

UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

"The rest, residue, and remainder of all my books, manuscripts, and papers I do give to my grandson William Temple Franklin."

BY this clause in the will of Dr. Franklin the most precious and important collection of manuscript literature ever bequeathed by an American passed into the hands and absolute control of the only son of Dr. Franklin's only son surviving him on the 17th of April, 1790. The same year William Temple Franklin embarked for London, taking with him his manuscript heritage, with the intention, as he avowed in his correspondence, to devote himself at once to the preparation and publication of a complete edition of his grandsire's works. For a variety of reasons, some of which are scarcely susceptible of a construction altogether favorable to the grandson, twenty-seven years elapsed before his editorship bore any fruit. In 1817-1819 appeared simultaneously in London and Philadelphia an edition in six volumes of "Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Benjamin Franklin, LL. D., F. R. S., Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States of North America at the Court of France and for the Treaty of Peace and Independence, etc., with Great Britain, written by himself to a late period, and continued to the time of his death by his grandson William Temple Franklin. Now first published," etc.*

This edition of Franklin's works absorbed only a portion of the material in the editor's hands. The tradition goes that five or six additional volumes would have been required to hold the reserved material which it was intended to give in a second edition. The publishers, however, found that either the sale or the surplus material, or both, did not warrant any expansion of the work.

William Temple Franklin, almost immediately after the publication of the six volumes, went to Paris, where he married, and where five years later, in 1823, he died, leaving no will nor instructions in regard to his manuscript possessions. His wife administered upon his estate, and on the 27th of September of the same year removed from the bank of Herries, Farquhar and Co., 16 St. James's street, London, the chest in which the Franklin manuscripts are said to have been deposited by her husband for safe keeping. Seventeen years

later, in 1840, these manuscripts, the published as well as the unpublished, tied up in bundles, occupied the top shelf in a room over a tailor's shop in St. James's street, where William Temple had at one time lodged. They were found there by one of the grandson's old acquaintances and fellow-lodgers, who appears to have in some way acquired a title to them, though what kind of a title beyond that of possession has never transpired.

Their new proprietor kept these manuscripts for ten or twelve years, offering them from time to time for sale, but unsuccessfully. The British Museum is said to have declined his proposals; Lord Palmerston, also, and a succession of American Ministers from 1840 to 1851, "passed them by on the other side." At last, in 1851, he offered them to Abbot Lawrence, then Minister of the United States in London, whose large wealth and Boston associations encouraged an expectation that he would take them. Mr. Lawrence, however, was a better judge of cotton prints than of literary reliques, and Boston, as Dr. Franklin was one of the first to discover, was slow in appreciating its most illustrious production. The Minister declined the opportunity, but recommended the owner of the manuscripts to apply to the late Henry Stevens, an American bibliophile then residing in London, who was not long in ascertaining the value of the papers and making them his own. This occurred in 1851.

Thirty-two years later these manuscripts, which meantime had been hypothecated by Mr. Stevens to a Mr. Charles Whittingham in London, were offered for sale by his executors to close the estate, and were bought by Congress. They now, after an exposure for nearly a century to perils by sea and perils by land, perils such as with the single exception of Aristotle's writings no literary treasures of equal value ever survived, form a by no means insignificant part of the wealth of the State Department at Washington, where at last they may be said "to rest from their labors."

It is a somewhat remarkable fact that during the ninety-five years that have elapsed since these manuscripts began their wanderings under the chaperonage of William Temple Franklin, none of the documents and letters designed for the second edition and constitut-

* This title did not augur very well for the editorial faculty employed on the work. The critical reader might ask whether the volumes were to contain a me-

moir of the writings or the writings themselves, and also whether the Doctor's writings as well as his memoirs had been continued by his grandson.

ing nearly half of the aggregate should have found their way into print, with the exception of extracts from three or four letters published by Mr. Stevens with a view to pique public curiosity and to promote the sale of the collection. While held for sale, their proprietors naturally did not wish to impair their commercial value by giving them to the public, nor perhaps to furnish the public with an opportunity of testing it. Since reaching the State Department access to them has been very properly placed under restrictions unfavorable to the gratification of idle curiosity.

It is fit, however, that the public should know something more definite of the character and worth of a property which has cost them from thirty-five to forty thousand dollars, and which embraces the unpublished writings of one of the most popular writers that the English-speaking race has yet produced.

To satisfy the legitimate curiosity of the public, and in a measure to repair the injustice which the most eminent of Americans has sustained at the hands of his shiftless executor, we have profited by an opportunity extended to us by the courtesy of the Secretary of State to inspect the Stevens collection, and propose now to give in these pages as many extracts from the unpublished portion of it as a monthly miscellany like *THE CENTURY* can afford to extend its hospitality to.

Franklin was commissioned a second time to go to England as an agent of the colonies in November, 1765 — this time as the special agent of Pennsylvania, to present and enforce a petition for a deliverance from the Proprietary Government, as it was called, and from the exactions of the Penn family. He remained there until the breaking out of hostilities at home in 1775. The following letter was written in London three years before his return:

Franklin to Mr. Maseres.

COÖPERATIVE ASSOCIATION AS PRACTICED A CENTURY AGO.

“ CRAVEN STREET, June 17, 1772.

“ SIR: I thank you for the Pamphlets proposing to establish Life Annuities in Parishes, etc. I think it an excellent one. In compliance with your wish, pages 25, 26, I send it back with a few marginal notes (perhaps of no great importance), made in reading it, requesting it may be returned to me.

“ In page 118 of Dr. Price's Book on Annuities, 2d Edition, you will find mention made of an Institution in Holland. He had that information from me. Those Houses are handsome neat buildings, with very comfortable Apartments; some form the sides of a square, with grass plats, and gravel walks,

flowers, &c., and some have little separate gardens behind each Apartment. Those for men are called *Oude Mannen Huizen*; for women, *Oude Vrouwen Huizen*. I think the different kinds sometimes make different sides of the same square. There is a Chapel for prayers, a common kitchen, and a common hall in which they dine together. Two persons, such as best like one another, and choose so to associate, are generally lodged in one apartment, tho' in separate beds, that they may be at hand to assist each other in case of sudden illness in the night, and otherwise be mutually helpful.

“ The Directors have also a room to meet in, who form rules for the government of the House, hear complaints and rectify what is amiss. Gentlemen are Directors of the *Oude Mannen Huys*, Ladies of the *Oude Vrouwen Haus*. A committee of two are chosen every year, who visit often, see the rules observed, and take care of the management. At the end of the year, these are thanked off, and as an Honourable Memorial of their services, their names, with the year they served, are added to the Gold Letter List on the walls of the room. All the furniture is neat and convenient, the beds and rooms kept clean and sweet by the Servants of the House; and the People appear to live happily.

“ These Institutions seem calculated to prevent poverty, which is rather a better thing than Relieving it. For it keeps always in the Public Eye a state of comfort and repose in old age with freedom from care held forth as an encouragement to so much industry and frugality in youth as may at least serve to raise the required sum (suppose £50) that is to intitle a man or woman at 50 to a Retreat in those Houses. And in acquiring this sum habits may be acquired that produce such affluence before that age arrives as to make the retreat unnecessary and so never claimed. Hence, if £50 would (as by your table) entitle a man at 50 years of age to an annuity of £19. 3. 6. 1-2, I suppose that [in] such a House entertainment and accommodations to a much greater value might be afforded him; because the right to live there is not transferable, and therefore every unclaimed right is an advantage to the House, while Annuities would probably all be claimed. Then it seems to me that the prospect of a distant annuity will not be so influencing on the minds of young people, as the constant view of the comfort enjoyed in those houses, in comparison of which even the *payment* and *Receipt* of the annuities are *private* transactions.

“ I write this in hopes you will after consideration favor me with your opinion whether

(in addition to your plan, which will still have all advantages for smaller sums) one or more such houses in every county would not probably be of great use in still farther promoting Industry and Frugality among the lower people, and of course lessening the enormous weight of the Poor tax?"

II.

Franklin to Mr. Timothy.

A LECTURE ON OFFICE-SEEKING.

"LONDON, Nov. 3, 1772.

"DEAR SIR: I received yours of Aug. 24, by Capt. Vanderhorst, to whom I should willingly have shown any civilities in my power, but I being gouty of late, seldom go into the City, and he has not called on me since he delivered your letter. I am sorry you talk of leaving off your business with a view of getting some post. It is so difficult a matter to obtain anything of the kind, that I think to leave a good trade in hopes of an office, is quitting a certainty for an uncertainty, and losing substance for shadow. I have known so many here dangling and soliciting years for places, till they were reduced to the lowest poverty and distress, that I cannot but pity a man who begins to turn his thoughts that way. The proverb says, *He who has a trade has an office of profit and honor*; because he does not hold it during any other man's pleasure, and it affords him honest subsistence with independence. I hope therefore you will alter your mind and go on with your business. I assure you it is not in my power to procure you that post you mention or any other, whatever my wishes may be for your prosperity. I am now thought here too much an American to have any interest of the kind.

"You have done me honour in giving a Son my name. I wish he may live to be an honour and comfort to you.

"With compliments to Mrs. Timothy, I am ever, dear Sir,

"Your faithful & most obedient Servant,
"B. F."

III.

Franklin to Jos. Galloway, Esq.

HIS PAY AS AGENT IN LONDON—
OFFICE-HOLDING.

"LONDON, Jan. 6, 1773.

"DEAR FRIEND: I have received your favours of Oct. 18 and 30. I am obliged greatly to you and Mr. Rhoads for your friendly interposition in the affair of my Salary. As I made never any bargain with the House, I

accept thankfully whatever they please to give me; and shall continue to serve them as long as I can afford to stay here. Perhaps it may be thought, that my other agencies contribute more than sufficient for that purpose; but the Jersey allowance tho' well paid is a very small one; that from Georgia, £100 only, is some years in arrear, and will not be continued, as their appointment is by a yearly act, which I am told the Governor will not again pass with my name in it; and from Boston I have never received a farthing, perhaps never shall, as their Governor is instructed to pass no salary to an Agent whose appointment he has not assented to. In these circumstances, with an almost double expense of living by my family remaining in Philadelphia, the losses I am continually suffering in my affairs there through absence, together with my now advanced age, I feel renewed inclinations to return and spend the remainder of my days in private life; having had rather more than my share of Publick bustle. I only wish first to improve a little for the general advantage of our country the favourable appearances arising from the change of our American minister, and the good light I am told I stand in with the Successor. If I be instrumental in . . . things in good train, with a prospect of their . . . on a better footing than they have had for some years past, I shall think a little additional time well spent, tho' I were to have no allowance for it at all.

"I must however beg you will not think of retiring from Publick business. You are yet a young man, and may still be greatly serviceable to your country. It would be I think something criminal to bury in private retirement so early all the usefulness of so much experience and such great abilities. The people do not indeed always see their friends in the same favourable light; they are sometimes mistaken, and sometimes misled; but sooner or later they come right again, and redouble their former affection. This I am confident will happen in your case, as it often has in the case of others. Therefore preserve your spirits and persevere; at least to the age of 60, a boundary I once fixed for myself, but have gone beyond it."

If Franklin could have foreseen the defection of Galloway from the popular cause, he would probably not have written the closing paragraph of this letter. Like many others, Galloway, though ready enough to criticise the home government, revolted at the thought of throwing off his allegiance to it. He joined the British army in New Jersey in 1776, and in 1799 went to England, where he died a pensioner of the British Government in 1803.

IV.

Franklin to his Wife.

"LONDON, February 14, 1773.

"MY DEAR CHILD :* I wrote to you a few days since by the Packet. In a box directed to Mr. Bache I sent a striped cotton and silk gown for you, of a manufacture now much the mode here. There is another for Sally. People line them with some old silk gown, and they look very handsome. There goes also a bedstead for Sally, sent on Capt. All's telling Mrs. Stephenson that you wished it had been sent with the bed. She sends also some little things for Benny Boy.

"Now having nothing very material to add, let us trifle a little. The fine large gray squirrel you sent, who was a great favorite in the Bishop's family, is dead. He had got out of his cage in the country, rambled and was rambling over a common 3 miles from home, when he met a man with a dog. The dog pursuing him, he fled to the man for protection, running up to his shoulder, who shook him off, and set the dog on him, thinking him to be, as he said afterwards, *some varment or other*. So poor *Mungo*, as his Mistress called him, died. To amuse you a little, and nobody out of your own house, I enclose you the little correspondence between her and me on the melancholy occasion. Skugg, you must know, is a common name by which all squirrels are called here, as all cats are called *Puss*. Miss Georgiana is the Bishop's youngest

* The title by which he always addressed Mrs. Franklin in his letters.

† The following extract from the letter to Miss Shipley, dated London, 26th September, 1772, is a part of "the little correspondence" to which Franklin refers (see Bigelow's "Life of Franklin," vol. ii. page 121):

"I lament with you most sincerely the unfortunate end of poor Mungo. Few squirrels were better accomplished; for he had had a good education, had travelled far, and seen much of the world. As he had the honor of being, for his virtues, your favorite, he should not go, like common skuggs, without an elegy or an epitaph. Let us give him one in the monumental style and measure, which, being neither prose nor verse, is perhaps the properest for grief; since to use common language would look as if we were not affected, and to make rhymes would seem trifling in sorrow.

EPITAPH,

ON THE LOSS OF AN AMERICAN SQUIRREL, WHO,
ESCAPING FROM HIS CAGE, WAS KILLED BY A
SHEPHERD'S DOG.

Alas! poor Mungo!
Happy wert thou, hadst thou known
Thy own felicity.
Remote from the fierce bald eagle,
Tyrant of thy native woods,

daughter but one. There are five in all. Mungo was buried in the garden, and the enclosed epitaph put upon his monument. So much for squirrels.

"My poor cousin Walker in Buckinghamshire is a lacemaker. She was ambitious of presenting you and Sally with some netting of her work, but as I knew she could not afford it, I chose to pay her for it at her usual price, 3/6 per yard. It goes also in the box. I name the price, that if it does not suit you to wear it, you may know how to dispose of it.

"My love to Sally and the dear Boy. I am ever
"Your affectionate husband."

We learn for the first time from the foregoing letter that the most famous squirrel in all literature, to which allusion is here made, was sent out from Philadelphia to Miss Shipley by Mrs. Franklin. Miss Shipley was the daughter of the Bishop of St. Asaph, at whose residence Franklin tells us that he commenced his autobiography.†

V.

Franklin to his Sister Mrs. Mecom.

SECOND THOUGHTS.

"LONDON, March 9, 1773.

"DEAR SISTER: I received your kind letter of December 30, and rejoice to find you were well. I may possibly have the greater pleasure of seeing you before the year is out. I have desired Cousin Williams to give you the money he may recover from Hall. I would

Thou hadst nought to fear from his piercing talons,
Nor from the murdering gun
Of the thoughtless sportsman.

Safe in thy wired castle,
Grimalkin never could annoy thee.
Daily wert thou fed with the choicest viands,
By the fair hand of an indulgent mistress;

But, discontented,
Thou wouldst have more freedom.
Too soon, alas! didst thou obtain it;

And wandering,
Thou art fallen by the fangs of wanton, cruel Ranger!
Learn hence,

Ye who blindly seek more liberty,
Whether subjects, sons, squirrels, or daughters,
That apparent restraint may be real protection,
Yielding peace and plenty
With security.

"You see, my dear Miss, how much more decent and proper this broken style is, than if we were to say, by way of epitaph,—

Here Skugg
Lies snug,
As a bug
In a rug.

And yet, perhaps, there are people in the world of so little feeling as to think that this would be a good-enough epitaph for poor Mungo."

only mention to you that when I was in Boston in 175 [Record mutilated], Brother John then living, an old man whose name I have forgotten applied to me with a Bond of our Father's of about 15 or 17 pound, if I remember right, desiring I would pay it, which I declined with this answer, that as I had never received anything from the Estate, I did not think myself obliged to pay any of the debts. But I had another reason, which was, that I thought the care of those matters belonged more properly to my Brother. If you know that person, I wish you would now out of Hall's money pay that debt: for I remember his mildness on the occasion with some regard.

"My love to Jenny. I am ever,
"Your Affectionate Brother."

VI.

Franklin to Messrs. Abel James and Benjamin Morgan.

INTRODUCTION OF SILK-WEAVING INTO AMERICA.

"LONDON, March 15, 1773.

"GENTLEMEN: In mine of Feb. 10 I mentioned a Silk Weaver who was desirous of going to America, and endeavoring to get subscriptions among his friends to defray the expense of his and family's passage. He now tells me they have been so kind as to double the sum he requested, and that he is to go in Sutton. He takes with him a good certificate from the Meeting; and I beg leave to recommend him to the notice and encouragement of the silk committee, as far as they may find him deserving. For though it may be most advantageous to our country while the bounty continues so high to send all our raw silk hither; yet as the bounty will gradually diminish and at length cease, I should think it not amiss to begin early the laying a foundation for the future manufacture of it; and perhaps this person, if he finds employment, may be a means of raising hands for that purpose. His name is Joseph Clark.

"By the enclosed you will see when the silk will probably be sold. I hope to send you a good account of it, and am, with great esteem, Gentlemen, your most obt. Humb. sert.

"B. F."

VII.

Franklin to —.

CONFIDENCE IN THE REPUBLIC—HIS SON ARRESTED AS A REBEL.

[Probably 1778.]

"You desire to know my opinion of what will probably be the end of this war, and

whether our new establishments will not be thereby reduced again to deserts. I do not, for my part, apprehend much danger of so great an evil to us: I think we shall be able, with a little help, to defend ourselves, our possessions, and our liberties so long, that England will be ruined by persisting in the wicked attempt to destroy them: I must nevertheless regret that ruin, and wish that her injustice and tyranny had not deserved it. And I sometimes flatter myself, that old as I am, I may possibly live to see my country settled in peace and prosperity, when Britain shall make no more a formidable figure among the powers of Europe.

"You put me in mind of an apology for my conduct, which had been expected from me in answer to the abuses thrown upon me before the Privy Council. It was partly written, but the affairs of public importance I have ever since engaged in, prevented my finishing it. The injuries too that my country has suffered, have absorbed private resentments and made it appear trifling for an individual to trouble the World with his particular justification, when all his Compatriots were stigmatized by the King and Parliament, as being in every respect the worst of mankind. I am obliged to you however for the friendly part you have always taken in the defence of my character; and it is indeed no small argument in my favour, that those who have known me most and longest, still love me and trust me with their most important interests, of which my election into the Congress by the unanimous voice of the Assembly or Parliament of Pennsylvania, the day after my arrival from England, and my present mission hither by the Congress itself, are instances incontestible.

"You enquire what is become of my son, the Governor of New Jersey. As he adhered to the party of the King, his people took him prisoner, and sent him under a guard into Connecticut, where he continues, but is allowed a district of some miles to ride about, upon his parole of honor not to quit that country. I have with me here his son, a youth of about Seventeen, whom I brought with me partly to finish his education, having a great affection for him, and partly to have his assistance as a Secretary, in which capacity he is very serviceable to me. I have also here with me my worthy nephew, Mr. Williams, whom you ask after. The ingenious Mr. Canton, our other fellow traveller, I suppose you know is now no more.

"God bless you, my dear friend, and believe me ever yours most affectionately, B. F."

VIII.

Franklin to an Engraver in Paris.

RESPECTING A PRINT COMMEMORATIVE OF
AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE. TRANSLATED
FROM THE FRENCH.

“PASSY, 24 June, 1778.

“SIR: On reading again the prospectus and explanation of your intended print, I find the whole merit of giving freedom to America continues to be ascribed to me, which, as I told you in our first conversation, I could by no means approve of, as it would be unjust to the number of wise and brave men who, by their arms and counsels, have shared in the enterprise and contributed to its success (as far as it has yet succeeded) at the hazard of their lives and fortunes.

“My proposition to you was, and continues to be, that, instead of naming me in particular in the explanation of the print, it should be said, “The Congress, represented by a Senator in Roman dress, &c.” As it stands, I cannot consent to accept the honor you propose to do me by dedicating the print to me, which, I understand, is in this country considered as an approbation; and in my own country it would hurt my character and usefulness, if I were to give the least countenance to such a pretension, by recommending or proposing the sale of a print so explained. Upon these considerations, I must request that, if you are determined to proceed in the engraving, you would, in a new prospectus, change the explanation as above proposed, and dedicate the print not to me, but to the Congress.”

IX.

Franklin to Washington.

PRECAUTIONS AGAINST LAFAYETTE'S
IMPROVIDENCE.

[Probably 1777.]

“SIR: The Marquis de La Fayette, a young Nobleman of great expectations and exceedingly beloved here, is by this time probably with you. By some misapprehension in his contract with the merchants of Bordeaux he was prevented from using the produce of the cargo he carried over, and so was left without a supply of money. His friends here have sent him over about £500 Sterling, and have proposed sending him more; but on reflection, knowing the extream generosity of his disposition, and fearing that some of his necessitous and artful Countrymen may impose on his goodness, they wish to put his money into the hands of some discreet friend, who may

Vol. XXXII.—31.

supply him from time to time, and by that means knowing his expenses may take occasion to advise him if necessary, with a friendly affection, and secure him from too much imposition. They accordingly have desired us to name such a person to them. We have not been able to think of one so capable, and so suitable from the influence of situation to perform that kind office, as General Washington, under whose eye the Gentleman will probably be. We beg therefore in his behalf, what his friends out of respect would not take the liberty of asking, that your Excellency would be pleased to furnish him with what money he may want in moderation, and take his drafts payable to us for the sums paid him, which we shall receive here and apply to the public service. We also join with his family in their earnest request that you would favour him with your counsels, which you may be assured will be an act of benevolence gratefully remembered and acknowledged, by a number of very worthy persons here who interest themselves extremely in the welfare of that amiable young Nobleman.

“With the greatest respect we have the honor to be, Sir, Your Excellency's.”

At the time the foregoing letter was written Franklin did not know Lafayette personally. Lafayette landed in America in April, 1777. He returned to France for a visit in 1779, bearing a letter of introduction to Dr. Franklin from Dr. Samuel Cooper, the pastor of the Brattle-street Church in Boston, and the man to whom the Doctor many years before had intrusted the famous Hutchinson letters.

X.

Franklin to Mr. Melmoth.

DEMANDS FOR HIS PORTRAIT.

“PASSY.

“SIR: I should have been flattered exceedingly by Mrs. Melmoth's shewing the least inclination for one of those portraits, when Mrs. Izard accepted the other, and should have presented it to her with the greatest pleasure. She did not appear to desire it and I did not presume it of value enough to be offered. Her quarrel with me on that account is pleasing. The reconciliation, when I can obtain it, will be more so. At present another Lady has put it out of my power to comply with the terms. M. de Chaumont, at whose Pottery in the Country they were made, receiving a request from Petersburg for one of them, to gratify the curiosity of the Empress, and having none in town, he got from me the only one I had left, and has sent it away. But I

am promised another soon, and shall seize the first moment of making my peace with it. In the mean time, I hope you will interceed for me, in that heart where I am sure you have interest. Accept my thanks for the books, from the reading of which I promise myself a good deal of pleasure. Please to accept also the trifle enclosed, and believe me with sincere esteem."

The gentleman to whom the foregoing exquisitely graceful letter was written was doubtless Melmoth, the accomplished scholar whose translations of Cicero's and Pliny's letters are still read. The portrait referred to is the celebrated medallion of Franklin made by the Italian Nini from clay found on the estate of M. de Chaumont on the Loire. Dr. Franklin occupied a house on M. de Chaumont's estate at Passy during his residence in France.

XI.

From B. Vaughan to Dr. Franklin.

INTRODUCING DUGALD STEWART AND LORD ANCRAM.

"LONDON, August 8th, 1783.

"MY DEAREST SIR: I beg to introduce to your kind regards one of my best respected friends, Mr. Dugald Stewart, who, tho' as yet little known out of Scotland, is one of the best known men in it. He stands in the very first class of their mathematicians and literary men. He has twice at a day's warning taken up Dr. Adam Ferguson's Lectures in Moral Philosophy, and twice completely excelled him in the opinion of every one, as was proved in particular by the attendance he had while he lectured. Perhaps you may remember his father who lectured at Edinburgh in mathematics, and wrote a treatise on the Sun's distance from us as deducible from the theory of gravity. It is very poor compliment to Mr. Stewart to say that in Science it is the father who is really the Child.

"My friend travels with Lord Ancram, the son of the Marquis of Lothian, whom he represents to me as a pretty and very amiable young man. I beg you will extend your notice to him also.

"I have extreme confidence in begging your attention to Mr. Stewart, because I am sure it is in his power to repay you by the information he can give you of the literary characters in his country, and the objects they are pursuing. He is however very diffident, and is very fearful of betraying himself upon subjects which he is not master of, in which list for the present he reckons Mathematics, and is therefore averse to meeting M. d'Alembert on the

subject, tho' he wants to see him. He is not strong in Natural Philosophy, but he understands everything in it. He burns to see you as its present Father; and as at least *half* the time I spent alone with him in Scotland was employed in conversing about you, I believe he would not think he had been out of his Country unless he was allowed to see you at Paris."

The writer of the foregoing was one of Franklin's most esteemed English correspondents, and one of the persons to whom he sent a manuscript copy of his autobiography for revision and criticism. He also edited an edition of Franklin's writings. At the date of this letter Dugald Stewart was thirty years of age. He was elected Professor of Moral Philosophy two years later, though for several years he had acted as his father's substitute in the chair of mathematics, and in 1775 had been formally elected conjoint professor. His curiosity about d'Alembert was probably never gratified, for that eminent Frenchman died only a few weeks after Vaughan's letter was written. It was an *Éloge* to be pronounced before the French Academy of Sciences by d'Alembert that attracted Voltaire and Franklin within its precincts in 1778, at the time they were required by the audience to embrace each other "*à la Française.*"

XII.

Franklin to Dr. Cooper.

A ROGUE'S HONOR.

"PASSY, Decr. 26th, 1783.

"DEAR SIR: I have received your favour of the 16th October, and am much obliged by the intelligence it contains. I am happy to hear that your Government has agreed to furnish Congress with the means of discharging the National Debt. The obstruction that measure met with in some of the States has had very mischievous effects on this side the water; it discouraged the loan going on in Holland, and thereby occasioned a protest of some of Mr. Morris's Bills. Nothing can recover our credit in Europe and our Reputation in its Courts, but an immediate proof of our honesty and prudence by a general provision in all the States for the punctual payment of the Interest and the final regular discharge of the Principal. I hope we shall never deserve, nor any longer appear likely to deserve the reproof given to an enthusiastical knave in Pennsylvania, who being called upon for an old debt, said to his creditor, *Thou must have a little more patience: I am not able yet to pay thee.* Give me then your bond, says the Creditor, and pay me interest. *No, I cannot do that;*

I cannot in conscience either receive or pay interest, it is against my principle. You have the conscience of a rogue, says the creditor: You tell me it is against your principal to pay interest; and it being against your interest to pay the principal, I perceive you do not intend to pay me either one or t'other.

“There are hopes that the war against the Turks will blow over; the rather, as all flames are apt to spread, and the late belligerent powers have all need of a continued peace. This however is not certain, and it behoves us to preserve with care our friends and our credit abroad, and our Union at home, as we know not how soon we may have occasion for all of them.”

XIII.

Franklin to Ingenhausz.

WILLIAM PENN'S MERCENARY DESCENDANTS.

“PASSY, 29 April, 1785.

“MY DEAR FRIEND:

“Lady Dowager Penn was here about the time of the Treaty, and made application to me with great complaints, but I found she was not well informed of the state of her affairs, and could not clearly show that she had suffered any injury from the Publick of Pennsylvania, whatever she might from the Agents of the family. Her husband's lands I understand were not confiscated as represented; but the Proprietary Government falling with that of the Crown, the Assembly took the opportunity of insisting upon justice in some points, which they could never obtain under that Government. A kind of compromise then was made between the Assembly and the Family whereby all the vacant lots and unappropriated wilderness lands were to be henceforth in the disposition of the Assembly, who were to pay £130,000 Sterling to the Family within 3 years after the Peace, all other demands on both sides being thus abolished. I am told that this arrangement was satisfactory to most of them. But as the Lady intended to send her Son over to solicit her interests, I gave him a letter of recommendation to the Governor, proposing it for consideration, whether it might not be advisable to reconsider the matter, and if the sum of £130,000 should be found insufficient to make a proper addition. I have not heard what has since been done in the affair, or whether anything. In my own judgment, when I consider that for nearly 80 years, viz: from the year 1700, William Penn and his Sons received the Quitrents which were originally granted for the support of Government, and yet refused

to support the Government, obliging the people to make a fresh provision for its support all that time, which cost them vast sums, as the most necessary laws were not to be obtained but at the price of making such provision; when I consider the meanness and cruel avarice of the late Proprietor in refusing for several years of war to consent to any defence of the frontiers ravaged all the while by the enemy, unless his estate should be exempted from paying any part of the expence; not to mention other atrocities too long for this letter, I cannot but think the family well off, and that it will be prudent in them to take the money and be quiet. William Penn the first Proprietor, father of Thomas, the husband of the present Dowager, was a wise and good man, and as honest to the people as the extreme distress of his circumstances would permit him to be, but the said Thomas was a miserable churl, always intent upon griping and saving; and whatever good the Father may have done for the Province, was amply undone by the mischief received from the Son, who never did anything that had the appearance of generosity or public spirit but what was extorted from him by solicitation and the shame of backwardness in benefits evidently incumbent on him to promote, and which was done at last in the most ungracious manner possible. The Lady's complaints of not duly receiving her revenues from America are habitual; they were the same during all the time of my long residence in London, being then made by her husband as excuses for the meanness of his housekeeping and his deficiency in hospitality; tho' I knew at the same time that he was then in full receipt of vast sums annually by the sale of lands, interest of money and quitrents. But probably he might conceal this from his Lady, to induce greater economy; as it is known that he ordered no more of his income home than was absolutely necessary for his subsistence, but placed it at interest in Pennsylvania and the Jerseys, where he could have 6 and 7 p. cent, while money bore no more than 5 p. cent in England. I used often to hear of these complaints and laugh at them, perceiving clearly their motive. They served him on other as well as on domestic occasions. You remember our rector of St. Martin's parish, Dr. Saunders. He once went about during a long and severe frost, soliciting charitable contributions to purchase coals for poor families. He came, among others, to me, and I gave him something. It was but little, very little; and yet it occasioned him to remark, ‘You are more bountiful on this occasion than your wealthy Proprietary Mr. Penn; but he tells me he is distressed by not receiv-

ing his incomes from America.' The incomes of the family there must be still very great, for they have a number of Manors consisting of the best lands, which are preserved to them, and vast sums at interest well secured by Mortgages; so that if the Dowager does not receive her proportion, there must be some fault in her Agents. You will perceive by the length of this Article that I have been a little *échauffé* by her making the complaints you mention to the Princess Dowager of Lichtenstein at Vienna. The Lady herself is good and amiable, and I should be glad to serve her in anything just and reasonable; but I do not at present see that I can do more than I have done."

XIV.

Franklin to Mr. and Mrs. Bache.

PREPARING TO RETURN TO AMERICA.

"PASSY, May 10, 1785.

"DEAR SON AND DAUGHTER: Having at length received from Congress permission to return Home, I am now preparing for my departure, and hope to get away by the middle of next month, or the end at farthest, tho' I know not yet whether it will be by the Packet or some other vessel. Fearing that the Packet may be crowded with passengers, I have desired my Cousin Jonathan Williams, now in London, to enquire whether there may not be found some good vessel bound directly to Philadelphia, who would agree to take me on board at Havre, with my grandsons and Servants, with my baggage, &c. Infirm as I am, I have need of comfortable room and accommodation. I was miserably lodged in coming over hither, which almost demolished me; I must be better stowed now, or I shall not be able to hold out the voyage. Indeed my friends here are so apprehensive for me, that they press me much to remain in France, and three of them have offered me an Asylum in their habitations. They tell me that I am here among a people who universally esteem and love me; that my friends at home are diminished by death in my absence; that I may there meet with envy and its consequent enmity, which here I am perfectly free from; this supposing I live to complete the voyage, but of that they doubt. The desire however of spending the little remainder of life with my family, is so strong as to determine me to try at least, whether I can bear the motion of a ship. If not, I must get them to set me on shore somewhere in the channel, and content myself to die in Europe.

"It is long since I have heard from you or of you. I hope however that you and the children continue well. Ben is very well, and

grows amazingly. He promises to be a stout as well as a good man. Temple has been ill lately with a fever, but is getting better and sends his duty. I suppose Ben writes.

"I am ever, my dear children,

"Your affectionate Father,

"B. FRANKLIN in his 80th year."

XV.

Franklin to Mr. Grand, the Amsterdam banker.

HIS OPINION OF WARS AND HEROES.

"PHILADA. March 5, 1786.

"DEAR FRIEND: Since my last, which was of Jan. 29, I have had the great pleasure of receiving yours of Oct. 10, 85, by which I learnt that yourself and the good family continued well. The vessel from Havre, after a long passage of about 12 weeks, arrived at last with all my things in pretty good order, and sundry parcels of books, &c., from you: when I had almost given over all hopes of seeing them ever again: so that I now find myself happily situated in my own house, surrounded by my offspring, with all my playthings and amusements about me, and my malady not augmented, but still continuing tolerable.

"I rejoice to hear that the Emperor and the Dutch have accommodated their differences. Long may the peace of Europe continue! For I am of opinion that there never was a bad peace, nor a good war. And I think your Minister, who is so expert in composing quarrels and preventing wars, the great blessing of this age. The devil must send us three or four heroes before he can get as much slaughter of mankind done as that one man has prevented.

"I do not understand how Calioistro was involved in the affair of the Cardinal, and have some curiosity to know his history when it shall be developed.

"The English papers not only sent me gratis, as you observe, to Algiers, but they are sending all the United States to destruction. By their accounts you would think we were in the utmost distress, in want of everything, all in confusion, no Government, and wishing again for that of England. Be assured, my friend, that these are all fictions, mere English wishes, not American realities. There are some few faults in our Constitutions, which is no wonder, considering the stormy season in which they were made, but those will soon be corrected. And for the rest, I never saw greater and more indubitable marks of public prosperity in any country. The produce of our Agriculture bears a

good price, and is all paid for in ready hard money, all the labouring people have high wages, everybody is well clothed and well lodged, the poor provided for or assisted and all estates in town and country much increased in value. As to wishing for the English government we should as soon wish for that of Morocco."

XVI.

Franklin to his Niece, Mrs. Partridge.

ON OLD AGE, ETC.

"PHILADA. NOV. 25, 1788.

"MY DEAR CHILD :

"You kindly enquire after my health. I have not of late much reason to boast of it. People that will live a long life and drink to the bottom of the cup, must expect to meet with some of the dregs. However, when I consider how many more terrible maladies the human body is liable to, I think myself well off that I have only three incurable ones, the gout, the stone, and old age; and, those notwithstanding, I enjoy many comfortable intervals, in which I forget all my ills, and amuse myself in reading or writing, or in conversation with friends, joking, laughing, and telling merry stories, as when you first knew me, a young man about fifty.

"My children and grandchildren the Baches are all well, and pleased with your remembrance of them. They are my family, living in my house. And we have lately the addition of a little good-natured girl, whom I begin to love as well as the rest.

"You tell me our poor friend Ben Kent is gone, I hope to the regions of the Blessed or at [mutilated] to some place where souls are prepared for those [mutilated] gious. I found my hope on this, that tho' not so orthodox as you and I, he was an honest man, and had his virtues. If he had any hypocrisy, it was of that inverted kind with which a man is not so bad [mutilated] seems to be. And with regard to future bliss I cannot help imagining that multitudes of the zealously orthodox of different sects, who at the last day may flock together, in hopes of seeing [mutilated] damn'd, will be disappointed, and oblig'd to rest content with their own salvation.

"By one of the accidents which war occasions, all my books containing copies of my letters were lost. There were eight volumes of them, and I have been able to recover only two. Those are of later date than the transaction you mention, and therefore can contain nothing relating to it. If the letter you want a copy of was one in which I aimed at consoling my Brother's friends, by a Comparison drawn from a Party of Pleasure intended into

the Country, where we were all to meet, tho' the chair of one being soonest ready he set out before the rest; I say if this was the letter, I fancy you may possibly find it in Boston, as I remember Dr. Biles once wrote me that many copies had been taken of it. I too should have been glad to have seen that again among others I had written to him and you: But you inform me they [mutilated] by the mice. Poor little innocent Creatures I am sorry they had no better food. But since they like my letters here is another treat for them.

"Adieu, ma chère enfant, and believe me [mutilated],

"Your affectionate Uncle."

By the letter which follows, it appears that the division of ships into compartments to diminish the risks from collisions and leakage is by no means a modern device. Franklin commends the policy and speaks of it as a familiar expedient of the Chinese.

A copy of the chart of the Gulf Stream referred to was prepared by Dr. Franklin on his voyage home from France in 1785, and formed part of a paper on the subject of Improvements in Navigation, which he read at a meeting of the American Philosophical Society in December of that year. Franklin first made the Gulf Stream known to European navigators.

XVII.

Franklin to M. St. Jean de Crèvecoeur.

PACKET-BOATS AND THE GULF STREAM.

"SIR: I have perused the foregoing mémoire, and having formerly had some share in the management of the Pacquet Boats between England and America, I am enabled to furnish you with some small remarks.

"The project is good, and if carried into execution will certainly be very useful to Merchants immediately, and profitable to the Revenue of the Post office at least after some time; because not only Commerce increases correspondence, but facility of correspondence increases Commerce, and they go on mutually augmenting each other.

"Four Pacquet Boats were at first thought sufficient between Falmouth and New York, so as to dispatch one regularly the first Wednesday in every month. But by experience it was found that a fifth was necessary; as without it, the regularity was sometimes broken by accidents of wind and weather, and the merchants disappointed and their affairs deranged, a matter of great consequence in commerce. A fifth Packet was accordingly added.

"It is probable, as you observe, that the English will keep up their Packets. In which

case I should think it advisable to order the dispatch of the French Packets in the intermediate times, that is, on the third Wednesdays. This would give the merchants of Europe and America opportunities of writing every fortnight. And the English who had missed writing by their own Packet of the first Wednesday, or have new matter to write which they wish to send before the next month, will forward their letters by the post to France to go by the French Packet and *vice versa*, which will increase the inland postage of both nations.

"As these vessels are not to be laden with goods, their holds may without inconvenience be divided into separate apartments after the Chinese manner, and each of those apartments caulked tight so as to keep out water. In which case if a leak should happen in one apartment, that only would be affected by it, and the others would be free; so that the ship would not be so subject as others to founder and sink at sea. This being known would be a great encouragement to passengers.

"I send you a copy of a Chart of the Gulf Stream, which is little known by European Navigators, and yet of great consequence; since in going to America they often get into that stream and unknowingly stem it, whereby the ship is much retarded and the voyage lengthened enormously. The directions being imperfectly translated and expressed in French, I have put them more correctly in English."

XVIII.

Franklin, probably to the Governor of Georgia.

HIS INDIAN POLICY.

"PHILADA. Dec. 16, 1787.

"SIR: I received by Mr. Dromgoole the letter your Excellency did me the honour of writing to me the 2d of November past, and am much concerned to hear that a war between the State of Georgia and the Creek Indians was unavoidable.

"During the course of a long life in which I have made observations on public affairs, it has appeared to me that almost every war between the Indians and Whites has been occasioned by some injustice of the latter towards the former. It is indeed extremely imprudent in us to quarrel with them for their lands, as they are generally willing to sell, and sell such good bargains; and a war with them is so mischievous to us, in unsettling frequently a great part of our frontier, and reducing the inhabitants to poverty and distress, and is besides so expensive that it is much cheaper as well as honester to buy their lands than to take them by force.

* This is the lady to whom Franklin

"Your State would, I imagine, be much more secure from the mischiefs of Indian wars, if you imitated the mode of settlement in the New England States, which was to grant their lands in townships of about 6 mile square to 60 families. These first chose a spot for their town, where they cleared a square of perhaps 20 acres, round which they fixed their houses 15 on a side, all fronting inwards to the square so that they were all in sight of each other. In the middle of the square they erected a house for public worship and a school, stockaded round as a fort for the reception and protection of their women and children in case of alarm. Behind each house was first a garden plot, then an orchard, and then a pasture for a cow or two, and behind all outwards their cornfield. Thus situated one house could not be attacked without its being seen and giving alarm to the rest, who were ready to run to its succour. This discouraged such attempts. Then they had the advantage of giving schooling to their children, securing their morals by the influence of religion, and improving each other by civil society and conversation. In our way of sparse and remote settlements, the people are without these advantages, and we are in danger of bringing up a set of Savages of our own colour."

XIX.

*Franklin to Madame Brillon.**

A PICTURE OF OLD AGE.

"PHILADA. April 19, 1788.

"MY DEAR DEAR FRIEND: I received by the last Pacquet your kind letter dated in October last. I am glad to hear that you continue well, with what is left of the amiable family, in whose sweet society I passed so many happy evenings while I lived in Passy. I sympathise with you in all your losses and afflictions, and hope the rest of your life will be as tranquil and free from trouble as it had been for some years before we parted.

"You have given me pleasure by informing me of the welfare and present agreeable circumstances of yourself and children; and I am persuaded that your friendship for me will render a similar account of my situation pleasing to you. I am in a country where I have the happiness of being universally respected and beloved; of which three successive annual elections to the Chief Magistracy, in which elections the representatives of the people in Assembly and the Supreme Council joined and were unanimous, is the strongest proof; this is a place of profit as well as of honour; and my friends cheerfully assist in making the

addressed his story of the whistle.

business as easy to me as possible. I live in a good house which I built 25 years ago, contrived to my mind and made still more convenient by an addition since my return. A dutiful and affectionate daughter, with her husband and six children, compose my family. The children are all promising, and even the youngest, who is but four years old, contributes to my amusement. The eldest, Benjamin, you may remember. He has finished his studies at our University, and is preparing to enter into business as a printer, the original occupation of his Grandfather. Temple, who was likewise with me in France, is settled about 6 leagues from me on his plantation, which contains about 600 acres; but when in town he lives with me. My Rents and incomes are amply sufficient for all my present occasions; and if no unexpected misfortunes happen during the little time I have to live, I shall leave a handsome estate to be divided among my relatives. As to my health, it continues the same or rather better than when I left Passy; but being now in my 83d year, I do not expect to continue much longer a sojourner in this world, and begin to promise myself much gratification of my curiosity in soon visiting some other. Wherever I may hereafter travel, be assured, my dear friend, that if . . . " [imperfect.]

XX.

Franklin to Benj. Chambers and the other Gentlemen of Chambersburg.

ON THE WATER-BLAST FOR FURNACES.

"PHILADA. Sept. 20, 1788.

"GENTLEMEN: I received the letter you did me the honour of writing to me, respecting what was supposed a new invention, the blowing of furnaces by a fall of water. When Mr. Zantinger delivered me your letter, I told him that I had several books in my Library which described the same contrivance, and I have since shewn them to him. They are the French Encyclopædia or Dictionary of Arts and Sciences; Swedenborg's Latin treatise of Iron Works; and the French work *Des Arts et des Métiers*, in the article of forges. Those descriptions are all accompanied with figures in copper plate, which demonstrate the invention to be the same precisely in all its essential parts; and in the accounts of it, it is said to have been first practised in Italy about 100 years since; whence it was brought into France where it is now much used; thence into Sweden and Germany; and I remember to have been informed by a Spaniard who was here 40 years ago, and gave me a drawing of it, that it was practised in some parts of Mexico, in their furnaces for smelting their

silver ore. This being the case, you see, Gentlemen, that Mr. McClintock cannot properly be recommended to the Assembly as the discoverer of something new. It is however not an uncommon thing for ingenious men in different ages as well as in different Countries to hit upon the same contrivances without knowing or having heard what has been done by others; and Mr. McClintock has at least the merit of having introduced the knowledge of this useful invention into this part of America, and of demonstrating by his own example its practicability.

"I am, Gentlemen," &c.

XXI.

Franklin to Abbé Morellet.

GOUVERNEUR MORRIS — RETIREMENT FROM THE PRESIDENCY.

"PHILADA. Dec 10, 1788.

"The Gentleman who will have the honour of delivering you this line is Mr. Gouverneur Morris, formerly a Member of Congress, and one of the Convention that composed the Federal Constitution. He is much esteemed here by those that know him, and being a friend of mine, I beg leave to recommend him to your civilities, and to Mr. Marmontel's, to whom please present my respects.

"I hope the late troubles in France are nearly over. 'Tis a country that I dearly love, and in whose prosperity I feel myself deeply interested.

"Having now finished my three years service as President and not likely to engage in any future Public business, I begin to feel myself a freeman, and to enjoy the little leisure that the remnant of life may afford me. Some of this leisure I am however employing in writing my own history, which calling past transactions to remembrance makes it seem a little like living one's life over again.

"I am ever my dear friend, with great and sincere esteem," etc.

XXII.

Franklin to —.

THE MAN THAT "SAVED HIS LIFE."

"PHILADA. Dec. 17, 1789.

"DEAR FRIEND: I have received your kind letter of the 5th inst. together with your present of Metheglin, of which I have already drank almost a bottle. I find it excellent; please to accept my thankful acknowledgments.

"The letter yours enclosed is from the widow of a Jew, who happening to be one of a number of passengers that were about 40 years

ago in a stage-boat going to New York, and which by the unskilful management of the boatman upset the canoe from whence I was endeavouring to get on board her, near Staten Island, has ever since worried me with demands of a gratû for having as he pretended been instrumental in saving my life; tho' that was in no danger, as we were near the shore, and you know what an expert swimmer I am, and he was no more of any service to me in stopping the boat to take me in than every other passenger; to all whom I gave a liberal entertainment at the Tavern when we arrived at New York, to their general satisfaction at the time: but this Hayes never saw me afterwards at New York, or Brunswick, or Philada that he did not dun me for money on the pretense of his being poor, and having been so happy as to be instrumental in saving my life, which was really in no danger. In this way he got of me sometimes a double joannes, sometimes a Spanish doubloon, and never less, how much in the whole I do not know, having kept no account of it; but it must have been a very considerable sum; and as he neither incurred any risque, nor was at any trouble in my behalf, I have long since thought him well paid for any little expense of humanity he might have felt on the occasion. He seems, however, to have left me to his widow as part of her dowry."

XXIII.

Franklin to —.

REVENGE A DELICACY TO BE EATEN COLD.

"Nov. 25, 1786.

"DEAR SIR: I hope your gout will be of service to you, as I have always found mine has been to me. I return the piece. And since you seem to wish for my advice, tho' without asking it, I will give it. Do not publish the piece immediately. Let it lie by you at least a twelve-month, then reconsider it, and do what you find proper. Such personal public attacks are never forgiven. You both have children, and the animosity may be entailed to the prejudice of both sides. With great esteem and affection I am,

"Ever Yours,

"B. FRANKLIN."

XXIV.

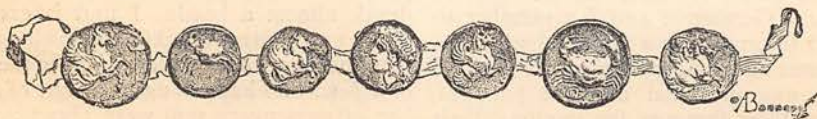
*Franklin to —.*THREATENED RESTRICTIONS UPON
EMIGRATION.

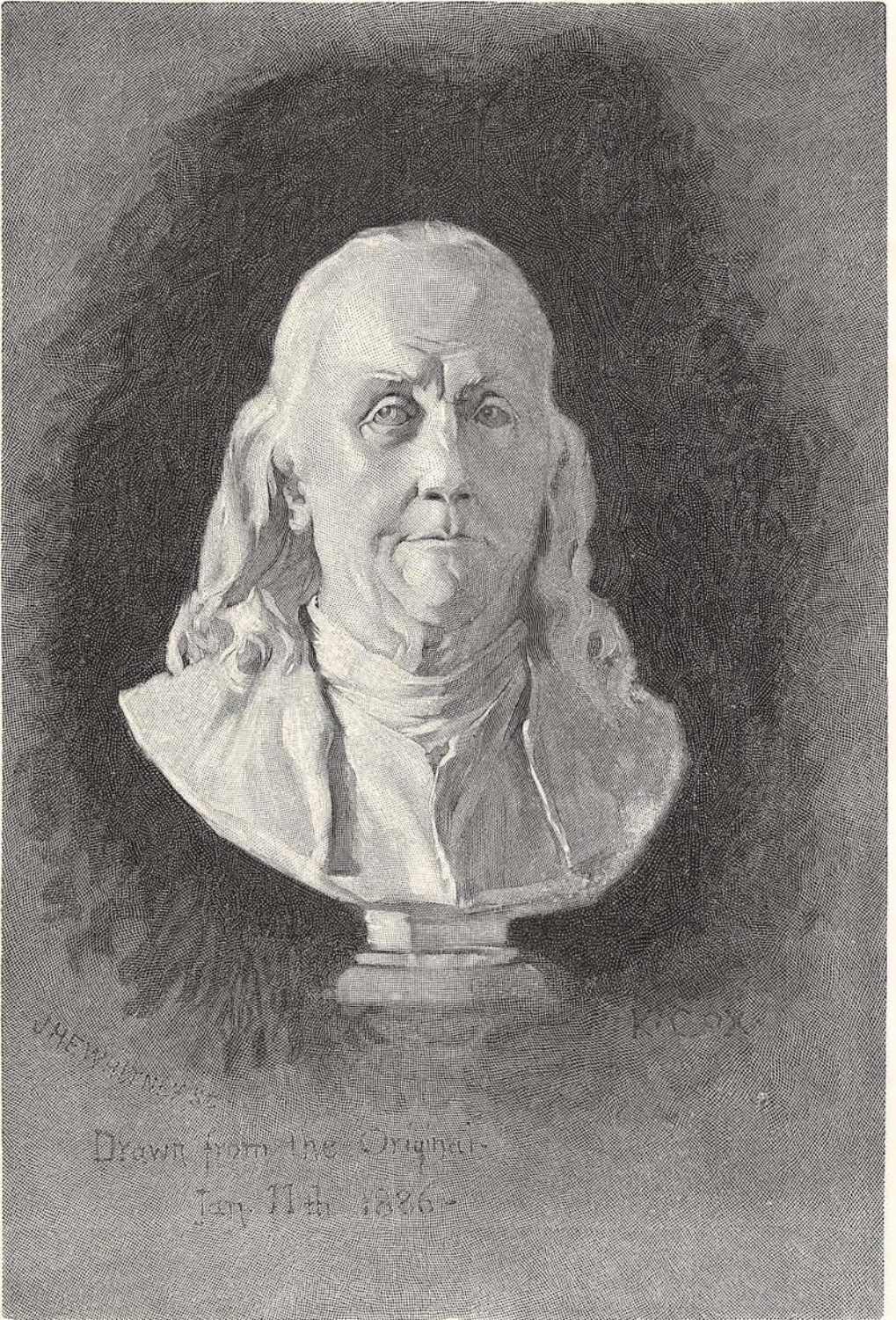
"[There] are I understand some apprehensions that your Ministers may procure a law to restrain the Emigration of Manufacturers; but I think that, weak and wicked as they are, and tyrannical as they are disposed to be, they will hardly venture upon an Act that shall make a Prison of England, to confine men for no other crime but that of being useful and industrious and to discourage the learning of useful mechanic arts, by declaring that as soon as a man is master of his business he shall lose his liberty, and become a prisoner for life; while they suffer their idle and extravagant gentry to travel and reside abroad at their pleasure, spending the incomes of their estates, racked from their laborious honest tenants, in foreign follies, and among French and Italian — and fiddlers. Such a law would be too glaringly unjust to be borne with."

We will close these extracts with a single reflection which some of our readers may have anticipated.

Of the unpublished manuscripts of most interest and value, a large proportion are conceived in such a spirit as would scarcely have commended them to the English public at any time during the first half of the present century. Their commendation as well as their criticism would have been alike distasteful. This fact had, no doubt, much to do with Mr. Colburn's refusal to extend his publication, and may at least partially explain the wanton delay of the publication that was made.

The time is now happily past when the judgment of any publisher on either side of the Atlantic could be affected by these considerations; and as we must now have substantially all of Franklin's writings that we can ever expect to have, it is to be hoped that we shall not have long to wait for a complete and standard edition of all the extant works of the most famous philosopher, journalist, writer, and diplomatist of his time.

John Bigelow.



B. Franklin