encountered in Amsterdam and the cost of coping with them proved greater than either anticipated. Franklin responded immediately to a February letter seeking advice but then went silent. For four months Barclay's letters were unanswered. In July his isolation was broken by a letter announcing that Franklin would provide him no more funds.



This was a shock. Most of the supplies were on their way, but he still had to find shipping space for a couple of hundred bales of linen fabric, uniforms, socks, and other goods. Too few ships went to America, and they all wanted richer cargo. He would find space and could probably arrange for some costs to be paid on arrival, thus minimizing charges on Dr. Franklin as he had been doing whenever possible, but some bills on Paris were inevitable. After a weekend of reflection, Barclay replied to the disturbing letter. He drew attention to the army's need for the supplies, to the action he had taken to keep down charges to the Paris accounts, to promises made to him in Philadelphia regarding financial support and documentation he had left with Franklin, and to the embarrassment that would follow if his bills on the minister were to be refused. Apologizing for the unusual length of his letter, he explained that it was "because I Chuse to Acquaint You Minutely with My situation which I beg you will take into Your Consideration."

In the following four weeks he found cargo space for most of the remaining supplies and — in the absence of further word from Paris — sent them on their way. With that his work in Holland was finished.

Franklin was ill when Barclay returned to France late in August 1782 but met with him later, communicating in the interim through his grandson, secretary and indispensable aide, William Temple Franklin. For Barclay there were formalities with the French, issues Congress had asked Franklin to deal with, and more military supplies wanting shipment. Thus the new consul presented his credentials with a letter from Franklin to French Foreign Minister Vergennes; wrote out comments on a draft consular convention Congress had prepared; raised with French Minister of Marine Castries American concerns about prize money the French owed to John Paul Jones and men of his crew for action two years earlier; and—with help from the Marquis de Lafayette—began looking into the problem of moving American supplies long sitting in the port of Brest (and, he found, in Rochefort). The French had been going to ship the supplies from Brest, then they tried to get the Americans to do it, and a few weeks later in February told Franklin maybe they could after all. Now it was September and the goods were still there. Minister Castries said that being new to his post he was unfamiliar with the issue, but he assured Barclay he would do what he could.

Armed with letters of introduction Barclay traveled the 350 or so miles to France's westernmost port "to urge the Shipments on as fast as I cou'd," hoping that by his presence there he could stir the authorities to action. He was well received in Brest, but given little reason to hope the French would ship the supplies. Writing Franklin of this, he suggested that if the goods were moved to Lorient it should be possible to find ships to take them to Philadelphia against payment on arrival. If Franklin approved, he wrote, he would undertake to arrange this. With that, he left Brest and traveled down the coast to Lorient, where he had left his wife, Mary, and their three children after their arrival in France eleven months earlier.



In Paris an annoyed Franklin briefly interrupted his concentration on the peace negotiations to reply to the consul. His

letter is no longer extant, but Barclay left a description: "Doctor Franklin has given me I believe, as much support as was in his power, and has promis'd to continue it when he is able. But I have tired him by the frequency of my applications about the Supplies and last Post, he has done what I wished, that is, he has peremterily and totally renounced both them and me, so far as giving any instructions or opinion about them in future. - I mention this, because untill I received his Letter ...I could not consider myself as having any power over the Supplies, but what I derived from him."

With the supplies now, as he put it, "intirely under my mannagement," he arranged to move them to Lorient and Nantes. While awaiting them he supported Captain John Barry, who had suspended several officers of the Alliance for insubordination, and tended to business for Virginia, whose agent he had become. When the supplies on coastal vessels from Brest arrived in Lorient and Nantes late in December some repacking was needed, then they were loaded onto American ships currently in those ports.

The ships were ready to sail in January, but Barclay hesitated to send them. The very high wartime insurance rates could be avoided if there was truth in the rumors of peace that had been circulating for weeks, but the consul's efforts to get confirmation from Paris had been ignored.

In fact, the preliminary peace between America and England had been signed November 30. A week later Franklin had informed Captain Barney of the packet George Washington who was waiting in Lorient for the official mail: "I acquaint you with this in friendship," he wrote, "that if you have any little adventure on your own account, you may save the insurance, but you will keep it to yourself for the present." Barclay had a large "adventure" on the public account, but was informed only several weeks later — after France and Spain had concluded negotiations with England.



That same January of 1783 Thomas Barclay received word that Congress had named him to audit and settle American

accounts in Europe since 1776 along with tending to his consular duties. Given the new charge, he moved his family to Paris where he and Mary were immediately invited to dinner at Franklin's Hotel Valentinois. (Franklin was ever the diplomat and Mary was a new American woman in town; he was also encouraged by letters from his daughter Sarah who told him "I wish you to look on her [Mary Barclay] as one of my best friends.")

Franklin's final two years in Paris involved less pressure on him than had the last years of the war—and none of the shipping problems he had so disliked. While Barclay devoted much of his time to his accounting assignment—which did not involve the minister (other than auditing his accounts), there were still consular issues that did concern both men. On these, when Barclay needed support in dealing with the French authorities Franklin quickly provided it, but there is no sign the two spent time conferring on them, which

they might usefully have done. Be that as it may, they respected each other and did manage to do what was needed in those years. Franklin later wrote Barclay that his service was "highly advantageous to the Publick, you having by your Skill & Ability in the Management of their Commercial Business saved them some Thousands of Pounds."



After Franklin left Paris in July of 1785 Barclay worked with his successor, Thomas Jefferson, with whom he had a closer business and social relationship. Jefferson and John Adams sent Barclay to Morocco to negotiate a treaty of commerce and friendship, which he did successfully in 1786. Barclay died in 1793 on assignment from President Washington to negotiate freedom for captive American sailors and a treaty of peace and commerce with the dey of Algiers.



The authors' biography of this first American consul to serve abroad – Thomas Barclay (1728-1793): Consul in France, Diplomat in Barbary – was published in October 2008 by Lehigh University Press.

Dues notices were mailed in November of last year. If you have not renewed your membership please send your dues to

**Kathy DeLuca
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as soon as possible.

continued from Page 2

In Memoriam: J.A. Leo Lemay & Whitfield J. Bell Jr.



J.A. Leo Lemay

appreciations of Leo so that I can send it to the Society of Early Americanists' listserve, <http://www.societyofearlyamericanists.org/Lemaymemorial.htm>, and give it to Ann Lemay and their children.

Leo's third volume of his magisterial biography of Franklin is now out, a fitting tribute to his loving care in articulating the myriad details of Benjamin Franklin's life. Leo considered this volume to be his best so far (and the first two won awards!). It is the most thorough accounting yet of Franklin's important years negotiating with the frontier peoples, Philadelphians, and the London establishment. It is thoroughly researched and offers much new information.

Leo was a best friend, co-conspirator in the fostering of early American studies, and our boon companion when it came time to open up the annual MLA gatherings with a bottle or two of Wild Turkey. I'll continue Leo's MLA tradition, but not at this year's MLA meeting, which I will take off as a year of rest and reflection on our good friend, one of the tiny group of key scholars who (amidst a great deal of adversity) founded the Division of American Literature to 1800 and made the journal *Early American Literature* possible."

Whitfield J. Bell Jr.

(which had framed a Franklin letter as a room decoration). The editors sought out descendants of Franklin—several dozen, although none bore the name of Franklin—who received them cordially...and came away with copies of warmly treasured letters, some of a moving, personal kind. ...scores of other private collectors were no less willing to cooperate. Perhaps the most unexpected discovery was that of some 150 letters that passed between Franklin, Mrs. Margaret Stevenson, his London landlady, and her daughter Polly, which were owned by descendants of the latter. . . All in all [they] located and copied some 30,000 manuscripts written by or to Franklin: they represented correspondence with some 4,200 different persons.' And so arose the Whitfield Bell rule; the number of letters discovered at any one stop is inversely proportional to the amount of sherry you will be required to drink there. Associate editor of the first five volumes, Whit reconstructed with care and elegance the story of Franklin's life in Philadelphia. With his profound knowledge of early American science, he laid the groundwork for understanding Franklin's contributions to science and technology. He co-edited a volume of selected letters, *Mr. Franklin*

(1956), and followed up with numerous contributions to the field of Franklin scholarship, including the introduction to the facsimile edition of *The Complete Poor Richards Almanacks* (1970).

"Whit served on *The Papers'* administrative board for twenty years, until 1992, the last five of them as chairman. Whit epitomized the heart and soul of the Franklin edition; even after his retirement from the administrative board he collaborated with the editors to help produce the clearest and most well documented explanations for the murkiest problem documents. Like Franklin's, Whitfield Bell's enthusiasm for life and learning was boundless. The editors constantly refer to *Patriot-Improvers*, his biographical dictionary of the earliest members of the APS. The editors of *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin* acknowledge that they are in his debt, and in 1992 dedicated volume 29 to him, but every one of the succeeding 10 volumes has also been influenced by his work, as, undoubtedly will the remaining volumes of the series."

A memorial service for Whitfield Bell will be held at the American Philosophical Society's Franklin Hall on April 23, 2009 at 5:00 p.m. and all are welcome.

Reading Franklin

Ellen R. Cohn, et al., eds., *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, vol. 39 (Yale University Press, Fall, 2008).

In the four months following the Jan. 20, 1783 armistice that ended the war for American independence, Franklin was remarkably energetic as he helped oversee the transition to peace and waged a multifaceted campaign to publicize the ideals of the new nation. Though political turmoil in Britain delayed negotiations for the definitive peace treaty, Franklin deftly negotiated America's first commercial treaty with a neutral nation, Sweden, which was signed in secret. He distributed his richly symbolic *Libertas Americana* medal, worked toward the publication of his French edition of the American state constitutions, and fielded scores of letters from people all over Europe who sought to emigrate, to establish trade connections with the United States, to become consuls, and to offer congratulations and advice.

Ronald Crawford, *Enlightenment Themes in Education* (privately printed, Glasgow, 2008).

As we go to press, this study has just appeared on the remarkably close intellectual relationship between Franklin and his Scottish friend and correspondent, John Anderson, a minor but fascinating figure in the history of the Scottish Enlightenment. Anderson was professor of natural philosophy in the University of Glasgow where he was a thorn in the flesh of the faculty but generally popular with his students who affectionately called him "Jolly Jack Phosphorus".

Franklin's two visits to Scotland in 1759 and 1771 are, of course, well documented - by his contemporary Henry Marchant (in the case of the latter visit) and, in the 1930s, by J. Bennett Nolan among others. What Ronald Crawford seeks to do in this work, however, is to explore the incredibly similar outlook they shared in their common desire to establish a new kind of higher education rooted in the Lockean ideals of useful learning and, hence, practical service to one's country.

Anderson died in 1796 and left a will that provided for 81 named Trustees to meet together to set up in Glasgow a new university, bearing his name, that would be rooted in "useful knowledge". Remarkably, Anderson's University came into being and, after several transformations, in 1964

became the much respected University of Strathclyde (of which institution Crawford himself was Academic Registrar for many years).

It was, the author tells us, only after visiting the University of Pennsylvania some years back that he realised the immense importance to both it and Strathclyde of the shared educational vision of their respective founders. He charts in the case of both Franklin and Anderson that shared vision as it developed and he succeeds in discerning a number of common factors including not just, predictably, John Locke but the little known Scottish academic, David Fordyce whose *Dialogues Concerning Education* (1745-48) Franklin knew well but misattributes to another and infinitely better-known 18th century Scot, Professor Francis Hutcheson.

Crawford appends to his study transcriptions of a number of unpublished letters - two from Anderson to Franklin [American Philosophical Society], one from Franklin to Anderson [University of Strathclyde], and one from Anderson to Washington [Library of Congress].

As Crawford himself remarks, this story of two kindred spirits deserves to be better known in both the United States and the United Kingdom.

Matthew Pinsker, "The Pennsylvania Prince: Political Wisdom from Benjamin Franklin to Arlen Specter," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Oct. 2008, 417-32.

Pinsker considers the third section of Franklin's *Autobiography* as a particularly rich source of political advice, and offers new insights into Franklin's motivations in writing the final section. He provocatively claims "Benjamin Franklin's combination of self-serving recollections and Machiavellian analysis has provided a template for more than two centuries' worth of Pennsylvania politicians. . .".

Carla Mulford, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Benjamin Franklin* (Cambridge University Press, January, 2009).

Friend Carla Mulford introduces us to Franklin in conversation with his British and European counterparts in science, philosophy, and social theory. Kevin Hayes writes on Franklin's library, Douglas

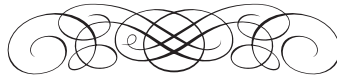
Anderson on "The Art of Virtue", Paul E. Kerry on Franklin's satire, David S. Shields on his place in the republic of letters, Joyce E. Chaplin on his scientific work, while Frank Kelleter discusses his place in Enlightenment philosophy. The volume also includes Kerry Walters' essay on Franklin and religion, James Campbell's argument that Franklin is the first American pragmatist, Lester C. Olson's work on Franklin's role in designing the Great Seal of the United States, Wilson J. Moses' take on how Franklin was viewed during America's Gilded Age, Stephen Carl Arch's thoughts on the *Autobiography*, "Then and Now", as well as Mulford and Nian-Sheng Huang's essay on Franklin and the American Dream.



Legacy Library

Several years back, Franklin scholars and booklovers of all sorts were treated to a newly published compendium of the 1,632 books known to have been in Franklin's library. The basis for *The Library of Benjamin Franklin* was years of research by Edwin Wolf 2nd, with new material added by Kevin Hayes. Published by the American Philosophical Society in 2006, the book's riches have now gone digital. You can see Wolf and Hayes's extensive annotations, and find the current location of Franklin's personal copy of many of the works mentioned. Read Franklin's reviews of some of the books in his collection, and see other people's collections that have books in common with Franklin's library (like Jefferson, Adams, and Joseph Priestley). At last! A social networking site for people who love libraries! The Library Thing website boasts access to "over thirty million books on members' bookshelves". To see the profile of Franklin's Library Thing Catalog, click on <http://www.librarything.com/profile/BenjaminFranklin>

Franklin's Passport for British Ships



*Note from the Editor: Every time a new volume of **The Papers of Benjamin Franklin** is published, the editors give a special preview of the forthcoming book to the Friends of Franklin in the form of a never-before published Franklin document. Volume 39 is no exception. The document below, variants of which are in the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society and the American Philosophical Society, marks an important transition in American history. The preliminary peace treaty between America and Great Britain, signed on November 30, 1782, was not to take effect until the signing of the General Peace. This event took place on January 20, 1783, when the terms of the cessation of hostilities were agreed.*

The document below gives us insight into the workings of the peace commission, as well as the frictions still inherent in the relationship between the former colonies and their ex-mother country. Franklin's version of the passport did not meet with the approval of John Adams and John Jay, his fellow commissioners, and thus, was never duplicated. The survival of the draft passport is the only clue we have to Franklin's priorities in the face of British adherence to the Navigation Acts. The transcription below is from the manuscript in John Adams' papers at the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Exchanging ships' passports was the first official act between the former belligerent nations whose vessels needed protection until the news of the armistice was generally known, and whose merchants were anxious to race their cargo to newly opened ports. But were those ports truly open? Franklin maintained that until the Prohibitory Act was repealed by Parliament, America could not admit British manufactures. This, rather than the passports themselves, was the first substantive issue he discussed with Fitzherbert when the two met on January 24. Franklin told Fitzherbert that "an article for that purpose had been inserted in the project of preliminaries transmitted by himself and his colleagues, but that it had been left out in that which was brought back from England by Mr Strachey." Fitzherbert replied that the article in question (Article 4 of the first draft treaty, which gave American merchants

the same commercial privileges as their British counterparts, and vice versa) was so broad as to be applicable to all Britain's trade laws, including the Navigation Act, "which, [Franklin] knew, could not be meddled with, Without the most serious and mature deliberation." Fitzherbert recommended that the two countries agree to an article that confined itself "to such acts as had been passed on both sides on account of the war." Franklin then mentioned that additional articles might have to be inserted into what would become the definitive treaty. The British negotiator was both alarmed and adamant that "no fresh matter was to be introduced on either side." Unless, as Franklin urged, both sides should agree to it.

It appears that Fitzherbert called at Passy on the morning of February 1 and informed Franklin (as he would later that day inform Jay) that the British were prepared to issue passports for American merchantmen if the Americans would do likewise. Franklin, who was used to writing such documents, composed one immediately, adopting much of the language verbatim from the British passport that Fitzherbert must have shown him. He insisted, however, on inserting a clause restricting British ships from entering the United States.

When Fitzherbert returned to Paris, he informed Jay that Franklin was preparing passports in his own name as minister plenipotentiary. The two men agreed that the authority to issue the forms resided not with a minister to any particular court but rather with the commissioners authorized to negotiate peace. Jay immediately wrote to inform Adams. "Would it not be proper to apprise the Doctor of our Sentiments," he concluded, "before the passports he is now making out shall be delivered?"

The following day, Adams summoned Franklin and Jay to a meeting at his house on February 3, at which passports would be discussed. Franklin obviously brought to that meeting the present document, as Adams wrote a notation on the verso and kept it among his papers. It was probably Adams, also, who was responsible for marking the manuscript: Franklin's and Temple's signatures were both crossed out, and certain phrases that were disputed that morning were underlined. Chief among them was the restriction

on British trade with America. In this, Franklin was overruled by his colleagues. The American commissioners' passport adopted on February 3 is published in volume 39 under that date.



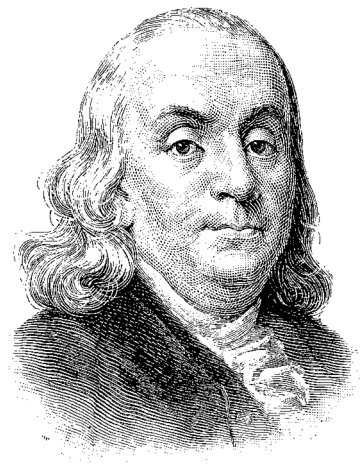
To all Captains or Commanders of Ships of War or Privateers, belonging to the United States of America, or Citizens of the same. Greeting.

We the Underwritten, Minister Plenipotentiary from the Congress of the said States to the Court of France, do hereby in their Name, strictly charge and require of you, as we do likewise pray and desire the officers and Ministers of all Princes and Powers in Amity with the said States, to permit & suffer the Merchant Vessel called the [blank] commanded by [blank] belonging to Great Britain to sail from any of the Ports thereof to any Port or Place whatsoever, except those of the said States in North America, together with the marchandize wherewith she may be laden, without any Let, Hindrance or Molestation whatsoever, but on the contrary affording, the said Vessel, all such Aid and Assistance as may be necessary. Given at Paris, this *First Day of Feby* 1783.

B. Franklin

*By Command of the Minister Plenipotentiary
W. T. Franklin secy*

Notation: Form of a Passport





Calendar of Events

March 29, April 17, 18, 24 & 25, 2009.

Franklin & Jefferson: Sex, Politics and the American Revolution, Beverly Hills Greystone Estate, Beverly Hills, CA. A new two-act play by Jim Gabler and Victor Bardack. A professional cast will bring to life not just the memorable events of the 10 years from the appointment of George Washington as commander-in-chief to Franklin's return from France, but Franklin and Jefferson's embarrassments, disappointments, intrigues and yes - women. In Act II Abigail Adams takes both men to task for their chauvinism, and in a spirited exchange defends her husband against allegations that John disliked and was jealous of Franklin. The fourth member of the cast is the traveler from the 21st century who travels back in time to the 18th century and is the audiences' surrogate. Although a historical drama, the dialogue features many light and comic moments. Reservations can be made by calling 310-285-6830.

Spring 2009. "Ben Franklin Goes to Wall Street: Money, Investing, and the Good Life" to be held in Philadelphia. Confirmed speakers are Franklin descendant, Mark Skousen, Ph.D and Blaine McCormick, Ph.D. Watch for more details.

November 2009. The Minnesota Historical Society is mounting a small version of the Franklin exhibit, and in conjunction with that the Bakken Museum in Minneapolis is reviving their exhibit on the Franklin and lightning rod.

Ongoing:

The traveling exhibit, *Benjamin Franklin in Search of a Better World*, may be coming to a location near you. Below are the locations for the first half of 2009. For future locations see: www.benfranklin300.org/traveling_library_exhibit.html.

December 31, 2008-February 27, 2009
Library of Hattiesburg, Petal and Forrest County, Hattiesburg, MS; Birmingham Public Library, Birmingham, AL

March 11-April 24, 2009

Terrebonne Parish Library System,
Houma, LA; Georgia Southern University
Library, Statesboro, GA

May 6-June 19, 2009

Denton Public Library, Denton, TX;
Williamsburg Regional Library,
Williamsburg, VA

July 1-August 14, 2009

Cedar City Public Library, Cedar City, UT

Franklin Tidbits

Franklin's books: Friend Charles Hargis alerts us of the sale of a copy of *The Private Life of Benjamin Franklin* (1793), offered by Bauman Rare Books. Their catalogue tells us that this work included the first edition in English of the *Autobiography*, "the most widely read of all American autobiographies."

On Nov. 19 Bloomsbury Auctions sold the Jay T. Snider Collection. A preview of the items offered was held at the National Constitution Center in Philadelphia on Nov. 12. The Snider Collection is said to be the largest private collection relating to the history of Philadelphia. It is particularly rich in the area of the history of Colonial printing, and includes a copy of Franklin's *Cato Major*, as well as four Indian treaties he printed. The rarest Franklin item is a recently-discovered bound volume containing 264 forms said to have been printed by Franklin during his first year in business.

Franklin on screen: Tom Wilkinson, the actor who portrayed Franklin in the HBO mini-series on John Adams, "Join or Die," received an Emmy award for best supporting actor in a mini-series.

Franklin's science: In an extension of one of Franklin's experiments on heat, Pablo Campa and colleagues at the University of Almeria have been studying climate change in the region around Almeria in south-eastern Spain. The scholars concluded that although Almeria has the largest expanse of greenhouses in the world, the region's average air temperature has actually cooled each decade since 1983. The opposite has been found in the rest of Spain. The scientists hypothesize that this is because the white greenhouse roofs are much more reflective than the surrounding farmland, and suggest that there is a potential for placing reflective surfaces in semi-arid regions to offset climate change.

"Ben Franklin Goes to Wall Street: Money, Investing and the Good Life"

In April, The Friends of Franklin will celebrate its 20th Anniversary. As part of the celebration, the Friends have organized a symposium entitled "Ben Franklin Goes to Wall Street: Money, Investing and the Good Life" that will be held at the National Constitution Center in Philadelphia from 9 AM to 3 PM.

The symposium is open to the public and will cost \$75 for members and \$85 for non-members. The symposium will include the following topics presented by our distinguished speakers.

Ben Franklin and the real 'National Treasure': Cultivating Financial and Entrepreneurial Virtues presented by Friend and Board Member, Blaine McCormick, Ph.D, Associate Professor of Management, Baylor University Hankamer School of Business.

The American Revolution and Financial Crisis: How Franklin Survived and Prospered presented by Friend and Franklin descendant, Mark Skousen, Ph.D, Benjamin Franklin Chair of Management at Grantham University.

Ben Franklin on Real Estate Bubbles, Inflation and Central Banking presented by Robert E. Wright, Ph.D, Clinical Associate Professor of Economics, Leonard N. Stern School of Business at New York University.

Today's Financial Crisis: What Would Ben Do? presented by Jeremy Siegel, (invited) Russell E. Palmer Professor of Finance at Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania. (Luncheon presentation.)

After lunch, the symposium will include an afternoon panel discussion with Drs. McCormick, Siegel (Invited), Skousen, and Wright.

This symposium will be an annual event held in conjunction with the anniversary of Franklin's death.

A room block has been arranged at The Holiday Inn Historic District Philadelphia at 400 Arch Street. To make reservations at the \$139 (plus taxes) room rate, please call the hotel directly at 215-923-8660. Be sure to mention the Friends of Franklin to receive the group rate.

Register for the symposium at www.friendsoffranklin.org or call Kathy DeLuca, 856-833-1771.

Franklin Math Puzzlers

Compiled by Aziz S. Inan

Editor's Note: Here is another Franklin-themed math puzzle presented by Aziz Inan (ainan@up.edu) and the solution to the problem posed in the Fall issue of the Gazette.

Problem # 9. Ben's book. Ben Franklin started writing one of his famous books in the year x at age y where y equals the sum of the sum and product of the digits of x . Which year is x ?

Solution to Problem # 8. Ben's 8 x 8 magic square. The largest entry number in an 8 x 8 magic square constructed by Ben Franklin is 64. The eight numbers in each row, each column, and each bent row or column in the square add up to the number x . If numbers $y = x + 64$ and $z = x - 64$ are both square numbers, what is x ?

Answer: 260.

Solution: The number x must be less than $8 \times 64 = 512$ since the largest entry number in the 8 x 8 magic square is 64. Since $y - z = (x + 64) - (x - 64) = 128$, the two square numbers y and z which differ by 128 must be $y = 324$ and $z = 196$ respectively. Therefore, $x = y - 64 = 260$.

Special Thanks to Our Life Members!

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