

Franklin Gazette

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Friends of Franklin, Inc. P.O. Box 40048, Philadelphia, PA 19106

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"Many complain of their Memory, few of their Judgment."

Poor Richard, August 1745

President's Message

By Lee E. Knepp

On behalf of our organization, I congratulate those members of The Friends of Franklin who provided leadership for our recent weekend gathering of Benjamin Franklin's descendants. Co-Chaired by board member Ted Molin and his cousin Lisa Bache, and assisted by a committee of Friends of Franklin members and descendants Jackson Boswell, Tom Edgar, Jacqui Hillegass, Perry and Sergeant Pepper, Mark Skousen, and Stephen Walker, participants enjoyed a beautiful Philadelphia weekend and meaningful activities honoring and seeking a greater understanding of their illustrious ancestor. We are delighted to welcome new members of the Friends from among the descendants who attended this gathering, and count on them to help us carry on the mission of The Friends of Franklin.

As we look to the future, we ask your support and participation for our next meeting in the fall, a weekend-long affair in Philadelphia in mid-September. We will begin with a gala dinner at the Ballroom at the Ben (formerly the Benjamin Franklin Hotel) on Thursday, September 15, in honor of The Papers of Benjamin Franklin publication project at Yale, now in its seventh decade, along with project cosponsors the American Philosophical Society and Yale University, and then continue on Friday, September 16, with a symposium on Franklin and the Pennsylvania Germans to be held at Germantown. On Saturday, September



*Benjamin Franklin, standing at table, holding papers.
Courtesy of The American Philosophical Society*

17 (Constitution Day) the FOF will offer a tour of Franklin-related historic sites in the Germantown area of Philadelphia. Many of our members have requested that we return to Philadelphia for this year's fall tour, and we are pleased to offer this extended weekend package in response.

On a more solemn note, we mourn the passing of life member, printer, former mayor, and Franklin devotee William Anderson of Wichita, Kansas. We extend heartfelt sympathy to Bill Anderson's wife Ruth and his family. Some of you will recall the pleasure of sharing the company of Bill and Ruth on earlier Friends of Franklin excursions to such locations as London, Paris, Scotland, and Boston/Nantucket. Especially memorable was Bill's presentation on Benjamin Franklin and printing when, in 1997, our group visited St. Bartholomew's in London, where Franklin served his printing apprenticeship.

Benjamin Franklin and the Pennsylvania Germans

The Friends' upcoming fall event focuses on Franklin and his relationship with the Germans and offers an opportunity for Friends to learn firsthand about the work and history of the Franklin Papers project. It begins on Thursday evening September 15 with a gala dinner at the Ballroom at the Ben and stories about the individuals who have impacted the Franklin Papers project. Meet past contributors and today's editor of *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, Ellen Cohn, and enjoy Friend

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Descendants Visit Franklin Descendants Visit Philadelphia

On June 3-5th descendants of Benjamin Franklin gathered in Philadelphia for a reunion highlighted by a visit to his grave, special tours to the Franklin Institute and Fireman's Hall Museum and a walking tour of the city. The weekend's final dinner was a trip on the new Philadelphia riverboat, the Philadelphia Belle. A number of the Friends of Franklin, many descendants, were on hand to take part in the festivities.



Ted Molin and Lisa Bache served as reunion co-chairs and are shown here with their spouses, Sharon Molin and Daniel Bache.



Benjamin Franklin (Friend Ralph Archbold) surrounded by Franklin's latest generation of descendants

In His Own Words

Sugar Independence



There is much talk these days about oil independence, so it seems timely, especially in the spring season of "sugaring off" and a renewed interest in locally produced food, to share this tale of an attempt at achieving sugar independence in Franklin's newly independent America. This is the story of Arthur Noble and Archibald Redford, who went to the United States with a group of Irish emigrants just at the end of the Revolutionary War. There they planned to wean Americans from sugar imported from the British West Indies by creating a great new home-grown enterprise to substitute maple sugar for what had previously been imported from the so-recent enemy. They contacted Franklin for help in getting established in America. Once there, they built a saw mill to provide lumber for a settlement that would be, they hoped, the center for the new maple sugar industry.

On Nov. 18, 1782, Franklin's great friend Richard Price, the economist, wrote from England about a member of the Club of Honest Whigs (an organization in which Franklin had participated while in London), Archibald Redford. Redford was planning to "settle for life" in the new United States, and would be visiting Paris before he crossed the Atlantic. Price had "great regard" for Redford, who personally delivered Price's March 10, 1783, letter. Redford, Price told Franklin, had already sent a part of his fortune to the United States in preparation for his move. Redford, "a worthy man and a warm friend to universall liberty" was "well qualified to make a useful member of the united States." Franklin met with Redford, and he must have agreed with his friend's assessment, because he wrote glowingly of Redford to Philadelphia physician Benjamin Rush on April 4, 1783. He introduced the emigrant "because I am persuaded that I shall therein do you a Pleasure." Franklin enclosed Price's letter praising Redford in the one he wrote to Rush and added his wish that Redford's "Reception in our Country will be such as to make it agreeable to him and induce him to settle among us; as from short Acquaintance I have had with him, I am of Opinion he will prove a valuable Member of Society." High praise indeed from Franklin, who was usually very circumspect in his recommendations of strangers.

What did Franklin learn from his conversations with Redford? We don't

know why Franklin believed that he and Rush would have a particular bond, but from other correspondence we know something about Redford and his plans. The United States was regarded as a "rising country" by Redford and his partner. It was to be the new home of "a body of people in Ireland" led by Arthur Noble, a major in the Irish Volunteers. The Volunteers were a non-governmental armed militia, but more importantly, a political force in trying to gain autonomy from Great Britain and equitable treatment from Britain in terms of commerce. Its officers were members of the landed gentry, and presumably Noble numbered among them. Noble and Redford planned to purchase a tract of land in America, and needed Franklin's advice. Noble arrived in Philadelphia in mid-October, 1783. Franklin wrote again on behalf of the partners to his friend Superintendent of Finance for the United States, Robert Morris. Morris in his private life was a wealthy Philadelphia merchant with a network of contacts throughout the nation. He, in turn, recommended Noble to George Washington and Robert R. Livingston of New York State. With the backing of such men, in 1787 Noble obtained land grants in New York State in present-day Hamilton and Herkimer counties (the adjoining tracts were called Arthurborough and Nobleborough). About a hundred families, including trained military men, settled on the northern frontier and began producing maple sugar. The lands the group settled are located nearly 100 miles northwest of Albany, then the nearest town of any size. The neighborhood was one of virgin forests, full of sugar maples, about 40 miles due north of the Mohawk Valley through a roadless wilderness, where the average winter snowfall totals 100 inches, the growing season is short, and there are no navigable waterways connecting to civilization. Perhaps something short of utopia.

Why was Franklin such an advocate of Redford and Noble's project? He had received many petitions from would-be emigrants, some of which promised to bring large groups of honest, trained workers to settle the vast new country. Franklin encouraged few of these schemes. What may have set this plan apart probably had to do with what Franklin heard during his interviews with Redford, and of course, the strong recommendation of Redford

from Price, a man for whom Franklin had unqualified respect. The other reasons may be less obvious; Franklin in the spring of 1783 had not yet signed the definitive peace treaty that ended the Revolutionary War, and negotiations with Britain over a commercial treaty had so far gone nowhere. Most of the sugar that was used in the United States had historically come from the British West Indies, which Franklin numbered among the "sugar islands". During the war, sugar had come from the French West Indies, but the treaty of commerce with France was to be revised when hostilities ended, so the future of that trade was also uncertain. In Franklin's eyes, America had too long been under the control of the British Navigation Acts which required that all the goods carried into the country be on British owned ships. What Franklin sought was a reciprocal trade, with American-owned vessels being freely admitted into West Indian ports, and Americans able to purchase and transport sugar directly to the United States, rather than relying on the mark up from the raw sugar being sent to Britain to be processed and then reshipped in British ships to the United States. Another concern was that because sugar was such a valuable commodity, it had in the past led to much bloodshed over the political control of the islands where it was produced. Sugar was also raised almost wholly by slave labor, an abhorrence to American ideals. In the essay below, written in 1782, which Franklin drafted as an article to be included in the final peace treaty, he decries the monopoly on sugar and the costs of producing it:

A Thought Concerning the Sugar Islands



Should it be agreed, & become a Part of the Law of Nations that the Cultivators of the Earth are not to be molested or interrupted in their Peaceable and useful Employment, the Inhabitants of the Sugar Islands would perhaps come under the Protection of such a Regulation, which would be a great Advantage to the Nations who at present hold those Islands, since the Cost of Sugar to the Consumer in those Nations, consists not only in the Price he pays for it by the

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Good Education Part II

By John Pollack

What about the worlds of learning outside of the gates of the Academy and College of Philadelphia? If we listen to Franklin in the *Proposals*, there would appear to be little worth saying on this topic. Franklin argues that the need for his school is acute precisely because no one in Pennsylvania before him had taken education seriously enough, and he lays out a particularly slanted vision of the colony's history to make his point. Looking back, he tells us, reveals well-meaning individuals who nevertheless left his present generation at great-risk:

Many of the first Settlers of these Provinces, were Men who had received a good Education in Europe, and to their Wisdom and good Management we owe much of our present Prosperity. But their Hands were full, and they could not do all Things. The present Race are not thought to be generally of equal Ability: For though the American Youth are allow'd not to want Capacity; yet the best Capacities require Cultivation, it being truly with them as with the best Ground, which unless well tilled and sowed with profitable Seed, produces only ranker Weeds.¹⁶

The founders of Pennsylvania were apparently unable to attend to the education and future welfare of young people in their colony because they were simply overwhelmed: "their Hands were full." This neglect of their progeny might, Franklin suggests, have terrible consequences. To bolster his claim that Philadelphia needs an Academy, Franklin conjures up a disturbing vision of social decline, one that contradicts all evidence we have about the dynamism of early Pennsylvania (a dynamism in which Franklin himself played no small role). Franklin's organic metaphor comparing youth to a field which, if left fallow, "produces only ranker Weeds," is a stark prophecy of American decay, much like that which would come from the pen of the French naturalist the Comte de Buffon later in the century.¹⁷

Franklin's assertion, clearly and purposefully overdrawn, is meant to goad his readers into action. His phrases, however, have too often been read uncritically, to the point that few commentators have bothered to look closely at educational

projects or ideas preceding Franklin's own. The arguments that Pennsylvania prior to the establishment of the Academy of Philadelphia was an educational backwater, whose youth suffered from inattention and lack of "cultivation," and that the Academy was the only important educational site in Pennsylvania before the Revolution, run counter to the surviving documentary and artifactual evidence. That evidence suggests instead that Pennsylvania had a diverse set of educational systems to match

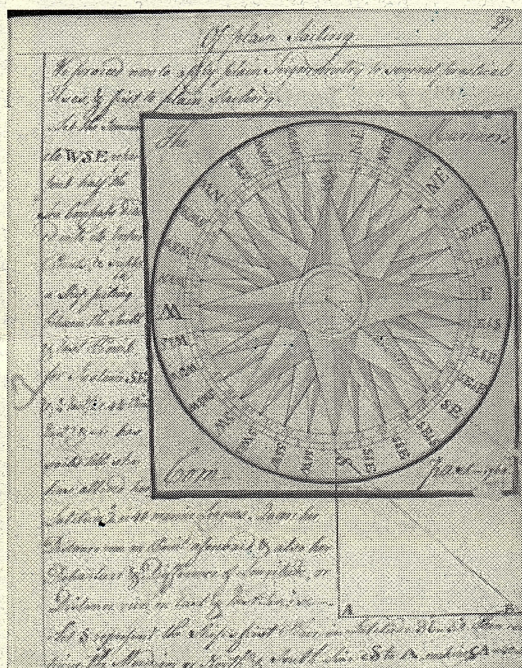
who were no longer infants or small children but whom society did not consider to be fully mature.¹⁹ As Kashatus points out, Franklin's concern to promote "virtuous education" in Pennsylvania was a clear echo of William Penn's own words, presented as early as 1681 in the first draft of "The Fundamentall Constitutions of Pennsylvania."²⁰ This plan for the government of the colony includes, in Section VII, a Council of 48 members divided into four committees. The fourth committee, Penn writes:

... will be the Commissioners of Education, who shall inspect the breeding of Youth, as to Schools, Masters, Books and the way and Method of Cultivateing and improveing of Science truly So called which may be usefull and laudable, among good men. [T]hat so youth may be grounded, in the way of virtue and wisdom, and the Successive generations secured against declention and Corruption of manners, which draws after it slavery and beggary, and which is worse the wrath of God too.²¹

Like Franklin decades later—and like the New England ministers who were Penn's contemporaries—Penn worries over the possible "corruption" of virtue in his new colony and argues that a strong schooling system could operate to preclude it. Penn's vision is centralized, with colonial leaders exercising control over both teachers and the curriculum.

It is also idealistic. In Penn's version of the "education gospel," proper schooling would guarantee the moral stability and social tranquility of the entire colony and prevent the "declention" he and others observed in New England. By calling for the "Cultivateing and improveing of Science truly So called," Penn also, like Franklin, emphasizes the need for instruction in practical knowledge, in opposition to the rarified classical learning taught in the English universities.

Penn himself was not particularly novel in his call for a morally sound educational doctrine or in his effort to institute state control over education. He was influenced by the ideas of James Harrington and other republican theorists who were concerned to instill "virtue" and combat the threat of "corruption" among the citizenry in order to



"The Mariner's Compass in Trigonometry, Plain Sailing, Surveying, With Heights and Distances," Jasper Yeates's student notebook, College of Philadelphia, May 1, 1760. Curriculum Collection, University Archives and Records Center, University of Pennsylvania.

its burgeoning and diverse population. In this volume we learn from William C. Kashatus about Quaker educational institutions; from John C. Van Horne about efforts to educate African Americans; from Patrick M. Erben about education in German communities; and from Carla Mulford about the many varieties of women's education. Innovative educational experiments, these studies make clear, had existed before Franklin's *Proposals*, and they continued well after its appearance.¹⁸

Even before the colony was settled, Pennsylvania's creators called for a system of education for "youth," that is, individuals

guarantee political stability.²² However, these plans did not remain mere visions on paper. Research conducted by education historian Thomas Woody in the 1920s demonstrated that a number of Quaker meetings probably began schools during the first two decades of the colony. Meetinghouses such as Abington Friends and Merion Friends might have used part of their space for classes.²³ A land deed at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania shows that Quaker Christopher Taylor had set up a school on Tinicum Island, outside of Philadelphia, by 1684.²⁴ Moreover, in Germantown, as Erben demonstrates, leaders like Francis Daniel Pastorius valued education so highly that, after teaching in the Friends Public School in Philadelphia, Pastorius helped found a Germantown school in late 1701.²⁵ Pastorius' educational efforts were enormous. In addition to teaching, he compiled several massive commonplace books—the most famous among them known as the “Bee-hive”—which contain important accounts of pedagogical practice and may have circulated among Pastorius's associates and students.

By the early 1700s, ambitious educational projects were thus well underway in Pennsylvania. Kashatus describes how the Quaker hierarchy of Philadelphia began overseeing a group of urban schools serving various ages and social classes, open to students of all religious denominations: a true system of “public schooling” that would not be matched anywhere else until a century later. Surely a few readers of Franklin's *Proposals* must have raised their eyebrows when they read his opening lament, “It has long been regretted as a Misfortune to the Youth of this Province, that we have no ACADEMY, in which they might receive the Accomplishments of a regular Education,”²⁶ given that at Fourth Street near Chestnut sat the Friends Public School building, completed in the early 1740s and consisting in part, like the Academy that Franklin envisioned, of both English and Latin Schools. When Franklin's Academy opened in the “New Building” at Fourth and Arch Streets in 1751, students from the two schools must have mingled frequently.

The Quaker records preserved in the region's archives offer views of the lives of students, parents, and teachers, allowing us to glimpse the choices they made about schooling and to glean some sense of how and where non-elite populations, that is, those who did not attend the Academy of Philadelphia, might have gotten their education. In his *Autobiography*, Franklin recounts how his father sent him to the Boston Latin School for one year, moved him to George Brownell's school the next, then withdrew him altogether; such

experiences may not have been uncommon in Pennsylvania.²⁷ Quaker teacher William Dickinson, for example, kept careful accounts on which he recorded the comings and goings of his students: in 1773, he wrote that one was “Deceased”; another was “kept at home to Assist his father in the Flat”; a third was sent to “Night School by order of the Board”; and several had “gone Apprentice.” The accounts suggest, too, that eighteenth-century Quaker schoolrooms were extremely diverse. Teacher William Brown noted that his students were “Episcopalian, Lutheran, Roman, Jew, Baptist, Presbyterian” and included both paying and “free scholars,” while Ann Marsh recorded that a “black boy” received four years of schooling in her class.²⁸ Also worthy of attention is the long and varied career of Quaker reformer Anthony Benezet, who taught at the Friends English School, opened a school for girls, and instructed African American students in his home on Chestnut Street beginning in the 1750s.²⁹ Benezet even entered the textbook market as an author, and his Pennsylvania Spelling-Book competed successfully in the region's schools with imported English titles.

Franklin skirts all of the Quaker educational projects going on around him in the *Proposals*. He also fails to mention the role other religious denominations had taken in providing education for Pennsylvania's youth. Beginning in the 1720s, the growing Presbyterian community in Pennsylvania, led by a dynamic young generation of immigrant preachers, had opened several schools, the most famous of which was the “Log College,” a derogatory name given to an academy begun around 1726 by William Tennent in Neshaminy, Bucks County. Tennent's school, with a curriculum based in the Latin and Greek classics, trained a number of important intellectual figures in the Middle Colonies, including Samuel Finley, later president of the College of New Jersey (Princeton University). One student of Tennent's, Samuel Blair, was running his own rural academy at Fagg's Manor, Pennsylvania, by about 1740, and Francis Alison, a leader of the “Old Light” Presbyterians and later Vice-Provost at the College of Philadelphia, began a school at New London, Pennsylvania, in 1743. Little documentation about these small academies survives, but some historians have asserted that evangelical Presbyterians were a central force in mid-eighteenth-century American education.³⁰ A notable figure who received his early training at a Presbyterian academy before attending Princeton was Benjamin Rush, who studied with Finley in Nottingham, Lancaster County.³¹ Still less is known about educational efforts undertaken by Pennsylvania's Anglicans, but members of Philadelphia's Christ Church may have

run a school in the church building as early as 1709.³²

Franklin—and here the omission is less surprising—also makes no mention of schools set up by the rapidly growing German population in Pennsylvania, typically under the auspices of local churches. Franklin's blinkered view of the Germans around him as “Palatine boors” who were isolated because of their attachment to the German language was one he shared with many Anglo inhabitants, and even if Franklin himself changed his views later in life, other colonists, unfortunately, clung stubbornly to this impression of the Germans. More sympathetic modern scholars often treat the German communities as separate enclaves, with a culture distinct from that of other Pennsylvanians; yet in the field of education, their commonalities deserve notice. As Erben points out in this volume, the German population was highly diverse, and Lutheran, Reformed, and Mennonite Germans created a wide variety of schools in both urban and rural areas, some of which combined teaching in English and German.³³ German printers like Christopher Saur and Peter Müller issued pedagogical texts like primers and spellers to meet the growing demand. Erben also draws attention to a flourishing manuscript culture in and around these schools. Their students left behind copybooks, music specimens, and *fraktur* *vorschrift* (writing samples). Some teachers, like Christopher Dock, a German Mennonite, became renowned for their pedagogical skills, combined in Dock's case with *fraktur* artistry. In 1750, Dock completed the manuscript of his *Schul-ordnung* (School Rules), the most comprehensive pedagogical manual to be issued in America before the public school era. Dock apparently managed to balance teaching responsibilities in three German-speaking communities (Skippack, Salford, and Germantown), and such was his stature as a teacher that some citizens compelled him to return to the classroom after taking a decade “off” to farm.³⁴

Within the German communities, educational politics were often fierce, and Germans could be harshly critical of their own educational failings. Gottlieb Mittelberger, upon returning to Germany after a four-year stay in Pennsylvania working as a schoolmaster and organist, famously opined that “many hundred children” could not attend the few schools set up in rural Pennsylvania, and that both Lutheran and Reformed German immigrants “live in the deepest ignorance, which must be ascribed to the want of sufficient preachers and schoolmasters.”³⁵ Spiritual leaders like the Lutheran minister Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg and the Reformed minister

Johann Böhm worried over their inability to recruit sufficient numbers of teachers to serve eager children and adults, and over the growing number of converts to the Moravian Church.³⁶ Their anxious rhetoric is further testimony to the cultural importance of education for Pennsylvania's German settlers, although these strong feelings were apparently lost on Anglo observers like Franklin.

The rapid success of the Moravians in attracting large numbers of followers—during the 1740s, Moravians founded schools in Oley, Lititz, Warwick, and Bethlehem, as well as on Race Street in Philadelphia—only increased the fears among leaders of other denominations about their own weaknesses. For the Moravians, schooling was a central pillar of a collective economy and missionary program, and their philosophy of education was far more radical than anything proposed by Franklin.³⁷ Education was no occasional task requiring the mastery of writing or arithmetic but instead a holistic attempt to develop pupils' "soul, mind, and body."³⁸ The process began in nursery schools and continued in primary schools and boarding schools like Nazareth Hall for boys and the Bethlehem Seminary for girls, each apparently so effective that by the end of the century non-Moravians eagerly sent their children there.

Along with the Moravian challenge, another controversy that enveloped the German communities in the 1750s was the fight over the establishment of "charity schools" for "poor Germans," directed by the Reformed minister Michael Schlatter and financed primarily by supporters in England and local Anglicans like William Smith. Schlatter ran into stiff opposition from Christopher Saur and other Germans who, rightly, suspected the political motives of the English colonists, and the German charity school movement ultimately fell victim to this political conflict, as Germans largely continued to send their children to the parish schools that were already in existence.³⁹ This battle may not be as alien to modern educational struggles as it first appears. Faced with calls to embrace an "English-only" curriculum, German communities chose instead to support their existing local schools, over which they could exercise curricular control. In doing so, they rejected a state-funded and state-controlled educational program, set up in the name of a "public" largely hostile to their culture and run by a bureaucracy that removed all power from their hands.

Surviving as an important physical legacy of the German commitment to education are many of the school buildings constructed by German congregations and communities in Pennsylvania. From the

one-room "Beggartown" school in upper Germantown, built by Saint Michael's Church in the 1740s, to the impressively large Zion Lutheran schoolhouse near Fourth and Cherry Streets in downtown Philadelphia (1761), the eighteenth century witnessed an enormous investment of resources and energy in school building. Then as now, school construction and finance plans often provoked heated debate. Nevertheless, projects like the 1761 "Union School of Germantown," later renamed Germantown Academy, an institution supported by Franklin's close ally Joseph Galloway, suggest that Germans and English could at times collaborate on educational initiatives which would serve common ends.⁴⁰

16. Franklin, *Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania*, in PBF, 3:399.

17. The naturalist Georges-Louis Leclerc, comte de Buffon, asserted in his massive *Histoire naturelle, générale et particulière* (1749–1788) that animal and plant species were more subject to decay and decline in the New World than in the Old, on account of the climate in the Americas.

18. Older studies of education in Pennsylvania include James Pyle Wickersham, *A History of Education in Pennsylvania, Private and Public, Elementary and Higher* (Lancaster, Pa., 1886) and James Mulhern, *A History of Secondary Education in Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1933). An excellent study of Philadelphia schools and teachers is Julia Nash Murphy, "Schools and Schooling in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia" (PhD diss., Bryn Mawr College, 1977).

19. For definitions of "youth," see *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed. (1989). Definition 2 suggests the slippery nature of the term: "The time when one is young; the early part or period of life; more specifically, the period from puberty till the attainment of full growth, between childhood and adult age." Historian of childhood Margaret L. King labels this part of the life cycle "the silent years," because early modern authors only rarely commented on it; King, "Concepts of Childhood: What We Know and Where We Might Go," *Renaissance Quarterly* 60(2007): 389.

20. In addition to his essay in this volume, see William C. Kashatus, *A Virtuous Education: Penn's Vision for Philadelphia Schools* (Philadelphia: Pendle Hill Publications, 1997), 13–30.

21. Mary Maples Dunn and Richard S. Dunn, eds., *The Papers of William Penn* (Philadelphia, 1981–87), 2:146.

22. For a history of the concept of "virtue," see J. G. A. Pocock, "Virtues, Rights, and Manners: A Model for Historians of Political Thought," in *Virtue, Commerce, and History: Essays on Political Thought and History, Chiefly in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 37–50. For Harrington's influence on Penn, see *The Papers of William Penn*, 2:140. One source for Penn's, and later Franklin's, language on "good education" may be Obadiah Walker of Oxford, author of the frequently reprinted *Of Education*, which Franklin cites in his *Proposals*: "Tis good Education of Youth, that makes virtuous men and obedient Subjects; that fills the Court with wise Counsellors, and the Common-wealth with good Patriots." Walker, *Of Education, Especially of Young Gentlemen...* (1673), p. 12.

23. Thomas Woody, *Early Quaker Education in Pennsylvania* (New York, 1920), pp. 105–7, 114.

24. Tinicum Island had been occupied by Swedish settlers since the 1640s. See Peter Stebbins Craig, "Chronology of Colonial Swedes on the Delaware, 1638–1713," *Swedish Colonial News* 2, (2001), available on line at <http://www.colonialswedes.org/History/Chronology.html>. For a review of the sparse evidence concerning Taylor's school, see Mulhern, *A History of Secondary Education in Pennsylvania*, pp. 30–31.

25. On the founding of the first formal school in Germantown, under the supervision of Pastorius, see, in addition to Patrick Erben's essay in this volume, Marion Dexter Learned, *The Life of Francis Daniel Pastorius, The Founder of Germantown* (Philadelphia, 1908), 167. On Pastorius as a teacher, see Margo M. Lambert, "Francis Daniel Pastorius: An American in Early Pennsylvania, 1683–1719/20" (PhD diss., Georgetown University, 2007), pp. 259–313.

26. Franklin, *Proposals*, PBF, 3:397.

27. Franklin, *Autobiography*, in *Writings*, ed. J. A. Leo Lemay (New York: Library of America, 1987), p. 1313.

28. Account of William Dickinson, 1772–3, and account of William Brown, 1786, William Penn Charter School Archives, Haverford College Library, Quaker Collection, Box 7. Ann Marsh, Account Book: manuscript, 1772–1789, Amb 5757, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

29. On Benezet's career as an educator, see, in addition to John C. Van Horne's essay in this volume, George S. Brookes, *Friend Anthony Benezet* (Philadelphia, 1937), pp. 29–59; Nancy Slocum Hornick, "Anthony Benezet and the Africans' School: Toward a Theory of Full Equality," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 99 (1975): 399–421; and William C. Kashatus, "A Reappraisal of Anthony Benezet's Activities in Educational Reform, 1754–1784," *Quaker History* 78 (1989): 24–36.

30. On the Log College and other Presbyterian academies, see Wayland F. Dunaway, *A History of Pennsylvania*, 2nd ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1948), 310, and Patricia U. Bonomi, *Under the Cope of Heaven: Religion, Society, and Politics in Colonial America*, updated ed. (New York, 2003), 140–2. On Presbyterian evangelicalism and education, see also Ned C. Landsman, *From Colonials to Provincials: American Thought and Culture, 1680–1760* (New York, 1997), pp. 129–30, and Landsman, "Presbyterians, Evangelicals and the Educational Culture of the Middle Colonies," *Pennsylvania History* 64, supp. issue (1997): 173–75. On Log College Presbyterians, their rivals, and the founding of Princeton, see Thomas Jefferson Wertebaker, *Princeton, 1746–1896* (Princeton, 1946), 11f. On Francis Alison as an educator, see, Elizabeth A. Ingersoll, "Francis Alison: American Philosopher, 1705–1799" (PhD diss., University of Delaware, 1974), pp. 475–508.

31. Robert B. Sullivan, "Rush, Benjamin," *American National Biography Online*, February 2000: <http://www.anb.org/articles/15/15-00926.html>.

32. Benjamin Dorr, *A Historical Account of Christ Church, Philadelphia, from Its Foundation, A.D. 1695, to A.D. 1841; and of St. Peter's and St. James's, until the Separation of the Churches* (New York and Philadelphia, 1841), p. 37. "In the records which have been preserved, we find incidental mention made this year [1709] of the 'minister's house' and 'school house,' as the property of the church." See also Murphy, "Schools and Schooling," pp. 49–72.

33. In 2007, the Schwenkfelder Library and Heritage Center in Pennsburg, Pennsylvania presented an exhibition entitled "Teaching Tools: Pennsylvania German Education Before 1835," which drew welcome attention to this topic.

34. On Dock, see Gerald C. Studer, *Christopher Dock, Colonial Schoolmaster: The Biography and Writings of Christopher Dock* (Scottsdale, Pa., 1967) and *The Life and Works of Christopher Dock, America's Pioneer Writer on Education, with a Translation of His Works into the English Language*, trans. Martin G. Brumbaugh (Philadelphia, 1908). On fraktur by Dock and others in the Skipack and Salford schools, see Mary Jane Lederach Hershey, *This Teaching I Present: Fraktur from the Skipack and Salford Mennonite Meetinghouse Schools, 1747–1836*, Studies in Anabaptist and Mennonite History 41 (Intercourse, Pa., 2003).

35. Gottlieb Mittelberger, *Gottlieb Mittelberger's Journey to Pennsylvania in the Year 1750 and Return to Germany in the Year 1754...*, trans. Carl Theo. Eben (Philadelphia, 1898), p. 62.

36. For an excellent investigation of Lutheran educational initiatives during the eighteenth century, see Elizabeth Lewis Pardoe, "Poor Children and Enlightened Citizens: Lutheran Education in America, 1748–1800" *Pennsylvania History* 68 (2001): 162–201. For an older overview, see Charles Lewis Maurer, *Early Lutheran Education in Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1932). On Reformed efforts, see Frederick George Livingood, *Eighteenth Century Reformed Church Schools*, Pennsylvania German Society Publications 38–39 (Norristown, Pa., 1930).

37. For an investigation of Moravian missionization and missionary education which focuses on the relationships between Moravian and Native American women, see Amy C. Schutt, "Female Relationships and Intercultural Bonds in Moravian Indian Missions," in *Friends and Enemies in Penn's Woods: Indians, Colonists, and the Racial Construction of Pennsylvania*, ed. William A. Pencak and Daniel K. Richter (University Park, Pa., 2004), esp. pp. 100–101.

38. Mabel Haller, *Early Moravian Education in Pennsylvania* (Nazareth, Pa.: Moravian Historical Society, 1953), p. 215.

39. The best summary of this episode remains Samuel Edwin Weber, *The Charity School Movement in Colonial Pennsylvania* (1905; repr., New York, 1969).

40. Edwin Probert, archivist of Germantown Academy, personal communication, November, 2005.

Following in His Great-Grandfather's Footsteps:

The Remarkable Career of Brigadier General Hartman Bache

By Andrew A. Zellers-Frederick
Executive Director

The Woodlands Trust for Historic Preservation and The Woodlands Cemetery Company of Philadelphia

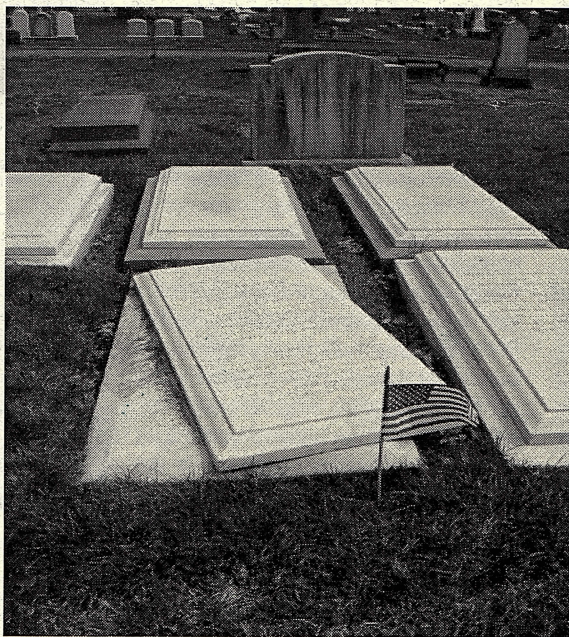
The legacy of the dedicated public service Dr Benjamin Franklin rendered to the citizens of Philadelphia and to all of America has been celebrated for over two centuries. Franklin excelled in making 18th-century life for all levels of society safer and more efficient, while simultaneously promoting America's vast and virtually untapped potential and resources. These revered traits of Dr. Franklin continued within the genes of his descendants, especially those of his great-grandson, Hartman Bache, who served the interests of the rapidly expanding 19th-century United States as a career officer in its small professional military.

Hartman Bache was born on September 3, 1798, more than eight years after the death of his illustrious great-grandfather. 1798 was a tragic time, which saw Philadelphia in the midst of yet another yellow fever epidemic. Hartman's father, Benjamin Franklin Bache, fell victim to this plague's deadly force and died on September 10, 1798, only a week after Hartman's birth. Despite this tragedy, Hartman's mother, the former Margaret Hartman Markoe, faithful to the Franklin family's commitment to the printing trade, continued publication of the radical newspaper, *The Aurora and General Advertiser*, which had been established by her husband. Under her management, this newspaper was unwavering in its support of the newly created French Republic and Thomas Jefferson's populist Democratic-Republican Party.

In Philadelphia, then America's largest and most cosmopolitan city, Hartman Bache received a good English and classical education. At the tender age of sixteen, Bache entered the United States Military Academy at West Point, New York. He was fortunate to attend the expanding school of advanced learning during the administration of Colonel Sylvanus Thayer, who became the Superintendent in 1817 and established the curriculum which is still in use today. Superintendent Thayer introduced the highest standards of strict military discipline, a standardized course of academic study, and

the legendary code of honorable conduct, which has made the United States Military Academy respected throughout the world. The profound positive effects of this environment, especially with its concentration on the study of engineering, prepared Hartman Bache for the challenges of his lifetime work as a topographic engineer. As his great-grandfather transformed 18th-century America, Bache and his fellow graduates engineered the bulk of the young and expanding nation's first railway lines, canals, harbors, bridges, and roads, as well as military fortifications and installations.

of General Simon Bernard, he surveyed for the construction of a system of fortifications, with naval support installations, to protect America's East Coast from possible attack from European powers such as Great Britain or France. His other tasks included surveys for the young republic's transportation infrastructure, which was intended to bind the country together, much like Dr. Franklin linked the colonies with his innovative improvements to the postal system. His assignments concentrated on harbor and river improvements, canals and railroads, and road systems such as turnpikes, and for lighthouse sites.



Grave marker of General Hartman Bache (indicated with the flag) at the Woodlands Cemetery in Philadelphia, surrounded by other Bache family members.

Still a teenager, Bache graduated in 1818 from the United States Military Academy at the age of nineteen, where he had received the highest honor of being made the Colonel of the Corps of Cadets. He became a professional soldier in his country's service and was appointed an assistant topographical engineer in the army, with the rank of Brevet Captain, on July 24, 1818. In his first assignment on the staff

The successful completion of his projects and the recommendations of his various commanders "for faithful service ten years in one grade," Bache was advanced to the rank of brevet major of staff (Topographical Engineers) on July 23, 1828, a significant achievement for any young officer in a peacetime military. He eventually was made a Major in the Corps of Topographical Engineers upon its official formation in 1838, following another challenging and varied project: the 1836 development of a plan for an artificial harbor in New Jersey's Cape May region. Bache's broad influence and military career of more than fifty years of dedicated service was posthumously recognized by the Army's Chief of Engineers, Brigadier General Andrew Atkinson Humphreys. He was, Humphreys said, "the first to use, in his country, the refined methods of survey and mapping and the results of his labors have served as models to the present day." Like his great-grandfather, Bache's techniques and proposals, in projects such as the Charleston harbor survey -- and the subsequent construction of its fortifications, lighthouses, and other improvements -- received acclaim and admiration from succeeding generations of peers.

While his military career was a very active one, including a later assignment during the Mexican-American War (1846-48) to expand defenses on the Gulf of Mexico's Islands of

Tortugas, Bache also made time for domestic life. He married into one of Philadelphia's wealthier families on March 1, 1829, when Maria del Carmen Meade became his wife. She was the daughter of General Richard Worsam Meade and Margaret Coates Butler, and also the sister of one of the heroes of Gettysburg, General George Gordon Meade. One year after their marriage, Richard Meade Bache was born; he was followed by six other children. Like his great-grandfather, Bache suffered the loss of a child in infancy when in 1836, Adele Sigione Bache died at only four months of age (earlier that year there had been another tragedy when Bache's mother passed away). Although Bache, like his famous great-grandfather, traveled frequently throughout his career, he apparently always considered Philadelphia his home. The Baches lived in a series of houses in Center City Philadelphia area and their last family residence was located at 1033 Spruce Street.

The Freemasons, with their tradition of brotherhood and enlightenment ideals, captured the imagination of both Benjamin Franklin and Hartman Bache, and both were members. The organization's membership rolls included many prominent citizens, and it served as a way of being politically and socially connected in early America. Franklin was initiated into Philadelphia's St. John's Lodge No. 1 in 1732 and his meteoric rise within the organization resulted in his being elected Grand Master of Pennsylvania. Bache followed his great-grandfather into the organization nearly one hundred years later, joining the Philadelphia lodge that was named for his great-grandfather, Franklin Lodge No. 134.

Bache continually enhanced his professional reputation, adding a long list of achievements connected to the construction of lighthouses. His first important achievement in this area was the 1848-50 Brandywine Shoal Lighthouse located in Delaware Bay. Again, like his great-grandfather, he took an existing design or invention and adapted it for use in America. Using a design first pioneered on the Thames River by a blind Irish engineer, Alexander Mitchell, Bache's lighthouse was the first of its kind in this country to use Mitchell's screw-pile design, which solved the problem of creating a stable foundation when building on mud banks or shifting sands. The lighthouse building was placed on iron piles that were screwed into the sandy or muddy bottoms in estuaries or rivers. In addition to projects on the East Coast, including the beautiful New Jersey Absecon Lighthouse, accomplished by working with his soon-to-be-famous brother-in-law, George Meade, Bache's talents and skills were employed during the 1850s on the Pacific Coast where he served as inspector and engineer for the 12th Lighthouse District in San Francisco. Among his accomplishments in that region were the Smith Island Light

Station in Port Townsend, Washington, and, in California, the Point Loma Lighthouse in San Diego, the Alcatraz Lighthouse and the Point Conception Lighthouse in the San Francisco Bay area. In 1859, while working in that same area on the Farallon Island Light, Bache used a natural formation, a blowhole on the island, to power a whistle that was used as fog signal. For much of his later military career he was an influential member of the federal government's Lighthouse Board.

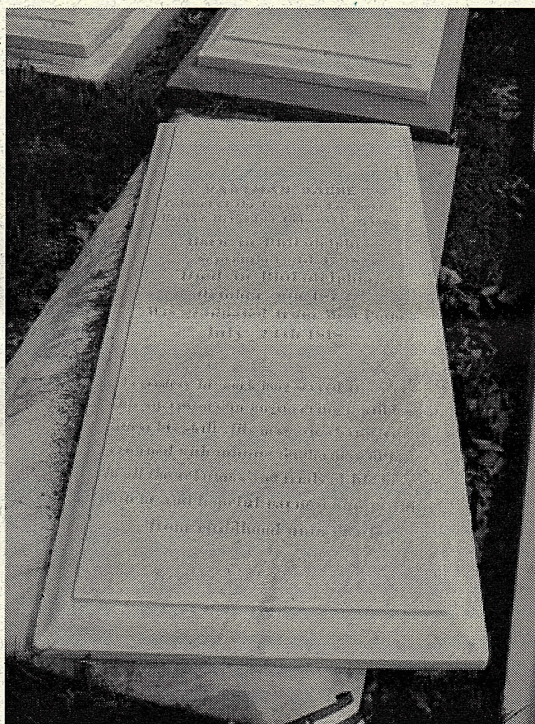
With the threat of civil war looming throughout the decade of the 1850s, Bache also turned his attention toward issues of transportation improvements to provide for the more efficient and effective methods of communication. During the war, these eased the movement of people, especially soldiers. Ironically, it was Secretary of War Jefferson Davis, soon to be the president of the Confederacy, who ordered Bache in 1855 to supervise the building of a new military road from the Columbia Barracks in Oregon to Fort Steilacoom in Washington. Another of Bache's assignments was to develop another military road from the Columbia Barracks to the Vancouver region of British Canada.

Despite his age, Bache remained an active serving officer during the Civil War in the Union Army. Again, like his great-grandfather in the American Revolution, Bache did not carry an offensive weapon or serve in the front lines of the fighting, although his duties involved using his intelligence and resourcefulness. In 1783, Benjamin Franklin witnessed Paris's first hot air balloon flight and when asked if this new invention was practical he famously replied, "What good is a new-born baby?" But Franklin did envision the future importance of flight in warfare when he observed in the late 1784: "Where is the prince who can afford so to cover his country with troops for defense as that ten thousand men descending from the clouds might not in many places do an infinite deal of mischief before a force could be brought together to repel them?" Bache also imagined the potential of the balloon and supported the use of hot air balloons for battlefield observation and other related military uses, especially around the main theaters of engagement throughout Virginia. At the outbreak of the war in April, 1861, Bache was in Washington on assignment with the Corps of Topographical Engineers and advanced to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. He was later promoted to Colonel Corps of Engineers on March 3, 1863, when the former corps was merged into the latter. At this early point of the war, Bache was in placed in charge of the Topographical Bureau due to the sudden

death of its commander.

Bache's years of military service were rewarded close to the end of the Civil War on March 13, 1865, with his advancement to the rank of Brevet Brigadier General "for long, faithful, and meritorious services." With the reduction of the army's size after the Confederacy's surrender, he retired from active duty on March 7, 1867. Reflecting on his distinguished career six years later, Bache said with pride that he had "never in my long period of service asked to be relieved from an order, and never but once for leave of absence, which was to enable me to join my son (Colonel F. M. Bache), dying in 1867 in France from disease contracted while with the Army of Potomac."

On October 8, 1872, Hartman Bache passed away—one month following his 75th birthday. His funeral was three days later on 11th October at his Philadelphia residence on



A close-up image of General Bache's Grave.

Spruce near 10th Street. He is buried at the historic Woodlands Cemetery in University City along with his wife, Maria Del Carmen Bache, and three sons, James Graham, Francis Markoe and Alfred Boyce. His grave in the Woodlands is in one of its older sections located between the cemetery's main gate and William Hamilton's beautiful 18th-century mansion. The gravesite is in urgent need of preservation and restoration work. Anyone interested in supporting these efforts should contact this National Historic Landmark District's executive director at 215-386-2181 or Director_Woodlands@verizon.net.



Calendar of Events

Ongoing through September 15, 2011. Franklin Documents at Christ Church's Neighborhood House
20 N. American Street, Philadelphia, PA
Monday-Friday, 9:00 am – 3:00 pm

Benjamin Franklin, even in death, remains one of Christ Church's most famous parishioners. Rarely seen Franklin documents, including his subscription to the steeple fund for the church, the pew rental record showing his pew number and payment as well as the burial records for Franklin's young son Francis as well as his own, are on display in time for a reunion of the descendants of Benjamin Franklin. Also on display are documents recording celebrations of Franklin's life over the years as well as photographs of his grave site and the changes to the site and the Burial Ground over time. Stop in to see this exhibit in the newly renovated Neighborhood House and then cross the street to the Church to see the actual pew that he rented.

September 15-17, 2011. Benjamin Franklin and the Pennsylvania Germans, Friends of Franklin fall event.

January 20, 2012. Celebration of Benjamin Franklin, Founder! Philadelphia, PA. Morning seminar, procession to Franklin's grave and luncheon. For more information see: www.ushistory.org/celebration

"Benjamin Franklin: In Search of a Better World" Traveling exhibit:

April 14 - July 31, 2011
Heinz History Center, Pittsburgh

September 2, 2011- January 8, 2012. Gerald Ford Museum, Grand Rapids, MI

February 10 – May 6, 2012. National Archives, Washington, DC.

Words continued

Pound, but in the accumulated Charge of all the Taxes he pays in every War to fit out Fleets and maintain Troops for the Defence of the Islands that raise the Sugar and the Ships that bring it home. But the Expence of Treasure is not all. A celebrated Philosophical Writer remarks, that when he consider'd the Wars made in Africa for Prisoners to raise Sugar in America, the Numbers slain in those Wars, the Number that being crowded in Ships perish in the Transportation, & the Numbers that die under the Severities of Slavery, he could scarce look on a Morsel of Sugar without conceiving it spotted with Human Blood. If he had consider'd also the Blood of one another which the white Nations shed in fighting for those Islands, he would have imagined his Sugar not as spotted only, but as thoroughly died red.—On these Accounts I am persuaded that the Subjects of the Emperor of Germany and the Empress of Russia, who have no Sugar Islands, consume Sugar cheaper at Vienna and Moscow, with all the Charge of transporting it after its Arrival in Europe, than the Citizens of London or of Paris. And I sincerely believe that if France & England were to decide by throwing Dice which should have the whole of their Sugar Islands, the Loser in the Throw would be the Gainer. The future Expence of defending them would be saved; the Sugars would be bought cheaper by all Europe if the Inhabitants might make it without Interruption, and whoever imported the Sugar, the same Revenue might be raised by Duties at the Custom Houses of the Nation that consumed it. And on the whole I conceive it would be better for the Nations now possessing Sugar Colonies to give up their Claim to them, let them govern themselves, and put them under the Protection of all the Powers of Europe as neutral Countries open to the Commerce of all, the Profits of the present Monopoly's being by no means equivalent to the Expence of maintaining them.

Reading Franklin



James Barron, "In Lower Manhattan, the Nation's First Official Monument is Being Restored," *New York Times*, April 19, 2011. Few know that Congress asked Franklin to oversee the design and construction of the country's first monument, a memorial tablet dedicated to General Richard Montgomery, who died in the invasion of Canada in 1775. Franklin, who received the commission while he was ambassador to France, hired a sculptor and it was completed in 1777, although the monument was not installed until 1788.

Kevin J. Hayes and Isabelle Bour, eds., *Benjamin Franklin in His Own Time* (University of Iowa Press, May, 2011). Friend Carla Mulford tells us that it is "intriguingly stitched together as a compendium of speakers telling of Franklin in his own time, this volume gathers together some of the better-known and several of the much lesser-known anecdotes told by a wide range of people whose lives touched Franklin's. Hayes and Bour provide interesting and insightful commentaries for each selection, elucidating the context and importance of the remarks made by friends and associates from North America, Great Britain, and Europe. This exhaustively researched and beautifully illustrated volume will delight both Franklin specialists and general readers."

Jill Lepore, "Poor Jane's Almanac," *New York Times*, April 24, 2011. Read the always stimulating Lepore's musings on opportunity and achievement in an article where she compares and contrasts Franklin's life with that of his favorite sister, Jane Mecom.

A Literary Citing

By Eleanor Gesensway

Reward for the Franklin student comes with perseverance and fortitude.

In the "Citizen Cyclops" chapter (chapter 12) of *Ulysses*, James Joyce indulges in lengthy, often humorous, parodies of Homer's *Iliad*.

His numerous extended and erudite lists are, like the Cyclops themselves, wondrously gigantic.

On one entire page, a list of 87 "heroes" begins with the names of Irish heroes and heroines of

antiquity and then expands to include (chosen at random) Cleopatra, Goliath, the Village Blacksmith, Ludwig Beethoven, Gautama Buddha, Lady Godiva, and the Last of the Mohicans.

Benjamin Franklin's name appears 38th in the list, immediately preceding Napoleon Bonaparte and directly following "the Man that Broke the Bank at Monte Carlo, ..., the Woman Who Didn't."

In Memoriam

William D. "Bill" Anderson was a printer by trade, a Benjamin Franklin buff and mayor of Wichita during the turbulent years of 1968 and 1969. He was 83 years old.

Bill was a Wichita native who went to North High then joined the Army. After that he joined his father's Anderson Printing Co. as a partner. Because they were both printers, Mr. Anderson was a big fan of Benjamin Franklin and he collected Franklin memorabilia. His son, Brent, an assistant U.S. attorney in Wichita said "He even had a little printing shop set up in basement where he would hand-set type on a mini letter press, making cards with Franklin sayings on them." "He enjoyed that," Brent Anderson said. "It was his way of talking about Benjamin Franklin but also reminding people how printing used to be done."

Bill was a very civic-minded person. Before becoming mayor, he had been a member of a group that was the first to promote a civic center for Wichita. That group was the Wichita Jaycees. The civic center that they championed eventually became Century II. As luck would have it, Mr. Anderson was mayor when the center opened, and he got to do the honors at the ribbon-cutting, Brent Anderson said.

Bill was a Ben for Life Member of the Friends. He and his wife, Ruth, traveled many years with the Friends on their annual Franklin excursions. Bill will be missed by the members who were fortunate enough to have shared many Franklin moments with him and Ruth.

Franklin Tidbits



Franklin in Franklin Couty: The Allison-Antrim Museum in Greencastle, Penn., displayed the Brumbaugh Collection of Pennsylvania Governors' Signatures in January. The collection is only displayed every 4 years on the occasion of the election of a new governor. On loan from Ed Wine is Franklin's signature. Each governor's signature on a primary document is accompanied by a portrait and historical sketch of his service to the state.

Franklin brought to life in Comic Book: *Benjamin Franklin* originally published in 1956, the 48-page comic book, part of the Classics Illustrated series, has been digitally remastered and reprinted by Jack Lake Productions. It was originally produced by artists in the Iger Studio. Mike Gagnon worked on the reissue and observed "I was amazed at how much the modern media and publishing industries are based directly on his ideas." The work was adapted from Franklin's journals and other historical documents. The reissue is available from Amazon.com.



"No better relation than a faithful friend."

—Benjamin Franklin

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Seminar continued

Cecilia Brauer's glass armonica performance.

On Friday "Benjamin Franklin and the Germans in Pennsylvania: A Symposium" features talks by Friederike Baer, Ph.D. Assistant Professor of History at Penn State, Abington, John B. Frantz, Ph.D., Past President Pennsylvania Historical Association and Carla J. Mulford, Ph.D. Associate Professor of English, Penn State University at the Lutheran Theological Seminary. Curator of the Lutheran Archives Center, Jon Peterson, will speak on the Muhlenbergs and conduct a tour of the archives. Saturday includes a visit to the German Society of Philadelphia with a talk by Violet Lutz, Ph.D. Special Collections Librarian and continues with a tour to Historic Germantown and visits to Grumblethorpe, Wyck, Stenton and Historic Rittenhouse Town. A farewell dinner at the Brauhaus Schmitz continues the German theme. Watch for your brochure in the mail and contact Kathy DeLuca for more information at 856-833-1771 or kathydeluca@friendsoffranklin.org.

Franklin Math Puzzlers

By Aziz S. Inan, Ph.D., Electrical Engineering, University of Portland

Editor's Note: Below is the solution to the last math puzzle which appeared in the Winter Gazette and #20 a new one for you to try to solve.

Problem # 19. Benjamin Franklin's 305th birthday.

Benjamin Franklin's 305th birthday occurred this year. If you take the fourth power of each digit of number 305 and add the results, what number comes out? What is special about this number?

Solution: 706, the last three digits of Franklin's birth year. Adding the fourth powers of the digits of number 305 yields $3 \times 3 \times 3 \times 3 + 5 \times 5 \times 5 \times 5 + 0 = 706$. Since Franklin was born in 1706, 706 corresponds to the last three digits of his birth year. Interestingly enough, since $1706 + 706 = 1000 + 706$, the extra 1000 needed to add to 706 can also be obtained from the digits of number 305 as $5 \times 5 \times 5 \times 5 + (3 + 5)$.

Problem # 20. A person's age in 2011.

The product of numbers I and J equals a person's birth year B. The product of the leftmost and rightmost halves of B equal the sum of the reverses of numbers I and J. Determine this person's new age A in 2011 if A is ten times the difference of I and J.

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David Wallace
Joplin, MO

Descendant Family Level Member

Richard Bodman & Family
Faribault, MN

Stephen & Cheryl Walker
Lubbock, TX

Jeff E. Riley
Pittsburgh, PA

Special Thanks to Our Life Members!

William Anderson, Jr.
Wichita, KS
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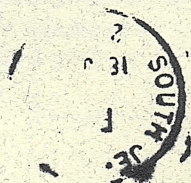
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