

<p>kingdom), on a freeshold. <i>freeshold</i>, about of thirty acres, aided by the smith's business, which had continued in the family till his time, the eldest son always bred to that business; a custom which he and my father followed as to their eldest sons. When I reached the registers at Ecton, I saw an account of their birth, and the name of their mother. I saw her name kept in the books for many years, and then it disappeared. By that register I perceived that I was the youngest son of my grandfather for five generations back. My grandfather Thomas, who was a dyer at Bunting, in Oxfordshire, with whom my father served an apprenticeship. There my grandfather...</p> <p>- 2 -</p> <p>died and lies buried. We see his gravestone in 1758. His eldest son Thomas lived in the house at Ecton, and left it with the intent to live in only a small daughter who with her husband, now Father of Wellingtonborough, sold it to Mr. Ised, now lord of the manor there. My grandfather had four sons that grew up, viz.; Thomas, John, Benjamin and Josiah. I will give you what account I can of them at this distance from my papers, and if these are not lost in my absence, you will among them find many more particular.</p> <p>Thomas, the son, with under his father, became a dyer, and his son, Benjamin, in learning to all my brothers were to an Esquire Palmer, then the principal gentleman in that parish, he qualified himself for the business of a tinsmith,^{tin-smith}, became a considerable man in the country; was a chief mover of all public-spirited undertakings for the county or town of Northampton, and his own village, of which many instances were related of him; and much taken notice of and patronized by the then Lord Halifax. He died in 1702, January 6, old style, just four years to a day before I was born.^{al-ayls} The account we received of his life and character from some old people at Ecton, I remember, struck me as something extraordinary, from its similarity to what you know of mine.</p> <p>"Had he died on the same day?" you said, "one might have supposed a transmigration."</p> <p>John was a dyer. I believe of woools. Benjamin was a silk dyer, serving an apprenticeship at London.</p> <p>- 3 -</p> <p>He was an ingenious man, I remember him well, for when I was a boy he came over to my father in Boston, and lived in the house with us some years. He lived to a great age. His grandson, Samuel Franklin, now lives in Boston. He left behind him two volume MSS.,^{MS.} of his own poetry, consisting of little occasional pieces addressed to his friends and relations, of which the following, sent to me, is a specimen.</p> <p>Sent to My Name upon a Report of his Inclination to Marital affairs July 1710</p> <p>Believe me Ben. It is a Dangerous Trade The Swindl has Many Mart as well as Made By it many fall Not Many Rise Makes Many poor Few Rich and fewer Wise Fills Towns with Ruin, fields with blosome Tis Showne in every Country, in every State of pride Poor Cities Rush to Day, in plenty flow War fills with want, Tomorrow, & with we</p>	<p>coming along, stepping on the thwarts, toward me, when he came up and struck at me, I clapped my hand under his crotch, and, rising, pitched him head foremost into the river. I knew he was a good swimmer, and so took him little by little, and got him to the shore. He lay on the bank, and I washed him with water, striking a few strokes to slide him away from him. He was ready to die with vexation, and obstinately would not promise to row. However, seeing him at last beginning to live, we lifted him and brought him home, dripping wet in the evening. He hardly exchanged a word with me, and a West India captain, who had a commission to procure a tutor for the sons of a gentleman at Barbados, happened to meet with him, agreed to carry him to Barbados. He left me then, promising to remit me the first money he should receive in order to discharge the debt; but he never heard of him after.</p> <p>The breaking of money of Vernon's was one of the first great <i>crata</i>,^{crata} of my life; and this affair shov'd that my father was not much out in his judgment when he supposed me too young to manage business of importance. But Sir William, on reading his letter, said he was too prudent.</p> <p>- 4 -</p> <p>There was great difference in persons, and therefore did not always accompany us; nor was youth always without it. "And since he will not let you up," says he, "I will do it myself." Give me an inventory of the things necessary to be had from England, and I will send for them. You shall repay me when you are able; I am resolv'd to have a good printer here, and I am sure you must succeed." This was spoken with such an appearance of confidence, that I had no doubt of his success when he said it. I had hitherto kept the proposition of writing a paper in Philadelphia, and I kept it so long, because I was anxious to get it published on the governor, probably some friend, that knew his beat; would have advised me not to rely on him, as I afterwards heard it is his known character to be liberal of promises which he never meant to keep. Yet, unsolicited as was by me, how could I think his generosity offers insincerity? I believ'd him one of the best men in the world.</p> <p>I presented him an inventory of a little printing-house, amounting by my computation to about one hundred pounds sterling.^{one hundred pounds sterling}. He lik'd it, but said if my being on the spot in England to chuse the types, and see that every thing was good of the kind, might not be of some advantage. "Then," says he,</p> <p>- 42 -</p> <p>"when there, you may make acquaintances, and establish correspondencies in the bookselling and stationery trade." I agreed that this might be advantageous. "Then," says he, "get yourself ready to go with <i>Annis, Annis</i>,^{Annis, Annis} which was the annual ship, and only one at that time usually passing between London and Philadelphia. But I will not go with you, as you will be liable to pay for your passage, etc., etc. I said, so I could work with Kehler, finding about the money Collins had got from me, and in my apprehensions of being call'd upon by Vernon, which, however, did not happen for some years after.</p> <p>I believe he maintained mentioning that, in my first voyage from Boston, being bound for New York, I had a load of Block Island, our people set about catching cod, and hauled up a great many. But when I had stuck to my resolution of not eating animal food, and on this occasion consider'd, with my master Tryon, the taking every fish as a kind of unprovoked mister, since none of them had, or ever could do any injury that might justify the slaughter. All seemed very reasonable. But I had formerly been a great lover of fish, and when this came into my hands out of the frying-pans, it smelt admirably well. I balanced some time between principle and gain.</p>	<p>white any prospect remain'd of the Merediths' fulfilling their part of our agreement, because I thought myself under great obligations to them for what they had done, and would do if they could; but, if they finally fail'd in their performance, and our partnership must be dissolv'd, I should then think myself at liberty to accept the assistance of my friends.</p> <p>Thus the master rested for some time, when I said to my partner, "Perhaps your father is dead as far as we are concerned; but if that is the case, tell me, and I will resign the place to you, and go about my business."</p> <p>"No," said he, "my father has really been disappointed, and is really unable; and I am unwilling to distress him further. I see this is a</p> <p>- 78 -</p> <p>Business I am not fit for. I was a bred a farmer, and it was folly in me to come to town, and put myself, at thirty years of age, an apprentice to learn a new trade. Many of our Welsh people are going to settle in North Carolina, where land is cheap. I am inclin'd to go with them, and follow my old employment. You may find friends to assist you, and when you are well settled, return to us again; retain your father, and a man saddle'd you, he has assisted you in your business, and given me thirty, forty, and a man saddle'd. I will relinquish the partnership, and leave the whole in their hands." I agreed to this proposal; it was draw up in writing, sign'd, and seal'd immediately. I gave him what he demanded, and he went soon after to Carolina, from whence he sent me next two long letters, containing the best account that had been given of that country, the climate, the soil, husbandry, etc., for in those matters he was very judicious. I printed them in the papers, and they gave great satisfaction to the publick.</p> <p>As soon as he was gone, I recur'd to my two friends; and because I would not give an unkind preference to either, I took half of</p> <p>- 79 -</p> <p>what each had offend'd and I wanted of one, and half of the other: paid off the company's debts, and went on with the business in my own name, advertising that the partnership was dissolved. I could this was in or about the year 1729.</p> <p>About this time there was a cry among the people for more paper money, only fifteen thousand pounds being issued.^{issu'd} in the previous, and that soon to be sent. The wealthy inhabitants opposed any addition, being afraid all paper currency, from an apprehension that it would depreciate, as it had done in New England, to the prejudice of all creditors. We had discussed this point in our Junto, where I was on the side of an addition, being perswad'd that the first small sum struck in 1723 had done good much by increasing the trade, employment, and number of inhabitants in the city; still I now saw all the old houses inhabited, and many new ones built, and the inhabitants increased. So when I first walk'd about the streets of Philadelphia, eating my mill, I saw almost most of the houses in Walnut-street, between Second and Front streets, with ills on their doors. "To be let"; and many likewise in Chestnut-street and other streets, which made me then think the inhabitants of the city were desirous of it one after another.</p> <p>Our</p> <p>- 80 -</p> <p>Oblig'd as we were to Mr. Collinson for his present of the tube, etc., I thought right he should be inform'd of our success in using it, and wrote him several letters containing accounts of our experiments. He got them read in the Royal Society, where they were not at first much worth so much notice as to be printed in their Transactions, which were for Mr. Collinson, and the rest of the Royal Society, to be sent to the Royal Society, I sent to Dr. Mifflin, an admittant of my name, and one of the members also of our society, who wrote me word that it had been read, but was laugh'd at by the connoisseurs. The papers, however, which were shown to Dr. Fothergill, he thought them of too much value to be sturd, and advise't the printing of them. Mr. Collinson then gave them to Cave for publication in his Gentleman's Magazine; but he chose to print them separately in a pamphlet, and Dr. Fothergill wrote the preface. Cave, it seems, judged rightly for his profit, for by the pamphlets that arrived afterward they swell'd to a quarto volume, which has had five editions, and cost him nothing for copy-money.</p> <p>- 81 -</p> <p>It¹⁷⁰⁹ was, however, some time before those papers were much taken notice of in England. A copy of them happening to fall into the hands of the Count de Buffon, a philosopher deservedly of great reputation in France, and, indeed, all over Europe, he prevailed with M. Dallard to translate them into French, and they were printed at Paris, published by the Chez le Roi, Nollet, preceding the translation of the papers to the royal family. An add're informant, who has given me a copy of the original paper, which he had in his general view. He could not at first believe that such a work came from America, and said it must have been fabricated by his enemies at Paris, to decry his system. Afterwards, having been assur'd that there really existed such a person as Franklin at Philadelphia, he had doubtless, he wrote and published a volume of Letters, chiefly address'd to me, defending his theory, and denying the verity of my experiments, except Monsieur B., of Paris, his fr^e and immediate disciple.</p> <p>What gave my book more sudden and general celebrity, was the success of one of its proposed experiments, made by Messrs. Dallard and De Lor at Marly, for drawing lightning from the clouds. This engag'd the public attention every where. M. de Lor, who had an apparatus for experimental philosophy, and lectur'd in that branch of science, undertook to repeat what he called the Philadelphia Experiments; and after they were performed</p>
<p>Page 4</p>	<p>Page 22</p>	<p>Page 40</p>
<p>describes and then models a method of debating controversial topics by means of open-ended, non-confrontational questions. Franklin says that he took this kind of method to heart, training himself to handle disputes by avoiding dogmatic statements of his own position and instead asking careful questions so as better to learn the positions of others.</p> <p>- [UVAstutstaff]</p>	<p>Leopiskosmaphon (430-354 B.C.E.) was an ancient Greek historian whose writings included the "Memorabilia," a text containing many Socratic-style dialogues. Source: http://www.sip.univ.edu/xenoph/</p>	<p>Oblig'd as we were to Mr. Collinson for his present of the tube, etc., I thought right he should be inform'd of our success in using it, and wrote him several letters containing accounts of our experiments. He got them read in the Royal Society, where they were not at first much worth so much notice as to be printed in their Transactions, which were for Mr. Collinson, and the rest of the Royal Society, to be sent to the Royal Society, I sent to Dr. Mifflin, an admittant of my name, and one of the members also of our society, who wrote me word that it had been read, but was laugh'd at by the connoisseurs. The papers, however, which were shown to Dr. Fothergill, he thought them of too much value to be sturd, and advise't the printing of them. Mr. Collinson then gave them to Cave for publication in his Gentleman's Magazine; but he chose to print them separately in a pamphlet, and Dr. Fothergill wrote the preface. Cave, it seems, judged rightly for his profit, for by the pamphlets that arrived afterward they swell'd to a quarto volume, which has had five editions, and cost him nothing for copy-money.</p>
<p>judicess These lines are from the 1711 poem "An Essay on Criticism" by Alexander Pope, though Franklin slightly misquotes, probably relying on his memory.</p> <p>- [UVAstutstaff]</p>	<p>Shufeldt's goal is referring to works by Anthony Ashley Cooper, the earl of Shaftesbury, and Anthony and Collins. Both authors were well known in this period for their philosophical skepticism and Collins' their classification as "deists." They believed that although a deity sort existed and had created the known universe, he, or perhaps better, it was not much concerned with the everyday doings of that creation. Franklin seems to have a read of a lot of deistic philosophy, which was widely influential in this period.</p> <p>- [UVAstutstaff]</p>	<p>Franklin is misremembering here, as there were other newspapers before those. But <i>The New England Courant</i> was indeed a landmark in newspaper publication in the American colonies. English as it included poetry, opinion pieces, and other kinds of content beyond the official news. And it Courant was the place where Benjamin Franklin's first surviving publications, his essays published in the Courant under the pseudonym "Silence Dogood" reached print. James Franklin ran afoul of the government several times in the course of publishing the newspaper (at one point, Benjamin took over as the colonial editor while his brother was in jail), and it was eventually suppressed, causing publication in June 1726.</p> <p>- [UVAstutstaff]</p>
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<p>Page 58</p>	<p>Page 76</p>	<p>Page 94</p>
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A friendly Correspondence

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as neighbors and old acquaintances had continued between me and Mrs. Read's family, who all had a regard for me as one of my first belongings in their house. I was greatly grieved at the change in their affairs, when I sometimes was of service. I pitied poor Miss Read's unfortunate situation, who was greatly distressed, sold out chearfully, and avoided company. I considered my goodness and inconstancy when in London as in a great degree the cause of her unhappiness; tho' the mother was good enough to think the fault more than mine, as she had prevented our marriage before I went thither, and persuaded the other match in its absence. Our mutual affection was restored, but there were many difficulties to our union, which was easily overcome by mutual sacrifice being made to do the best for each other. but this could not easily be prov'd, because of the distance, and the time was a report of his death, it was not certain. Then, tho' it should be true, he had left many debts, which his successor might be call'd upon to pay. We ventured, however, over all these difficulties, and took her to wife, September 1st, 1730.¹⁷³⁰ None of the inconveniences happened that we had apprehended, she proved a good and faithful helpmate, assisted me much by attending the shop; we thrived together, and have ever mutually endeavoured to make each other happy. Thus I corrected that great *error*, as well as I could.

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About this time, our club meeting, not at a tavern, but in a little room of Mr. Grace's, set apart for that purpose, a proposition was made by me, that, since our books were often referred to in our discussions upon the merits, it might be convenient to us to have them altogether where we met, that upon occasion they might be consulted, and thus clutting books to a common library, we should, while we lik'd to keep them, have them easily at hand, and advantageously. This was agreed to, and so it has been ever since, which has been as beneficial to us as each owner of the whole. It was lik'd and agreed to, and we filled one end of the room with such books as we could best spare. The number was not so great as we expected; and they had been of great use, yet some inconveniences occurring for want of due care of them, the collection, after about a year, was separated, and each took his books home again.

And now I set out my first project of a library, that for a subscription library.¹⁷³⁰ However, I drew up the proposals, got them put into form by our great scrivener, Brocken, and with the help of my friends in the Junto, procured fifty subscribers of forty shillings each to begin with, and ten shillings a year for fifty years, the term the company was to continue. We afterwards obtained a charter, the company being increased to one hundred: this was the mother of all the North American subscription libraries, now so numerous.

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It becomes a great thing itself, and continually increasing. These libraries have improved the general conversation of the Americans, made the common tradesmen and farmers as intelligent as most gentlemen from other countries, and perhaps have contributed in some degree to the stand so generally made throughout the colonies in defense of their privileges.

Memo.

Thus far was written with the intention express'd in the Beginning and therefore contains several little family Anecdotes of no Importance to others. What follows was written many years after in compliance

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frame another conformable to the proprietary instructions. This of course the governor pass'd, and I was then at liberty to proceed on my voyage. But, in the meantime, the paquet had sailed with my sea-stores, which was some loss to me, and my only recompense was his lordship's thanks for my service, all the credit of

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obtaining the accommodation failing to his share.

He set out for New York before me; and, as the time for dispatching the paquet-boats was at his disposition, and there were two then remaining, one of which, he said, was to sail very soon, I requested him to let me have the other, that I might have time to get ready for my passage. He said, "I will have you to sail on Saturday next, but I may not have time to receive you, if you are there by Monday morning, you will be in time, but do not delay longer." By some accidental hindrance at a ferry, it was Monday noon before I arrived, and I was much afraid she might have sailed; as the wind was fair; but I was soon made easy by the information that she was still in the harbor, and would not move till the next day. One would imagine that it was now on the very point of departing for Europe. I thought so, but I was not then so well acquainted with his lordship's character, of which *indiction* was one of the strongest features. It shall give some instances. It was about the beginning of April that I came to New York, and I

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think it was near the end of June before we sail'd. There were then two of the paquet-boats, which had been long in port, but were detained for the general's letters, which were always to ready-to-morrow. Another paquet arriv'd; she was too晚了; and, before we sail'd, a fourth was expected. Ours was the first to be despatched, and the general having been informed in all cases, that the paquet-boats were to be sent off, and the messengers uneasy about their letters, and the orders, he had given for insurance (it being war time) for full powder; but their anxiety avoid'd nothing; his lordship's letters were not ready; and yet whenever waited on him found him always at his desk, per hand, and concluded he must needs write abundantly.

Going myself one morning to pay my respects, I found in his antechamber one Innis, a messenger of Philadelphia, who had come from thence express'd with a paquet from Governor Denny for the General. He delivered to me some letters from my friends there,

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which occasion'd my inquiring when he was to return, and where he lodg'd, that I might send some letters by him. He told me he was order'd to call at noon for the general's answer to the governor, and should set off immediately, but that he had not done so. A little while after I met him again in the same place. "So you are not return'd, Innis?" "Not yet, Sir; I am not going yet." "How so?" "I have called here by order every morning these two weeks past for his lordship's letter, and it is not yet ready." "Is it possible, when he is so great a writer? for I see him constantly at his escritore." "Yes," says Innis, "but he is like St. George on the signs, *always on horseback, and never rides on.*" This observation of the messenger was, it seems, well founded; for, when in England, I understood that Mr. Pitt gave it as one reason for removing this general, and sending Generals Altham & Wolfe, that the minister never heard from him, and could not know what he was doing.

This daily expectation of sailing, and all the three paquets going down to Sandy Hook, to join the fleet there, the passengers thought it best to be on

and yet, good God! how he writes!" When we next met, Ralph discovered the trick we had plaid him, and Osborne was a little laught at.

This transaction fixed Ralph in his resolution of becoming a poet. I did all I could to dissuade him from it, but he continued scribbling verses till Page¹⁷³⁰ cured him. He became, however, a pretty good prose writer. More of him hereafter. As I may not have occasion again to mention the other two, I shall just remark here, that Watson died in my arms a few years after, much lamented, being the best of our set. Osborne went to the West Indies, where he became an eminent lawyer and made money, but died young. He and I had made a serious agreement,

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that the one who happen'd first to die should, if possible, make a friendly visit to the other, and acquaint him how he found things in that separate state. But he never fulfill'd his promise.

The governor, seeming to like my company, bad me frequently to his house, and his setting me up was always mentioned as a fixed thing. I was to take with me letters recommends to a number of his friends, besides the letter of credit to furnish me with the necessary money for purchasing the press and types, paper, etc. For these letters I was appointed to call at different times, when they were to ready, but a future time was still named. That was went on till the ship, whose departure too had been several times postponed, was on the point of sailing. Then, when I call'd to take my leave, and receive the letters, his secretary, Dr. Baard, came out to me and said the governor was extremely busy in writing, but would be down at Newcastle before the evening, when his letters would be ready.

Ralph though anxious, had no difficulty in determining to accompany me in this voyage. It was thought he intended to establish a correspondence, and obtain goods to sell on commission; but I found afterwards, that, tho' some discontent with his wife's relations, he purposed to have her on their hands, and never return again. Having taken leave of my friends, and interchang'd some promises with Miss Read, I left Philadelphia in the ship, which anchor'd at Newcastle. The governor was there; but when I went to his lodging, the secretary came to me with his civilest message in the world, that he could not then see me, being engaged in business of the utmost importance,

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but should send the letters to me on board, would me heartily a good voyage and a speedy return, etc. I returned on board a paquet-boat, but still not doubting.

Mr. Andrew Hamilton.¹⁷³⁰ A famous lawyer of Philadelphia, had taken passage in the same ship for himself and son, and, though I was not aware of it, he had been engaged in some business in Ireland, and was bound for New York, in Maryland, had engag'd the great cabin, so that Ralph and I were forced to take up with a berth in the steerage, and none of board knowing us, were consider'd as ordinary persons. But Mr. Hamilton and his son (it was James, since governor) return'd from Newcastle to Philadelphia, the father being recall'd by a great fee to plead for a seized ship; and, just before we sail'd, Col'd French coming on board, and showing me great respect, I was more taken notice of, and, with my friend Ralph, invit'd by the other gentleman to come into the cabin, there being now room. Accordingly, we remove d'further.

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times as much clear revenue to the crown as the postoffice of Ireland. Since that imprudent transaction, they have receiv'd from it not one farthing!

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The business of the postoffice occasion'd my taking a voyage this year to New England, where the College of Cambridge, of our own motion, presented me with the degree of Master of Arts, Yale College, in Connecticut, had made me also a similar compliment. Thus, without studying in any college, I came to partake of their honour. They were consider'd in consequence of my improvements and discoveries in the electric branch of natural philosophy.

In 1754, when France being again apprehended, a congress of commissioners from the different colonies was, by an order of the Lords of Trade, to be assembled at Albany, there to confer with the chiefs of the Six Nations concerning the means of defending both their country and ours. Governor Hamilton, having receiv'd this order, acquainted the House with it, requesting they would furnish proper presents for the Indians, to be given on this occasion; and naming the speaker (Mr. Norris) and myself to join Mr. Thomas Penn and Mr. Secretary Peters as commissioners to act for Pennsylvania. The House approv'd the nomination, and provided

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the goods for the present, and tho' they did not much like treating out of the provinces; and we met the other commissioners at Albany about the middle of June.

In our way thither, I projected and drew a plan for the union of all the colonies under one government, so far as might be necessary for defense, and other important general purposes. As we pass'd thru' New York, I had there shown my project to Mr. James Alexander and Mr. Kennedy, two gentlemen of great knowledge in public affars, and being fortifyed by their approbation, I ventur'd to lay it before the Congress. It then appeared that several of the commissioners had form'd plans of the same kind. A previous question was first raised, whether a union should be established, which pass'd in the affirmative unanimously. A committee was then appointed, one member from each colony, to consider the several plans and report. Mine happen'd to be prefer'd, and, with a few amendments, was accordingly

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reported.

By this plan the general government was to be administered by a president-general, appointed and supported by the crown, and a grand council was to be chosen by the representatives of the people of the several colonies, met in their respective assemblies. The debates upon it in Congress went on daily, hand in hand with the Indian business. Many objections and difficulties were start'd, but at length they were all overcom'd, and the plan was generally agree'd to, and cou'd only be transmited to the Board of Trade and Plantations, and the several governments, to take it into consideration, and assent thereto; altho' it was all thought there was too much prerogative in it, and in England it was judg'd to have too much of the democratical.

The Board of Trade therefore did not approve of it, nor recommend it for the approbation of his majesty; but another scheme was form'd, supposed to answer the same purpose better, whereby the governors of the provinces, with some members of their respective councils, were to meet and order the raising of troops.

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profession generally, and that by mild, encouraging methods. Under him I acquired fair writing pretty soon, till I failed in my attempts to become a poet. After him, Mr. Atkinson, who was talk'd of to assist my father in his business, which was that of a tailor, draper, and soap-seller, a business he was not bred to, but was assumer'd on his arrival in New England, and on finding his dying trade would not maintain his family, being in little request. Accordingly, I was employ'd in cutting wick for the candles, filling the clipping mold and the molds for soot-candles, attending the shop, going of errands, etc.

Left to earn money, the water was the chief in and about his father's house, to wash clothes, and to manage boats, and when in a boat or canoe with other boys, I was commonly allow'd to go to town, especially in time of easy difficulty, and upon other occasions I was generally a leader among the boys, and sometimes let them into scrapes, of which I will mention one instance, as it shows an early projecting spirit, tho' not then justly conducted.

There was a salt-marl that bounded part of the mill-pond, on the edge of which, at high water, we used to stand to fish for minnows. By much trampling, we had made a mere quagmire. My proposal was to build a wharf there fit for us to stand up on, and I showed my comrades a large heap of stones, which were intended for a new house near the marsh, and which would very well suit

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our purpose. Accordingly, in the evening, when the workmen were gone, I assembled a number of my play-fellows, and working with them diligently (so many gammons,¹⁷³⁰ sometimes two or three to a stone, we brought them all away and built our little wharf. The next morning the workmen were surprised at missing the stones, which were found in our wharf. Inquiry was made after the removers; we were discovered and complained of; several of us were correct'd by our fathers; and though I pleaded the usefulness of the work, mine convinced that nothing was useful which was honest.

I think you may like to know something of his person and character. He had an excellent constitution of body, was of middle stature, but well set, and very strong; he was ingenuous, could draw prettily, was skilled a little in arithmetic, and had a good deal of knowledge in navigation. He was a good sailor, and as he was, so he could do in the evening after the business of the day was over, it was extremely agreeable to hear. He had a mechanical genius too, and, on occasion, was very handy in the use of other tradesmen's tools, but his great excellency lay in a sound understanding and solid judgment in prudential matters, both in private and publick affars. In the latter, indeed, he was never employ'd, the numerous family he had had, and the constant care of his children, rendering him less desirous of being close to trade; but I remember well he being frequently visited by leading people, who consulted him in disputes in affairs of the town or of the church he belonged to, and showed a good deal of respect for his judgment.

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and advise: he was also much consulted by private persons about their affairs when any difficulty occurred, and frequently chosen an arbitrator between contending parties.

At his table he liked to have, as often as he could, some sensible friend or neighbor to converse with, and often took care to start some ingenious or useful topic for discourse, which tend to improve the minds of children. By this means he turn'd our attention to what was good, just, and prudent in the conduct of life; and little or no notice was ever taken of what related to the vices, the conduct of the Junto, the church he belonged to, and showed a good deal of respect for his judgment.

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I assisted him with an assortment of new types, those of his father being in a manner worn out. Thus it was that I made my brother ample amends for the service I had depriv'd him of by leaving him so early.

In 1736 I lost one of my sons, a fine boy of four years old, by the small-pox, taken in the common way. I long regretted bitterly, and still do, that he did not live to my invocatian. This I mention for the sake of posterity, that it may be of service to others that operation, on the supposition that they should never forgive themselves if a child died under it, my example showing that the regret may be the same either way, and that, therefore, the safer should be chosen.

Our ship, the Junta, was found so useful, and afford'd such satisfaction to the master, that several were desirous of introducing their friends, which cou'd not well be done without exceeding what he had serv'd as a convenient vessel, viz. twelve. We had from the beginning made a rule to keep it in our possession a secret, which was pretty well observ'd; the intention was to avoid applications of improper persons for admittance, some of whom, perhaps, we might find it difficult to repel. It was one of those who were against any addition to our number, but, instead of it, made in writing a proposal, that every member separately should endeavor to form a subordinate club, with the same rules respecting queries, etc., and without informing them of the connection with the Junta. The advantages

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proposed were, the improvement of so many young citizens by the use of our institutions; our better acquaintance with the general sentiments of the inhabitants on any occasion; as the Junta member might propose what queries she should desire, and was to report to the Junta what pass'd in his separate club; the promotion of no particular interests in business by more extensive recommendation, and the increase of our influence in publick affars, and our power of doing good by spreading thro' the several clubs the sentiments of the Junta.

The project was approu'd, and every member undertook to form his club, but they did not all succeed. Five formed, and the Junta, which was the largest, was the most successful. It was composed of the Junta, the Band, etc. They were useful to themselves, and afford'd us a good deal of amusement, information, and instruction, besides answering, in some considerable degree, our views of influencing the public opinion on particular occasions, of which I shall give some instances in course of time as they happen.

My first promotion was my being chosen, in 1736, clerk of the General Assembly. The choice was made that year with-

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the year following, but the year following, when I again propoul'd the choice, like that of the members, being annual, a new member made a long speech in favor of some other candidate. I was, however, chosen, which was the more agreeable to me, as, besides the pay for the imediately service as clerk, the place gave me a better opportunity of keeping up an interest among the members, which serv'd to me the business of printing the laws, taxes, paper money, and other occasional jobs for the public, that, on the whole, were very profitable.

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official title of governor. When Penn died in 1718, Keith tried to gain more power by creating a power base in the assembly. A political falling out took place when Keith sided with tradesmen and artisans on the side of the Whigs. In 1723, he was recalled to England. Keith's political opponents worked to get him recalled from his position in 1723. After his recall, he returned to England to appeal to the king for the governorship of the three lower colonies, but he was unsuccessful. He also attempted a few other political ministries, including an attempt at the governorship of New Jersey and the creation of a new colony called Georgia. He was unsuccessful at these as well. Penn found himself in financial trouble which led to a case against him, and he spent 1734 and 1735 in debtor's prison. After this, he became a journalist, and he died on November 18, 1749 in London. Source: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. [\[UVASustaff\]](#)

French: Colonel John French was the speaker of the Assembly. "Madrina" is a fortified wine (that is, a wine made on the basis of fortified wine). It was produced in the city of Madrina, Portugal, located on the island of the west coast of Africa. According to legend, it was the wine that King John II of Portugal brought back from his campaign in 1385. King John II, who was the King of Portugal at the time, had a passion for wine and was known for his love of wine. He was a great admirer of the wine produced in Madrina and decided to bring it back to Portugal. He sent a使团 (ambassadorial delegation) to the King of Madrina and asked for the wine. The King of Madrina agreed and sent the wine to King John II. King John II then had the wine transported to Portugal and it became a popular wine in Portugal.

show: A range or "party" show would have been a small box carried by a traveling showman that showed illustrations and scenes to be looked at, often through a small opening or peephole. They varied from perspective scenes of interesting places to, in some cases, pornography, and are origins of the modern "peep show." [\[UVASustaff\]](#)

Collins: John Collins, Little is known of him beyond what Franklin says about in this memoir. [\[UVASustaff\]](#)

lampion: Highly scented someone or something in writing. Source: *Oxford English Dictionary*

strumpet: Prostitutes or unchaste women. Source: *Oxford English Dictionary*

Burnet: William Burnet (1699-1729) was at this time the colonial governor of New York and New Jersey. His father Gilbert Burnet (1643-715) was an important philosopher, cleric, and historian, whose multivolume *History of the Reformation in England* (1679-81) was a landmark history of the English church. Gilbert Burnet became an ally of both Charles II and William III, the latter of whom made him the Bishop of Salisbury.

<p>was well or ill dressed, in or out of season, of good or bad flavor, preferable or inferior to this or that other thing of the kind; so that it was his own in such a perfect inattention to those matters, as to be quite indifferent what kind of food was set before me, and so unconcerned of it, that to this day if I am asked I can scarce tell a few hours after dinner what I dined upon. This was of a convenience to me in travelling, where my companions have been sometimes very unhappy for want of a suitable gratification of their more delicate, because better instructed, tastes and appetites.</p> <p>My mother had likewise an excellent constitution: she suckled all her ten children. I never knew either my father or mother to have any sickness but that of which they dy'd, he at 89, and she at 85 years of age. They lie buried together at Boston, where I some years since placed a marble over their grave, with this inscription: JOSEPH FRANKLIN, and ABIAH his wife; lie here interred. They lay buried together in westlock fifty five years.</p> <p>Without an estate, or any gainful employment, By constant labor and industry, with God's blessing.</p> <p>They maintained a large family consisting of thirteen children and brought up thirteen children and seven grandchildren reputably.</p> <p>For instance, master, Be encouraged to diligence in thy calling. And distinct not Providence. He was a pious and prudent man; She, a discreet and virtuous woman. They had one son, In filial regard to their memory, Places this stone.</p> <p>J.F. born 1655, died 1742, AEt 89. A.F. born 1667, died 1752, 85.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">- 9 -</p> <p>By my rambling digressions I perceive myself to be growing old. I used to write more methodically. But one does not dress for private company as for a publick ball. This perhaps only negligence.</p> <p>To return: I continued thus employed in my father's business for two years, that is, till I was twelve years old; and my brother John, who was bred to that business, having left my father, married, and set up for himself, I was sent to school, and then to New Haven, where I remained about three years, and then went to a dame-school there. But the dislike to the dame-cooking my father was under apprehensions that if he did not find me for me more agreeable, I should break away and go to sea, as his son Josiah had done, to his great vexation. He therefore sometimes took me to walk with him, and see joiners, bricklayers, turners, braziers, etc., at their work, that he might observe my inclination, and endeavor to fix it on some trade or other on land. It has ever since been a pleasure to me to see good workmen handle their tools; and it has been useful</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 8</p>	<p>understanding that Colonel French had brought on board the governor's despatches, I ask'd the captain for those letters that were to be under my care. He said all were put into the bag together and he could not tell at them; but, before we landed in England, I should have an opportunity of picking them out; so I was satisfied for the present, and we proceeded on our voyage. We had a sociable company in the cabin, and lived uncommonly well; having the addition of all Mr. Hamilton's stores, who had laid in plentifully. In this passage Mr. Denham contracted a friendship for me that continued during his life. The voyage was otherwise not a pleasant one, as we had a great deal of bad weather.</p> <p>When we came into the Channel, the captain kept his word with me, and gave me an opportunity of examining the bag for the letters that were to be under my care. I picked out six or seven by the handwriting, though I might have known them by name, especially as one of them was directed to Basket, the king's printer, and another to some stationer. We arriv'd in London the 24th of December, 1724. I waited upon the stationer, who came first in my way, delivering the letter as from Governor Keith. I have lately found him to be a compleat rascal, and I will have nothing to do with him, nor receive any letters from him." So, putting letter into my hand, he turned on his heel and left to serve some customer I was surprised to find these were not the governor's letters; and, after recollecting and comparing circumstances, I begone doubt his sincerity. I found my friend</p> <p style="text-align: center;">- 49 -</p> <p>satisfied for the present, and we proceeded on our voyage. We had a sociable company in the cabin, and lived uncommonly well; having the addition of all Mr. Hamilton's stores, who had laid in plentifully. In this passage Mr. Denham contracted a friendship for me that continued during his life. The voyage was otherwise not a pleasant one, as we had a great deal of bad weather.</p> <p>When we came into the Channel, the captain kept his word with me, and gave me an opportunity of examining the bag for the letters that were to be under my care. I picked out six or seven by the handwriting, though I might have known them by name, especially as one of them was directed to Basket, the king's printer, and another to some stationer. We arriv'd in London the 24th of December, 1724. I waited upon the stationer, who came first in my way, delivering the letter as from Governor Keith. 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Among the pictures he said he, "you will improve yourself, and when you return to America, you will set up to greater advantages."</p> <p>We both of us happened to know, as well as the stationer, that Riddleston, the attorney, was a very knave. He had half ruin'd Miss Read's father by persuading him to be bound for him. By this letter it appear'd there was a secret scheme on foot to the prejudice of Hamilton (suppos'd to be then coming over with us); and that Keith was concerned in it with Riddleston. Denham, who was a friend of Hamilton's thought he ought to be acquainted with it, so, when he arriv'd in England, which was soon after, partly from remsentment and ill-will to Keith and Riddleston, and partly from goodwill to him, I waited on him, and gave him the news. He thank'd me cordially, the information being of great service to him; and from that time he became my friend, greatly to my advantage afterwards on many occasions.</p> <p>But what a set of rogues, of a gross, rascally, shiftless crew, and impudent so grossly to a poor ignorant boy! In so high he had acquired. He would play everybody, and, having little to give, he gave expectation. He was otherwise an ingenuous, sensible man, a pretty good writer, and a good governor for the people; tho' not for his constituents, the proprietaries, whose instructions he sometimes disregarded. Several of our best laws were of his planning, and passed during his administration.</p> <p>Ralph and I were inseparable companions. We took lodgings together in Little Britain,^{late} at three shillings and sixpence a week as much as we could afford. He found some relatives, but they were poor, and</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 26</p>	<p>building of forts, etc., and to draw on the treasury of Great Britain for the expense, which was afterwards to be refunded by an act of Parliament laying a tax on America. My plan, with my reasons in support of it, is to be found among my</p> <p style="text-align: center;">- 170 -</p> <p>political papers that are printed.</p> <p>Being the winter following in Boston, I had much conversation with Governor Shirley upon both the plans of war passed between us on the occasion also be seen among those papers. The different and contrary reasons of dislike to my plan makes me suspect that it was really the true medium; and I am still of opinion it would have been happy for both sides the water if it had been adopted. The colonies, so united, would have been sufficiently strong to have defended themselves; there would then have been no need of troops from England; of course, the subsequent pretence for taxing America, and the bloody contest it occasioned, would have been avoided. But such mistakes are not new; history is full of the errors of states and princes.</p> <p>Look round the habitable world, how few Know their own good, or, knowing it, pursue!</p> <p>Those who govern, having much business on their hands, do not generally like to take the trouble of considering and carrying into execution new projects. The best public measures are therefore seldom adopted from previous wisdom, but <i>for the occasion</i>.</p> <p>The Governor of Pennsylvania, in sending it down to the Assembly, express'd his approbation of the plan, "as appearing to him to be drawn up with great clearness and strength of</p> <p style="text-align: center;">- 171 -</p> <p>judgment, and therefore recommended it as well worthy of their closest and most serious attention." The House, however recommended it as well worthy of their closest and most serious attention. The Assembly, I thought, did not consider it well founded in the nature of the case, and therefore rejected it. I thought it was well founded in the nature of the case, and therefore rejected it without paying any attention to it at all, to my no small mortification.</p> <p>In my journey to Boston this year, I met at New York with our new governor, Mr. Morris, just arriv'd there from England, who had been sent over to succeed Mr. Hurlstone, who, it is said, died in consequence of his having been sent over to succeed him. Mr. Morris, who, it is said, was a man of great talents, and a good administrator, subjected him to hard usage. Mr. Morris did not, I thought he must expect as uncomfortable an administration. I said, "You may, on the contrary, have a very comfortable one, if you will only take care not to enter into any dispute with the Assembly." "My dear friend," says he pleasantly, "how can you advise my avoiding disputes? You know I love disputing: it is one of my greatest pleasures; however, to shew the regard I have for your counsel, I promise you I will, if possible, avoid them." He has, however, been compelled to dispute, being eloquent, an acute sophist, and, therefore, generally successful in argumentative controversies. He had been brought up to it from a boy, his father, as I have heard, accustoming his children to dispute.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">- 172 -</p> <p>put one with another for his diversion, while sitting at table after dinner; but I think the practice was not wise; for, in the course of my observation, these disputing, contradicting, and confuting people are generally</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 80</p>	<p>board, led by a sudden order the ships should sail, and they be left behind. There, if I remember right, we were about six weeks, consuming our sea-stores, and oblig'd to proceed no more. At length the fleet sail'd, the General, with all his forces, went with it, and the rest of us, who had been bound to the fleet, all the passengers, were suddenly ordered to board the General ship ready to receive her discharge when they should be ready. We were off five days before we got a letter with leave to part, and then our ship waited the fleet and steer'd for England. The other two paques were still detained, carried them with him to Halifax, where he staid some time to exercise the men in sharp attack upon shore, then, after't his mind to besiege Louisburg, and return'd to New York, with all his troops, together with the two paques above mentioned, and their passengers. During his absence the French had taken Fort George, on the frontier of that province, and the savages had massacred many of the garrison after capitulation.</p> <p>I saw afterwards in London Captain Bonnell, who commanded one of those paques. He told me that, when he had been detain'd a month, he accosted his lordship that his ship was grown foul, to a degree</p> <p style="text-align: center;">- 202 -</p> <p>that necessarily hindered her sailing, a point of consequence for a paquebot, and required an allowance of time to have her down and clean her bottom. He was asked how long that would require. He answer'd three days. The general replied, "If you can do it in one day, I give leave; otherwise not; for you must certainly sail the day after tomorrow." So he never obtain'd leave, though detained afterwards from day to day during full three months.</p> <p>I saw also in London one of Bonnell's passengers, who was so enraged against his lordship for detaining him so long at New York, and then carrying him to Halifax and back again, that he swore it would sue for damages. Whether he did or not, I never heard; but, as he represented the injury to his affairs, it was very considerable.</p> <p>On the whole, I wonder'd much how such a man came to be intrusted with so important a business as the conduct of a great army; but, having since seen more of the great world, and the means of obtaining, and motives for giving places, my</p> <p style="text-align: center;">- 203 -</p> <p>wonder is diminished. General Shirley, on whom the command of the army devolved upon the death of Braddock, would, in my opinion, if confined in place, have made a much better campaign than that of Loudoun in 1757, which was frivolous, expensive, and disgraceful to our nation beyond conception; for, tho' Shirley was not a bold soldier, he was sensible and sagacious in himself, and attentive to good advice from others, capable of forming judicious plans, and quick and active in carrying them into execution. Loudoun, however, with his generalship, was, I believe, a man of great talents, and a good administrator, but, I fear, did not fully understand his duty. From Grey, as I believe, he derived all his military opinions, and distrust'd our trade, by a long enquiry on the expediency of a blockade, or protection of shipping supplies from being obtain'd by the enemy, but in reality for beating down their price in favor of the contractors, in whose profits, it was said, perhaps from suspicion only, he had a share. And, when at length the embargo was taken off, by neglecting to send notice of it to Charlestown, the Carolina fleet was detain'd near three months longer, whereby their bottoms were so much damaged by the worm that</p> <p style="text-align: center;">- 204 -</p> <p>would, in my opinion, if confined in place, have made a much better campaign than that of Loudoun in 1757, which was frivolous, expensive, and disgraceful to our nation beyond conception; for, tho' Shirley was not a bold soldier, he was sensible and sagacious in himself, and attentive to good advice from others, capable of forming judicious plans, and quick and active in carrying them into execution. Loudoun, however, with his generalship, was, I believe, a man of great talents, and a good administrator, but, I fear, did not fully understand his duty. 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- [UVAutodraft]

drunken/drinking or alcohol consumption. Source: *Oxford English Dictionary*

errata An error or mistake. Once again Franklin is using the language of printing to describe the course of his own life. Source: *Oxford English Dictionary*

one- Directly converting 18th century currency into its modern equivalent is a problematic enterprise which relies on a variety of different methods (various sources give numbers between \$10,000 pounds and \$30,000 as a conversion for this isolated period). To better contextualize this number, a sterling pound in 1730 would buy you either 14 horses or 21 cows in the 1730s.

annual Archives say that 100 pounds would buy you either 14 horses or 21 cows in the 1730s. These numbers are further complicated by the shortage of money in the colonies during the time, leading later in the piece to Franklin printing significant amounts of paper currency to fill the gap left by silver and gold.

Annis Thomas Annis was the Captain of the *London Hope*, which sailed from Philadelphia to London once a year to carry the mail. It usually left in the fall; this year, the ship sailed in November. - [UVAutodraft]

becalm In the case of a ship: motionless due to a lack of wind. Source: *Oxford English Dictionary*

teppon To lure, inveigle into or place, course of action, etc., to do something, etc.). Source: *Oxford English Dictionary*

Mosaic An ancient art of the Hebrews, contained in the Pentateuch. Source: *Oxford English Dictionary*

Seventh Day He takes Sabbath as the Sabbath, like a member of the Jewish faith. Keimer may have started this (and growing out his beard, which was unusual in this era) when he considered himself to be a follower of the French Prophets. - [UVAutodraft]

flesh In the book of Exodus, Moses tells the Israelites not to eat meat while in the desert, leading them to wish that they could return to the pot of meat they had left behind in Egypt. - [UVAutodraft]

Charles As with a number of people in Franklin's early life, pretty much the only things we know about Charles Osborne and Joseph Watson come via Franklin. Charles Osborne eventually became a lawyer and moved to New York, where he practised law until his death in 1770. We know the name of his son Ralph, because he became a prolific author once he moved to London. Ralph (d. 1762) was probably born between 1695 and 1710, perhaps in the environs of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, or perhaps in Elizabethan, New Jersey. He never returned to America after the journey Franklin describes here. In 1727, he became a member of the Royal Society, and in 1730 he became a fellow of the Royal Society of London. His first publication, *Schemae Horae Per Orationem et Preceum* (1727-1728), was published, resulting in his inclusion in Alexander Pope's second edition of the *Dunciad* (which may have been his intention). Ralph became a friend of Henry Fielding when Fielding was a leading figure in the London theater, and tried his hand as a playwright. But

<p>makers were generally beggars. So I escaped being a poet, most probably a very bad one; but as prose writing had been of great use to me in the course of my life, and was a principal means of my advancement.</p> <p>- 12 -</p> <p>I shall tell you how, in such a situation, I acquired what little ability I have in that way.</p> <p>There was a bookseller in London, Mr. Collins, and a man of great wit and learning, who was a Quaker. He sometimes disputed with us very hard, and very viciously of confounding one another, which disputes turn, by his way, is apt to become a very bad habit, making people often extremely disagreeable in company, by the contradiction that is necessary to bring it into practice; and thence, besides souring and spoiling the conversation, is productive of disputes and, perhaps, enmities where you may have occasion for friendship. I had caught it by reading my father's books of dispute about religion. Persons of good sense, I have since observed, seldom fall into it, except lawyers, university men, and men of all sorts that have been at Etonborough.</p> <p>A question was once, somehow or other, started between Collins and me, of the propriety of educating the female sex. I replied, "Three or four lessons a day would be sufficient." "No," said he, "it would not be sufficient. We sometimes dispute with very few we are argumentative, and very vicious of confounding one another, which disputes turn, by his way, is apt to become a very bad habit, making people often extremely disagreeable in company, by the contradiction that is necessary to bring it into practice; and thence, besides souring and spoiling the conversation, is productive of disputes and, perhaps, enmities where you may have occasion for friendship. I had caught it by reading my father's books of dispute about religion. Persons of good sense, I have since observed, seldom fall into it, except lawyers, university men, and men of all sorts that have been at Etonborough.</p> <p>one another again for some time, I sat down to put my arguments in writing, which I copied fair and sent to him. He answered, "I repeat, three or four lessons a day would be sufficient." "No," said he, "it would not be sufficient. We sometimes dispute with very few we are argumentative, and very vicious of confounding one another, which disputes turn, by his way, is apt to become a very bad habit, making people often extremely disagreeable in company, by the contradiction that is necessary to bring it into practice; and thence, besides souring and spoiling the conversation, is productive of disputes and, perhaps, enmities where you may have occasion for friendship. I had caught it by reading my father's books of dispute about religion. Persons of good sense, I have since observed, seldom fall into it, except lawyers, university men, and men of all sorts that have been at Etonborough.</p> <p>At this time I met with an odd volume of the <i>Spectator</i>. ^{Spec} It was the third ^{part}. I had never before seen any of them. I bought it, read it over and over, and was much delighted with it. I thought the writing excellent, and wished, if possible, to imitate it. With this view I took some of the papers, and, making short hints of the sentiment in each sentence, laid them by a few days, and, then, without looking at the book, try to complete the papers again, by expressing each hint's sentiment at length, and as fully as it had been expressed in the original. This was a good exercise, and, in a few days, I had discovered some of my faults, and, in the original, discovered some of my faults, and corrected them. But I found I wanted a stock of words, or a readiness in recollecting and using them, which I thought I should acquire before that time if I had gone on making verses; since the continual occasion for words of the same import, but of different length, to suit the measure, or of different sound for the rhyme, would have laid me under a constant necessity of searching for variety, and also</p> <p>- 13 -</p> <p>have tended to fix that variety in my mind, and make me master of it. Therefore I took some of the tales, and turned them into verse; and, after a time, when I had pretty well forgotten the prose, turned them back</p>	<p>Squire, where should me all his curiosities, and persuaded me to let him add that to the number, for which he paid me handsomely.</p> <p>In our house there lodg'd a young woman, a milliner, who, I think, had a shop in the Cloisters. ^{Spec} She had been gently bred, was sensible and witty, and possessed a good figure. Her name was Ruth. When she came to us, she grew fat, she took up more lodging, and he followed her. They liv'd together some time, till he got into a set of business, and his income not sufficient to maintain them with her child, he took a resolution of going from London, to try for a country school, which he thought himself well qualified to undertake, as he wrote an excellent hand, and was a master of arithmetic and accounts. This, however, he deemed a small burden to him, and confident of future better fortune, he should be willing to have it known that he now was a poor, simple, unpolished, unlettered, and untaught boy, and was come to us to work. For I soon after had a letter from him, acquainting me that he was settled in a small village (in Berkshire), I think it was, where he taught reading and writing to ten or a dozen boys, at a shilling each per month; recommending Mrs. T. to my care, and desiring me to write to him, directing me to write to him, directing me to Mr. Franklin, schoolmaster, at that place.</p> <p>He continued to write frequently, sending me large specimens of an epigram which he was then composing, and desiring my remarks and corrections. These I sent him from time to time, but endeavour'd rather to discourage his proceeding. One of <i>Young's Satires</i>, ^{Spec} was then just published. I copy'd and sent him a great part of it, which set in a strong light the folly of pursuing the Muses with any hope of advancement by them. All was in vane; sheets of the poem continued to come by every post. In the mean time, Mrs. T. having on his account lost her friends and business, was often in distresses, and used to send me, and borrow what I could spare to help</p> <p>- 53 -</p> <p>her out of them. I grew fond of her company, and, being at that time under no religious restraint, and presuming upon my importance to her, I attempted familiarities (another cratum) which she repuls'd with a proper resentment, and accosted me with many behavior. I was in a break between the two houses when he returned to us, and I took him to the house in which he had resided. I told him he had better return to me. So I found I never was so expert as to repay me what I lent to him, or advised's for him. This, however, was not then of much consequence, as he was totally unable; and in the loss of his friendship I found myself relieved from a brother. I now began to think of getting a little money before-hand, and, expecting better work, I left Palmer's to work at <i>Wool's</i> near Lincoln's Inn Fields, a still greater printing-house. ^{Spec} Here I continued all the rest of my stay in London.</p> <p>At my first admission into this printing-house I took to working at press, imagining I felt a want of the bodily exercise I had used to in America, where pressure is mix'd with composing. I drank only water; the other members, near fifty in number, were great guzzlers of beer. On this, I carried it and down a larger glass of water in each hand, when I carryed it on my back hands. They all seemed to see, from time and several instances, that <i>Water</i> alone, as they called me, was stronger than themselves, who drang <i>beer</i>. We had an alehouse boy who attended always in the house to supply the workmen. My companion at the press drak every day a pint before breakfast, a pint at breakfast with his bread and cheese.</p>	<p>- 54 -</p> <p>the Assembly, the very desirous of making their grant to New England effectual, were at a loss how to accomplish it. Mr. Quincy labored hard with the governor to obtain his assent, but he was obstructed.</p> <p>I then suggested a method of doing the business without the governor, by orders on the trustees of the Loan Office, which, by law, the Assembly had the right of drawing. There was, indeed, little or no money at that time in the office, and therefore I pro-</p> <p>- 175 -</p> <p>posed that the orders should be payable in a year, and to bear an interest of five per cent. With these orders I supposed the provisions might easily be purchased. The Assembly, with very little hesitation, adopted the proposal. The orders were immediately printed, and I was one of the committee directed to sign and dispose of them. 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Mr. Quincy return'd thanks to the Assembly in a handsome speech, was home highly pleas'd with the success of his embassy, and ever after bore for me the most cordial and affectionate friendship.</p> <p>The British government, not chusing to permit the union of the colonies as propos'd at Albany, and to trust that union with their defense,</p> <p>- 176 -</p> <p>but they should thereby grow to military, and feel their own strength, suspicion and jealousy, at this time being enthrall'd of them, sent over General Braddock with two regiments of regular English troops for that purpose. He landed at Alexandria, in Virginia, and thence march'd to Fredericksburg, in Maryland, where he halted for carriages. 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This indraught was probably the cause of what happened to us.</p> <p>- 209 -</p> <p>sailing ship has been exactly follow'd in a new one, which has prov'd, on the contrary, remarkably dull. I apprehend that this may partly be occasion'd by the different opinions of seamen respecting the modes of lading, rigging, and sailing of a ship; each has his system; and the same vessel, laden by the judgment and orders of one captain, shall bear better or worse when by the orders of another. Besides, it scarce ever happens that a ship is form'd, fitted for the sea, and sail'd by the same person. One builds the hull, another rigs her, a third sails and sells her. No one of these has the advantage of knowing of all the ideas and experience of the others, and, therefore, can draw just conclusions from a combination of the whole.</p> <p>Even in the simple operation of sailing when at sea, I have often observ'd different judgments in the officers who commanded the successive watches, the wind being the same. One would have the sails trimm'd sharper or flatter than another, so that</p> <p>- 210 -</p> <p>they shew'd no certain rule to govern by. Yet I think a set of experiments might be instituted, first, to determine the most proper form of the hull for swift sailing; next, the best dimensions and properest place for the masts; then the form and quantity of sails, and their position, as the wind may be; and, lastly, the disposition of the lading. This is an age of experiments, and I think a set accurately made and combin'd would be of great use. I am persuad'd, therefore, that ere long some ingenious philosopher will undertake it, to whom I wish success.</p> <p>We were several times shal'd in our passage, but outshal'd every thing, and in thirty days had scowring. We had a good observation, and the captain judg'd himself so near our port, Palmoston, that if we made a good run in the night, we might be off the mouth of that harbor in the morning, and by running in the night might escape the notice of the enemy's privaters, who often crus'd near the entrance of the channel. Accord-</p> <p>- 211 -</p> <p>ingly, all the sail was set that we could possibly make, and the wind being very fresh and fair, we went right before it, and made great way. The captain, after his observation, sharp'd his course, as he thought, so as to pass wide of the Scilly Isles; but it seems there is some strong indraught setting up St. George's Channel, which deceives seamen and caused the loss of Sir Cloudesley Shovel's squadron. 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<p>Paper 10</p> <p>as if all the world were growing religions, so that one could not walk thro' the town in an evening without hearing palms sung in different families of every street.</p> <p>And it being found inconvenient to assemble in the open air, subject to its inclemencies, the building of a house to meet in was no sooner propos'd, and persons appointed to receive contributions, but sufficient sums were soon receiv'd to procure the ground and erect the building, which was one hundred feet long and seventy broad, about the size of Westminster Hall;</p> <p>- 12 -</p> <p>- 13 -</p> <p>and the work was carried on with such spirit as to be finished in a much shorter time than could have been expected. Both house and ground were vested in trustees, expressly for the use of any preacher of any religion, who might desire to say something to the people at Philadelphia; the design being not to accommodate any particular sect, but the inhabitants in general; so that even if the Mufti of Constantinople should fit to send a missionary to preach Mohammedanism to us, he would find a pupit at his disposal.</p> <p>All Whistlefield, in hunting, went preaching all the way that he to the colonies to Georgia. The settlement of which has long been begun, instead of being made with hasty, ill-considered haste, accustomed to labor, the only people fit for such an enterprise, it was with families; of broken sheep-keepers and other insolent debtors, many of insolent and idle habits, taken out of the jails, who being set down in the woods, was required for clearing land, and unable</p> <p>- 14 -</p> <p>to endure the hardships of a new settlement, perished in numbers, leaving many helpless children unprovided for. The author of the history of Georgia, in his account of the colony, states that Mr. Whitefield with the idea of buying an Orphan House there, in which they might be supported and educated. Returning northward, he preach'd in that charity, and made large collections, for his eloquence had a wonderful power over the hearts and spirits of his hearers, of which I myself was an instance.</p> <p>and was not disengag'd of the design, but as Georgia was then desirous of materials and workmen, and it was propos'd to send them from Philadelphia at a great expense, I thought it would be better to have him in his first project, but he was resolv'd to contribute. I happened soon after to attend one of his sermons, in the course of which I perceived he intended to finish with a collection, and I silently resolved he should get nothing from me, I had in my pocket a handful of copper money, three or four silver dollars, and five pistoles in gold. As he proceeded I began to soften, and concluded to give the coppers.</p> <p>- 13 -</p> <p>Another stroke of his oratorie made ashamed of that, and determin'd me to give the silver; and he finish'd so admirably, that I empty'd my pocket wholly into the collector's dish, gold and all. At this sermon there was also one of our club, who, being of my sentiments respecting the building in Georgia, and suspecting a collection might be intended, had, by precaution, emptied his pockets before he came home. Towards the conclusion of the discourse, however, he felt a strong desire to give, and apply'd it to a neighbor, who stood near him, to borrow some money for the purpose. The application was unfortunately [made] to perhaps the only man in the company who had the firmness not to be affected by the preacher. His answer</p>	<p>Paper 11</p> <p>the Assembly, the very desirous of making their grant to New England effectual, were at a loss how to accomplish it. Mr. Quincy labored hard with the governor to obtain his assent, but he was obstructed.</p> <p>I then suggested a method of doing the business without the governor, by orders on the trustees of the Loan Office, which, by law, the Assembly had the right of drawing. There was, indeed, little or no money at that time in the office, and therefore I pro-</p> <p>- 175 -</p> <p>posed that the orders should be payable in a year, and to bear an interest of five per cent. With these orders I supposed the provisions might easily be purchased. The Assembly, with very little hesitation, adopted the proposal. The orders were immediately printed, and I was one of the committee directed to sign and dispose of them. 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Mr. Quincy return'd thanks to the Assembly in a handsome speech, was home highly pleased with the success of his embassy, and ever after bore for me the most cordial and affectionate friendship.</p> <p>The British government, not chusing to permit the union of the colonies as propos'd at Albany, and to trust that union with their defense,</p> <p>- 176 -</p> <p>but they should thereby grow to military, and feel their own strength, suspicion and jealousy, at this time being enthrall'd of them, sent over General Braddock with two regiments of regular English troops for that purpose. He landed at Alexandria, in Virginia, and thence march'd to Fredericksburg, in Maryland, where he halted for carriages. 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This indraught was probably the cause of what happened to us.</p>	<p>Paper 12</p> <p>Captain Kennedy, of the Navy, who contended that it was impossible, and that no ship ever sailed so fast, and that he must have been wrong in his division of the logistic, now admits in his log, a wager he entered between the two captains, to be decided when there should be sufficient wind. Kennedy therupon examin'd rigorously the log-line, and, being satisfied with that, he determin'd to throw the log himself. Accordingly some days after, when the wind blew very fair and fresh, and the captain of the paquet, Latwidge, said he believ'd she then went at the rate of thirteen knots, Kennedy made the experiment, and own'd his wager lost.</p> <p>The above fact I give for the sake of the following observation. It has been remark'd, as an imperfection in the art of ship-building, that it can never be known, till she is tried, whether a new ship will or will not be a good seller; for that the model of a good-</p> <p>- 209 -</p> <p>sailing ship has been exactly follow'd in a new one, which has prov'd, on the contrary, remarkably dull. I apprehend that this may partly be occasion'd by the different opinions of seamen respecting the modes of lading, rigging, and sailing of a ship; each has his system; and the same vessel, laden by the judgment and orders of one captain, shall bear better or worse when by the orders of another. Besides, it scarce ever happens that a ship is form'd, fitted for the sea, and sail'd by the same person. One builds the hull, another rigs her, a third sails and sells her. 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<p>Paper 12</p> <p>hackney A writer for hire, willing to produce whatever text someone wanted. The phrase "hackney writer" lives on in the term "hack", which remains a derogatory word for a writer in the mass media. ^[UVAatstatd]</p> <p>Palmer Samuel Palmer (1692-1732) opened a print shop in what had once been a chapel in the medieval monastic next to St. Bartholomew-the-Great church in late 1723; the space had been refitted for commercial purposes, and there was apparently a tavern and a shop that made printer's type on the premises as well. Franklin worked for Palmer from January to November 1725, when he moved to the much larger shop run by James Watts, where he worked until he returned to Philadelphia in July 1726. ^[UVAatstatd]</p> <p>A- <i>The Religion of Nature Revealed</i> - by the philosopher William Godwin, was a brilliant Dissertation to shew that there was consistancy in a fluid creation; a week after it was first published is testimony to the surprising popularity of a work that offers a complicated articulation of how a system of ethics can be derived purely by studying the natural world, without invoking a supernatural being (still believing that such a being existed), one filled with unrefuted quotations from Greek, Latin, and Hebrew. Franklin's only printed one hundred copies of his essay <i>A Dissertation on Liberty and Necessity, Pleasure and Pain</i> - and it seems to have embarrassed him later, as he tried to get back and destroy as many copies as he could. ^[UVAatstatd]</p> <p>Lyon William Lyon, the author of <i>The Infallibility of Human Judgment</i> a book that went through several reprintings in the early 1720s, but that is all completely unknown today but for its presence in Franklin's book. Nothing else seems to be known of its author, either. ^[UVAatstatd]</p> <p>Lane Frankln left a blank space here; it seems likely that he could not remember the name of the street while he was writing, and expected to fill it in later when the name came him, but it never did. ^[UVAatstatd]</p> <p>Dr. <i>The Table of the Rich, or Private Vices, Publick Benefits</i> (1714), by Bernard Mandeville (1670-1733), was one of the most famous and controversial books of the period. First published as a poem entitled "The Grumbling Hive" in 1705, the book took off when Mandeville added a gloss plate on the poem that made his thesis explicit. Mandeville scandalized people by arguing that individuals pursuing their own self-interest could lead to benefits for the society as a whole. This idea now is seen in a completely different light, but it was a radical idea in the early eighteenth century. His argument seemed outrageously cynical to many readers. The book was delated a public nuisance by a grand jury in Middlesex in 1723, and Mandeville was mocked as the "Man-Devil" by his detractors. But to other readers, like the young Franklin, Mandeville's cheerful bribe about his argument and his brutal frankness was deeply appealing. At the time of this meeting, Mandeville was at the height of his fame and notoriety. ^[UVAatstatd]</p>	<p>Paper 13</p> <p>the Assembly, the very desirous of making their grant to New England effectual, were at a loss how to accomplish it. 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This indraught was probably the cause of what happened to us.</p>	<p>Paper 14</p> <p>Captain Kennedy, of the Navy, who contended that it was impossible, and that no ship ever sailed so fast, and that he must have been wrong in his division of the logistic, now admits in his log, a wager he entered between the two captains, to be decided when there should be sufficient wind. Kennedy therupon examin'd rigorously the log-line, and, being satisfied with that, he determin'd to throw the log himself. Accordingly some days after, when the wind blew very fair and fresh, and the captain of the paquet, Latwidge, said he believ'd she then went at the rate of thirteen knots, Kennedy made the experiment, and own'd his wager lost.</p> <p>The above fact I give for the sake of the following observation. It has been remark'd, as an imperfection in the art of ship-building, that it can never be known, till she is tried, whether a new ship will or will not be a good seller; for that the model of a good-</p> <p>- 209 -</p> <p>sailing ship has been exactly follow'd in a new one, which has prov'd, on the contrary, remarkably dull. I apprehend that this may partly be occasion'd by the different opinions of seamen respecting the modes of lading, rigging, and sailing of a ship; each has his system; and the same vessel, laden by the judgment and</p>

<p>people, even of superior knowledge, into concessions, the consequences of which they did not foresee, entangling them in difficulties out of which they could not extricate themselves, and so obtaining victories that neither myself nor my cause always deserved. I confid'd this method some few years, but gradually left it, retaining only the habit of expressing myself in terms of modest diffidence; never using, when I advanced any thing that may possibly be disputed, the words <i>certainly</i>, <i>undoubtedly</i>, or any others that give the air of positiveness to an opinion; but rather say, I conceive or apprehend a thing to be so and so, it appears to me, or</p>	<p><i>I should think it so or so,</i> for such and such reasons; I let imagine it to be so or is so, if I am not mistaken.</p> <p>This habit, I believe, has been of great advantage to me, that I have had occasion to incalculate my opinions, and persuade men into measures that I have been from time to time engag'd in promoting; and, in general, I have found that the more modestly I advance any thing, the more readily it is received, which well-meaning sensible men would not lessen their power of doing good by a positive assuming manner, that seldom fails to disgust, tends to create opposition, and to defeat every one of those purposes for which speech was given to us, to wit, giving or receiving information or pleasure. If you will inform, a positive and dogmatical manner in advancing your sentiments may prove contradiction and prevent a cause from being well considered and improved from the knowledge of others, and yet at the same time express yourself in a frank & free present opinions, modest, sensible, who do not love dispute, will easily let you understand in the possession of your error. And by such a manner, you can seldom hope to recommend yourself in pressing your hearers, or to persuade those whose concurrence you desire Pope says, judiciously.^[UVAatdust]</p>	<p>When we were about to sign the above-mentioned articles, which were to be binding upon us, our heirs, etc., for fifty years, Mr. Breckinridge, the scrivener, said to us, "You are young men, but it is scarcely probable that any of you will live to see the expiration of the term fix'd in the instrument." A number of us, however, are yet living; but the instrument was after a few years rendered null by a charter that incorporated and gave perpetuity to the company.</p>
<p>I should think it so or so, for such and such reasons; I let imagine it to be so or is so, if I am not mistaken.</p> <p>This habit, I believe, has been of great advantage to me, that I have had occasion to incalculate my opinions, and persuade men into measures that I have been from time to time engag'd in promoting; and, in general, I have found that the more modestly I advance any thing, the more readily it is received, which well-meaning sensible men would not lessen their power of doing good by a positive assuming manner, that seldom fails to disgust, tends to create opposition, and to defeat every one of those purposes for which speech was given to us, to wit, giving or receiving information or pleasure. If you will inform, a positive and dogmatical manner in advancing your sentiments may prove contradiction and prevent a cause from being well considered and improved from the knowledge of others, and yet at the same time express yourself in a frank & free present opinions, modest, sensible, who do not love dispute, will easily let you understand in the possession of your error. And by such a manner, you can seldom hope to recommend yourself in pressing your hearers, or to persuade those whose concurrence you desire Pope says, judiciously.^[UVAatdust]</p>	<p>Men should be taught as if you taught them not. And things unknown prop'd as things forgot.</p>	<p>- 17 -</p>
<p>further recommending it to us,</p>	<p>To speak th' sure, with seeming Diffidence.</p>	<p>The objections and relucances I met with in soliciting the subscriptions, made me soon feel the impropriety of presenting one's self as the proposer of any useful project, that might be supposed to raise one's reputation in the smallest degree above that of one's neighbors, where there has been no opportunity to accomplish that project. I therefore contriv'd to put my name to the instrument, and to let it go as a claim in the name of friends, who had requested me to go about and propose it to such as they thought lavers of reading. In this way my affair went on more smoothly, and I ever practis'd it on such occasions; and, from my frequent successes, can heartily recommend it. The present little sacrifice of your vanity will afterwards be amply repaid. If it remains a while uncertain to whom the merit belongs, some one more vain than yourself will be encouraged to claim it, and then even every will be disposed to do you justice by plucking those assumed feathers, and restoring them to their right owner.</p>
<p>At Watt's printing-house I contracted</p>	<p>In a garret, ^{rent} by her house there lived a madam lady of seventy, in the most retired manner, of whom my landlady made me this account that she was a Roman Catholic, had been sent abroad when young, and lodg'd in a nunnery with an intent of becoming a nun; but, the country not agreeing with her, she returned to England, where, there being no nunnery, she had vow'd to lead the life of a nun, as near as might be done in those circumstances. Accordingly, she had given all her estate to charitable uses, reserving only twelve pounds a year to live on, and out of this sum she still gave a great deal in charity, living herself on water gruel only, and using no fire but to boil it. She had liv'd many years in that garret, being permitted to remain there gratis, by the master of the house, who was a man of property, and who, I suppose, derived a small income from her there. A priest visited her to confess her every day. "I have add'd her," says my landlady, "to her list of sins, it is impossible to avoid vain thoughts."</p>	<p>This was permitted once to visit her. She was cheerful and polite, and convers'd pleasantly. The room was clean, but had no other furniture than a matras, a table with a crucifix and book, a stool which she gave up to me, and a picture over the chimney of Saint Venetia explaining her bankruptchif with the inscription, Faustus of Christ's bleeding face on it.^[UVAatdust] which she explained to me with great seriousness. She look'd pale, but was never sick; and I give it as another instance on how small an income life and health may be supported.</p>
<p>If you ask, Why less properly? I must repeat the lines,</p>	<p>"'Immodest words admit no defense, For want of modesty is want of sense.'</p>	<p>- 91 -</p>
<p>"For want of modesty is want of sense."</p>	<p>If you ask, Why less properly? I must repeat the lines,</p>	<p>dostry as a means of obtaining wealth and distinction, which encourag'd me, tho' I did not think that I should ever literally stand before kings^[UVAatdust], which, however, has since happened; for I stood before five^[UVAatdust], and even had the honor of sitting down to one, the King of Denmark, to dinner.</p>
<p>"'Immodest words admit no defense, For want of modesty is want of sense.'</p>	<p>Now, is not want of sense (where a man is so unfortunate as to want it) some apology for his want of modesty?</p>	<p>We have an English proverb that says, "<i>'He that would thrive, must eat his岁'</i>" It was lucky for me that I had one as much dispos'd to industry and frugality as myself. She assisted me cheerfully in my business, folding and stitching pamphlets, tending shop, purchasing old linen rags for the papermakers, etc., etc. We kept no idle servants, our work was plain and simple, our furniture of the cheapest. For instance, my bedstead was made of pine, and cost me but a dollar and a half. My bed was a simple box, and my pillow a feather bed. But mark how luxury will enter families, and makes a progress, in spite of principle being call'd one morning to breakfast, I found it in a China bowl, with a spoon of silver! They had been bought for me without my knowledge by my wife, and had cost her the enormous sum of three-and-twenty shillings, for which she had no other excuse or apology to make, but that she thought her husband deserved a silver spoon and China bowl as well as any of his neighbors. This was the first appearance of plate and China in our house, which</p>
<p>This, however, I should submit to better judgments.</p>	<p>That was the first appearance of plate and China in our house, which</p>	<p>- 92 -</p>
<p>Page 12</p>	<p>Page 30</p>	<p>Page 48</p>
<p>His writing and printing from time to time gave great advantage to his enemies, impudent expressions, and even erroneous opinions, delivered in preaching, might have been afterwards explain'd or qualifi'd by supposing others that might have</p>	<p>"'I had from a child ever been delighted with this exercise had studed and practis'd all <i>Thyron's motions and postures</i>,^[UVAatdust] added on of his own invention, and had made a good figure in it. All the time I took up in writing for the company, and was much flattered by the success, and to please who was desirous of becoming a master, grew more and more attach'd to me on that account, as well as from the similarity of our studies. He at length propos'd to me travelling all over Europe together, supporting ourselves everywhere by working at our business. I was once inclin'd to it, but, mentioning it to my good friend Mr. Denham, with whom I often spent an hour when I had leisure, he dissuad'd me from it, advising me to think only of returning to Pennsylvania, which he was now about to do.'</p>	<p>the king. They are then, so far as they relate to you, the <i>law of the land</i>, for the king is the LEGISLATOR OF THE COLONIES. I told his lordship this was new doctrine to me. I had always understood from our charters that our laws were to be made by our Assemblies, to be presented instead to the king for his royal assent, but that being once given the king could not repel or alter them.</p>
<p>- 133 -</p>	<p>"I had from a child ever been delighted with this exercise had studed and practis'd all <i>Thyron's motions and postures</i>,^[UVAatdust] added on of his own invention, and had made a good figure in it. All the time I took up in writing for the company, and was much flattered by the success, and to please who was desirous of becoming a master, grew more and more attach'd to me on that account, as well as from the similarity of our studies. He at length propos'd to me travelling all over Europe together, supporting ourselves everywhere by working at our business. I was once inclin'd to it, but, mentioning it to my good friend Mr. Denham, with whom I often spent an hour when I had leisure, he dissuad'd me from it, advising me to think only of returning to Pennsylvania, which he was now about to do.'</p>	<p>- 93 -</p>
<p>accompani'd them, or they might have been den'y'd; but <i>habet scripta manu</i>. Critics attack'd his writings violently, and with so much appearance of reason as to diminish the number of his votaries and prevent their encroachment; so that I am of opinion if he had never written any thing, he would have left behind him a much nobler name, and a more lasting record of his talents, than he has done. And, as far as I can recollect, even after his death, as there was nothing of his writing on which to found a cause and give him a low character, his presbytery would be left at liberty to frown for him as great a variety of excellence as their enthusiastic admiration might wish him to have possessed.</p>	<p>"The service will be light and easy, for the army will scarce march above twelve miles per day, and the wagons and baggage-horses, as they can those things that are absolutely necessary to the welfare of the army, must march with the army, and no faster; and are, for the army's sake, always placed where they can</p>	<p>As and as the Assemblies were not able to make permanent laws without his assent, so neither could he make a law for them then. He told his lordship this was new doctrine to me. I had always understood from our charters that our laws were to be made by our Assemblies, to be presented instead to the king for his royal assent, but that being once given the king could not repel or alter them.</p>
<p>My business was now continually augmenting, and my circumstances growing daily easier, my new paper having become very profitable, as being for a time almost the only one in this and the neighbouring provinces. I experienced, too, the truth of the observation, <i>"that after getting the first hundred pound, it is more to secure, what you have, than to get the second."</i> My paper itself being a commodity.</p>	<p>"It is necessary to have a sufficient number of soldiers through these countries, on such an occasion, especially considering the temper they are in, and their recruitment agains't us, would be attended with many and great inconveniences to the inhabitants, and therefore more willingly took the trouble of trying first what might be done by fair and equitable means. The people of these back countries have lately complained to the Assembly that a sufficient sum of money was wanting to have an opportunity of receiving and dividing among you a very considerable sum; for if no service of this kind could continue, as it is more than probable, till next summer, for one hundred thousand dollars, the value of the wagons and horses, will amount to upward of thirty thousand pounds, which will be paid you in silver and gold of the king's money.</p>	<p>the king. They are then, so far as they relate to you, the <i>law of the land</i>, for the king is the LEGISLATOR OF THE COLONIES. I told his lordship this was new doctrine to me. I had always understood from our charters that our laws were to be made by our Assemblies, to be presented instead to the king for his royal assent, but that being once given the king could not repel or alter them.</p>
<p>The partnership at Carolina having succeeded, I was encouraged to engage in others, and to promote several of my workmen, who had behaved well, by establishing them with printing-houses in different colonies, on the same terms with that in Carolina. Most of them did well, being enabled at the end of our term, six years, to purchase their printing-houses, and go on working for themselves; by which means several families were established. I then propos'd to my master, Mr. Franklin, to help him in the same way, and he consented to end his association, amysing, I think, a post-due, the preservation of having very expeditly settled, in our articles, every thing to be done by or expect'd from each partner, so that there was nothing to dispute, which preclusion I would therefore recommend to all who enter into partnerships; for whatever esteem partners may have, and confidence in each other at the time of the contract, little jealousies and dissensions may arise, with ideas of inequality in the care and burden of the business, etc., which are attened often with breach of friendship and the connection, perhaps with lawsuits and other disagreeable consequences.</p>	<p>"The service will be light and easy, for the army will scarce march above twelve miles per day, and the wagons and baggage-horses, as they can those things that are absolutely necessary to the welfare of the army, must march with the army, and no faster; and are, for the army's sake, always placed where they can</p>	<p>As and as the Assemblies were not able to make permanent laws without his assent, so neither could he make a law for them then. He told his lordship this was new doctrine to me. I had always understood from our charters that our laws were to be made by our Assemblies, to be presented instead to the king for his royal assent, but that being once given the king could not repel or alter them.</p>
<p>I had, on the whole, abundant reason to be satisfied with my being established in Pennsylvania. There were, however, two things that I regretted,</p>	<p>"It is necessary to have a sufficient number of soldiers through these countries, on such an occasion, especially considering the temper they are in, and their recruitment agains't us, would be attended with many and great inconveniences to the inhabitants, and therefore more willingly took the trouble of trying first what might be done by fair and equitable means. The people of these back countries have lately complained to the Assembly that a sufficient sum of money was wanting to have an opportunity of receiving and dividing among you a very considerable sum; for if no service of this kind could continue, as it is more than probable, till next summer, for one hundred thousand dollars, the value of the wagons and horses, will amount to upward of thirty thousand pounds, which will be paid you in silver and gold of the king's money.</p>	<p>After some days, Dr. Fothergill having spoken to the proprietaries, they agreed to a meeting with me at Mr. T. Penn's house in Spring Garden. The conversation at first consisted of mutual declarations of disposition to reasonable accommodations,</p>
<p>- 134 -</p>	<p>"It is necessary to have a sufficient number of soldiers through these countries, on such an occasion, especially considering the temper they are in, and their recruitment agains't us, would be attended with many and great inconveniences to the inhabitants, and therefore more willingly took the trouble of trying first what might be done by fair and equitable means. The people of these back countries have lately complained to the Assembly that a sufficient sum of money was wanting to have an opportunity of receiving and dividing among you a very considerable sum; for if no service of this kind could continue, as it is more than probable, till next summer, for one hundred thousand dollars, the value of the wagons and horses, will amount to upward of thirty thousand pounds, which will be paid you in silver and gold of the king's money.</p>	<p>- 216 -</p>
<p>therefore being no provision for defense, nor for a complete education of youth no militia, nor any college. I therefore, in 1743, drew up a proposal for establishing an academy; and at that time, thinking the Reverend Mr. Peters, who was out of employ, a fit person to superintend such an institution, I communicated the project to him; but he, having more profitable views in the service of the proprietaries, which succeeded, declin'd the undertaking; and, not knowing another at that time suitable for such a trust, I let the scheme lie a while. I succeed'd the next year, 1744, in proposing and establishing a Philosophical Society. The paper I wrote for that purpose will be found among my writings, when collected.</p>	<p>"The service will be light and easy, for the army will scarce march above twelve miles per day, and the wagons and baggage-horses, as they can those things that are absolutely necessary to the welfare of the army, must march with the army, and no faster; and are, for the army's sake, always placed where they can</p>	<p>As and as the Assemblies were not able to make permanent laws without his assent, so neither could he make a law for them then. He told his lordship this was new doctrine to me. I had always understood from our charters that our laws were to be made by our Assemblies, to be presented instead to the king for his royal assent, but that being once given the king could not repel or alter them.</p>
<p>With respect to defense, Spain having been several years at war against Great Britain, and being at length join'd by France, which brought us into greater; and the labored and long-continued endeavour of our governor, Thomas, to prevail with our Quaker Assembly to pass a militia law, and make other provisions for the security of the province, having proved abortive, I determined to try what might be done by a voluntary</p>	<p>"The service will be light and easy, for the army will scarce march above twelve miles per day, and the wagons and baggage-horses, as they can those things that are absolutely necessary to the welfare of the army, must march with the army, and no faster; and are, for the army's sake, always placed where they can</p>	<p>After some days, Dr. Fothergill having spoken to the proprietaries, they agreed to a meeting with me at Mr. T. Penn's house in Spring Garden. The conversation at first consisted of mutual declarations of disposition to reasonable accommodations,</p>
<p>Page 66</p>	<p>Page 84</p>	<p>- 217 -</p>
<p>bien A "bienvenue" from the French for "welcome," was a fee extracted from new workers in an organized shop, here to buy beer for the group. Franklin is probably right to feel that he is being exploited, even as a newcomer. - [UVAatdust]</p>	<p>I received of the general about eight hundred pounds, to be disbursed in advance-money to the wagon owners, etc.; but that sum being insufficient, Iadvanc'd two hundred pounds more, and in two weeks had another five hundred pounds to hand, and so on, till I had a sum of eight hundred pounds to lay on their hands for the camp. The advertisement promised payment according to the valuation; in case any wagon or horse should be lost. The owners, however, altho' they did not know General Braddock, or what dependence might be had on his promise, insisted on my bond for the performance, which I accordinly gave them.</p>	<p>the heads of complaint between our two selves, and refusing treat with any one but them. They then by his advice put the paper into the hands of the Attorney and Solicitor-General for their opinion and counsel upon it, where it lay unanswered a year wanting eight days, during which time I made frequent demands of an answer from the proprietaries, but without obtaining any other than that they had not yet received the opinion of the Attorney and Solicitor-General. What it was when they did receive it I never learnt, for they did not then show it to me. However, it was then sent to the Ferney, and Paus, and to the Proprietaries, and all their lawes, and to the great suit with the neighbouring proprietor of the land, Lord Baltimore, which had subsisted 70 years, and swore for them all their papers and messages in their dispute with the Assembly. He was a proud, angry man, and as I had occasionally in the answers of the Assembly treated his papers with some severity, being really weak in point of argument and hauing in expression, he did conceiv'd a mortal enmy to me, which discovering himself whenever we met, I declin'd the proprietor's proposal that he and I should discuss</p>
<p>"Sorts" were the pieces of type that a compositor used to make a line, and then a page, of type; "matter" would be a page fully set and ready for the press. - [UVAatdust]</p>	<p>While I was at the camp, one evening with the officers of Colonel Dunbar's regiment, he represented to me his concern for the soldiers, who, he said, were generally not in affluence, and could ill afford, in this dear country, to lay in the stores that might be necessary in so long a march, thro' a wilderness, where nothing was to be purchased. I commiserated their case, and resolved to endeavor procurin' them some relief. I said nothing, however, to him of my intention, but wrote the next morning to the committee of the Assembly,</p>	<p>the heads of complaint between our two selves, and refusing treat with any one but them. They then by his advice put the paper into the hands of the Attorney and Solicitor-General for their opinion and counsel upon it, where it lay unanswered a year wanting eight days, during which time I made frequent demands of an answer from the proprietaries, but without obtaining any other than that they had not yet received the opinion of the Attorney and Solicitor-General. What it was when they did receive it I never learnt, for they did not then show it to me. However, it was then sent to the Ferney, and Paus, and to the Proprietaries, and all their lawes, and to the great suit with the neighbouring proprietor of the land, Lord Baltimore, which had subsisted 70 years, and swore for them all their papers and messages in their dispute with the Assembly. He was a proud, angry man, and as I had occasionally in the answers of the Assembly treated his papers with some severity, being really weak in point of argument and hauing in expression, he did conceiv'd a mortal enmy to me, which discovering himself whenever we met, I declin'd the proprietor's proposal that he and I should discuss</p>
<p>chapell "Chappell" or "chapel" is a print-shop term that means the assembly of workers in a particular shop, who make their own house-rules sort-of like a union. Here we see that the chapell at Watt's shop exacted a "bienvenue" from new workers, hazed those who failed to pay up, and pretended that there was a ghost to claim any responsibility. - [UVAatdust]</p>	<p>I have no particular interest in this affair, as, except the satisfaction of endeavoring to do good, I shall have only my labour for my pains. If this method of obtaining the wagons and horses is not likely to succeed, am obliged to send word to the general in fourteen days; and I suppose Sir John St. Clair, the hussar, with a body of soldiers, will immediately enter the province for that purpose, which I shall be sorry to hear, because I am very sincerely and truly your friend and well-wisher, B. FRANKLIN."</p>	<p>the heads of complaint between our two selves, and refusing treat with any one but them. They then by his advice put the paper into the hands of the Attorney and Solicitor-General for their opinion and counsel upon it, where it lay unanswered a year wanting eight days, during which time I made frequent demands of an answer from the proprietaries, but without obtaining any other than that they had not yet received the opinion of the Attorney and Solicitor-General. What it was when they did receive it I never learnt, for they did not then show it to me. However, it was then sent to the Ferney, and Paus, and to the Proprietaries, and all their lawes, and to the great suit with the neighbouring proprietor of the land, Lord Baltimore, which had subsisted 70 years, and swore for them all their papers and messages in their dispute with the Assembly. He was a proud, angry man, and as I had occasionally in the answers of the Assembly treated his papers with some severity, being really weak in point of argument and hauing in expression, he did conceiv'd a mortal enmy to me, which discovering himself whenever we met, I declin'd the proprietor's proposal that he and I should discuss</p>
<p>porring A "porring" is a small bowl with a handle that could be used for soup or broth, as here, or gruel, which is a dish of grain that has been boiled in water or milk, like a watery oatmeal or rice pudding. This silverish porring was made around 1710 by the silversmith John Coney; it is now in the Birmingham Museum of Art. CC BY 3.0, Wikimedia Commons - [NT]</p>	<p>I received of the general about eight hundred pounds, to be disbursed in advance-money to the wagon owners, etc.; but that sum being insufficient, Iadvanc'd two hundred pounds more, and in two weeks had another five hundred pounds to hand, and so on, till I had a sum of eight hundred pounds to lay on their hands for the camp. The advertisement promised payment according to the valuation; in case any wagon or horse should be lost. The owners, however, altho' they did not know General Braddock, or what dependence might be had on his promise, insisted on my bond for the performance, which I accordinly gave them.</p>	<p>the heads of complaint between our two selves, and refusing treat with any one but them. They then by his advice put the paper into the hands of the Attorney and Solicitor-General for their opinion and counsel upon it, where it lay unanswered a year wanting eight days, during which time I made frequent demands of an answer from the proprietaries, but without obtaining any other than that they had not yet received the opinion of the Attorney and Solicitor-General. What it was when they did receive it I never learnt, for they did not then show it to me. However, it was then sent to the Ferney, and Paus, and to the Proprietaries, and all their lawes, and to the great suit with the neighbouring proprietor of the land, Lord Baltimore, which had subsisted 70 years, and swore for them all their papers and messages in their dispute with the Assembly. He was a proud, angry man, and as I had occasionally in the answers of the Assembly treated his papers with some severity, being really weak in point of argument and hauing in expression, he did conceiv'd a mortal enmy to me, which discovering himself whenever we met, I declin'd the proprietor's proposal that he and I should discuss</p>
<p>jocular Joking or jesting. Source: <i>Oxford English Dictionary</i> - [UVAatdust]</p>	<p>In this period, it was typical for workers in a print-shop or other worksite to slack off or even not show up for work on Mondays, when few projects were urgent. Sometimes hang-overs needed to be nursed as well. - [UVAatdust]</p>	<p>the heads of complaint between our two selves, and refusing treat with any one but them. They then by his advice put the paper into the hands of the Attorney and Solicitor-General for their opinion and counsel upon it, where it lay unanswered a year wanting eight days, during which time I made frequent demands of an answer from the proprietaries, but without obtaining any other than that they had not yet received the opinion of the Attorney and Solicitor-General. What it was when they did receive it I never learnt, for they did not then show it to me. However, it was then sent to the Ferney, and Paus, and to the Proprietaries, and all their lawes, and to the great suit with the neighbouring proprietor of the land, Lord Baltimore, which had subsisted 70 years, and swore for them all their papers and messages in their dispute with the Assembly. He was a proud, angry man, and as I had occasionally in the answers of the Assembly treated his papers with some severity, being really weak in point of argument and hauing in expression, he did conceiv'd a mortal enmy to me, which discovering himself whenever we met, I declin'd the proprietor's proposal that he and I should discuss</p>
<p>making In this period, it was typical for workers in a print-shop or other worksite to slack off or even not show up for work on Mondays, when few projects were urgent. Sometimes hang-overs needed to be nursed as well. - [UVAatdust]</p>	<p>In this period, it was typical for workers in a print-shop or other worksite to slack off or even not show up for work on Mondays, when few projects were urgent. Sometimes hang-overs needed to be nursed as well. - [UVAatdust]</p>	<p>the heads of complaint between our two selves, and refusing treat with any one but them. They then by his advice put the paper into the hands of the Attorney and Solicitor-General for their opinion and counsel upon it, where it lay unanswered a year wanting eight days, during which time I made frequent demands of an answer from the proprietaries, but without obtaining any other than that they had not yet received the opinion of the Attorney and Solicitor-General. What it was when they did receive it I never learnt, for they did not then show it to me. However, it was then sent to the Ferney, and Paus, and to the Proprietaries, and all their lawes, and to the great suit with the neighbouring proprietor of the land, Lord Baltimore, which had subsisted 70 years, and swore for them all their papers and messages in their dispute with the Assembly. He was a proud, angry man, and as I had occasionally in the answers of the Assembly treated his papers with some severity, being really weak in point of argument and hauing in expression, he did conceiv'd a mortal enmy to me, which discovering himself whenever we met, I declin'd the proprietor's proposal that he and I should discuss</p>
<p>Duke- street Duke Street, a short street connected to Lincoln's Inn Fields, was later renamed Sardinia Street. It was destroyed in 1905 as part of a large scale project of urban road construction. - [UVAatdust]</p>	<p>In this period, it was typical for workers in a print-shop or other worksite to slack off or even not show up for work on Mondays, when few projects were urgent. Sometimes hang-overs needed to be nursed as well. - [UVAatdust]</p>	<p>the heads of complaint between our two selves, and refusing treat with any one but them. They then by his advice put the paper into the hands of the Attorney and Solicitor-General for their opinion and counsel upon it, where it lay unanswered a year wanting eight days, during which time I made frequent demands of an answer from the proprietaries, but without obtaining any other than that they had not yet received the opinion of the Attorney and Solicitor-General. What it was when they did receive it I never learnt, for they did not then show it to me. However, it was then sent to the Ferney, and Paus, and to the Proprietaries, and all their lawes, and to the great suit with the neighbouring proprietor of the land, Lord Baltimore, which had subsisted 70 years, and swore for them all their papers and messages in their dispute with the Assembly. He was a proud, angry man, and as I had occasionally in the answers of the Assembly treated his papers with some severity, being really weak in point of argument and hauing in expression, he did conceiv'd a mortal enmy to me, which discovering himself whenever we met, I declin'd the proprietor's proposal that he and I should discuss</p>
<p>garret An attic room. Source: <i>Oxford English Dictionary</i> - [NT]</p>	<p>An attic room. Source: <i>Oxford English Dictionary</i> - [NT]</p>	<p>the heads of complaint between our two selves, and refusing treat with any one but them. They then by his advice put the paper into the hands of the Attorney and Solicitor-General for their opinion and counsel upon it, where it lay unanswered a year wanting eight days, during which time I made frequent demands of an answer from the proprietaries, but without obtaining any other than that they had not yet received the opinion of the Attorney and Solicitor-General. What it was when they did receive it I never learnt, for they did not then show it to me. However, it was then sent to the Ferney, and Paus, and to the Proprietaries, and all their lawes, and to the great suit with the neighbouring proprietor of the land, Lord Baltimore, which had subsisted 70 years, and swore for them all their papers and messages in their dispute with the Assembly. He was a proud, angry man, and as I had occasionally in the answers of the Assembly treated his papers with some severity, being really weak in point of argument and hauing in expression, he did conceiv'd a mortal enmy to me, which discovering himself whenever we met, I declin'd the proprietor's proposal that he and I should discuss</p>
<p>gratis Free. Source: <i>Oxford English Dictionary</i> - [NT]</p>	<p>The story of Veronika's veil is a Christian myth, found nowhere in the Bible, that goes back to Veronika least the twelfth century, and perhaps much earlier. In the story, Veronika gave a piece of her veil to Jesus so that he could wipe the sweat off his face while he was carrying the cross to his crucifixion, and an image of his face remained on the cloth. By the eighteenth century,</p>	<p>the heads of complaint between our two selves, and refusing treat with any one but them. They then by his advice put the paper into the hands of the Attorney and Solicitor-General for their opinion and counsel upon it, where it lay unanswered a year wanting eight days, during which time I made frequent demands of an answer from the proprietaries, but without obtaining any other than that they had not yet received the opinion of the Attorney and Solicitor-General. What it was when they did receive it I never learnt, for they did not then show it to me. However, it was then sent to the Ferney, and Paus, and to the Proprietaries, and all their lawes, and to the great suit with the neighbouring proprietor of the land, Lord Baltimore, which had subsisted 70 years, and swore for them all their papers and messages in their dispute with the Assembly. He was a proud, angry man, and as I had occasionally in the answers of the Assembly treated his papers with some severity, being really weak in point of argument and hauing in expression, he did conceiv'd a mortal enmy to me, which discovering himself</p>

<p>afterward, in a course of years, as our wealth increas'd, augmented gradually to several hundred pounds in value.</p> <p>I had been religiously educated as a Presbyterian, and the some of the degrees of that persuasion, such as the <i>orthodox doctrine of God, election, regeneration, etc.</i> appeared to me the simplest others, difficult, and I early absented myself from the public assemblies of the sect, Sunday being my studying day. I never was without some religious principles, I never doubted, for instance, the existence of the Deity; that he made the world, and govern'd it by his Providence; that the most acceptable service of God was the doing good to man; that our souls are immortal; that all crimes will be punished, and virtue rewarded, either here or hereafter. These were the essential articles of religion, but there were many more, which we had in our course, I respected all the, with different degrees of respect, as I found them more or less agreeable with other articles, which, without any tendency to inspire, promote, or confirm morality, serv'd principally to divide us, and make us unfriendly to one another. This respect to all, with an opinion that the worst had some good effects, induc'd me to avoid all discourse that might tend to lessen the good opinion another might have of his religion. As the province increas'd in people, and new places of worship were continually added, and generally erected by voluntary contributions, my rule for such purpose, whatever might be the sect, was never refused.</p>	<p>The seldom attended any public worship. I had still an opinion of its propriety, and of its utility when rightly conducted, and I regularly paid my annual subscription for the support of the only Presbyterian minister or meeting we had in Philadelphia. He us'd to visit me sometimes as a friend, and admonish me to attend his administrations, and I was now and then prevail'd to do so, for once or five Sundays successively. Had he in my opinion a good preacher, perhaps I might have continued, notwithstanding the occasion I had for the Sunday's leisure in my course of study; but his discourses were chiefly either polemic arguments, or explications of the peculiar doctrines of our sect, and were to me very dry, uninteresting, and unpleasing; since not a single moral principle was inculcated or enforce'd, their aim seeming to be rather to make us Presbyterians than good citizens.</p>	<p>At length I resolved to go over to the South, chapter of Philippians. <i>"Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are true, honest, just, pure, lovely, or of good report; if there be any virtue, or any prudence, think on these things."</i> And I imagin'd, in a sermon on such a text, we could not miss of having some morality. But he confid'd himself to five points only, as meant by the apostle, viz.: 1. Keeping holy the Sabbath day. 2. Being diligent in reading the holy Scriptures. 3. Attending duly the publick worship. 4. Partaking of the Sacrament. 5. Paying a due respect to God's ministers. These might be all good things; but, as they were not the principal articles of my experience, and were not, as I then thought, worth the trouble of reciting, I was disgusted, and abns'd from preaching no more. I had some years before comp'd a little Liturgy, or form of prayer, for my own private use (viz., in 1728, entitl'd, <i>Articles of Religion, and Acts of Religion</i>). I return'd to the use of this, and went no more to the public assemblies. My conduct might be blameable, but I leave it, without attempting further to excuse it; my present purpose being to relate facts, and not to make apologies for them.</p>
<p>It was about this time I conceiv'd the bold and arduous project of arriving at moral per-</p> <p>- 93 -</p> <p>fection, or meeting me in the West Indies, and procure the commissions from others which would be profitable, and, if I managed well, would establish me handsomely. The thing pleas'd me; and I was grown tired of London, remembered with pleasure the happy months I had spent in Pennsylvania, and wish'd again to see it; therefore I immediately agreed on the terms of fifty pounds a year, Pennsylvania money; less, indeed, than my present gettings as a compositor, but affording a better prospect.</p> <p>I now took leave of printing, as I thought, for ever, and was daily employed in my new business, going about with Mr. Deacon among the tradesmen to purchase various articles, and seeing them pack'd up, doing errands, calling upon workmen, and, when I was not so busy, I had a few days' leisure. One evening, as I was walking home, I overheard a man say to a woman, "I know every body in town, and am well acquainted with Mr. Wyndham, and was walking upon him. He had been by some means or other of my swimming from Chelsea to Blackfriar's, and of my teaching Wgate and another young man to swim in a few hours. He had two sons, about to set out on their travels; he wldt have to them first taught swimming, and proposed to gratify me handsomely if I would teach them. They were not yet come to town, and my stay was uncertain, so I could not undertake it; but, from this incident, I thought it likely that, if I wldt remain in England and open a swimming-school, I might get a good deal of money; and it struck me so strongly,</p> <p>- 58 -</p> <p>acquainted with mercantile business, he would promote me by sending me with a cargo of flour and bspgs, &c., to the West Indies, and procure me commissions from others which would be profitable, and, if I managed well, would establish me handsomely. The thing pleas'd me; and I was grown tired of London, remembered with pleasure the happy months I had spent in Pennsylvania, and wish'd again to see it; therefore I immediately agreed on the terms of fifty pounds a year, Pennsylvania money; less, indeed, than my present gettings as a compositor, but affording a better prospect.</p>	<p>I now took leave of printing, as I thought, for ever, and was daily employed in my new business, going about with Mr. Deacon among the tradesmen to purchase various articles, and seeing them pack'd up, doing errands, calling upon workmen, and, when I was not so busy, I had a few days' leisure. One evening, as I was walking home, I overheard a man say to a woman, "I know every body in town, and am well acquainted with Mr. Wyndham, and was walking upon him. He had been by some means or other of my swimming from Chelsea to Blackfriar's, and of my teaching Wgate and another young man to swim in a few hours. 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He had been by some means or other of my swimming from Chelsea to Blackfriar's, and of my teaching Wgate and another young man to swim in a few hours. He had two sons, about to set out on their travels; he wldt have to them first taught swimming, and proposed to gratify me handsomely if I would teach them. They were not yet come to town, and my stay was uncertain, so I could not undertake it; but, from this incident, I thought it likely that, if I wldt remain in England and open a swimming-school, I might get a good deal of money; and it struck me so strongly,</p>	<p>My brother had, in 1720 or 1721, begun to print a newspaper. It was the second that appeared in America, and was call'd <i>The New England Courant</i>. The only one before it was <i>The Boston News-letter</i>.¹¹ <i>New England Courant</i>, I remember, he was dissatisfied by some of his friends from the underlings, as not likely to succeed, one new-supper being, in their judgment, enough for America. At this time (1771) there are less than five-and-twenty. He went on, however, with the underlings, and after having worked in composing the types and printing off the sheets, I was employ'd to carry the papers thro' the streets to the customers, who gain'd it credit and made it more in demand, and these gentlemen often visited us. Hearing their conversations, and their accounts of the approbation their papers were received with,</p> <p>- 19 -</p> <p>I was excited to try my hand among them; but, being still a boy, and suspecting that my brother would object to printing anything of mine in his paper if he knew it to be mine, I contriv'd to discharge my hand, and, writing an anonymous paper,¹² I put it in at night under the door of the printing-house. It was found, and my brother was dissatisfied with it, and sent me away. I had the expatise of finding it met with their approbation, and that, in their different guesses at the author, none were named but men of some character among us for learning and ingenuity. I suppose now that I was rather lucky in my judges, and that perhaps they were not really so very good ones as I then estim'd them.</p> <p>Encourag'd, however, by this, I wrote and convey'd in the same way to the press several more papers which were equally approval'd, and I kept my secret till I had my small fund of sense for such performances was pretty well fill'd. I then took my pen and paper, and, writing a few lines, I sent them to my brother, who was absent, and in answer to them did not quite please him, as he thought, probably, with reason, that it tended to make too vain. And, perhaps, this might be one occasion of the differences that we began to have about me. Though a brother he consider'd himself as my master, and me as his apprentice, and accordingly, expected</p> <p>- 20 -</p> <p>the same services from me as he wldt from another, while I thought he disengag'd me too much in some regard of me, who, though a brother, expect'd more independence. These disputes were often brought before our father, and I fancy, I was either generally in the right, or else a better pleader, because the judgment was generally in my favor. But my brother was passionate, and had often beaten me, which I took extremely amiss; and, thinking my apprenticeship very tedious, I was continually wishing for some opportunity of shortening it, which at length offered in a manner unexpected.</p> <p>One of the pieces in our newspaper on some political point, which I have now forgotten, gave offense to the Assembly. He was taken up, censur'd, and impris'ned for a month, by the speaker's warrant, I suppose, because he would not discover his author. I too was taken up and examin'd before the council; but, tho' I did not give them any satisfaction, they content'd themselves with admonishing me, and dismissed me, considering me, perhaps, as an apprentice, who was bound to keep his master's secrets.</p> <p>During my brother's confinement, which I resented a good deal, notwithstanding our private differences, I had the management of the paper; and I made bold to give our rulers some rubs in it, which my brother took very kindly, while others began to consider me in an unfavorable</p>
<p>Page 49</p> <p>The want of formality or rudeness was, probably, my not having address'd the paper to them with their several titles of Trusty and Absolute Proprietaries of the Province of Pennsylvania, which I omitted as not thinking it necessary in a paper, the intention of which was only to reduce to a certainty by writing, what in conversation I had deliver'd viva voce.</p> <p>But during this delay, the Assembly having prevailed with Gov'r Denny to</p> <p>- 218 -</p> <p>pass an act taxing the proprietary estate in common with the estates of the people, which was the grand point in dispute, they omitted answering the message.</p> <p>With this act however, over the proprietaries, called by Park, determined to oppose its receiving the royal assent, accordingly, they sent a remonstrance to the Council, which was to be presented to the king, which two lawyers were employ'd to lay against the act, and two by me in support of it. They alledg'd that the act was intended to load the proprietary estate in order to spare those of the people, and that if we were to continue to force in, and the proprietaries who were in edith with the people, left to their mercy in proposing the taxes, they would inevitably be reduced. We reply'd that we had such intention, and would have done it, if we had been allowed to do so, but that men under oath, and tax by equity only and equitably, and that any advantage each of them might expect in lessening his own tax by arguing that the proprietaries was too trifling to induce them to persevere themselves. This is the purport of what I remember as argued by both sides, except that I insisted strongly on the mischievous consequences that must at-</p> <p>- 219 -</p> <p>sent a appeal, for that the money, £100,000, being paid, and given to the king's use, expended in his service, and now spread among the people, the repeat would sink it dead in their hands to the ruin of many, and the total discouragement of future grants, and the selfishness of the proprietaries in soliciting such a general catastrophe, merely from a groundless fear of their estate being taxed too highly, was insisted on in the strongest terms. On this, Lord Mansfield, one of the counsel rose, and beckoning me into the clerk's chamber, while the lawyers were pleading, and asked me if I was really of opinion that no injury wldt be done to the people by the act. I said, "I act under a strong conviction that it would certainly do harm." Then, says he, "you can have no objection to enter into an engagement to assure me of that." I answer'd, "None at all." He then call'd in Park, and after some discourse, his lordship's proposition was accepted on both sides; a paper to the purpose was drawn up by the Clerk of the Council, which I sign'd</p> <p>- 220 -</p> <p>with Mr. Cheshire, who was a couns'l Agent of the Province of New-Hampshire, when Lord Mansfield referred to him the Council Chamber, when finally, the paper was allow'd to pass. Some changes were however recommended, and we also engag'd they should be made by a subsequent law, but the Assembly did not think them necessary; for one year's tax having been laid by the act before the order of Council arrived, they appointed a committee to examine the proceedings of the assessors, and on this committee they put several particular friends of the proprietaries. After a full enquiry, they unanimously sign'd a report that they found the tax had been ass'd with perfect equity.</p> <p>The Assembly looked into my entering into the first part of the engagement, as an essential service to the Province, since it secured the credit of the paper money then spread over all the country. They gave me</p>	<p>Page 31</p> <p>who had the disposition of some public money, warmly recommending the case of these officers to their consideration, and proposing that a present should be sent them of necessaries and refreshments. My son, who had some experience of a camp life, and of its wants, drew up a list for me, which I enclos'd in my letter. The committee approu'd, and used such diligence, conducted by my son, the stores arrived at the camp as soon as the wagons. They consisted of twenty parcels, each containing 6 lbs. loaf sugar, 1 Gloucester cheese, 6 lbs. good Minc'd dowlash sugar, 1 kg. containing 20 lbs. good butter 1 lbs. good green beans, 2 lbs. turnips, with 1 lbs. good carrots, 2 gallons of beer, 6 lbs. good dry bread, 1 bottle of mustard, 6 lbs. chocolate, 4 lbs. currants, 1-1/2 cwt. best white biscuit, 1-1/2 dozen dry figs, 12 lbs. peper, 6 lbs. rice, 1 quart best wine vinegar, 6 lbs. raisins.</p> <p>These twenty parcels, well pack'd, were placed upon as many horses, each parcel, with the horse, being design'd as a present for one officer. They were very thankfully receiv'd, and the kindness acknowledg'd by letters to me from the colonels of both regiments, in the most grateful terms. The general, too, was highly satisfied with my conduct in procuring the wagons, etc., and readily paid my account of disbursements, thanking me repeatedly, and requesting my farther assistance in sending provisions after him. I undertook this also, and was busily employ'd in it till he heard of his defeat, advancing for the service of my own</p> <p>- 179 -</p> <p>letter. The committee approu'd, and used such diligence, conducted by my son, the stores arrived at the camp as soon as the wagons. They consisted of twenty parcels, each containing 6 lbs. loaf sugar, 1 Gloucester cheese, 6 lbs. good Minc'd dowlash sugar, 1 kg. containing 20 lbs. good butter 1 lbs. good green beans, 2 lbs. turnips, with 1 lbs. good carrots, 2 gallons of beer, 6 lbs. good dry bread, 1 bottle of mustard, 6 lbs. chocolate, 4 lbs. currants, 1-1/2 cwt. best white biscuit, 1-1/2 dozen dry figs, 12 lbs. peper, 6 lbs. rice, 1 quart best wine vinegar, 6 lbs. raisins.</p> <p>monies, upwards of one thousand pounds sterling, of which I sent him an account. It came to his hands, luckily for me, a few days before the battle, and he return'd me immediately an order on the paymaster for the round sum of one thousand pounds, leaving the remainder to the next account. I consider this payment as good luck, having never been able to obtain that remainder, of which more hereafter.</p> <p>This general war, I think, a brave man, and might probably have made a figure as a good officer in some European war, but he had too much self-confidence, too high an opinion of the validity of regular troops, and too mean a one of both Americans and Indians. George Croghan, our Indian interpreter, joind him on his march with one hundred of those people, who might be great to his army as guides, scouts, etc., if he had treated them kindly; but he slighted and neglected them, and they gradually left him.</p> <p>In conversation with him one day, he was giving me some account of his intended progress. "After taking Fort Duquesne," says he, "I am to proceed to Niagara; and, having taken that, to Frontenac; if the season will allow time; and I suppose it will, for Duquesne can easily detain me above three or four days; and then I see nothing that can</p> <p>- 180 -</p> <p>obstruct my march to Niagara." Having before revolv'd in my mind the long line his army must make in their march by a very narrow road, to be cut for them by the woods and bushes, and also what I had read of a former defeat of fifteen hundred French, who invaded the Iroquois country, I had convinc'd some doubts and some fears for the event of the campaign. But I ventur'd only to say, "To be sure, sir, if you will march with me, and with your men, we will proceed with you, and you will make but a short resistance. The only danger I apprehend of obstruction to your march is from ambuscades of Indians, who, by constant practice, are dexterous in laying and executing them, and the slender line, near four miles long, which your army</p>	<p>association of the people. To promote this, I first wrote and published a pamphlet, entitl'd <i>Plain Truth</i>, in which I starr'd our delinquencies situation in strong lights, with the necessity of union and discipline for our defense, and promised to propose in a few days an association, to be generally sign'd for that purpose. The pamphlet had a sudden end.</p> <p>- 185 -</p> <p>surprising effect. I was call'd upon for the instrument of association, and having settell'd the draft of it with a few friends, I carried it to a printer, who was then in the large building before mentioned. The house was partly full of English militia, number'd, under command of General Clinton, who was the custom of that place when he was, he soften'd degrees, and said he wldt lend us six. After a few humours he advanced to us, and at length he very gud-naturedly conced'd eight. They were fine canons, eighteen-pouders, with their carriages, which we soon transport'd and mounted on our battery, where the associates wldt a knight guard while the war lasted, and among the rest I regularly took my turn of duty there as a common soldier.</p> <p>The officers of the companies comprising the Philadelphia regiment, being met, chose for their colonel; but, conceiving myself unfit, I declin'd that station, and recommended Mr. Lawrence, a fine person, and man of influence, who was accordingly appointed. I then propos'd a lottery to defray the expense of building a battery below the</p> <p>- 186 -</p> <p>town, and furnishing it with cannon. It fill'd expeditiously, and the battery was soon erect'd, the merlons being fram'd of logs and filled with earth. We bought some old cannon from Boston, but, these not being sufficient, we wrote to England for more, soliciting, at the same time, our proprietaries for some assistance, without being much expectation of obtaining it.</p> <p>Meanwhile, Colonel Lawrence, William Allen, Abrahm Taylor, Esqr., and myself were sent to New York by the associates, commission'd to borrow some cannon of Governor Clinton. He at first refus'd it peremptorily; but, at dinner with him, where there was great drinking of Madeira wine, as the custom of that place then was, he soften'd degrees, and said he wldt lend us six. After a few humours he advanced to us, and at length he very gud-naturedly conced'd eight. They were fine canons, eighteen-pouders, with their carriages, which we soon transport'd and mounted on our battery, where the associates wldt a knight guard while the war lasted, and among the rest I regularly took my turn of duty there as a common soldier.</p> <p>My activity in these operations was agreeable to the governor and council; they took me into confidence, and I was</p> <p>- 137 -</p> <p>consid'red by them in every measure wherein their concurrence was thought useful to the association. Calling in the aid of religion, I propos'd to them the proclaiming a fast, to promote reformation, and implore the blessing of Heaven on our undertaking. They embrac'd the motion; but, as it was the first fast ever thought</p>
<p>Page 103</p> <p>with Mr. Cheshire, who was a couns'l Agent of the Province of New-Hampshire, when Lord Mansfield referred to him the Council Chamber, when finally, the paper was allow'd to pass. Some changes were however recommended, and we also engag'd they should be made by a subsequent law, but the Assembly did not think them necessary; for one year's tax having been laid by the act before the order of Council arrived, they appointed a committee to examine the proceedings of the assessors, and on this committee they put several particular friends of the proprietaries. After a full enquiry, they unanimously sign'd a report that they found the tax had been ass'd with perfect equity.</p> <p>The Assembly looked into my entering into the first part of the engagement, as an essential service to the Province, since it secured the credit of the paper money then spread over all the country. They gave me</p>	<p>Page 85</p> <p>representations of the veil had become widely-issued devotional images, particularly for Catholics.</p> <p>- [JOB]</p> <p>Chelsea Chelsea is a neighborhood in London, on the river Thames about four miles to the west of Franklin's lodgings, so it would have made sense to take a boat there. The "College" to which Franklin refers is actually the Royal Hospital, built on the site of a closed theological college.</p> <p>John Hawkswood, the author of the poem, was still a student at the Royal Hospital, and the Chapel Royal, as the name suggests, was the Chapel of the Hospital, known, continuing to wear the distinctive scarlet uniforms that were first issued in the early eighteenth century. "Don Salter" was a coffee house on Cheyne Walk run by James Salter, who was then Sir Hans Sloane's servant. Salter opened a barber shop in 1695, and began displaying curiosities there that were later sold to the Royal Society. The Royal Society, in turn, sold them to the public. Curiosities included items like pieces of the True Cross, powdered peaches and peacock feathers, a piece of Queen Catherine's skin, and a vial with "the tears of Job". The collection grew and represen'ted his business as a coffee shop/barber. Salter was buried "Don Salter" by Richard Steele in the <i>Tatler</i> in 1709, and the nickname stuck. Don Salter's, pictured here in an 1850 drawing, remained a going business and tourist attraction well into the nineteenth century, long after Salter's death in 1728. (Image source: Wikimedia Commons)</p> <p>- [JOB]</p> <p>Chelsea This is an impressive swim, about three and a half miles.</p> <p>- to</p> <p>Thevenot/Bloisde Thevenot's <i>The Art of Swimming, Illustrated by Proper Figures With Advice for Bathing, Drawing of Fins, &c.</i> (London, 1699) was published in France in 1696 and translated in 1699. It includes 39 plates to illustrate various strokes, such as this one illustrating how to move forward while holding one leg. Franklin was unusual in his love for swimming; most people in this period did not know how to swim, and feared the water.</p> <p>- [JOB]</p> <p>compon'desktofe (a debt) by agreement for partial payment: to discharge (a recurrent charge or subscription) by paying a lump sum. (<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>)</p> <p>- [JOB]</p> <p>one This son of Sir William Wyndham was Charles Wyndham (1710-1763), who was Secretary of State for the Southern Department, and Minister responsible for overseeing the American colonies. In that role, Wyndham was part of the negotiations for ending the Seven Years' War, and Franklin would have met with him in his role as agent for the Pennsylvania colony. At this point in his composition of the autobiography, Franklin was hoping to continue to the narrative at least up until 1771, but the manuscript ends in 1757, so he never got to include any anecdotes about his interactions with Wyndham.</p> <p>- [JOB]</p>	<p>Page 67</p> <p>representations of the veil had become widely-issued devotional images, particularly for Catholics.</p> <p>- [JOB]</p> <p>Chelsea Chelsea is a neighborhood in London, on the river Thames about four miles to the west of Franklin's lodgings, so it would have made sense to take a boat there. The "College" to which Franklin refers is actually the Royal Hospital, built on the site of a closed theological college.</p> <p>John Hawkswood, the author of the poem, was still a student at the Royal Hospital, and the Chapel Royal, as the name suggests, was the Chapel of the Hospital, known, continuing to wear the distinctive scarlet uniforms that were first issued in the early eighteenth century. "Don Salter" was a coffee house on Cheyne Walk run by James Salter, who was then Sir Hans Sloane's servant. Salter opened a barber shop in 1695, and began displaying curiosities there that were later sold to the Royal Society. The Royal Society, in turn, sold them to the public. Curiosities included items like pieces of the True Cross, powdered peaches and peacock feathers, a piece of Queen Catherine's skin, and a vial with "the tears of Job". The collection grew and represen'ted his business as a coffee shop/barber. Salter was buried "Don Salter" by Richard Steele in the <i>Tatler</i> in 1709, and the nickname stuck. Don Salter's, pictured here in an 1850 drawing, remained a going business and tourist attraction well into the nineteenth century, long after Salter's death in 1728. (Image source: Wikimedia Commons)</p> <p>- [JOB]</p> <p>Page 121</p>

<p>12. CHASTITY. Rarely virtue; but for health or offspring, never to dulness, weakness, or the injury of your own or another's peace or reputation.</p> <p>13. HUMILITY. Imitate Jesus and Socrates.</p> <p>My intention being to acquire the <i>habitude</i> of all these virtues, I judg'd it would be well not to distract my attention by attempting to have them all at once; but to fix it on one of them at a time; and, when I should be master of that, then to proceed to another, and so on, till I should have gone thro' the thirteen; and as the previous ones were to be considered as the foundation of the others, so that he who had them would have them as they stand above. Temperance first, as it tends to procure the greatest calmness and happiness of life, which is so necessary where constant vigilance was to be kept up, and guard maintained against the unremitting attraction of ancient habits, and the force of perpetual temptations. This being acquired and established, Silence would be easy; and my desire being to gain knowledge at the same time that I improv'd in virtue, I began the second course of study by the method of hours of silence, and joined, what I only made me acceptable to trifling company, I gave <i>Silence</i>, the second place. This and the next, <i>Order</i>, I expected would allow me more time for attending to my</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">- 97 -</p> <p>time for four years he had likewise bought, intending him for a compositor, of whom more presently; and David Harry, a country boy, whom he had taken apprentice.</p> <p>I soon perceived that the institution of printing was a species, so much higher than he had been used to before, was, to have these raw, cheap hands form them; and, as soon as I had instructed them, then they being all attelied to him, he should be able to do without me. I went on, however, very cheerfully, with his printing-house in order, which had been in great confusion, and brought his bands by degrees to mind their business and to do it better.</p> <p>It was an odd thing to find an Oxford scholar in the situation of a bought servant. He was not more than eighteen years of age, and gave me this account of himself: that he was born in Gloucester, educated at a grammar-school there, had been distinguisht among the scholars for some apparent superiority in performing his part, when they exhibited plays: belong'd to the Witty Club there, and had written some pieces in prose and verse, which were printed in the Gloucester newspapers; these he was sent to Oxford; where he was admitted to such as would bind them to serve in America. He went directly, sign'd the indentures, was put into the ship, and came over, never writing a line to acquaint his friends what was become of him. He was lively, witty, good-natur'd, and a pleasant companion; but idle, thoughtless, and imprudent to the last degree.</p>		
<p>project and my studies. <i>Resolution</i>, once become habitual, would keep me firm in my endeavors to obtain all the subsequent virtues; <i>Frigidity</i> & <i>Industry</i> freed me from my remaining debt, and producing affiance and independence, would make more easy the practice of <i>Sincerity</i> and <i>Justice</i>, etc., etc. Considering then, that, agreeably to the advice of Pythagoras in his <i>Golden Verses</i>, daily examination would be necessary, I contriv'd the following method for conducting that examination.</p> <p>I made a small book, about the size of a pocket-handkerchief, and having a cover of blue paper, I have seven columns, one for each day of the week, marking each column with the first letter of one of the virtues, on which line, and in its proper column, I might mark, by a little black spot, every fault I found upon examination to have been committed respecting that virtue upon that day.</p>	<p>Form of the pages.</p> <p>Daily Chart of Virtues</p> <p>+ + [TEMPERANCE:] + + [EAT NOT TO DULNESS:] [DRINK NOT TO ELEVATION:] + +</p> <p>S. M. T. W. T. F. S. T. S. * * * * O. * * * * R. * * F. * L. * S. J. M. C. T. C. H.</p>		
<p style="text-align: center;">- 98 -</p>	<p>town, hid his gown in a furze bush, and footed it to London, where, having no friend to advise him, he fell into bad company, soon spent his guineas, found no means of getting introduce/damong the players, grew necessitous, pawn'd his cloaths, and wanted bread. Walking the street very hungry, and not knowing what to do with himself, he met with Keimer's Sabbath, so I had two days for reading. My acquaintance with ingenious people in the town increased. Keimer himself treated me with great civility and apparent regard, and nothing now made me uneasy but my debt to Vernon, which I was yet unable to pay, being hilfe/but a poor economist. He, however, kindly made it.</p>		
<p>Our printing-house often wanted spots, ^{and} there was no letter-founder, ^{letter founder} in America; I had seen types cast at Jame's in London, but without much attention to the manner; however I now contrived a mould, made use of the letters we had as punchees, struck the matrices in lead, ^{and} thus supply'd in a pretty tolerable way all deficiencies. I also</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">- 64 -</p> <p>engrav'd several things on occasion: I made the ink: I was warehouseman, and everything, and, in short, quite a factotum. ^{household}</p>		
<p>But, however serviceable I might be, I found that my services became every day of less importance, as the other hands improv'd in the business; and, when Keimer paid my second quarter's wages, he let me know</p>	<p>most inhabited part of our country from Rhode Island to Virginia, near seven hundred miles, occasioned not the smallest complaint for the loss of a pig, a chicken, or even an apple.</p> <p>Captain Orme, who was one of general's aids-de-camp, and being grievously wounded, was brought off with him, and confid'd with him to death, which happened in a few days, told me that he was totally silent about the first day, and at night only said, "What would have thought it?" That he was silent again the following day, saying only at last, "We shall better know how to deal with them another time," and dy'd in a few minutes afterwards.</p> <p>The secretary, papers, with all the general's orders, instructions, and correspondence, falling into the enemy's hands, they selected and translated into French a number of the articles, which they printed, to prove the hostile intentions of the British court before the declaration of war. Among these I saw some letters of the general to the ministry, speaking highly of the great service I had rendered the army, and recommending me to their notice. David Hume, too, who was some years after secretary to Lord Herford, when minister in France, and afterward to General Conway, when secretary of state, told me he had seen among the papers in</p>		
<p>advantage Franklin's signature language wryly draws on his experience as a printer here and many times in the book, most obviously in his reflections on the "erata" or mistakes of his life, "erata" being a print-house term for a typographical error. ^{- [UVAatulstaf]}</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">- 185 -</p> <p>that office, letters from Braddock highly recommending me. But, the expedition having been unfortunate, my service, it seems, was not thought of much value, for those recommendations were never of any use to me.</p>		
<p>franklin The word "franklin" was a class signifier in England from the twelfth through the fifteenth centuries. A franklin was a free man ranking between the classes of serf and landed gentry. Franklins often owned land, but not enough to raise them anything close to the ranks of the gentry. The thirty acres that Benjamin Franklin describes as being owned by his ancestor was typical; it was enough of its own land to be productive, but not enough to become wealthy. For a classic literary example of a franklin, see Geoffrey Chaucer's Franklin in <i>The Canterbury Tales</i>. ^{- [UVAatulstaf]}</p>	<p>As to rewards from himself, I am only one, which was, that he would give orders to his officers not to enlist any more of my bought servants, and that he would discharge such as had been already enlisted. This he readily granted, and several were accordingly return'd to their masters, on my application. Dunbar, when the command devolv'd on him, was not so generous. He being at Philadelphia, on his retreat, or rather flight, I am d'pose to have been the most popular person among the poor farmers of New Jersey, that he had no difficulty in raising the late general's orders on that point. And, I am sure, that if the master would come to him in Trenton, where he should be in a day or two on his march to New York, he would there deliver their men to them. They accordingly were at the expense and trouble of going to Trenton, and there he refused to perform his promise, to their great loss and disappoinment.</p>		
<p>freehold "Permanent and absolute tenure of land or property with freedom to dispose of it at will." Source: <i>Oxford English Dictionary</i> ^{- [UVAatulstaf]}</p>	<p>As soon as the loss of the wagons and horses was generally known, all the owners came upon me for the valuation which I had given bond to pay. Their demands gave me a great deal of trouble, my acquainting them that the money was ready in the paymaster's hands, but that order for paying it must first be obtained from General Shirley, and my assuring them that I had apply'd to that general by letter but, he being at a distance, had not yet received it. They then said, "We must have patience, all this was not sufficient to satisfy, and some began to sue me. General Shirley though relieved me from this terrible situation by appointing commissioners to examine the claims, and ordering payment. They amounted to near twenty thousand pound, which to pay would have ruined me."</p>		
<p>old-style For much of its history England used the Julian calendar originally introduced by Julius Caesar in 46 B.C. which became inaccurate over long periods of time. By the eighteenth century England was several days behind the rest of Europe, which used the Gregorian calendar. Britain</p>	<p>Before we had the news of this defeat, the two Doctors Bond came to me with a subscription paper for raising</p>		
<p>scrivener A person employed to copy or transcribe documents, or to write documents on behalf of someone else; a scribe, a copyst; a clerk, a secretary. ^{- [UVAatulstaf]}</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">- 186 -</p> <p>money to defray the expense of a grand fireworks, which it was intended to exhibit at a rejoicing on receipt of the news of our taking Fort Duquesne. I looked grave, and said it would, I thought, be time enough to</p>		
<p>wheeling To shape clay on a wheel. ^{- [MD]}</p>	<p>surveyn In this period, surveying land was a major preoccupation of European settlers, who were trying to general stake claims on what they considered the frontier, and the chief land-surveyor of a colony had a great deal of power. ^{- [OB]}</p>		
<p>Deism The religious and philosophical movement known as "Deism" was much debated in the early years of the eighteenth century and continued to resonate for decades after that. It was never one thing, and people who thought of themselves as Deists disagreed on a lot of issues. But</p>	<p>wheeling To shape clay on a wheel. ^{- [MD]}</p>		
<p>struck The matrices are the molds used to create the sorts. They were struck in lead because lead expands so that the letters can fill a line. Source: <i>Oxford English Dictionary</i> ^{- [INT]}</p>	<p>factotum A jack-of-all-trades. Source: <i>Oxford English Dictionary</i> ^{- [INT]}</p>		
<p>captious Disposed to find faults. Source: <i>Oxford English Dictionary</i> ^{- [INT]}</p>	<p>paper Although it had been used in other places in the world, particularly in China, paper currency was only introduced to European societies in the late seventeenth century, a time when there was a shortage of gold and silver currency. These shortages were particularly acute in the American colonies. As early as 1690, the Massachusetts Bay Colony issued paper money. But paper currency remained deeply suspect to many Europeans and the residents of their colonial territories. It was not until the 1700s that paper currency began to gain acceptance, especially in regions that they could not easily be counterfeited. (As we shall see, Franklin come up with ingenious solutions to combat counterfeiting.) And it was possible for too many notes, real and counterfeit, to end up in circulation, causing inflation. Franklin became a strong advocate of paper money nonetheless, seeing it probably correctly, as an important spur to commercial activity. It would also become a significant part of his printing business, so he had a self-interest in New Jersey and other colonies using paper currency. ^{- [OB]}</p>		
<p>Copper Franklin is describing intaglio printing, which is the process of creating raised patterns into the paper surface. The pattern is created by a sharp instrument with the pattern or lines of text. The plate is then covered in ink, and wiped down to ensure that ink is only within the grooves of the plate. Next, damp paper (damp to make it easier to press and manipulate into the cuts) is laid atop the plate with a towel on top of it. The paper is then run through the press where even, strong pressure is applied across the sheet pushing it into the grooves. Once run through the press once, a printed sheet is made. Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/intaglio ^{- [MD]}</p>	<p>surveyen In this period, surveying land was a major preoccupation of European settlers, who were trying to general stake claims on what they considered the frontier, and the chief land-surveyor of a colony had a great deal of power. ^{- [OB]}</p>		
<p>wheeling To shape clay on a wheel. Source: <i>Oxford English Dictionary</i> ^{- [MD]}</p>	<p>wheeling To shape clay on a wheel. ^{- [MD]}</p>		
<p>Deism The religious and philosophical movement known as "Deism" was much debated in the early years of the eighteenth century and continued to resonate for decades after that. It was never one thing, and people who thought of themselves as Deists disagreed on a lot of issues. But</p>	<p>strike say he, "My son at Philadelphia has lately lost his principal hand, Aquila Rose, by death; if you go thither, I believe he may employ you." Philadelphus was a hundred miles further. I set out, however, in a boat for <i>Anisay</i>, leaving my chest and other things to follow me round by sea.</p>		
<p>Kill ^{the} and drove us upon Long Island. In our way, a drunken Dutchman, who was a passenger too, fell overboard, and got a hold of a sunfish, which he held to his side to keep it from sinking.</p>	<p>up, so that we got him in again. His ducking sobered him a little; and he went to sleep, taking first out of his pocket a book, which he durst d' wold dry for him. It proved to be my old favorite author, Bunyan's <i>Pilgrim's Progress</i>, in Dutch, finely printed on good paper, with <i>gagger cuts</i>, ^{Redaction} a dress better than I had ever</p>		
<p>say he, "My son at Philadelphia has lately lost his principal hand, Aquila Rose, by death; if you go thither, I believe he may employ you." Philadelphus was a hundred miles further. I set out, however, in a boat for <i>Anisay</i>, leaving my chest and other things to follow me round by sea.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">- 24 -</p> <p>seen it wear in its own language. I have since found that it has been translated into most of the languages of Europe, and suppose it has been more generally read than any other book, except perhaps the <i>Bible</i>. Honest John, the first of the Pilgrims, who wrote it, was writing very earnestly, and the reader is made to feel it; the discourse, at the most interesting parts, finds himself as it were, brought into the scene, and present at the discourse. De Foe in his <i>Crusoe</i>, his <i>Moll Flanders</i>, <i>Religious Courtship</i>, <i>Family Instructor</i>, and other pieces, has imitated it with success. ^{Redaction} and Richardson has done the same, in his <i>Pamela</i>, etc.</p>		
<p>When we drew near the island, we found it was at a place where there could be no landing, there being a great storm on the shore. So we drift anchor, and avoyd round towards the shore. Some people came down to the water edge and halloo'd to us, as we did to them; but the wind was so high, and the surf so loud, that we could neither see nor understand each other. There were canoes on the shore, and we made signs, and halloo'd that they should fetch us; but they either did not understand us, or thought it impracticable, so they went away.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">- 25 -</p> <p>and right coming on, we had no remedy but to wait till the wind should abate; and, in the meantime, the boatman and I concluded to sleep; if we could; and so crev'd into the cuttle, with the Dutchman, who was still wet, and the spray beating over the head of our boat, leav'd th' to so; so that we were soon almost as wet as he. In this manner we lay all night, with very little rest; but the wind abating the next day, we made a shift to reach Amboy before night, having been thirty hours on the water, without victuals, or any drink but a bottle of filthy rum, and the water salt on being salt.</p>		
<p>In the evening I found myself very feverish, and went to bed; but, having read somewhere that cold water drank plentifully was good for a fever, I follow'd the prescription, sweat plentifully most of the night, my left leg, and in the morning, crossing the ferry, I proceeded on my journey on foot, having fifty miles to Burlington, where I was told I should find boats that would carry me the rest of the way to Philadelphia.</p>	<p>It rained very hard all the day; I was thoroughly soak'd, and by noon a good deal tired; so I stop at a poor inn, where I staid all night, beginning now to wish that I had never left home. I cut so miserable a figure, too, that I found, by the questions ask'd me, I was suspected to be some runaway servant, and in danger</p>		
<p>Page 51</p>	<p>Page 33</p>	<p>Page 87</p>	<p>Page 15</p>
<p>Page 105</p>	<p>Page 69</p>	<p>Page 69</p>	<p>Page 123</p>

<p>of my rowing, but I insisted on their taking it. A man being sometimes more generous when he has but a little money than when he has plenty, perhaps' fear of being thought to have but little.</p> <p>Then I walked up the street, gazing about till near the market-house I met a boy with bread. I had made myself a meal on bread, and, inquiring where he got it, I went immediately to the baker's directed me to, in Second-street, and ask'd for basket, intending such as we had in Boston; but they, it seems, were not made in Philadelphia. Then I asked for a three-penny loaf, and was told they had none such. So not considering or knowing the difference of money, and the greater cheapness or the names of his bread, I made him</p>	<p>- 21 -</p> <p>desiring Meredith, whom I saw below, to take care of some things I left, and bring them to my lodgings.</p> <p>Meredith came accordingly in the evening, when we took my affair over. He had conceived a great regard for me, and was very unwilling that I should leave the house while he remained in it. He dissuaded me from removing to my room, which I began to do, he remonstrating that I Keimer was in debt for his passage, and his master's wages, which he kept in his shop ready paid, and that he must be in debt for ready money, and often travel'd without keeping account, that he might therefore fall, which would make a vacancy I might profit of. I objected my want of money. He then let me know that his father had a high opinion of me, and, from some discourse that had pass'd between them, he was sure would advance money to set us up, if I would enter into partnership with him. "My time," says he, "will be out with Keimer in the spring; by that time we may have our press and types in from London. I am sensible I am no workman; if you like, your skill in the business shall be set against the stock I furnish, and we will share the profits equally."</p> <p>The proposal was agreeable, and I consented; his father was in town and approu'd of it; the more as he saw I had great influence with his</p>	<p>- 65 -</p> <p>I determined to give a week's strict attention to each of the virtues successively. Thus, in the first week, my great guard was to avoid every least offence against <i>Temperance</i>, leaving the other virtues to their ordinary chance, only marking every evening the faults of the day. This, if in the first week I could keep my first line, marked T, clear of spots, I supposed the habit of that virtue so much strengthen'd and its opposite weaken'd, that I might venture extending my attention to include the next, and for the following week both the clear of spots. Previous to this the last week given to a complete review of the four former weeks, and four new ones.</p> <p>And like him who, in a game at cards, does not attempt to avoid all the bad herbs at once, which would exceed his reach and his strength, but works on one of the beds at a time, and, having accomplish'd the first, proceeds to a second, so I should have, I hoped, the encouraging pleasure of seeing on my pages of progress I made in virtue, by clearing successively my lines of their spots, till in the end, by a number of courses, I should be happy in viewing a clean book, after a thirteen weeks' daily examination.</p>
<p>of being taken up on that suspicion. However, I proceeded the next day, and got in the evening to an inn, within eight or ten miles of Burlington, kept by one Mr. Brown. He entered into conversation with me while I took some refreshment, and, finding I had read a little, became very sociable and friendly. Our acquaintance continued as long as he lived. He had been, I imagine, an itinerant ^{itinerant} doctor, for there was no town in England, or country in Europe, of which he could not give a very particular account. He had some letters, and was ingenious, but much of an unbeliever, and wickedly undertook ^{wickedly} years after ^{to travestie the Bible in doggerel verse as Cotton had done Virgil.} By this means he set many of the facts in a very ridiculous light, and might have hurt weak minds if his work had been published; but it never was.</p> <p>At his house I lay that night, and the next morning reached Burlington, but had the mortification to find that the regular boats</p>	<p>were gone a little before my coming, and no other could go before Tuesday, this being Saturday; wherefore I returned to an old woman in the town, of whom I had bought gingerbread to eat on the water, and ask'd her advice. She invited me to lodge at her house till a passage by water should offer, and being tired with my foot travelling, I accepted the invitation. She understanding I was a printer, would have had me stay at that town and follow my business, being ignorant of the stock necessary to begin with. She was very hospitable, and a fine dinner was prepared with a variety of all sorts of ale and beer, and I might myself fixed till Tuesday should come. However, I was in the evening at the head of the river, a boat came by, which I found was going towards Philadelphia, with several people in her. They took me in, and, as there was no wind, we row'd all the way; and about midnight, not having yet seen the city, some of the company were confident we must have passed it, and would row no further; the others knew not where we were, and were weary, so I told them we must stop, and went ashore. We had dinner, and then made fire, the night being dark, in a hollow, and there we remained till daylight. That one of the company knew the place to be Cooper's Creek, a little above Philadelphia, which we saw as we got out of the creek, and arriv'd there about eight or nine o'clock on the Sunday morning, and landed at the Market-street wharf.</p>	<p>I have been the more particular in this description of my journey, and shall be so of my first entry into that city, that you may in your mind compare such unlikely beginnings with the figure I have since made there. I was in my working dress, my best cloths being to come round by sea. I was dirty from my journey; my pockets were stuff'd out with shins and stockings, and I knew no soul nor had any skill to look for lodgings. I was famish'd with hunger, and want of rest, I was very hungry; and my whole stock of cash consisted of a dollar, and about a shilling in copper. The latter I gave the people of the boat for my passage, who at first refus'd it, on account</p>
<p>- 21 -</p> <p>of my rowing, but I insisted on their taking it. A man being sometimes more generous when he has but a little money than when he has plenty, perhaps' fear of being thought to have but little.</p> <p>Then I walked up the street, gazing about till near the market-house I met a boy with bread. I had made myself a meal on bread, and, inquiring where he got it, I went immediately to the baker's directed me to, in Second-street, and ask'd for basket, intending such as we had in Boston; but they, it seems, were not made in Philadelphia. Then I asked for a three-penny loaf, and was told they had none such. So not considering or knowing the difference of money, and the greater cheapness or the names of his bread, I made him</p>	<p>- 66 -</p> <p>Son, had prevail'd on him to abstain long from drum-drawing, and he hop'd might break him off that wretched habit entirely, when we came to be so closely connected. I gave an inventory to the father, who carry'd it to a merchant; the things were sent for, the secret was to be kept till they should arrive, and in the mean time I was to get work, if I could, at the other printing-house. But I found no vacany there, and soon after I was sent to another, where I was to be employed in the same way. I was to receive a dollar a week, and though regular cuts and signature types that I only could supply, ^{copyist} and apprehension Bradford might engage me and get the job from him, sent me a very civil message, that old friends should not part for a few words, the effect of sudden passion, and wishing me to return. Meredith persuad'd me to comply, as it would give more opportunity for his improvement under my daily instructions; so I returned, and we went on smoothly than for some time before. The New Jersey job was obtain'd, ^{Locutiv'd a Copper Plate Press for it, the first that had been seen in the country. I cut several Ornaments and Checks for the Bills.} ^{Copper Plate Press for it, the first that had been seen in the country. I cut several Ornaments and Checks for the Bills.} We went together to Burlington, where I execut'd the whole to satisfaction; and he received</p>	<p>- 99 -</p> <p>And conceiving God to be the fountain of wisdom, I thought it right and necessary to solicit his assistance for obtaining it; to this end I formed the following little prayer, which was prefix'd to my tables of</p>
<p>of the Proverbs of Solomon, speaking of wisdom or virtue:</p>	<p>"Length of days is in her right hand, and in her left hand riches and honour. Her ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace." iii. 16, 17.</p>	<p>Another from Cicero</p>
<p>- 21 -</p>	<p>O virtute Philosophia dux! O virtutum indagatrix, expultrix vitorum! Unus dies, bene et ex praeceptis tuis actus, pecuniam immortalem est antepomitus."</p>	<p>Another from the Proverbs of Solomon:</p>
<p>- 21 -</p>	<p>"Power Goodness! bountiful Father! merciful Guide! increase in me that wisdom which discovers my true interest; strengthen my resolution what wisdom dictates. Accept my kind offices to thy other children as the only return in my power for thy continual favors to me."</p>	<p>I used also sometimes a little prayer which I took from Thomson's Poems viz.:</p>
<p>- 21 -</p>	<p>"I sing of light and life, then Good Supreme! O teach me what is good, teach me Thysell!</p>	<p>Save me from folly, vanity, and vice;</p>
<p>- 21 -</p>	<p>From every low pursuit; fill my soul</p>	<p>With knowledge, conscious peace, and virtue pure;</p>
<p>- 21 -</p>	<p>Sacred, substantial, never-failing bliss!"</p>	<p>Another from Cicero</p>
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<p>explain all his views, what interests he reli'd on, and in what manner he intended to proceed. I, who stood by and heard all, saw immediately that one of them was a crafty old sophist, and the other a mere novice. Bradford left me with Keimer, who was greatly surpris'd when I told him who the old man was.</p> <p>Keimer's printing-house, I found, consisted of an old shатель press, and one small, worn-out font of English which he was using himself, composing an <i>Elegy on Anna Rose</i>. [they] before mentioned, an ingenious young man, of excellent character, much respected in the town, clerk of the Assembly, and a pretty poet. Keimer made verses too, very indifferent. He could not say he wrote them; for his manner was to compose them in types, and print them. So when I told him he had written them, he said, "Yes, I did; but they were likely to require all the letters, so you could not have them. I endeav'd to put them in types which he had not yet w'd, and of which he understood nothing;" into order fit to be w'd with, and, promising to come and print off his Elegy as soon as he should have got it ready, I return'd to Bradford; who gave me a little job to do for the present, and there I lodged and dined. A few days after, Keimer sent for me to print off the <i>Elegy</i>. And</p>	<p>- 32 -</p> <p>now he had got another pair of cans, and a pamphlet to reprint, on which he set me to work.</p> <p>These two printers I found poorly qualified for their business. Bradford had not been bred to it, and was very illiterate; and Keimer, 'the something of a scholar, was a mere compositor, knowing nothing of presswork.'</p> <p><i>corporation</i> He had been one of the French <i>prophets</i>, [they], and could not their enthusiastic agitations. At that time he did not know the language of his countrymen, and was very ignorant of the world. I had a small apartment round a good deal of the house; the composition room, not like my lodgings at Bradford, while I w'd with him. He had a house, indeed, but without furniture, as he could not afford me; but he got me a lodging at Mr. Read's, before mentioned, who was the owner of his house; and my clothes and bedding coming by this time, I made rather a more respectable appearance in the eyes of Miss Read than I had done when she first happen'd to see me eating my roll in the street.</p> <p>I began now to have some acquaintance among the young people of the town, that were lovers of reading, with whom I spent my evenings very pleasantly; and gaining money by my industry and frugality, I lived very agreeably, forgetting Boston as much as I could, and not desiring that any there should know where I resided, except my friend Collins, who was in my secret, and kept it when I wrote to him. At length, an incident happened that sent me back again much sooner than I had intended.</p>
<p>- 33 -</p> <p>I had a brother-in-law, Robert Holmes, master of a shop that traded between Boston and Delaware. He being at Newcastle, forty miles below Philadelphia, heard thereof, and wrote me a letter mentioning the concern of my friends in Boston at my abrupt departure, assuring me of their good will to me, and that every thing would be accommodated to my mind if I would return, to which he exhorted me very earnestly I wrote an answer to her letter, thank'd him for his advice, but stated my reasons for quitting Boston fully and in such a light as to convince him I was not so wrong as he had apprehended.</p> <p>Sir William Keith, <i>governor of the province</i>, [they], was then at Newcastle, and Captain Holmes, happening to be in company with him when my letter came hand, spoke to him of me, and shov'd him the letter. The governor read it, and seem'd surpris'd when he was told my age. He said I appear'd a young man of promising parts, and therefore should be encouraged; the printers at Philadelphia were wretched ones; and,</p>	<p>and from the attributes of God, his infinite wisdom, goodness and power, concluded that nothing could possibly be wrong in the world, and that vice and virtue were empty distinctions, no such things existing, appear'd now so never a performance as I once thought it; and I doubted whether some error had not insinuated itself unperceiv'd into my argument, so as to infect all that follow'd, as is common in metaphysical reasonings.</p> <p>I grew convic't that <i>truth, sincerity and integrity</i> in dealings between man and man were of the utmost importance to the felicity of life; and I form'd written resolutions, which still remain in my journal, to practice them ever while I live. Revelation had indeed no weight with me, as such; but I entertain'd an opinion that, though certain actions might not be bad <i>because</i> they were forbidden by it, or good <i>because</i> it commanded them,</p>
<p>- 70 -</p> <p>yet probably these actions might be forbidden <i>because</i> they were bad for us, or commanded <i>because</i> they were beneficial to us, in their own natures, all the circumstances of things considered. And this persuasion, with the kind hand of Providence, or some guardian angel, or accidental favorable circumstances and situations, brought me along in the right way. I have often thought that if I had not been born in America, I was sometimes a most ungrateful, remote from the eye and advice of my father, a wretched without fitness immorality or infatuation, that might have been expected from my want of religion. I say wretched, because the instances I have mentioned had something of <i>necessity</i> in them, from my youth, inexperience, and the knavery of others. I had however a tolerable character to begin the world with; I valued it properly, and determined to preserve it.</p> <p>We had not long return'd to Philadelphia before the new types arriv'd from London. We settled with Keimer, and left him by his consent before he heard of it. We found a house to hire near the market, and took it. To lessen the rent, which was then but twenty-four pounds a year, I have since known it to let for seventy, we took in Thomas Godfrey, a glazier, [they], and his family, who were to pay a considerable part of it to us, and we to board with them.</p>	<p>- 71 -</p> <p>We had scarce opened our letters and put our press in order, before George House, an acquaintance of mine, brought a countryman to us, whom he had met in the street inquiring for a printer. All our cash was now expended in the variety of particulars we had been obliged to procure, and this countryman's five shillings, being our first-fruits, and coming so seasonably, gave me more pleasure than any crown I have since earned; and the gratitude I felt toward House made me often more ready than perhaps I should otherwise have been to assist young beginners.</p> <p>There are <i>grackers</i>, [they] in every country, always boding its ruin. Such a one then lived in Philadelphia; a person of note, an elder man, with a wise look and a very grave manner of speaking; his name was Samuel Mickle. This gentleman, a man of great sense, and a very good man, had learned the art of printing before he was twenty years of age, and was an expert printer. He had a small shop in the city, and a grammar school to teach. He said to me very seriously, for it was an expensive undertaking, and the expense would be lost, for Philadelphia was a sinking place, the people already half-bankrupts, or near being so; all appearances to the contrary, such as new buildings and the rise of rents, being to certain knowledge fallacious, [they]; for they were, in fact, among the things that would soon ruin us. And he gave me such a detail of misfortunes now existing, or that were soon to exist, that he left me half-melancholy. Had I known him before I engaged in this business,</p>
<p>Page 18</p> <p>government of the academy; which being done and signed, a house was hired, masters engag'd, and the schools opened, I think, in the same year, 1749.</p> <p>- 148 -</p> <p>The scholars increasing fast, the house was soon found too small, and we were looking out for a piece of ground, properly situated, with intention to build, when Providence threw into our way a large house ready built, with which a few alterations, might well serve our purpose. This was the building before mentioned, erected by the heirs of Mr. Whitefield, and was obtained for us in the following manner.</p> <p>It is to be noted that the contributions to this building being made by people of different sects, care was taken in the nomination of trustees, in whom the building and ground were to be vested, that a predominancy should not be given to any sect, lest in time that predominancy might be a means of appropriating the whole to the use of such sect, contrary to the original intention. It was therefore that each of such was appointed, viz., one Church-of-England man, one Presbyterian, one Baptist, one Moravian, etc., those, in case of vacancy by death, were to fill by election from among the contributors. The Moravian happen'd not to please his colleagues, and on his death they resolved to have no other of that sect. The difficulty then was, how to avoid having two of some other sect, by means of the new</p> <p>- 149 -</p> <p>men, purchasing materials, and superintending the work, fell upon me; and I went thro' it the more cheerfully, as it did not then interfere with my private business, having the year before taken a very able, industrious, and honest partner, Mr. David Hall, with whose character I was well acquainted, as he had work'd for me four years. He took off my hands all care of the printing-office, paying me punctually my share of the profits. This partnership continued eighteen years, successfully for both.</p> <p>The trustees of the academy, after a while, were incorporated by a charter from the governor; their funds were increased by contributions in Britain and grants of land from the proprietaries, to which the Assembly has since made considerable addition; and thus was established the present University of Philadelphia. I</p>	<p>fast, I had the curiosity to look at my watch when two men began to cut at a pine; in six minutes they had it down, and the tree was cut in two. When they were prising, one other man, with a halberd, and a halberd of green steel, stood at one end. When they were prising, our other man due a turn, bound the tree, and the two feet deep, in which the paddles were to be planted; and, our wagons, the body being taken off, and the fore and hind wheels separated by taking the pin which united the two parts of the perch, we had ten carriages, with two horses each, to bring the paddles from the woods to the spot. When they were set up, our men, who were a strong crew, about thirty, ascended high, for the masts to stand upright, and to fire the top of the loopholes. We had one swivel gun, which we mounted on one of the angles, and fired it over fort, if such a magnificient name may be given to so miserably a stockade, was ram'd in a week, though it rain'd so hard every other day that the men could not work.</p> <p>This gave me occasion to observe, that, when men are employ'd, they are best contented; for on days they worked they were good-natur'd and cheerful, and, with the consciousness of having done a good day's work, they spent the evening jolly; but on our idle days they were mutinous and quarrelsome, finding fault with their work, the bread, etc., and continual ill-humor, which put me in mind</p>
<p>- 192 -</p> <p>of a sea-captain, whose rule it was to keep his men constantly at work; and, when his mate once told him that they had done every thing, and there was nothing further to employ them about, "Oh," says he, "make them scold the anchor."</p> <p>This kind of fool, however contemptible, is a sufficient defense against Indians, who have no scruples. Finding we were now ready, and having a place to return to on occasion, we waited until it was time to cross over to the adjacent country. We met with Indians, but we found the places on the neighboring hills where they had lain to watch our proceedings. There was an art in their contrivance of those places, that seems worth mention. It being winter, a fire was necessary for them; but a common fire on the surface of the ground would by its light have discovered their position at a distance. They had therefore dug holes in the ground about three feet diameter, and somewhat deeper; we saw where they had with their hatchets cut off the charlock from the stalks, and lay them in the holes; and we observed among the weeds and grass the prints of their bodies, made by their laying all round, with their legs hanging down in the holes to keep their feet warm, which, with them, is an essential point.</p> <p>- 193 -</p> <p>This kind of fire, so manage'd, could not discover them, either by its light, flame, sparks, smoke, or noise; it appear'd that their number was not great, and it seems they saw we were too many to be attacked by them with prospect of advantage.</p> <p>We had for our chaplain a zealous Presbyterian minister, Mr. Beatty, who complained to me that the men did not generally attend his prayers and exhortations. When they enlisted, they were promised, besides pay and provision, a gill of rum every day, which was distributed to them, half a pint at a time, and the other half in the evening; and I observed they were as punctual in attaining this privilege as upon which I said to Mr. Beatty, "I suppose, below the dignity of your profession to act as steward of the rum, but if you were to deal it out and only not after prayrs, you would have them all about you." He liked the thot, undertook the office, and, with the help of a few hands to measure out the liquor, executed it to satisfaction, and never</p>	<p>- 194 -</p> <p>scolded them.</p> <p>Richard Burton or "RB" were pseudonyms for Nathaniel Crouch (c. 1632-1725), who published dozens of popular histories in the second half of the 1600s, books that went through many editions. Most of these were pretty much plagiarized from the works of other writers, but many readers, like the young Franklin, learned a good deal of history through his inexpensive digest of these works.</p> <p>Daniel Defoe's <i>An Essay upon Projects</i>, published in 1697, outlines a number of plans for organizing associations to improve English society, including special courts for merchants and an early form of life insurance.</p> <p>As noted above, Mather was an important influence on Franklin whose persona of "Silence Dogood" in his first published essays allude to the title of Mather's book.</p> <p>It is worth noting that this is an unusually long apprenticeship; most apprenticeships were for one- or two-years; the proviso that he get "journeyman's wages," that is, the salary of a fully-fledged printer, might have been offered as a compromise.</p>
<p>Page 72</p> <p>of Great Britain, by the Governor's depending immediately on them and his own good Conduct for an ample Support, because all Acts and Laws which might be induced to pass, must nevertheless be constantly sent Home for Approbation in Order to continue in Force. Many other Reasons were given and Arguments us'd in the Course of the Controversy, needless to particularize here, because the material Papers relating to it, have been inserted already in our Publick News.</p> <p>Much deserved Price has the Rec'd'nd Governor received, for his strict Integrity, in adhering to his Intentions, and notwithstanding the Difficulties he遇'd in Obtaining his Object, in spite of the strong temptations offer'd him to give up the Point. And yet perhaps something is due to the Assembly (on the Love and Zeal of the County for the present Establishment is too well known to suffer any Suspicion of Want of Loyalty) who continue thus resolutely to Abide by what theyes Think their Right and that of the People they represent, magne all the Arts and Menaces of a Governor fam'd for his Cunning and Politicks, back'd with Instructions from Home, & particularly added the great Advantage such an Officer always has of Commanding the Major Part of a Place, and Possessing the Majority of the Posts of Profit and Honour. Their happy Mother Country will perhaps observe with Pleasure, that her gallant Cocks and matchless Dogs abate their native Fire and Intrepidity when transported to a Foreign Climate (as the common Notio is) yet her SONS in the remost Part of the Earth, and even to the third and fourth Descent, still retain that ardent Spirit of Liberty, and that undaunted Courage in the Defense of it, which has in every Age so gloriously distinguished BRITONS and ENGLISHMEN from the Rest of mankind."</p> <p>- [JOB]</p> <p>In the margin, Franklin writes: "I go to see once '94". Andrew Hamilton was the Speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly in the period; his son James became a friend of Franklin's and later served a couple of terms as Governor of Pennsylvania. We cannot be certain what Franklin is referring to when he talks about the £500 in his note, but Lemay and Zall observe in the Norton critical edition that in 1754, William Franklin got his salary, of precisely that amount, which had been dispensed by the Pennsylvania Assembly. They suggest that Franklin may have intervened behind the scenes to make it happen.</p> <p>extant Existing. Source: <i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>. As already noted, the shortfall of currency was endemic in the colonies. In the period that Franklin is recalling (accurately) here, the situation was about to be exacerbated by the fact that some of the paper currency that had been issued a few years earlier was supposed to be withdrawn from circulation, or "sunk," according to the original terms of issuance.</p> <p>- [JOB]</p> <p>The Nature When paper currency was introduced in Pennsylvania in 1723, many believed that it helped the area prosper, and gave it an inflationary depreciation. The Assembly and the government refined the topic, in terms of currency. In 1729, Franklin anonymously published a pamphlet that argued in favor of the circulation of paper currency. He argued that paper money is necessary for a country's economy and the ways in which regulation and security of the money should be enacted. Here is a copy: https://founders.archives.gov/documents/</p>	<p>In truth, I found myself incorrigible with respect to Order; and now I am grown old, and my memory bad, I feel very sensibly the want of it. But, on the whole, tho' I never arrived at the perfection I had been so ambitious of obtaining, but fell far short of it, yet I was, by the endeavour, a better and a happier man than I otherwise should have been; if that had not attempted it as those who are at perfect by imitating engraved copies, tho' they never reach the wild'd for excellence of those copies, their hand is mend'd by the engraver, and is tolerable while it continues so.</p> <p>It may be well to consider the constant fidelity of this life, and the artifice and blessing of God in their affairs, to avoid the instant fertility of this life, and to live in a virtuous way, in which this is virtuous. When reverses may attend the remainder in the hand of Providence; but, if they are, the reflection on past happiness enjoy'd ought to help their bearing them with more resignation. To Temperance ascribes his long, continued health, and what is still left to him of a good constitution; to Industry and Frugality, the early easiness of his circumstances and acquisition of his fortune; and all that knowledge and experience he has, which he has derived from the diligent application of his mind to the study of law, and the acquirement of a good education. His success in business, and the confidence of his countrymen and the honest way he conducted himself upon him, and to the joint influence of the whole mass of the virtues, even in the supererogation of his company, who were all evenness of temper, and that cheerfulness in conversation, which makes his company still sought for, and agreeable to even his younger acquaintance. I hope, therefore, that some of my descendants may follow the example and reap the benefit.</p> <p>It will be remark'd that, tho' my scheme was not wholly without religion, there</p> <p>- 102 -</p> <p>in it no mark of any of the distinguishing tenets of any particular sect. I had purposely avoided them; for, being fully persuaded of the excellency of my method, and that it might be serviceable to people in all religions, and intending some time or other to publish it, I would not have any thing in it that should prepossess any reader, and, above all, offend any religious person. I had, however, a desire to have it published, and I would have called my book the <i>ART OF VIRTUE</i>, [it] because it would have distinguished it from the mere exertion to be good, that does not instruct and induce the means; but it is like the apostle's man of verbal charity, who only without showing the naked and hungry how or where they might get clothes or victuals, exhorted them to be fed and clothed. I, 16.</p> <p>But it so happened that my intention of writing and publishing this comment was never fulfilled. I did, indeed, in my time, put down short hints of the sentiments, reasons, etc., to be made use of it, in a pamphlet, and I have done so, in a very small way, in my <i>ESSAYS</i>; but I have not done it in a full and complete way, as I intended to do. I have, however, shown the artifice and the benefit of my method to a few persons, and I have, in consequence, had the pleasure of seeing it recommended to the publick, and of receiving a few letters in answer to it, which have occasioned my publishing it, for, it being connected with my present employment prevented my doing it, but it has certainly remain'd unfinished.</p> <p>In this piece it was my design to explain and enforce this doctrine, that vicious actions are not hurtful because they are forbidden, but forbidden because they are hurtful, the nature of man alone considered; that it was, therefore, every</p> <p>- 103 -</p> <p>Page 54</p>